

**AN ASSESSMENT OF PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE ON CIVIC AND
VOTERS EDUCATION TOWARDS 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN
TANZANIA: A CASE OF MWANANCHI AND HABARILEO NEWSPAPERS**

BANTULAKI CHRISTOPHER BILANGO

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN MASS
COMMUNICATION OF THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA**

2017

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that the supervisor of this study has gone through the whole work and gives her recommendations for acceptance by The Open University of Tanzania a dissertation titled: **“An Assessment of Print Media Coravage on Civic and Voters Education Towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania: A Case of Mwananchi and HabariLeo”** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Mass Communication of The Open University of Tanzania.

.....

Dr. Jacqueline Bundala
(Supervisor)

.....

Date

COPYRIGHT

No any part of this dissertation shall, by any means, be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form being electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior permission of the author or The Open University of Tanzania on that behalf.

DECLARATION

I, Bantulaki Christopher Bilango, do hereby declare that, this Dissertation is my own work and that it has never been submitted anywhere by any person in either a whole or part of it for the Master of Arts in Mass Communication Degree or in any other field or award related to this study.

.....

Signature

.....

Date

DEDICATION

To my whole family especially my beloved wife, Jawa Augustino Mlowoka, and my three wonderful children - Cynthia, Arnold and Jackline - who sometime missed the fatherly love when I was forced to stay away from them when concentrating on my degree programme.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This Dissertation, which is one of the fulfilments of the course requirements of Masters of Arts in Mass Communication Degree, would not have been complete without the support and assistance of many individuals. Though I cannot mention them all, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all of them for the support, which has culminated into the realization of my research.

Thus, I wish to extend my heartfelt and sincere gratitudes to the Almighty God for His blessings that enabled my efforts during this tireless work of pursuing the course and preparation of this dissertation. I fully and heartedly praise the Lord, Amen.

I am specifically indebted to my major supervisor, Dr. Jacqueline Bundara, at The Open University of Tanzania (OUT), Dar es Salaam Campus, for her expert guidance and encouragement from the beginning of the dissertation up to its end. Though she had an awful lot to do regarding other Universty's engagements at the college, Dr. Bundara devoted her precious time to render insightful and enthusiastic support for her study. I cannot forget other teaching staff of the college for their insatiable endeavour to impart academic knowledge and other skills to all other students at the college.

I also wish to acknowledge the encouragement, support, insistence, consolation and sincere affection from my beloved wife, Jawa Augustine Mlowoka, she had shown me throughout my study at the University, also to my sister Methodia

Muzale Simbeye, nephews Patrick Simbeye and Jesse Katunzi for their moral and material support and other academicians in the related disciplines.

I would like also to extend my special thanks to my employer, the Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) particularly the Managing Editor, Dr. Jim Yonazi, for giving me the permission to carry out the study at the company, and also specifically employees for their cooperation at the stage of data collection and compilation of the final report without forgetting all respondents from various print media especially Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), National Electoral Commission (NEC), Mwananchi Communications Limited (MCL) and Tanzania Standard Newspapers (TSN) Limited.

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the Print Media Coverage on Civic and Voters Education towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania: The case study of HabariLeo and Mwananchi. It was carried out by using news articles, editorials, features and cartoons. Also the assessment was used to find out if Habarileo and Mwananchi newspapers linked the voters to resourceful people who could give them civic and voters education. The study was to examine if Habarileo and Mwananchi newspapers created awareness to voters on civic and voters education. The study adopted a case study research design which focused on cross-sectional descriptive approach. Both purposive and random sampling techniques were applied whereby 100 respondents were selected from various groups who were interviewed by using questionnaires and also content analysis of the selected two mentioned newspapers. Data collected were qualitatively analyzed by using SPSS and excel, respectively. It was finally revealed from the study that print media and its expertise should give more space of educative materials concerning civic and voters education. The research results established that people have no enough knowledge about civic and voters education and print media is one of useful platform for education provision. This study suggests of civic and voter education to all levels of communities to create awareness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATION	ii
COPYRIGHT	iii
DECLARATION	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
ABSTRACT	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem	9
1.4 Research Objectives	10
1.4.1 Main Objective	10
1.4.2 Specific Objectives.....	10
1.4.3 Research Questions	10
1.5 Significance of the Study	11
1.6 The Scope of the Study	11
1.7 Limitation of the Study	11
1.8 The Delimitation of the Study.....	11
1.9 Definition of Terms.....	12

1.9.1	Voter Education.....	12
1.9.2	Civic Education	12
1.9.3	Multi-party System.....	12
1.9.4	Democracy	13
1.9.5	Print Media.....	13
1.9.6	Newspapers	13
CHAPTER TWO		14
2.0	LITERATURE REVIEW.....	14
2.1	Introduction	14
2.2	Theoretical Framework	14
2.3	Theoretical Literature Review.....	15
2.4	Emperical Literature Review	16
2.5	Knowledge Gap.....	17
2.6	Summary of the Chapter	18
CHAPTER THREE		19
3.0	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	19
3.1	Introduction	19
3.2	Research Design.....	19
3.3	Area of the Study	20
3.4	Population of the Study.....	21
3.4.1	Newspapers Profiles.....	22
3.5	Sample Size and Sampling Techniques	24
3.6	Data Collection Methods.....	26
3.6.1	Data Collection Techniques	26

3.6.2	Questionnaires.....	26
3.7	Data Analysis and Presentation.....	27
3.7.1	Units of Analysis.....	27
3.8	Validity and Reliability.....	27
3.9	Ethical Considerations.....	28
	CHAPTER FOUR.....	29
4.0	DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....	29
4.1	Introduction.....	29
4.2	Characteristics of Respondents.....	29
4.2.1	Analysis of all Respondents.....	29
4.2.2	Age of Respondents.....	30
4.2.3	Sex of Respondents.....	31
4.2.4	Education Level of Respondents.....	32
4.3	Coverage of Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers on Civic and Voter Education towards the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania.....	33
4.3.1	Editorials.....	33
4.3.2	News Stories.....	34
4.3.3	Feature Articles.....	35
4.3.4	Cartoons.....	36
4.4	The Role of Mwananchi and HabariLeo in linking Resourceful People on Civic and Voter Education towards the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania.....	38
4.4.1	Features from Resourceful People Published by Mwananchi/Habarileo May to July 2015.....	38

4.4.2	Respondents Opinion about Features from Resourceful People Published by Mwananchi/HabariLeo May to July 2015	39
4.4.3	Editors and Journalists of Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers On liking People Knowledgeed on Civic and Voters Education	40
4.4.4	MCT Officers’ Responses on Civic and Voter Education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers.....	40
4.4.5	NEC officers’ Contribution on Civic and Voter Education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers towards 2015 General Elections ...	40
4.5	Level of Awareness of voters on civic and voters education provided by Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers towards the 2015 general elections	40
4.5.1	Respondents Suggestions to the Media House on the Future Elections	41
CHAPTER FIVE.....		43
5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....		43
5.1	Introduction	43
5.2	Summary	43
5.3	Conclusion	44
5.4	Recommendations	45
5.5	Recommendation For Further Studies	46
REFERENCES		47
APPENDICES		50

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Distribution of Key Informants and Voters	30
Table: 4.2: Showing Education Level of Respondents	32
Table: 4.3: News Stories Published by Mwananchi and Habarileo from May to July 2015.....	35
Table: 4.4: Features from Resourceful People Published by Mwananchi/ Habarileo May to July 2015	39
Table: 4.5: Respondents Responces on Space Given by Mwananchi and HabariLeo to Resourceful People	39
Table: 4.6: Level of Awareness on Civic and Voters' Education Created by Newspapers	41
Table: 4.7: Respondents Suggestions to the Media House on the Future Elections.....	42

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Existing Organisation Structure of TSN.....	23
Figure: 4.1: Age of Respondents	30
Figure 4.2: Sex of Respondents.....	31
Figure. 4.3: Editorials published by Mwananchi and Habarileo May to July 2015 .	34
Figure. 4.4: Features published by Mwananchi and HabariLeo May to July 2015 .	36
Figure: 4.5: Cartoon published by Mwananchi and Habarileo May to July 2015 ...	37

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACT-Wazalendo	Alliance for Change and Transparency-Wazalendo
ADC	Alliance for Democratic Change
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CHAUMA	Chama cha Ukombozi waUmma
CUF	Civic United Front
DC	District Commissioner
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IPP	Industrial Product Promotion
ITV	Independent Television
MCL	Mwananchi Communications Limited
MCT	Media Council of Tanzania
NCCR-Mageuzi:	National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageuzi
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NLD	National League for Democracy
PCCP	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
RC	Regional Commissioner
RTD	Redio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SA	South Africa
SHIHATA	Tanzania News Agency or Shirika la Habari Tanzania
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TIS	Tanzania Information Services

TSN	Tanzania Standard Newspapers
TVZ	Television Zanzibar
Ukawa	Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi Tanzania
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPDP	United Peoples' Democratic Party
USA	United States of America
ZBC	Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation
ZEC	Zanzibar Electral Commission

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces background, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, significant and scope of the study, limitation and delimitation of the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

Wide coverage in Tanzania started during multi-party system that began in the 1990s when the country was compelled to market economy and political pluralism.

