

The Afrocentric Media Governance in Tanzania's Ujamaa (Socialism) Era

Khamis Juma Abdalla, PhD Student
Department of Journalism, Marmara University
Istanbul, Turkey
binjumaa27@gmail.com

Abstract: *The postcolonial media system of Tanzania initially operated under the literally monopoly structure of government and party. The Single party ordination was concocted into a democratic and revolutionary platform to concentrate the nation building scheme over ethnic division in Tanzania. In the new era of African independence states, the Western-model of capitalist scenery was reasoned uncondicive over emerging self-governing African countries. As a point of departure, Tanzania embarked to African Socialism (Ujamaa) ethos to appeal all peripheral communities vis-à-vis the conception of nation building. This Afrocentric modality entailed centrally planned economic transition in which the media regulation evolved keen on the dominant one-party political philosophy to streamline the communal life in accordance with the precolonial African values living in cooperation, collectivism, egalitarianism and obligation to work, tracing the rural development paradigm meant for villagesation. Ujamaa government Tanzania-ize and Socialize the media system through distinctive content regulations, nationalization, centralization and de facto media policies in respect of propagating the socialist ideology across the natives. The utilization of national language Kiswahili was ideal to crackdown the colonial mass communication systems in preference to Afrocentric media typology to generate the common culture and identity. Thus far, the prevailing command economy couldn't let the private media ownership flourish, until 1980s when the market economic system in proportion of the IMF/WB structural programs spurred the national financial adjustment across the social institutions including media sector. Along with 1990s, state transformation to multiparty politics commonly nurtured the media structure in the hands of multi privately ownership suppressing the government monopoly.*

Keywords—Media Ownership; Afrocentric Media Regulation; Political Economy; Tanzania; Ujamaa.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the World War II the affection of public information escalated across the British colonies counting Tanganyika (now Tanzania Mainland) and Zanzibar, for the world current affairs concerning the British as a Western ally over the Soviet Union' domination on Germany in Europe (Stumer, 2008; 59 and 279). In 1950s Media engagement in African liberation movement came into historical. The Press industry evolved into vibrant protagonist for two opposing sides; colonial publications stuck at servicing the existed administrative values, while the nationalist papers tended to form national unity towards independence. Tanganyika African Association (TAA) which later was renamed Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the United Tanganyika Party UTP led nationalist movement struggling for liberation over colonial rule across the country. In Zanzibar African press also went forward into a substantial platform of deliberation from both the British rule and the Arab authority, thus far several publications operated in the course of national freedom struggle in accordance with political party's ideology which persistently diversified more political contents (Hamdani et al. 2014). Zanzibar's advocacy for media progression and consumptions resulted into the establishment of the first country's newspaper MSIMULIZI (The Storyteller) founded on the isles in 1888 through the ownership of Anglican University Mission of Central Africa (UMCA). Since then a

number of business individuals and family ownership came into being, catering for the commercial and social niche spectators. At that time, the government owned papers concentrated mostly on the economy, especially agricultural information like cloves, copra, and coconut oil. The regime also run educational periodicals which were used to cement mutual sympathies among school teachers and students (Sturmer, 2008; 273-286).

Thanks to such mushrooming of nationalist press in 1950s, the British colony launched a massive counter-attack by means of broadcasting media namely Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) in the hegemony of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in portrayal of the colonial propaganda (Moshiro, 1990; 20). Till 1955 TBC began to air broadcasting services country-wide with innovative studios and powerful transmitters, grasped the wide geographical coverage. Similar to the growth of press industry, Zanzibar broadcast sector was pretty historical than Tanganyika. The state owned radio - Sauti ya Unguja - The Voice of Unguja in 1951 (later renamed Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar - Voice of Zanzibar) was also hastily introduced in the media system. The station used to broadcast in Arabic and Kiswahili and its programing based mainly on educational, religious, agricultural programs with commercial advertising and music inputs, covering the entire islands including rural populaces. Unlike the print media which merely catered the partial populations mainly in urban

areas by reasons of the high national illiteracy especially in rural areas, accompanied by deficiency of public meetings in consequence of the poor infrastructures inaccessible to approach the abundant remote populations (ibid.).

When Tanganyika gets independence in 1961, the TANU administration under Mwalim (Teacher) Julius Kambarage Nyerere worked on forging the potent national unity. The infant government deliberated the mass communication mechanism to bring the entire populations into the unitary dominion in building the national economy and to mend social life standard. Ujamaa¹ Philosophy natured the public gratitude of nation state contrariwise ethnic divisions due to the pragmatism on the African communities being conjured of natural ethnics (Akhahenda 1983; 89 - 91). Yet, the communal life had good foundation and was long practiced among the African clans. To this point, the version of Ujamaa socialism might refers to the precolonial African values, living in cooperation, collectivism, egalitarianism and social commitment to work for the benefit of all (Nyerere, 1967; 19). According to Nyerere (1967), his philosophy renders from the traditional household of mutual respect, partaking shared goods and services, and concentrating primarily on socioeconomic development in the basis of three fundamentals - freedom, equality and unity (p. 16). The political spectrum of socialism entails to condense the collective sphere of diverse social institutions, counting media in ascendancy of the state. Whilst, the Nyerere's socialist version is somewhat different from Marxist, he stressed in copious socio-economic policies to circumvent from the idealistic orientation. He presupposed on human society fundamental to acquire consistent human equally dignity among individuals through religions and traditional African values for the sake of common good (Boesen, Madsen & Moody, 1977; 12).