Formally, the country depended on state-owned media including Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), now TBC One (television) and TBC Taifa (radio), Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN), publishers of Daily and Sunday Newspapers and recently Habarileo and SpotiLeo editions were added to the list, Tanzania Information Services (TIS) and the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA).

On the other hand, the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) had, and still has, Uhuru and Mzalendo newspapers. There was no state-owned television station in Mainland Tanzania. The other part of the Union, Zanzibar, has a radio - Sauti ya Zanzibar and Television Zanzibar (TVZ) (currently Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). There were also a few religious newspapers such as Kiongozi, owned by the Catholic Church (MCT, 2010).

After Tanzania has entered into plural politics and economic liberalization in 1992, the government allowed partnership with the private sector. It was from that point, private sector established electronic, as well as print media. The role of the government was reduced to maintain law and order. More private companies such as IPP Media Group were established introducing in the market the newspapers such as Nipashe and The Guardian and electronic media such as Radio One and Independent Television (ITV). Other established private media include Radio Free Africa and Star television and a tabloid Sayari newspaper; several other newspapers such as Business Times and Majira owned by Business Times Limited (BTL), Mwananchi, MwanaSipoti and Citizen owned by Mwananchi Communications Limited (MCL), just to mention but a few (MCT, 2010).

It is important that media be held accountable to the public in the discharge of their functions including voter and civic education. There is no way the profession can have public support unless it listens to readers/listeners/viewers (Bertrand, 2005).

During the elections, media is responsible to help the society through consideration of objectivity, credibility, impartiality and fairness in news collection, processing and reporting by informing the public on both, civil and voter education. This is attained through its role in educating, informing, entertaining as well as playing a watchdog assignment which is a vital ingredient in a democratic society (Mfumbusa 2008).

Worldwide, the nations like United States of America (USA) for instance, civic and voter education started in 1962 to 1968 when the Voter Education Project was raised

and distributed foundation funds to civil rights organizations for voter education and registration work in the South.

The project was federally endorsed by then American President, John F. Kennedy administration in hopes that the organizations of ongoing Civil Rights Movement would shift their focus away from demonstrations, (Booyesen and Masterson 2009).

This was due to the fact that, starting in 1960, the explosion of civil rights activists created a public relations and foreign policy embarrassment for President Kennedy administration. It was during that time, Asian and African nations were liberating themselves from generations of racist colonial rule, and both the US and Soviet Union were fiercely competing with each other in what was known as Cold War struggle for the support of these new nations, Kadima and Booyesen (2009).

The worldwide news stories, photos and television images of racist brutality, burning buses, and police suppression of black civil rights undercut the State Department's effort to convince Asian and African nations to align themselves with Free World camp in international affairs (Kadima and Booyesen 2009). Later on, many countries in their elections all over the world exercise the voter education for the preparation of voters before election.

In other countries in world, civic and voters education have been taken into account that people are prepared in order to make the elections fair and free. In India, for instance, decisions to introduce civic and voters education was to increase people's

participation in the electoral process got reflected in a range of policy initiatives, programs and activities. There were planned Information, Education and Communication (IEC) interventions in the Jharkhand elections of end of 2009 and subsequently carried forward in the form of Systematic Voters Education and Electoral Participation (SVEEP) in subsequent elections. The constitutional mandate of the ECI for 'Superintendence, Direction and Control' of elections contains the in-built high responsibility to have every eligible Indian on the electoral roll and get everyone on the electoral roll to voluntarily vote.

Several million voters not turning out at polling booths, election to election, and large number of eligible citizens were still missing from the electoral roll do not fetch credit to the great Indian democracy. Experience showed that even greater awareness did not necessarily get converted into greater participation. Question arose on how to improve or enhance the participation. The answer has been found in voters' education.

There is a gap between what the voters 'should know' and what they 'actually know' in important areas like registration, identity proofs, polling station location, timings of the poll, and others of alike such as use of money/ muscle power or inducements by some candidates or their associates to influence vulnerable sections of electorate. The knowledge needs had also to be addressed by election managers with a sense of urgency. Voters' education is not only the correct but also the most appropriate way to improve enlightened participation in a democracy compared to any other alternative.

In China, before considering involvement in Civic Education programs and prior to any program design, it was essential that country offices had a good understanding of Civic Education needs and what was being done to address these needs. That was done by undertaking a situation analysis. Key points taken to that analysis for Civic Education included:

- Recognize that effective Civic Education took time, especially in pre-conflict and post-conflict situations.
- Identify existing key actors that were promoting areas of civic knowledge, enhancing specific civic skills and inculcating civic disposition (e.g. government/state agencies; CSOs; the media; private sector groups; political parties; donors; resource organizations (in country or regionally) and others.
- Identify existing government policies/statements on Civic Education.
- Clarify the constitutional and/or legal framework within which Civic Education programming might take place and identify relevant treaty and legislative obligations assumed by the state.
- Map existing Civic Education provision by identifying thematic areas addressed, target groups (with particular attention given to mapping the needs of poorer groups within society), sectoral priorities (formal/informal), geographical scope, methodologies used, materials availability, partnerships and linkages, and the level of existing Civic Education capacity.

An outline of some of the key issues that should be addressed in carrying out a situation analysis, such as the need to map the communication and information needs of marginalized groups, is in existing organizational policy and practice.

In Africa, one of the problems associated with the democratic system of government was in the area of electoral procedures, which generated conflicts both in its pre and post-electoral activities. The very nature of the Nigerian society, for instance, with its multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious nature helped to prepare the grounds on which electoral conflicts seem to be thriving. In addition, the prevalence of poverty, greed and dishonest practices in the Nigerian society also tended to be responsible for electoral conflicts.

However, much was being done to curb the incidents of electoral conflicts. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) put civic and voters' education in place including rules regulations guiding elections and that was implemented by electoral officials. Also there were some efforts by the law enforcement agents that reduced conflicts during elections. In addition, reputable Nigerians, especially community and religious leaders, joined hands in appealing for restraint and calmness during elections.

The major cause of political conflict was the contest for elective offices. In many Third World countries, elective offices were seen as the shortest and surest ways to wealth and power. There was intensive struggle among politicians to win election and in that pursuit, no weapon was spared.

Since the main consequences of electoral violences in Nigeria was a political instability, it was, therefore, in order to prevent those conflicts and ensure peaceful environment to introduce civic and voters education.

South Africa, which was under apartheid, civic and voter educators worked throughout the country as one of educational communications campaign during their first democratic election (Rebehn 1999). In both the 1994, national elections, and the 1995 local government elections, a large part of state expenditure including donor funding was devoted to civic and voter education.

Kalu (1985) states: “Voter education in South Africa therefore became a key task. The intensive and extensive work amongst voters was the real building of democracy. For the first time, all South Africans were informed of their choices and given the opportunity to go out and make their choice. Mass voter education was instrumental in setting the climate for democratic participation”.

Kalu (1985) also points out that “the ordinary expectation from South African people was that the mass media focused on serious matters that portend serious consequences for them and their political choices”. Akpan (1985) asserts that the media in South Africa clarified issues during campaigns, bring aspirants close to the electorate, and teach the differences between party and candidate to enable the electorate made a wise choice.