2. VILLAGESATION SCHEME AND TANZANIA-IZATION OF MASS MEDIA

The main focus of Ujamaa was on individual grassroots based on rural development athwart the general term of *Ujamaa Vijijini* (socialism in the villages), whereby the mass villagesation scheme was utilized keen on collective works to boost economic productivities for ecological, social and national prosperity. Besides, Nyerere traced the ideal society that from nation to international scope in a network

¹ *Ujamaa*, the Swahili word stands for socialism or 'familyhood'. It was derived by the first president of Tanzania Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1964 to 1985). Ujamaa is about policies and ideology which denotes on the cultural, political, social and economic sphere along collective schemes such of villagization for rural development, and prospected on national and social self-reliance economy through nationalization of banks and other industries. In the context of this chapter, how the Tanzania mass media system was configured after Tanganyika independence 1961 to the Zanzibar revolutionary 1964 and then Tanzania formed (Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar) until 1991 when multiparty introduced in the country is clearly traced.

of communities, highlighting other's liberty on the common sphere in the basis of freedom, equality and unity to all human kind counter to the minority oppression (Boesen et al. 1977; 12). Thus, the Tanzanian postcolonial government projected to manage rural condition potential to economic transformation to foster the communal power, decision making, a network of socialization (ibid; 145) by means of Self-help (*kujitegemea*) pattern which promptly magnified education system for building a number of schools in 1970s in the villages (Schneider, 2014). However, Mytton (1976) brings to mind Ujamaa ideology with socialist Marxist for the assertions that Tanzanian socialist Government used to mechanize the privately owned entities over presumed marginal peasants and works, insomuch as Nyerere restricted mass media from any criticism along the scale that *Freedom of the press must not put openly free to all sort that might threatens others freedom* (Mytton, 1976; 214). His normative framework of mass media relied merely on supporting the integration of national individuals in occupancy of political, socioeconomic, and cultural values counter foreign interference.

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

Tanzania-ization of journalism aimed to clear out the colonial heritages on mass communication systems in the country, the colonial department responsible for media regulation and supervision was renamed Tanganyika Information Services (TIS) from Public Relations department, and then was put under entire government control - the prime minister office (Sturmer, 2008). The

same case to Zanzibar, the Zanzibar Information and Broadcasting Services (ZIBS) substituted the colonial Information office and became in authority of the Revolutionary Council (Hamdani et al 2014). The autonomist measures were set out for the assurance of government, party and private media outlets to abide the common characters of Ujamaa portrayal, forging national unity and harmony on behalf of native grounds in the nation state. Likewise, the administrative Restructuring took place through Public Policies, counting national and local government for safeguarding effective communication and linkage of rural-urban relations, thus far was to entrench local-central administrative relations in order to supplant the colonial structure through chiefs and local management who were responsible to colonial bureaucrats (Wenban-Smith, 2014; 19). However, the local administrative scheme could not sufficiently fill up the information gap on the national campaigns of public policies and instinctive participation (Ng'awanakilala 1981); as eventuated in villagazation project, some inhabitants were deficient in necessary information and understanding on ideology and materials, in due course a number of famers and pastoralists suffered from insufficient social services and immaterial agricultural production (Lorgen, 1999; 31).

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

Imparting education was prerequisite for nationalizing the Ujamaa philosophy under the assertion of 'Education for Self-Reliance' in which formal and informal schooling were integrated into nationalistic ideology for generating individual development and socially responsible persons (Nyerere 1967; 12). Kigamboni College was designed for acquiring philosophical educations by the government and party officials upon commencement of their public duties. The dubious anti-imperialism and socialization archetype attributed on Ujamaa spectrum athwart tedious and repetitive public undertakings amid national and local proprietors. A

number of local press including tribal and regional publications dematerialized soon after independence so that to evade diversity and misrepresentation of the actual political ideology. For example *the Tanganyika Mpya* and the *Bukya na Gandhi* which was founded in 1955 and managed in Bukoba disappeared in 1962, its founder and managing editor Munseri later served a department of information service (Konde 1984; 27). Whereas other papers were proscribed and some were merged while the rest missionary newspapers occupied to preach their believers toward harmony and obedience of regime. According to Hamdani et al (2014) all partisan newspapers disappeared on Zanzibar soon after revolution in 1964. While the Association of Zanzibar Journalists (AZJO) which was established in 1963 by Abdurahman Babu for shielding the rights of journalists also terminated few months after the union of Tanzania 1964, some of its member worked for the political positions.

Moreover, Boesen et al. (1977) notes on the meagre communication that emerged during the villagazation in west lake regions of Tanzania instigated by conflict of interest; between local political representatives and national leaders which ended up with removal of one Regional Commissioner and one MP (p. 166). Local government bureaucrats who later (in 1972) replaced by resident party representatives (Wenban-Smith, 2014; 19) were liable on fostering the efficacy of villagazation, instead of reasonable Persuasive communication they pressured the publics in line with government coercion forces namely "Operation Vijiji" (Lorgen, 1999; 19). Likewise, Boesen et al. 1977 discovered about the division of labor between government and party officials that was not a straightforward and frequently discernable with poor communication among them (p. 155). While government officials were responsible for technical skills and management – planning, organizing and controlling of support to the villagazation process, but the project was rather orthodox due to the lack of knowledge on political and geography in their assigned working sites (Boesen et al. 1977; 155). The party cadres were deficient in political communication and language skills on expression of the ideology and encouragement on the villagers' participation and implementation in the process.