It is from that angle, the research needs to find out if print media in Tanzania has done enough to its daily coverages about the voter education. This is due to the fact that print media covers a large area of the country whereas there is not even electricity to run media centres such as radio, television and other social media outlets.

Holli (2008) argues that the role of media in elections in Mexico, Turkey, Russia, and Kenya were the source of information especially during campaign to voting. In fact the print media has got much impact on electoral education as the political scientists who argue that media outlet can affect what viewers perceive as news worth and relevant (Grisby, 2009).

In Kenya, for instance, in its 2002 general elections, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) coordinated a multi-faceted voter education and training initiative that included community-based voter education, the monitoring of civic preparedness and the evaluation of pre-electoral environments with local observers. With support coming from many other organizations as well, the programmes demonstrated the popular commitment to open democratic processes at every level and reinforced the readiness for change and commitment to democracy among the Kenyan people, UNDP (2003). The elections were ultimately considered to be most free and fairest Kenya had held up to that point. But it was unlike during Kenyan 2007 general elections.

In the 2007 general elections, Kenya faced a big crisis politically, economically and humanitarian that erupted after incumbent President Mwai Kibaki was declared winner of the presidential election held on December 27, 2007. Supporters of Kibaki's opponent, Raila Odinga, who lead the Orange Democratic Movement, alleged electoral manipulation.

The violence in Kenya had serious economic ramifications throughout East Africa, particularly for the landlocked countries of the Great Lakes region (Uganda, Rwanda,

Burundi, and eastern parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These countries depend upon Kenyan infrastructure links (particularly the port at Mombasa) for important imports as well as export routes.

Therefore, this study examines the coverage of print media on civic and voter education towards the 2015 general elections in Tanzania, taking HabariLeo and Mwananchi newspapers as a case study.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

There is few studies on civic and voter education not only in Tanzania, but elsewhere in the world in connection with mass media especially in creating awareness to citizen. It had been also learnt that in Tanzania is worse as it appeared in two studies carried out by Twaweza and IPSOS (Sonovate Tanzania) in the beginning of the year 2015 before Tanzania carried out its general elections that one of their study questions was: Ukawa is among the political parties in Tanzania? Most of the respondents said 'yes'. But in real sense, Ukawa was not a political party but a political movement consisted of several parties in Tanzania for demanding a new constitution. That cultivated a need to make a study if at all there was enough coverage done by mass media in creating awareness on civic and voter education towards 2015 general elections.

Although these constitute basic facts on the elections, usually they are carried out and implemented by election authorities such as National Electoral Commission (NEC), mass media like other civil society organizations has got a big role to play in educating and informing the public as its basic functions within the society.

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study is to examine the print media coverage on civic and voter education towards 2015 general elections in Tanzania: A case study of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- i) To examine the coverage of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers on civic and voter education towards 2015 General Election in Tanzania.
- ii) To explore the role of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers in linking voters to resourceful people on civic and voters education towards 2015 General Election in Tanzania.
- iii) To find out the level of awareness of voters on civic and voter education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers towards Tanzania General Election of 2015.

1.4.3 Research Questions

- i) What were issues covered by Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers on civic and voters education towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania?
- ii) What was the role played by Mwananchi and HabariLeo in linking other resourceful people on civic and voter education towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania?
- iii) What was the level of awareness of voters created by Mwananchi and HabariLeo on civic and voter education towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is very significant to other election stakeholders such National Electoral Commission (NEC), the society in general, journalism fraternity, policymakers, academicians, students of journalism and print media houses especially HabariLeo and Mwananchi journalists in which the papers have come up with some of the solutions for future elections in the country.

1.6 The Scope of the Study

This study has confined itself to assess the print media coverage on civic and voter education toward general elections in Tanzania. Although, the civic and voter education is a continuous process, in particular, the researcher decided to analyze the content of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers of at least three months from May to July 2015, one month before the campaign date set by National Electoral Commission (NEC) for preparation of the Tanzanian General Election on October 25, 2015.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The study was limited to Habarileo and Mwananchi newspapers. Other limitations encountered included time constraints and serious official assignment at the researcher's workplace, which hindered smooth execution of the study.

1.8 The Delimitation of the Study

This study is confined to Mwananchi which is a private owned newspaper and HabariLeo owned by the Tanzanian government to represent other print media

houses for content analysis while the sample size was chosen from Kinondoni Municipality, Dar es Salaam City to represent all voters through questionnaires.

1.9 Definition of Terms

This study provided some clauses that need to be clarified to create understanding of common terms used throughout this thesis.

1.9.1 Voter Education

The term voter education is generally used to describe the dissemination of information, materials and programmes designed to inform voters about the specifics and mechanics of the voting process for a particular election. Voter education involves providing information on who is eligible to vote; where and how to register; how people who have legal right to vote can check the voter lists to ensure they have been duly included; what type of elections are being held; where, when and how to vote; who the candidates are; and how to file complaints.

1.9.2 Civic Education

Civic education is aimed at conveying knowledge of a country's political system and its context. It might include information on the system of government; the nature and powers of the offices to be filled in an election; the principal economic, social and political issues facing the nation; the value of democracy; the equal rights of women and men; and the importance of peace and national reconciliation.

1.9.3 Multi-party System

A multi-party system is a system in which multiple political parties across the

political spectrum run for national election, and all have the capacity to gain control of government offices, separately or in coalition.

1.9.4 Democracy

A system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives and freedom of speech. Also is a control of an organization or group by the majority of its members and the practice or principles of social equality.

1.9.5 Print Media

A composed of newspapers, community newsletters, wire services, magazine and other publications.

1.9.6 Newspapers

Represents printed publications usually issued daily or weekly consisting of folded unstapled sheets and containing news, feature articles and advertisements.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter deals with contributions of other writers and researchers in such topics as a research problem. The chapter describes the conceptual definitions, the theoretical bases of the research and the empirical analysis and the conceptual framework on the assessment of the print media on civic and voter education towards other past general election either in Tanzania or any country in the world.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by Social Responsibility theory. Social responsibility is an ethical theory in which individuals are accountable for fulfilling their civic duty; thus, actions of an individual must benefit the whole of society. As one of the responsibilities of press media, newspapers apart from entertaining, educating and reporting, there are used in social activities for creating awareness to societies of any current issues including civic and voter education and other election processes.

According to McQuail's (1987), social responsibility theory justifies society's expectation of high standards of performance on the part of the media, and accountability of journalists not only to society but to their employers and the market as well. In this study, the theory is used to observe how media represented by Habarileo and Mwananchi in Tanzania served the public to understand their rights to

participate free and fair elections through civic and voter education as one of its operations.

2.3 Theoretical Literature Review

There is no doubt that the main function of voter education among others, is to give them information about specifics and mechanics of voting process. The main goal being to influence the public to effectively participate in the electoral process (NEC Voter Education Strategic Plan 2008-2010, p. 24; ZEC Action Plan for Voter Education 2008-2010). According to that action plan, this was done by focusing on the mobilization of voters, particularly women, youth, persons living in urban or rural areas with limited access to information, persons with disabilities, non-literate, people in remote areas. For that matter, it assisted NEC, ZEC and other stakeholders to inform voters on the registration and the voting process. Most of the supporting keys were civil society networks and organizations to enhance voter participation and promote fairness in the electoral process. In order for the process to achieve its objectives, mass media need to play a big role in informing and implementing the plan.

Waldhal (2004) informs that an important task for the media under democratic rule is to monitor political life and to draw the attention of voters to how politicians are fulfilling their responsibilities to society. In the circumstances then, it is expected that journalists will seek to effectively carry out this task as their duty to the public. In the same manner, politicians need to seek to prolong their stay in power even when their terms come to an end. But as Atieno-Odhiambo (1997) sees it, modern

times expect that there will be open competition for leadership. This competition in return assumes a high premium is placed in the value of plurality and debate. For this to happen, the media can only serve the masses and flourish when it is not confined to government.

This still remains the case especially where there is the distinction between government-owned press and the private press. As Imanyara (1992) stated, the role of the press in democratization has been that of an independent forum and mouthpiece of crusaders of change. The openness of the alternative press to the public and its bold approach to sensitive and critical political issues has had the cumulative effect of inciting the general public to wake up to their democratic rights and demand change” (1992:21).

It is from that point of view, journalists have duty to play in making sure that civic and voters education is one of their key issues so as to make Tanzanians participate in the elections freely and fairly.

2.4 Empirical Literature Review

Lydia (2012), in her study on Assessment of Voter Education on Electoral Processes in the New Juaben Municipality, says voter education should be provided even on election day, thus, there should be posters and other materials inside the polling stations and even inside the voting booths, explaining the voting process and how to mark the ballots (UNDP 2003). She notes: Voter education is most effective when linked with a programme of civic education that puts the election into context for

voters and provides an explanation of the election purpose. Given that elections are highly political, it is crucial that government-sponsored civic education is neutral and accurate, and that; it is not to be seen as favouring any party or candidate. The media can play a key role in disseminating information on voter education (Ameyibor 2011).

Lydia (2012) also states; in the 2000 Annenberg election study (Annenberg 2010), most of Americans in the post-election survey agreed or strongly agreed that they felt guilty when they failed to vote. Even among those who reported that they had not voted, nearly half said they felt guilty.

Blais (2000, 95) reports that more than percent of respondents in two Canadian provinces agreed with the statement that - it is the duty of every citizen to vote. The percentage was 80 percent in Britain (Clarke et al. 2004, 251) also needed to have a kind of civic and voters education before the election date.

2.5 Knowledge Gap

Despite the fact that mass media has been reporting widely on past elections, there is no doubt that there was nothig done on civic and voter education neither was there a stduy that explicitly tackled the problem. It was, therefore, necessary to conduct a study focusing on print media coverage on civic and voter education toward General Elections in Tanzania.

Also the resercher found that, the existing literature did not indicate the kind of information on civil and voter education either in print or in electronic media within

the past general elections. It was from that point of view that there was not enough literature or research about it. It was for that reason the researcher thought it was necessary to embark on this study to fill in the gap in question.

2.6 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter dealt with literature review going through what other researchers have done on the similar issue. It also embarked on empirical analysis of the relevant studies and finally it tackled the theoretical framework and knowledge gap.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology to be used in the study, the research strategy, area of the study, analysis and interpretation, research design, description of the study area, sampling plan and techniques used.

3.1 Research Design

Research design refers to the plan on how the researcher systematically collected and analyzed data needed to answer research questions. It is a framework or roadmap through which a research process is conducted to explain the social phenomena under investigation (Kothari, 2000). This research was conducted by using case study research design. According to Bromley (1990), case study research design is a systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims at describing and explaining the phenomenon of interest. Case study design enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context.

Data come largely from documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artifacts (Yin, 1994). The key features of a “case study” are its scientific credentials and its evidence base for professional applications. A case study seeks to describe a unit in detail and in context.

This study is based mainly on content analysis and qualitative method to collect data

where the researcher made interview through questionnaires to justify the content analytical data observed. Guido and Stempel (2008) state that content analysis is a formal system of doing something that is done informally rather frequently, drawing conclusions from observations of content. It expresses opinions about the adequacy of different kinds of coverage by newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations. It is from that point of view, the content analysis of this study was focusing on coverage of the contribution of print media in civic and voter education during 2015 General Elections in Tanzania in Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers for about three months from May to July 2015. Also the interviews were held in the form of questionnaires in which each respondent was asked to respond to questions. The questionnaires were distributed to voters, journalists, editors, officers of Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) and officers working with National Electoral Commission.

3.2 Area of the Study

The questionnaires were strictly distributed in Dar es Salaam, specifically Kinondoni District. According to 2012 census, Kinondoni has 1.8 million people five Dar es Salam City municipalities of 4.4 million. The country has about 45 million people. Therefore, the findings of this study represented the whole country.

On the selected newspapers - Mwananchi and HabariLeo - apart from the fact that they are headquartered in Dar es Salaam, Mwananchi has 32,000 copies circulated daily throughout the country, according to REDD + Politics for Media Report of 2014 while HabariLeo has 6,500 copies on circulation daily.

The head office for Habarileo is at TSN Building, plot No 11/4, Nelson Mandela Expressway, Temeke District whereas Mwananchi is along Nelson Mandela Expressway in Ilala District. It is worth noting that the information providers such as editors, senior and junior reporters including their newspapers libraries are at their respective headquarters.

3.3 Population of the Study

Oswala E.C, (2001), refers to the population as the number of persons or objects to be covered by the study or with which the study is concerned. Population is the aggregate of all cases that conform to designate set of specification (Leady, 1998) at the same time Adam et al (2008) define population in research as the totality of the objects under investigation.

In this study, the population is divided into two groups - one for the objectives number one and two of this study which was to examine the coverage of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers on civic and voter education towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania and second, to examine the role of these two newspapers in linking voters to resourceful people towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania through content analysis of these newspapers.

The other population is obtained from voters who either participated in 2015 general elections or not living in Kinondoni Municipality through questionnaires for the objective number three which was to find out the level of awareness of voters on civic and voter education through Habarileo and Mwananchi towards 2015 General Election in Tanzania.

3.3.1 Newspapers Profiles

3.3.1.1 HabariLeo

Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) are the publishers of HabariLeo and its sister papers - Daily News and Sunday News and a sports edition SpotiLeo that deals purely with sports and entertainment.

The history of Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) dates back to 1930, when Tanganyika Standard Limited was established under the ownership of the East African Consolidated Holdings. The Company was later sold to London Rhodesia (Lonrho) of London, England.

In 1961, Lonrho re-organised the company into Tanganyika Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) and Printpack Tanganyika Limited (PTL). Both companies were nationalized in 1970. Daily News is a daily English paper while Sunday News comes out on Sundays. SpotiLeo is a bi-weekly tabloid published on Thursdays and Sundays.

HabariLeo, a Kiswahili daily newspaper was established in 2007. The paper is produced both in print and online. Online edition is aimed to extend and keep its readership with latest developments in Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

The main policymaking organ of the company is the Board of Directors appointed by the Minister. The day-to-day activities are the responsibility of the management led

by the Managing Editor (who is the company Chief Executive Officer and is appointed by the President) assisted by four heads of departments-The Deputy Managing Editor (who heads the Editorial department); The Personnel Administration Manager (who heads the Personnel and Administration department); the Business Manager (who heads the Business department); and the Finance Manager leading the Finance department.