3. POLITICAL ECONOMY OF UJAMAA MEDIA

The government of United Republic of Tanzania and Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar through the late presidents Nyerere in 1963 and Karume in 1964 respectively abolished the multiparty system in the country, they supposed that single party is the democratic and perfect resolution to bring together the miscellaneous communities of Tanzania (Katz et al. 1978; 107). Hereafter, the first postcolonial general election was in 1965, about 107 candidates contested athwart the constituents and 75 won seats, while in 1970 parliamentary election about 114 seats

were voted and several MP missing re-elected (Aminzade, 2013). The judiciary and parliamentary organs were subjective to the political Parties' oligarchy in mainland and islands. The ruling parties often exercised the approval and confiscation of parliamentary members and other government bureaucrats when found out hostile to socialist guidelines. Just soon after Zanzibar revolution followed with union with Tanganyika and formed the United Republic of Tanzania, several private publications went off due to the country shift from multi party to a single party system with centralized economic system. Several journalists were appointed to serve in the new revolutionary government while others fled the country TV (Sturmer, 2008; 289).

3.1 Configuring Government Monopoly in Arusha Declaration (1967)

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

The Arusha declaration came to impose the entire government oligarchy and centered control of the economic sectors. It testified the Nationalization paradigm as vital resolution via socialist spectrum in which government could supreme the financial institutions counting banks to the cooperatives. Hence nationalization occurred in all economic sectors including commercial banks, insurance companies, industrial firms, trade sectors and large-scale agricultural processing industries like wheats and sisal (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003; 65). The self-dependence classic of Ujamaa would be realized behind the government mechanism of monetary and financial system, alongside productive sectors in generating foreign exchanges and support public investments, using collective domestic capital and resources mobilization. The ruling party so far coped the authority and machinery of all local and national sources of economy

encompassing trade unions; Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania UWT (Tanzania Women's Union), the Union of Tanzania Workers (JUWATA), the Cooperative Union of Tanzania (CUT) and the Tanzania Youth Organization (VIJANA), were conspicuous symbolic for the party accomplishments (Aminzade, 2013; 139). Nonetheless, the cooperatives' economic operations were futile to socialism which typically caused by the top-down hierarchical approach of communication and decision making. As of UWT's miscarriage to connect its members especially of rural women through information and communication network vis-à-vis the dynamic economic atmosphere over men domination (Boesen, et al, 1977; 141).

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

Equally the private media no longer economically and politically survived in regards of oligarchy ownership; such as the transfer of Ngurumo newspaper was uneven after being sold out to Habari Printer Co-operative Society Ltd. from Thakers Ltd. ultimately its publication and content excellence deteriorated and finally gone on November 30th 1976 (Konde 1984; 41 - 43). Private Journalists were vulnerable to the socialist media economic policies in companied with draconian laws. Some more cases including; The private Ulimwengu paper disappeared soon after Arusha declaration subsequent the arrest of its publishers when the paper attempted to criticize Mwalimu concerning his socialist policies (Mytton 1983;104). The other editor of Catholic partisan newspaper Kiongozi was detained and charged after publishing an article claiming the high number of impregnate young girls during the national services (Wilcox 1982; 865). The ethnic print media like of Asians' Gujerati in Zanzibar vanished in 1968 while their proprietors

fled the country after dropping the economic means on account of nationalization codes of the Arusha Declaration (Hamdani et al 2014). Again, the weekly Africa Baraza (The African Council) which started in March 1987 was seized by the police after the first copy released following its critical article recounting over the governments of the first and second Presidents of Tanzania and finally wiped out (Hachten 1993; 38).

The consequences of Arusha Declaration spurred the massive nationalization of commercial firms across the country which had undesirable impressions to the provision of independent press in 1969. The government was mindful on the media power on shaping the public opinions and globally portrayal of the nation. What was a vibrant alternative, TANU successfully launched an English newspaper 'The Nationalist' in April 1964 just few months after the United Republic of Tanzania came into being (the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar), for spreading the socialist policies to abroad. Further to this, Nyerere nationalized the colonial inherited English newspaper the 'Tanganyika Standard' which was privately owned by the London-based Lonrho Company, later renamed 'Standard Tanzania' and its sister 'Sunday News' remained the same name, they were both assigned to Ujamaa policies and ideology depiction². Nationalization scheme of information involved oligopoly of national and foreign news gathering and distribution through Tanzania News Agency (Shirika la Habari Tanzania - SHIHATA). This agency was the only news institution and legally empowered to nurse the Tanzania Mainland media all sort of local and international news, so far monopoly of news contents continued since all media were indulged to utilize news substances by SHIHATA (Kivikuru 1990; 293).

3.2 Centralization Typology on Shrinking the Media Landscape

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

² Tanzanian Affairs, Newspapers and Censorship; <https://www.tzaffairs.org/1990/09/newspapers-and-censorship/>

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

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

Ellul (1968) asserts about many postcolonial African nations, inclined to set press into manipulative weapons on incitement vis-à-vis nation-building (p. 75). Government would by any means pay exertions over media to cement passivity of mass audiences for internalizing public knowledge in affirmative face of ruling elites as heroes. Hence TBC was renamed Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam RTD in 1965 to drive in the Ujamaa ethos in order to mechanize the popular nationals on curtailing the poverty,

disease and illiteracy as basic national enemy. While on the isles; the broadcasting radio was so far renamed 'Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar' in 1970 from 'Sauti ya Uguja' (Hamdani, 1992). Likewise to the press sector, it was in 1964 after the Revolution the de facto Government's ownership monopoly on the Zanzibar print media commenced following the turning out to the one-party state, it resulted the termination of a number of the partisan newspapers ever existed during struggling for the national liberation. Supplementary, the national broadcasting policy was redefined in 1967 during the Arusha declaration to cope with interpretation of the policies and ideologies of Ujamaa, whereby mass communication identified as distinctive appliance to internalize the socialist and communal values to the countrywide citizens..