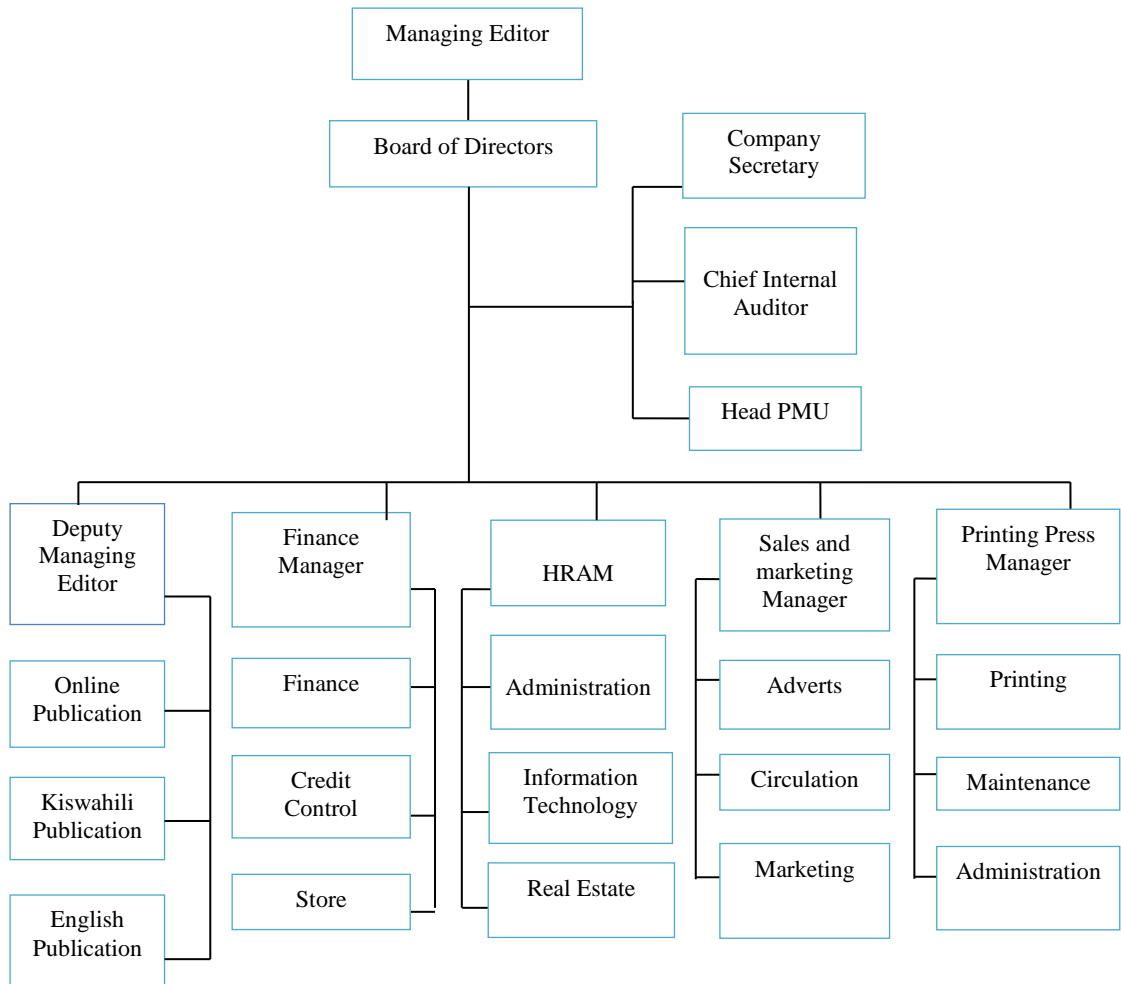


Figure 3.1: Existing Organisation Structure of TSN

Source: TSN Annual Report 2012

3.3.1.2 Mwananchi Newspaper's Profile

Mwananchi Communications Limited (MCL) is a private media company based in Tanzania. It is engaged in print, and is the publisher of Mwananchi (Kiswahili paper), The Citizen, Sunday Citizen, Mwananchi Jumapili (Kiswahili paper) and a pure sports paper Mwanaspoti (Kiswahili paper). The Citizen and Mwananchi newspapers are being published daily while Mwanaspoti comes out four times a week (nationgroup.com). The company was established in May 1999 by Ambassador Ferdinand Ruhinda as Media Communications Ltd.

In April 2001, a new business was established (Advertising Agency & Public Relations) and a new company was formed – Mwananchi Communications Ltd. In the very same year, Mwananchi Communications Ltd was acquired by the Nation Media Group (NMG), which was based in Nairobi, Kenya. It is headquartered at Plot No.34/35 Tabata Relini on Mandela Expressway, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It also has an office at Samora Avenue.

The Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development is its principal shareholder. This is an agency of the Aga Khan Development Network (nationgroup.com). Both have branches in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, Dodoma, Arusha, Tanga, Moshi, Mbeya, Iringa, Songea, Mtwara, Mwanza, Tabora and Zanzibar.

3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

This study used a case study research design by applying two newspapers, Mwananchi privately owned and HabariLeo, government owned newspaper for objectives one and two due to the fact that, both cover a big area as they are

circulated throughout the country as indicated in their profiles. According to Mwananchi Communication Limited (MCL) Annual Report of 2014, Mwananchi consists of 60 per cent among ten leading registered Kiswahili newspapers in the country while HabariLeo is the only Swahili government print media newspaper that operates to date. Therefore, these two newspapers are good representatives for the case study. The study made a content analysis of these newspapers for three months from May to July, 2015 in order to observe their coverages on civic and voter education for preparation of voters participation in that general elections.

This study used purposeful sampling technique in order to have a small group of people with interest to represent others. Patton (2002) states that purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest. This involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Cresswell and Plano Clark 2011). In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) note the importance of availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner.

This study is, therefore, grouped into two categories, one being a section of 100 voters from different cadres living in Kinondoni Municipality in Dar es Salaam Region and also 20 key informants such as journalists, editors, MCT workers and NEC officers, all in Dar es Salaam City.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The study used cross-sectional descriptive to collect data to ensure that each individual was represented. The respondents were asked their level of education, age and how frequently these two newspapers read. Other data were obtained from selected two newspapers - Mwananchi and HabariLeo published between Saturday and Tuesday, thus, four days were chosen per week for the three months from May to July because it included week days and weekends, striking a balance in that, those who would not be in a position to read election stories during weekdays would do so over the weekends.

3.5.1 Data Collection Techniques

Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. Primary data were those collected as fresh and for the first time, and thus, happens to be original in character, (Kothari, 2004). Primary data for this study is therefore, the first-hand information collected through questionnaires and for this case, were voters and key informants while, content analysis of the selected newspapers, was the secondary data.

The secondary data were collected through various stories published in those selected days that concerned civic and voter education for two newspapers, Mwananchi and HabariLeo for the three months under review from May to July, 2015.

3.5.2 Questionnaires

Another method used in data analysis was the use of questionnaire that were involved by the use of written down questions to which the individual responded in

writing, thus, that structured questions, examined the contribution of print media on civic and voters education before 2015 General Elections in Tanzania.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical to describe and illustrate, condense and evaluate data. According to Shamoo and Resnik (2003), various analytical procedures provide a way of drawing data. In this study content analysis was used to analyze data by going through stories published by Mwananchi and HabariLeo in those selected days and months. Also questionnaires were transcribed and analyzed.

The application of qualitative data analysis techniques encompassing descriptions, figures and tables were considered so as to support the exploration, presentation, description, identification and examination of collected data. The data collected were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Excel.

3.6.1 Units of Analysis

The units of analysis for this study were news articles, features, cartoons and editorials. These four units were used to make assessment whether these two mentioned newspapers that were used as case study utilized them effectively on educating the society about civic and voter's rules towards 2015 general elections in Tanzania.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to quality of data gathering instrument or procedures that enable it to

measure what it seeks to measure (Best & Kahn, 2004). To ensure validity in this study, the researcher prepared the questions in form of questionnaires that intended to measure and yield data. According to Drost, (2011), also validity means the degree to which the findings of a study can be generalised from the sample studied to the entire population. Apart from the questionnaires, the study used content analysis to assess the print media coverage on civic and voters education towards 2015 general elections in Tanzania. In this regard, the results of the study might be applied to other general elections in future.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues and confidentiality were observed. Also secrecy was maintained that, any data and information obtained for the matter of this study, was only used for the purpose of academic endeavors. Questions asked were non-offensive to any respondent or any institution. The official permission to collect data was obtained after the approval of the authorities. (See Appendix VI-VII).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study based on the following research objectives: To examine the coverage of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers on civic and voter education towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania; To examine the role of Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers in linking voters to resourceful people towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania and; to find out the level of awareness of voters on civic and voter education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania.

In achieving the objectives, 100 respondents were selected representing voters from different ages, gender and education that were provided with questionnaires. Another 20 respondents were key informants including five editors, five journalists from Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers, five officials of Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) and five officials from National Electoral commission (NEC).

4.2 Characteristics of Respondents

This study consists of 100 registered voters and 20 key informant respondents by means of questionnaires with different characteristics. Their characteristics were observed due to their different age, sex and level of education.

4.2.1 Analysis of all Respondents

Table 4.1 below shows the number of expected respondents and actual respondents.

Out of 100 respondents, 76 which is 76% responded to interview and questionnaires distributed to them. This was a bit satisfactory, because it was above the average of 50 per cent of all respondents. The details are shown to the following table below:

Table 4.1: Distribution of Key Informants and Voters

Category of respondents	Number of expected respondents	Number of actual respondents
A: Key Informants		
Journalists	5	3
Editors	5	4
MCT	5	3
NEC	5	4
B: Registere voters		
Voters	100	76
Total	120	96

Source: Field Data, 2017

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

Figure 4.2.1 below indicates the varying categories of respondents between twenty to thirty four, thirty five to forty nine and those above fifty. The graph shows that 65% of respondents where between 20 to 34 years of age, 22% of respondents where between 35 to 49 years of age and 13% where above 50 years of age.

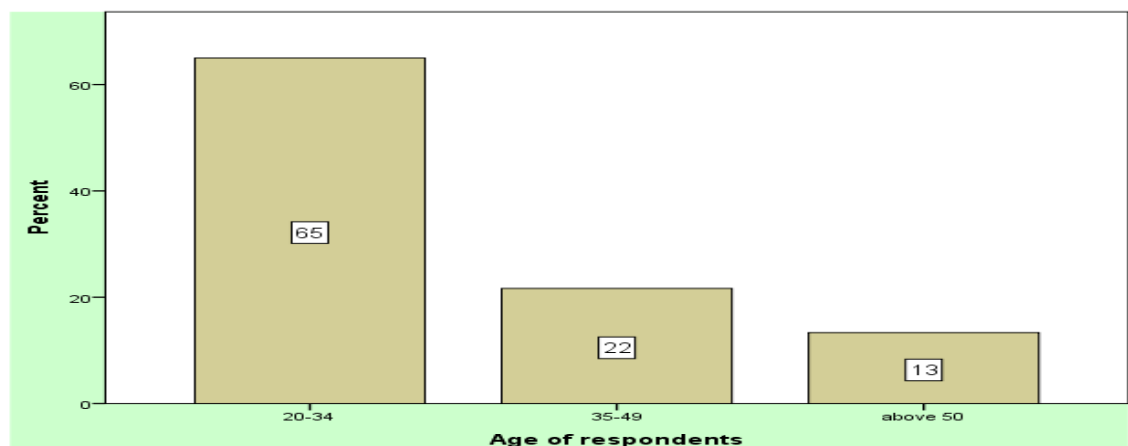


Figure 4.1: Age of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the above data, it was obvious that respondents of between 20-34, responded positively with 65 per cent compared to those found with the age of 35-49 which was 22 per cent followed by those with the age above 50, who had only 13 per cent responded to the questionnaires.

4.2.3 Sex of Respondents

Figure below shows the sex distribution of respondents. 58% of the respondents were males and 42% were females. The number of males was slightly larger than the number of female because males were more ready to fill questionnaires than the females.

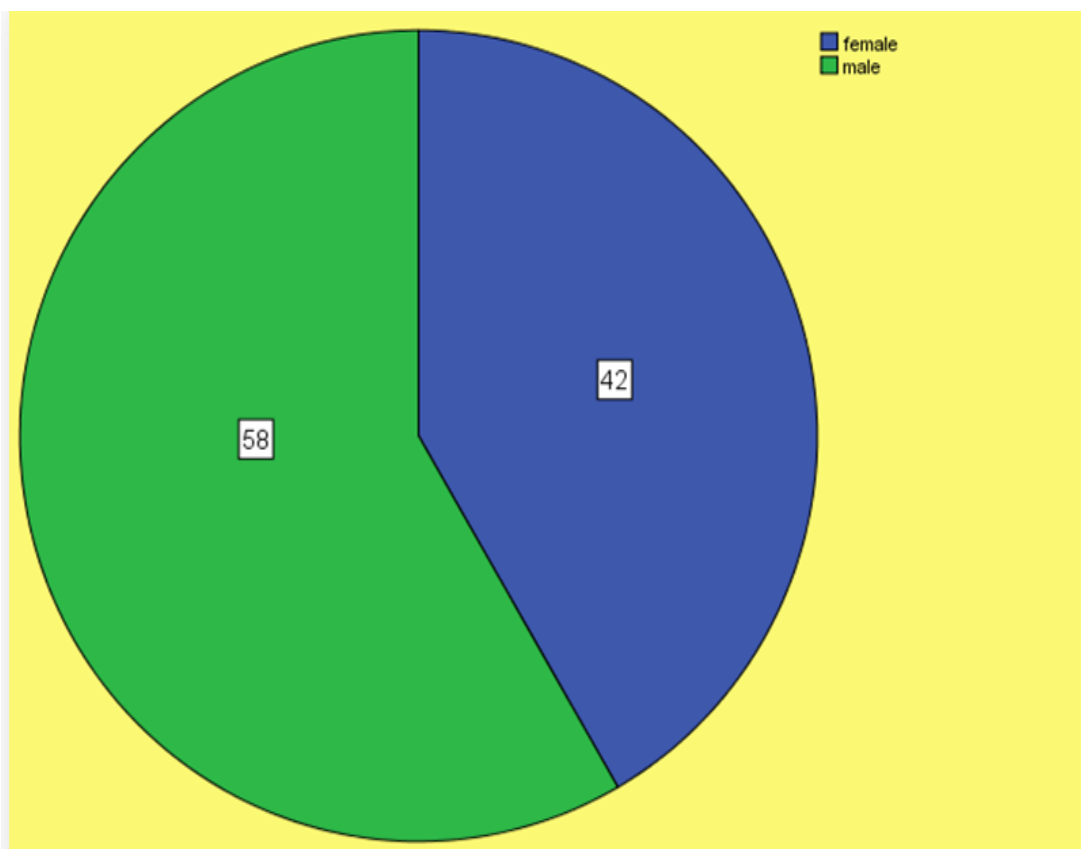


Figure 4.2: Sex of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the above findings, it was clear that male responded positively being more than half with the good number of 58 per cent compared to female who were only 42 per cent.

4.2.4 Education Level of Respondents

The table below shows the distribution of the level of education of respondents provided with questionnaire and who were involved during interview. As shown in the figure below 37% had secondary education, 28% have bachelor degree, 15% achieved a masters degree, 13% had diploma and 7% of respondents had primary education.

Table: 4.2: Showing Education Level of Respondents

Education level of respondents	frequency	percentage
Primary education	6	7%
Secondary education	28	37%
Diploma	10	13%
Bachelor degree	21	28%
Master degree	11	15%
Total	76	100%

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the data above, it was obvious that respondents with secondary education 37 per cent responded positively compared to others followed by those with bachelor degree who were 28 per cent, while those with primary education were the last to the least. The main reason was that most of respondents with secondary education involved in filling questionnaires were from streets and it appears most of them where form four graduates. Thus, it can be observed that all the respondents were literates and had knowledge of reading and writing.

4.3 Coverage of Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers on Civic and Voter Education towards the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania

This study went through the coverage done by Mwananchi and HabariLeo during the period of May to July toward 2015 general elections in Tanzania by using four units of analysis of the study, that were:

- Editorials
- News Stories
- Featured Articles
- Cartoons

Each content had two different categories that are:

- Content with civic and voters education.
- Content without civic and voters education.

4.3.1 Editorials

The study shows that on average the editorials published by Mwananchi and HabariLeo during May, 2015 to July, 2015 were distributed as follows:

During the month of May, editorials concerning civic and voters education were 8 out of 47 published, equals to 17%. In the month of June, editorials concerning civic and voters education were 11 equal to 21% of out of 49 published that month. Lastly, in the month of July, editorials on civic and voters education content were 16 equals to 33% out of 48 published. The distribution is displayed in the figure 4.3 below:

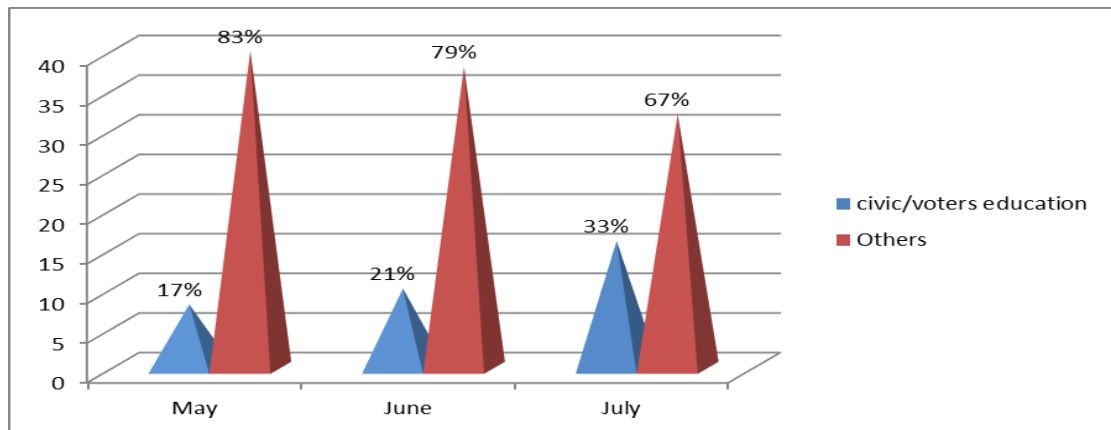


Figure. 4.3: Editorials published by Mwananchi and Habarileo May to July 2015

Source: Field Data, 2017.