4. MEDIA REGULATORY MECHANISM: INTERNALIZING UJAMAA IDEOLOGY

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

4.1 Politicization of Journalism

Politicization of Tanzanian media since the commencement of the Ujamaa epoch was indispensable for the government in devising the public opinions. The mass media was ample platform to arrange for political education through centralized newspapers and monopolized broadcasting model on the self-reliance policies of collective productions along communal works. According to Condon (1967) during Ujamaa the social life was typically overlooked of even the public figures in favor of mobilizing nationalist messages throughout the Tanzania daily journalism. News contents were abundantly politicized in praising the political leaders to large extent while the social discourse of a kind that "*any photographs or stories about weddings, engagements, baptisms, 'sundowners' or dinner parties*" were entirely discounted (Condon, 1967; 352). On account of the politicization propensity, poetry evolved to the peak among popular objects of newspaper columns, featuring political outlooks of the prominent national figures and party accomplishments (ibid.). However, the situation in Zanzibar was rather astonishing as of 1970s, President Aboud Jumbe halted the attempt by some party cadres to arbitrate the Radio programming afore their political interests (Karama 199; 11).

Subsequent to the four RTD channels, the further determination was deliberated to expose Ujamaa abroad on account of the monopoly media structure, whereby the External Service channel was supplementary politicized and assigned to represent the image of Tanzania socialism to overseas. This channel suited a spirited forum for backing other African nations in access of their liberations; it also secured high listenership from Tanzania's English-speaking minority. Various programs were also aired in foreign languages; Afrikaans, English, French, Herero, Ndebele, Nyanja, Ovambo, Portuguese, and Shona, these languages regularly materialized to the provision of independence struggle in Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (now Malawi), South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) (Mwaffisi, 1985; 91). On the other hand of print media, Nnoli (1972) affirms about the Tanzanian media role vis-à-vis backing the government foreign policies where newspapers were commonly carrying provocative contents and vaguely publishing to embody the constructive aspect of regime on the international sphere. As an effect of broadcasting partisanship, the Commercial Service station was subsequently ineffective advertising podium after turned into politically honored in socialist character through the parameter of new broadcasting policies, together with the collapse of East Africa Community that led further deterioration of outdoor advertisers particularly those who were in Nairobi (Mwaffisi, 1985; 21).

Hopkins (1971) posits the historical affiliation of government missions and political rules especially after 1964 in which civil servants were obliged of being ruling party cadres. In the course of the daily institutional routines ideological division emerged between the two bodies and wouldn't assure the last long collaborations (Hopkins, 1971). According to him the class conflict emerged amid the Institutional actors (government bureaucrats) who rely on obedience of economic principles in proportion to Marxist communism while moral actors (party leaders) had been ordering the ethical interest in view of political identity of Ujamaa in the face of public performance.

Boesen et al. (1977) assert on the ideology divide amongst two institutions; unlike the government, the party cadres regularly viewed Ujamaa is all about communalism instead being a transformative step toward socialism (p. 152). Hence media were not immune from the ideological variances of two systems. Notably The government's 'Standard Tanzania' and the party's 'The Nationalist' turned out into the conflicting platforms (Sturmer, 2008). For *The Standard* paper served the complete Marxists-Leninist - communism doctrines as proponent to social democrat based on western point of view. South African managing Editor Frene Gwinala had managed to project a stage for Marxists-Leninist discussion on *The Standard*. While the party Nationalist paper was in favor of the identical Ujamaa

ideology, as it momentarily after Arusha declaration was publishing some Questions and Answers column concerning Ujamaa policies and ideology (Aminzade, 2013). Nonetheless, the contradictory discussion on Marxist-Leninist was eliminated just after the merge of this two government and parts newspapers into the *Daily News* on April 26th 1972 (Sturmer, 2008; pl). However, through nationalization and centralization of Ujamaa paradigm, this merge couldn't gratify the party's prospect, the paper quality and editorial standards declined, consequently *Mzalendo* was issued on April 30th 1972, a Sunday edition of *Uhuru* (Barton 1979; 123). However, there was noble cooperation between government and party officials on international affairs like of South African deliberation movement (Hopkins, 1971; 76). Tanzanian foreign policies were straight to endure national and social self-reliance values, as of the withdrawal of West German support from fertilizer factory and the severe diplomatic relations with Great Britain after the Nyerere's recurrent attempt of backing other African countries toward their liberations like Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) (Ravenhill, 1986; 251).