From the findings above, it was clear that the newspapers were increasing its coverage on civic and voters education due to the election pressure. The findings show that in May, only 8 stories out of 47 that were published, dealt with civic and voters education while in June, the numbers of such stories increased to 11 out of 49 and it was a little bit high to July when they reached 33 editorials out of 48 published within Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers. Although the numbers of editorials on civic and voters education were increasing gradually, they were still few in numbers compared to other editorials concerning various issues within those three months.

4.3.2 News Stories

The table 4.4 below displays the distribution of news stories published by Mwananchi and HabariLeo during the month of May to July 2015. In May, 100 stories were published concerning civic and voters education out of 650 equals to

15% of all news stories for that month. In June, 155 out of 655 news stories were about civic and voters education equals to 24% while in July, 260 out of 660 news stories were published on civic and voters education equals to 39% of all news stories published.

Table: 4.3: News Stories Published by Mwananchi and Habarileo from May to July 2015

News Stories Published	Month		
	May	June	July
News stories on civic and voters education	100	155	260
News stories without civic and voters education	560	500	400
Total	650	655	660

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the above findings, it was found that the stories on civic and voters education increased the numbers as from May to July as it appeared in editorials above due to the election pressure which was due to October 25, 2015 general elections. Despite that increase, still it indicates that news stories published within three months were few in numbers compared to others carrying various information.

4.3.3 Feature Articles

The study shows that the published feature articles by Mwananchi and HabariLeo were distributed as follows: During the month of May, feature articles concerning civic and voters education was 10 out of 72 equals to 14% of all features while 86% was about other feature articles. On June, 15 out of 76 equals to 21% was about civic and voters education while 79% was not. On July, 19 out of 71 equals to 28% of all

news stories was about civic and voter's education and 72% was not. The figure below displays the distribution.

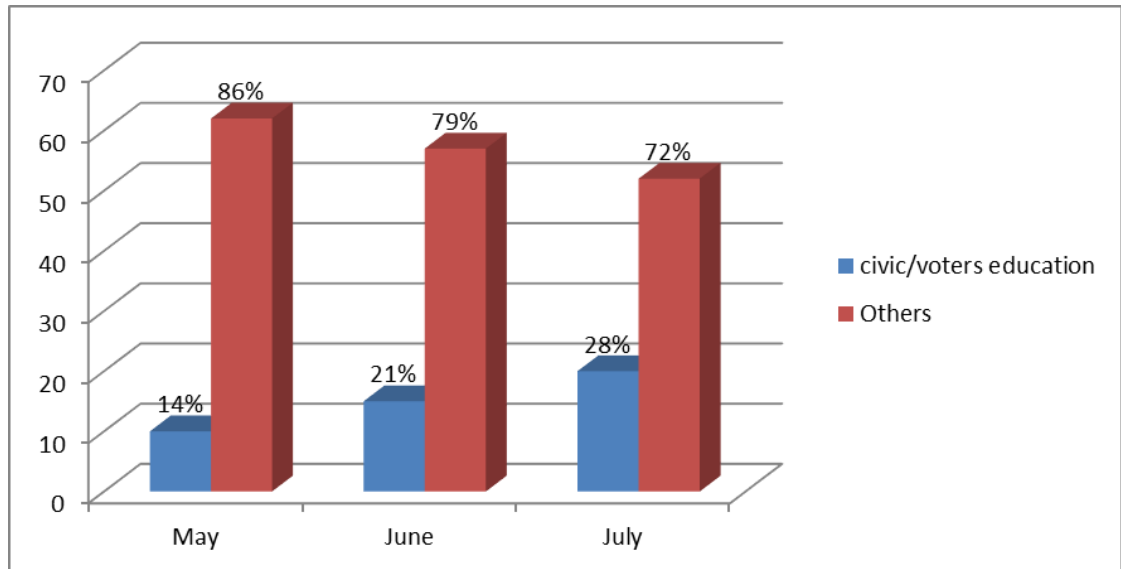


Figure. 4.4: Features published by Mwananchi and HabariLeo May to July 2015

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings above indicates the real situation on the civic and voter education coverage that as the days went by approaching to the campaign date, there were gradual increase in civic and voter education, although stories were still few in numbers as compared to others.

4.3.4 Cartoons

The figure below shows the distribution of cartoons published by Mwananchi and HabariLeo from May to July 2015. From the field data, in May, 16 cartoons out of 36 which is equal to 44% were about civic and voter education. In June 11 out of 37

equals to 28% was about civic and voters education while in July, 15 out 36 of cartoons equals to 42% was about civic and voter education.

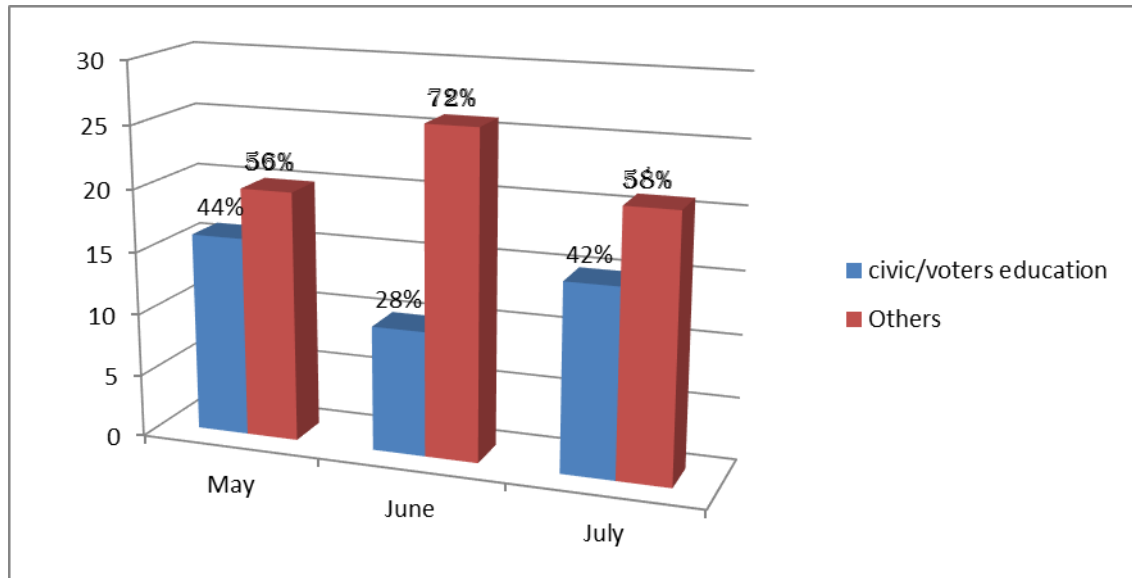


Figure: 4.5: Cartoon published by Mwananchi and Habarileo May to July 2015

Source: Field Data, 2017

The findings above show how little published cartoons on civic and voter education were drawn, thus, Mwananchi and HabariLeo had less concern of the matter as compared to other subjects of which had nothing to do with voters education, although in average, cartoons covered much more compared to other three units of analysis to this study as at least there were a time especially in July where those cartoons concerning civic and voter education approach to 50 per cents (see above figure of 42% on civic and voters education matters).

In this study, four units of analysis above; editorials, news stories, feature articles and cartoons that were used to collect data on the first question of this study

indicated that both, Mwananchi and HabariLeo had less coverage on civic and voters education as compared to stories that were written concerning other issues. Yet, it was found that as the date of election campaign approached, the pressure also in election stories increased, hence, the stories on civic and voter education increased too.

4.4 The Role of Mwananchi and HabariLeo in liking Resourceful People on Civic and Voter Education towards the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania

The findings from both content analysis in Mwananchi and HabariLeo as the case study used other contributors and provided a platform for them to educate, inform and giving out their ideals concerning civic and voter education. Again, the interviewees who responded through questionnaires some said they benefited by getting knowledge from articles writted by resourceful people through mentioned newspapers above.