4.2 Localization of Mass Media

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

In addition to that, Tanzania attempted to decentralize the government newspaper by fixing the administrative and news correspondents in some major cities of the country. This step furthered the quantity of news stories from other

regions like Mwanza, Arusha and Dodoma apart of Dar es Salaam (ibid.). The decentralization policy for broadcasting evolved in 1981, commencing the integrated schemes of socialist and localization from 1971 to 1980, namely *recording a safari* which was aimed to standardize the information access with the rural populations. During the course of *recording safaris* RTD intended to manage diverse broadcasting centers seven zone; in Arusha, Dodoma, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mwanza, and Songea for aggregating the productions of the local content based programs (Stumer, 2008; 133). However, the division of classes was persistently salient; for the urban inhabitants entertained a good number of news sources afore rural, while government and party officials override the daily programs than social based reports (Kivikuru, 1987; 65). This is due to the inherent centralization prototype of Ujamaa government which had created the audience passivity and information divide between the rural and urban as utterly communication infrastructures were set in the capital city (Moemeka, 1989; 16). Hence, the rural mass populations were ostensibly underestimated with their specifications whereby media personnel had command on designing message contents on behalf of the government and party's strategies. Because of such politicization, mass media recurrently played down the rural essentials with respect to urban based news sources, unless the national figures had paid visit to rural or weighty party-political occasions took place over there, then the village would receive abundant coverage on media for such particular period. In 1960s Dar es Salaam comprised the half newspapers market in which 40 % of its populations had access of daily and read a paper (Mwaffisi, 1985).

The deficient patronage for the local press by government was among the reason steered to the death of many publications and failed to streamline the information divide in the country. Nevertheless, in his Comparative Analysis study about the Mass Media Systems of Kenya and Tanzania Ogunade (1966) points out that unlike Kenya, Tanzania's communication problems are characterized with scattered, un-urbanized populations which widen the rural-urban boundary of public information (p. 104). Whereas Kenya has potential of covering certainly its populations owing to the geographically concentrated in the capital Nairobi. However, Tanzania is prospective of concurrent comprehensive messages owing to common use and sympathetic of the national language, Swahili, while Kenya doesn't generally utilize it (ibid.).

4.3 Media Content Regulation

The transition of Monopolized media ownership was trendy structural designation expending ideological content to impart socialist values to the extensive Tanzanians. In a little while after independence 1961, the print media was vulnerable addicted to exhorting propensity, commonly induced the mass audiences' optimistic contemplation on the

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

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

Besides, Rioba (2008) postulates about the first information policy (1970) which acted under the precedent descriptive, the central application of the policy was on the socialist values and its internalization of public knowledge (p. 27). The media was sorted out to the social cohesion and political orders of the single party. Such of generating socialist dialogues, government party, individual sovereignty, nationalism, universal primary education

through mass communication were regularly acknowledged in the eyes of Ujamaa (ibid.). Although, the policy ostensibly called for the extensive freedom of information, the overall practice of media was rather defending the system, and ownership was restricted to certain conditions. Moreover, in 1960s and 1970s Media personnel were measurably instructed Ujamaa knowledge along professional journalistic education and frequent seminars were conducted throughout the country, with the purpose to embody media to play a significant character on conveying relevant messages to the popular Tanzanians over self-reliance and independence as well as to contend with the national policy of socialism (Rioba, 2012; 29). Although, competent journalists were skeptical on existed ownership configuration upon their professionalism and code of ethics. It was too abortive impressions giving to the CCM branches' endorsement a number of media workers prior to college enrolment, whereby they had already become active political party members while performing their daily journalistic duties, along with presence of unprofessional journalists was so far incredible (Kilimwiko, et al. 1982).

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

However, after Arusha declaration the methodological and contents switched primarily to agricultural knowledges respecting self-reliance polies of economy instead of the previous general subjects. Besides, the media content on internalizing ethos of Ujamaa was vivid through Villagization process intended for rural development by means of common expression Ujamaa Vijini, some of media content were initiated to appeal villagers into communal life

and agricultural works. The program like 'Man is Health Campaign' (Mtu ni Afya) in 1973 educated the mass rural dwellers on their health care and protecting environment, while Chakula Ni Uhai (Food is Life) program was aired after Food shortages hit the nation in 1973 and 1974, it was successful mass mobilization for boosting rich cultivation and crop management among peasants (Moshiro, 1993; 27). Consistent with Stummer (2008) that at the beginning of 1980s the RTD national services channel was typically conquered with economic and political news and educational program like „Majira” (Time), „Give Me News”, Ana kwa Ana” (Face to Face), „News and Music”, Ujamaa na Kujitegemea“ , „Mbiu za Mikoa” (Regional Information), „Ujamaa Leo” (Socialism Today), „Fimbo ya Mnyonge” (Stummer, 2008;).

Besides, the Commercial Service became dominant to the young Tanzanians, listening the American and European pop favorites, after the foreign music programs being moved from The National Service in 1975 and remained the sufficient platform for local cultures promotion (Wakati, 1984). Another incident that can highlight the provision of politically manipulated content of media during the mono party system is the Kagera War in 1978. Tanzania media played excessive part of setting the agenda to the public on perceiving the Uganda government of Iddi Amini regime. Persuasive vocabularies like the 'snake', 'nduli' were frequently used on the RTD and newspapers to accomplish the propaganda purposes for mass support against the war. The top government and party leaders' speeches including Nyerere and E. Sokoine were repeatedly edited to burden and create fear among the public so that to get involved in the ways (Moshiro, 1990; 33). Ultimately, the massive campaigns grew into efficacious for the people to volunteer to the warfare; reactions by several young people, were immediately employed and deployed to the warzone, while other families voluntary gave out what they possessed like cows and food crops to feed the armies headed for the battle fields. Therefore, Ujamaa policies managed to adjust the media content as per consequences, whereby media outlooks changed soon just after country's transformation to liberalism and multiparty system, as of schools services program which was said to be prosperous disappeared in 1993.

5. TOWARD DEMOCRATIC JOURNALISM

After 30 years of Tanzanian post-colonial rule attached to the "Ujamaa" framework, the state embarked on a novel dimension of political and economic pluralism and liberalization. The Tanzania's socialist ideology (Ujamaa) declined due to the global political changes of the 1980's that led to the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and the end of Communism ideologies in Eastern Europe. In consort with the national economic crisis of 1970s which was linked to the over centralized economy structure, this situation

prompted the state into market economic adjustment which was in line with the IMF/WB schemes. Remarkably, this endorsed the embryonic structural transformation with nascent media system. The local (workers and civil societies) and international (donors and financial institutions) strained in the late 1980s, along the political and economic reforms across the African countries, it also entrenched the media system into comprehensive operating environment (Moehler & Singh, 2011; 277). Such deliberations comprised the critical burdens vis-à-vis the transfer of central economy and one party-political system towards liberal democratic and macro-economic conversions, hence suited professed mechanism that catered into the entire sociopolitical needs and aspirations across the continent. Tanzania was not immune to this crusade, whereby the quest for modern liberation traced on the changing of public opinion concerning the constitutions of the United Republic and which of Zanzibar from 1980s, attributable to set up the nation around nascent egalitarian culture (Rioba, 2012; 15). The critical public debates through official and spontaneous platforms were systematized by local intellectuals, by which Tanzanians responsively expressed their discomposure over oligarchy on politics and decision making under one-party regime which ensued the social disparity.

5.1 Is Ujamaa Utopian?

According to Nyerere (1968) the preliminary initiatives of Ujamaa ethos manifested on establishing the communal works essentially athwart agricultural productivities among peasants of rural population in Tanzania. Indicating to the reinforcing the economic self-dependence in respect of marginal communities' sovereignty (Nyerere, 1968: 17). As in his conception of Villagisation paradigm which fashioned the burden movement with the platform of socialization among the rural communities in which the government commenced to facilitate with agricultural equipment, fertilizers, formal education and other materials to the nucleated populations at 'development' villages or 'planned' villages. People were encouraged to form cooperative groups of land farms around a shared provision centers where government would expedite self-commitment with social services. Different data signify that Social villages were gradually created in the 1960s for 800 collective settlements, whereby unevenly 80, 000 villages by 1976 (Schneider , 2014) equivalent to 13 million Tanzanians, likely 90% of the rural residents had been relocated into villages by 1976 (Lappé and Beccar-Varela 1980: 99). What is more, self-reliance stands for abandoning the global capitalism in place of local dependence, utilizing internal resources, through education and other economic sectors so that to rationalize national economic independence (Nyerere, 1968; 8).

Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003) view that the Nyerere's Ujamaa was quite Utopian than revolutionary that could not

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

In due course of paradox mechanisms and typically of top down approach of communication (deficient consultation with publics); local producers were more passive to the government rather than to be ultimate self-reliant as per Ujamaa presumption. To this point, government abundantly used aid as incentives and at last initiative was considered as peasantry preference, for these factors by 1975 villagization scheme proved disastrous (Boesen, et al. 1977; 68). The local party cadres dictated the entire political and social sphere which then resulted to urbanization attributable to the limited rural freedom among the occupants (Lorgen, 1999; 19). As long as the government media could not fulfill the quest for two-way communication where people would get aware on their initiatives up to implementation through credible public information. Nevertheless, unlike other African countries like Mozambique and Ethiopia Nyerere's Ujamaa - Afrocentric socialist model, is rather revolutionary in term of social prosperity, the provision of social facilities; social equality and harmony among ethnic groups with national identity and political stability (Legum and Mmari, eds., 1995; Pratt, 1999; Ishemo, 2000) and remarkable successes in literacy and primary education in the 1970s (Coulson 1982; 76).

Above and beyond, after long reluctance on the global capitalism economy athwart IMF/WB which Nyerere used to connote "International Ministry of Finance," for decades, his Ujamaa prototype couldn't last long survive after the world

economic crisis in 1980s and cash crops price changes in the world market (Bryceson, 1990;56). Therefore, Tanzania embarked to economic reform scheme along the global financial organizations guidelines i.e IMF/WB. The market economy oriented got entrance into Tanzania in place of socialist spectrum thanks to the macro-economic transformations. Subsequently, Media sector gradually embarked to structural adjustment and liberalization, wherein the private sector came across the industry; the first notable private company was *Business Times* in 1988 which primarily focused on economic and political news. Later on, abundant number of press proliferated, amounted 180 publications in 1991 from 119 print media in 1986. In consistent with global political reforms as of falling the world communist and socialist systems commenced Eastern Europe, media regulations turned into the new era of liberalism. To Rioba (2012) Tanzania boarded to the global transformation in political pluralism, through this so called *Mageuzi* where media would enjoy mutual functioning, in place of freedom and fostering open discourse of public discussion. Journalists were so eager to put up with nascent environment which also triggered their collaboration among private and public media (p. 6).

5.2 The Nascent Dimensions of Mass Media–1990s

By 1980's, the few privately owned media played pivotal role of sensitizing the public and provision of dynamic contemplations with reference to the sociopolitical alterations, their contents were regularly themed exposing the political misconducts such as corruption, theft, tax evasion and exemptions etc. (ibid; 30). Likewise, journalists accustomed themselves with country's status quos of vibrant public information, signifying the embryonic media functioning keen on the evolving democratic culture. This however, implicates that the journalists' collaborative endeavors on forging the common consensus along public and private media houses, as of Press workshop which took place on June 25th 1990 in Dar es Salaam, arranged by the Tanzania Standard (Newspaper) Ltd (Stumer, 2008; 171). This occasion effectively brushed out the patent ideological track amid private and government journalists, which in due course would streamline their imminent professional accomplishment as per the then ongoing promising wind of political stance. Nonetheless, the provision of one-party political dominations could not grant media to comply with a momentous social obligation such as setting agenda on the sociopolitical phenomenon in the basis of earnest current affairs. Due to the endowment of inimical constitutional foundation and various draconian media legislations, commonly holdup the media's politically commitment. Accordingly, journalists might be very mindful on their artificial joint movement to supplement the emerging civic deliberation on the road to flourish the informed citizenry in manifestation of press freedom.

Curiously, the stirring media posture was manured in the beginning of 1990s when the second Tanzanian postcolonial president Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who succeeded the first president Nyerere in 1985, formed a presidential Commission headed by Chief Justice Francis Nyalali aimed at restructuring the political system in keeping with citizens' ideas. The commission came up with valuable allusion to the healthy democracy being, counting independent media backgrounds by depression of freedom of information, along with legal pursuit for completion of rule of law, human rights, free and fair elections (Rioba, 2012; 15). Although the commission ended up with over 77% defendants who preferred the perpetuation with constitution of a one-party system, the former president Julius Nyerere – who was the static chairman of the ruling party called the Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi "CCM") – instructed Tanzanians to ponder "signs of the time" and related consequences which, according to him was indispensable to adopt. Thus, on July 1992 the political adjustment by the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania steered the state's adherence on multiparty system, just in the same year over six political parties came into functioning (cf. *ibid.*). This step was earmarked as an ultimate transformative prototype that would cement an inspiring contextual media environment to display the nascent setting and dimension towards a comprehensive social obligation. The miscellaneous actors' immersion in journalism was vivid and thrived the ownership structures from government monopoly to the diverse family owned, professional joint powers like Habari Corporation Limited), business personalities example Mwananchi Communications Limited - MCL, Independent Television - ITV and business people cum politician like Business Times Limited – BTL (MCT, 2013a; 4).

Rioba (2012) affirms that the initial transformation of media industry in Tanzania can be simply traced in the scope of neoliberal economic environment in respect of evolving ownership configurations, multiplicity of media outlets, technological influences in term of news gathering and diffusion along with consumers' utility (p. 30). Conversely, the dramatic alterations are rather quantitative than qualitative, a mass of media outlets grew rapidly from just 5 newspapers in 1990 to more than 814 registered newspapers by July 2014, while 128 radio and television stations were registered by 2013 and over 25 cable television operators available in Tanzania (MCT, 2015; 49). Likewise, over 50 radio frequencies on the Islands had been issued by Zanzibar Broadcasting Commission (*ibid.*). This media landscape takes account of broadcasting stations licensed to operate nationally, regionally, district-level and several community-based in the structure of commercial based and non-commercial broadcasts. Whilst, in 1990s the journalism progression tended to be both quantitative and quite qualitative for growing of an abundant number of training institutions in which professional journalists proliferated so

far. On top of that there was a nascent and diverse media contents revealing alternative ideas on account of the changing ideological stances in the basis of economic liberalization and political pluralism derived from multiple ownerships, in consistent with commercial and political motives of respective media houses. Unlike post-independence epoch where Tanzanian media were plentifully used to mobilize the sole government typology of socialist ideology (Kivikuru, 2016; 88), the structural shift of ownership liberated the media industry into a variety of media outlet namely newspapers, FM stations, and television stations, carrying compound subjects to the extensive reach of audiences across the country whereby government oligarchy no longer survived. Professionalism emerged to speed up the paradigm transformation from the government control to the institutional and professional preoccupation, covering the multiple outlets under journalists' own mechanism as the case of Habari Corporation Limited which was established and run by journalists themselves, and a media self-regulatory board (Media Council of Tanzania), meant for assuring the professional conducts as well as overseeing the entire industry counter to external intrusion.

5.3 The Press Boom and Collapse of Government Broadcasting Oligarchy

The Tanzanian constitutional amendment towards multi-party democracy and economic liberalization simplified the provision of private sector in the communication industry into rich intellectual capacity of national liberal democracy. The new constitution put forward a legal basis which attracted various players to take part in pursuing their assorted objectives in the marketplace. The legal framework commenced with the Broadcasting Services Act of 1993 which destabilized the government broadcast monopoly, whereby private individuals would fill up the public information gap which had been deliberated from the limited public reach of broadcasting radio, for certain areas and topics were overlooked when deemed contrary to socialist policy. Ultimately, the legislative measure transformed the broadcasting ownership structure from five state owned channels by Radio Tanzania Dar es salaam – (RTD), to the multiple owners - a quantity of private stations. Before media liberalization, RTD esteemed the vital proportion on local and foreign source of news, fortifying the mass audiences over other existed media namely newspapers/Magazines (Stumer, 2008; 187). Yet, such distinctive public access of radio solidifies the dominant culture of media access and uses in Africa that radio sector persists as a major source in massive mobilizing the citizenry and social deliberation across the communities. The private FM radio stations in the 1990s proliferated promptly across African countries on account of the ample players who acknowledged the potentiality of this medium as a vital tool to propagate their classified goals and agendas (Moehler & Singh, 2011; 2).

Successively, the Broadcasting Services Act of 1993 fragmented the RTD audiences behind the diverse private radio stations regarding miscellaneous ordinations, captured the radio market ascendancy in the country from government solitary. For instance, the escalation of religious radios succeeded to extract niche listeners who were gorgeous through RTD religious programs. These partisan radios underwent with mixed approach of programming in news and current affairs on sociopolitical aspects with stern emphasis on genuine religious programs. The diversified method was strategic whereby listeners could stay long listening other informational, educational and developmental programs even after the basic religious had terminated in the same station. Besides, young listeners shifted to the lately privately owned radio example Radio One which was inaugurated in 1994, they utilized the prevalent program like pop music deeming to meet their tastes and aspirations (Stumer, 2008; 188). During the outset of transformation, the newly broadcast stations favored conventional journalism and entertainment programming, instead of critical and political depiction. However, on account of niche market demand, later on the evolved ownership strived to restructure the broadcasting modality (Moehler & Singh, 2011; 2).

As a result of the multiparty system and economic liberalization, the deterioration of SHIHATA underpinned the death of government oligarchy in the pluralistic media environment. The challenges to SHIHATA survival evolved on the scope of structural, institutional and economic outlooks. It was under government plan to reinforce the Tanzania Information Services over it, owing to the severe financial ailment after seizure of local media consumption and by reason of the split-out of foreign news agencies, along with abundant turnover of SHIHATA's experienced journalists to the newly private media corporations, seeking for adequate wages and remunerations, hence, the figure of its employees dropped from 500 in 1976 to 120 (Stumer, 2008; 164). On the other hand, the government owned radio RTD was enthusiastic in the competition emerged around the airwave liberalization, it managed to utilize the four established channels with decentralized methodology in the major cities, to overcome the lost share of audiences patterns in the market places, since the Dar es Salaam had become the basis for the intensifying large volume of broadcast stations. As time went on, Dar es Salaam became a trivial center for RTD, likewise, several private radio stations were set up in the different regions of Tanzania in competing with the government decentralized modality. Since then the number of radios dramatically increased in which Dar es Salaam was fueled hitherto with frequency spectrum.

Nonetheless, the mushrooming of media in case of institutional structural shift by means of ownership, could not grant a vibrant picture in scrutinizing the elegant transformation of media industry without analyzing the content, quality, distribution in line with daily undertakings.

To that point, there was a great concern that private media would not defy the established state-owned media, for the reason that the established authority in Tanzania was very concern about the private media power on challenging the prevailing system. Therefore, legislative means was identical to regulate this newly puzzling media clusters as asserted by the then Minister of Information and Tourism that such private proprietors are "a group of wealthy people who could use it as a shop for business" to mean, they used to manipulate the communities in respect of maximizing their identical interests (MCT, 2013a; 4).

For the scrutiny of pluralistic media environment in Tanzania, the broadcasting media cannot merely illustrate the transformative characters of journalism without tracing the press in Tanzania, which so far indicates outstanding quantitative alterations. Even in the course of socialist regime, Newspaper industry had ample attempt to conquest the monopoly of state owned media structure. Due to the meagerness of Ujamaa political economy, a number of documented papers such as Ulimwengu, Asians' Gujarati in Zanzibar and the weekly Africa Baraza (The African Council) among others left uncertainly as a result of the deficiency of legal framework along with economic and political features especially after Arusha declaration (1967), which destabilized press prosperity. Whilst, on account of the flourish of trade liberalization policy by the end of 1980s, the privately owned Business Times was the first private publication company trendy the liberalized economy system which emerged to challenge the government oligarchy of media system. Such publication mostly published news stories and analytic articles on economic affairs and timidly edited about political sphere. In view of apathetic legal background which merely favored the established public media, private owners regularly conceived course of action in the basis of entertainment format, in so much that censorship and irresponsible journalism among newspapers prevailed (Tegambwage 1990; 35).

By 1987, Business Time publications was launched and joined the industry. It was an eccentric disclosure for private press tending to confront the status quo. Accordingly, in 1990s a number of business, political, religious companies and several individuals thrived to embark on the state's transformation on the press sector. These owners coped to establish a diversity of publications in order to illuminate identical undertakings as their own policies and styles. Just momentarily, a quantity of registered dailies newspapers and other periodicals grew from 119 in 1986 to over 180 papers in 1991, which reached 251 in 1994 and ultimately over 323 in 1996 registered publications (Sturmer, 2008; 178). Multiple proprietors from different backgrounds initiated such papers, targeting to serve concurrent populations, whereby the common sphere of economic and sociopolitical topics were comprised in respect of the inclusive platform of citizenry. However, the political concentration grew into

foremost motive for press booming in Tanzania, while such tendency is inhabited to date for a paramount of press owners having decent background from politics, in which the primary interest remained to facilitate political arena (Kilimwiko, 2009; 2). Hitherto election has grown into persistent intensification of press consumptions, commencing the general election in October 1995 about 45 periodicals were considerably recorded in the press directory (cf. Rioba 1996; 10).

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

Furthermore, due to the poor infrastructure in some regions, the urban-rural information gap persisted; some regions didn't receive newspapers on time, they received even after two or three days. Apart from geographical setup, like in many other parts of Africa, press industry in Tanzania is also limited with low consumption among the communities, whom may not afford the set newspaper price, on account of the high running costs for publications. The moderate illiteracy rate among the nationals, especially of rural areas where a critical number of unschooled inhabitants resides also primes the media market to be occupied by radio through public access of information behind press industry.

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

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