4.4.1 Features from Resourceful People Published by Mwananchi/Habarileo May to July 2015

This study found that two feature articles out of ten concerning civic and voter education which were written in May, 2015 came from resourceful people. Again, in June five feature articles out 15, were from resourceful people while six features out of 20, published in July by Mwananchi and HabariLeo on civic and voter education were written by resourceful people too.

**Table: 4.4: Features from Resourceful People Published by Mwananchi/
Habarileo May to July 2015**

Features Published	Months		
	May	June	July
Features on civic and voters education by resourceful people	2	5	6

Source: Field Data, 2017.

As the above table indicates, there were few feature articles published in Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers in three months from resourceful people.

4.4.2 Respondents Opinion about Features from Resourceful People Published by Mwananchi/Habarileo May to July 2015

From 76 respondents, who responded to questionnaires; 52 said No, print media did not use other contributors, 13 said yes, print media occasionally used other contributors and the remaining 11 responded positively that frequently print media used other contributors.

**Table: 4.5: Respondents Responces on Space Given by Mwananchi and
HabariLeo to Resourceful People**

Responces from Respondents	No. of Respondents
No, Print media did not use contributors to give civic and voters education.	52
Yes, Print media occasionally used other contributors to give civic and voters education..	13
Yes, Print media frequently used contributors to give civic and voter education.	11
Total	76

Source: Field Data, 2017

4.4.3 Editors and Journalists of Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers on liking People Knowledge on Civic and Voters Education

Among ten responded editors and journalists, only four of them occasionally invited a person with knowledge to write an article concerning civic and voters education while six, said they did not invite any person with the knowledge about civic and voters education to give his or her contribution through newspapers.

4.4.4 MCT Officers' Responses on Civic and Voter Education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers

The study shows that only two NEC officers published an educative material on civic and voters education through newspapers while three out of five who were asked said they did not publish any educative through newspapers.

4.4.5 NEC officers' Contribution on Civic and Voter Education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers towards 2015 General Elections

When five NEC officers asked if they published through any print media any information on voters and civic education during 2015 general election, three out of them said No, while two said 'yes', they provided information through print media.

4.5 Level of Awareness of voters on civic and voters education provided by Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers towards the 2015 general elections

When respondents where asked if Mwananchi and HabariLeo created awareness to them, 49 respondents which is 65% said No, while twent seven that is 35% said Yes,

the level of awareness created by Mwananchi and HabariLeo about civic and voters education was high. The figure below displays the awareness concerning civic and voters education created by Mwananchi and HabariLeo towards the 2015 general elections.

Table: 4.6: Level of Awareness on Civic and Voters' Education Created by Newspapers

Responses from Respondents	No. of Respondents
Yes, the information created awareness	27
No, the information did not.	49
Total	76

Source: Field Data, 2017

From the respondents' opinion above, it was clear that Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers did not create much awareness due to the facts that most of the respondents said no as indicated on the table.

4.5.1 Respondents Suggestions to the Media House on the Future Elections

Among the responded respondents, 37 of them suggested that media house must not be biased on ruling party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi-CCM) during elections. Other 22 respondents said that media house must provide pages specifically for civic and voters education to enable civilians to get more information concerning election matters through print media, while the other 21 respondents suggested that media house must not use cadres or political leaders from neither ruling party or opposition parties to avoid biasness. Instead they must invite experts, academicians or other scholars to give educative materials on civic and voters education

Table: 4.7: Respondents Suggestions to the Media House on the Future Elections

Respondents suggestions	No. of espondents	Percent
Media house must not biased on ruling party during elections.	37	49
Media house must provide pages specifically for civic and voters education.	22	29
Media house must not use cadets or political leaders to give information on civic and voters education to avoid biasness.	17	22
Total	76	100

Source: Field Data, 2017

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the whole research work, concludes research objectives and recommends on the implementation on the assessment of how print media, Mwananchi and HabariLeo as our case study could contribute effectively in providing civic and voter education before, during and after Tanzania general elections of 2015.

5.2 Summary

The study aimed on assessing the print media coverage on civic and voter education towards the general elections of 2015, case study being Mwananchi and Habarileo newspapers. Specifically, the study had three different objectives which were to examine the coverage of HabariLeo and Mwananchi newspapers on civic and voter education towards 2015 General Elections, to examine the role of Habarileo and Mwananchi newspapers in linking voters to resourceful people towards 2015 General Elections and to find out the level of awareness of on civic and voter education through Habarileo and Mwananchi newspapers towards 2015 general elections.

The study population was selected and from it a sample of 100 respondents were selected. The sample included 100 respondents of voters of different age, gender and education where provided with questionnaires. Five editors, five journalist from selected newspapers, five officials of Media Council of Tanzania and five officials from National Electoral Commission (NEC) to make a total of 120 respondents. Also

content analysis was conducted on selected newspapers (Mwananchi and Habarileo) whereby four days per week were chosen which were Monday, Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday for three months (May to July). Study employed qualitative research design and data were collected through questionnaires and documentary review. Feedbacks from questionnaires were collected and analyzed by using SPSS and Excel to give results.

Literature review as Waldhal (2004) informs that important task for the media under democratic rule is to monitor political life and to draw the attention of voters, thus, it is expected journalists seek to effectively carry out this task as their duty to the public.

The findings from this study on how print media covered the 2015 general elections concerning civic and voter education had shown that there is a big need for media houses to improve its coverage on the matter. Also the findings from the study had shown that other communication expertises must improve their services through mass media and be useful to people in need of civic information and voters education. In line with this, findings from the study had shown that there was less involvement of contributors and educators apart from media expertise that used print media on educating people concerning civic and voters education.

5.3 Conclusion

According to the results from this study and with relation to the main objective which was to assess the role of print media on civic and voter education towards

2015 general elections, efforts must be done to media stakeholders to give much information of civic and voters education to the public.

The results from the findings proved that there were not enough coverage done by Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers that could help voters to participate in the 2015 general elections in Tanzania, hence, the effort is needed to increase the number of editorials from editors' desks, news stories, feature articles and cartoons.

Also the study had shown the poor involvement of other contributors and educators on providing education on civic and voters by the use of print media as feature articles written in Mwananchi HabariLeo were so few. Even responses from editors and journalists, MCT and NEC officers had shown less involvement on civic and voters education matters.

Again, Mwananchi and HabariLeo' coverages on civic and voters education did not do enough on creating awareness to voters, thus, the media houses of these two newsrooms either, they care much on other business rather than educative materials or their journalists need much more training in order to enable them to embark the situation.

5.4 Recommendations

- i) This study suggests that print media must put more effort to write as many stories as possible on civic and voters education through their daily reporting to enable people participate fully in general elections in Tanzania.

- ii) Since there is a limited number of media stakeholders providing civic and voters education, effort should be made to increase their number.
- iii) Efforts should be made by MCT, NEC and other stakeholders to have continuous civic and voters education instead of during election periods only.

5.5 Recommendation For Further Studies

Due to wide spread and advancements of technology currently, many have shifted to electronic media as their source of information. This includes social media, TV stations, and internet. Therefore I would like to recommend that another research should be undertaken on the electronic especially social media to assess the space they gave for civic and voters education for other Tanzania General Elections.

REFERENCES

- Agba, P. C. (2007). The Role of the Mass Media in the Nigerian Electoral Process. 1, 154-169, *Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Retrieved from <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ujah/article/viewFile/> on 21st September, 2016.
- Agyiri, L. (2012). Assessment of Voter Education on Electoral Processes in the New Juaben Municipality. Unpublisged MBA thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. Retrieved, from <http://ir.knust.edu.gh/bitstream/123456789/4816/1/Lydia%20Agyiri%20%28PG%204083110%29.pdf> on 15th January, 2017.
- Becker, S. and Lower, E. (1976). *Broadcasting in presidential campaigns 1960-1970” The Great Debates, Carter vs Ford*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Best, W., John, L. S and James, V. K. (2004). *The Electoral College and the Campaign Strategies of 2004*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Booyesen, S. and Masterson, G. (2009). In *South Africa*. In Kadima, D and Booyesen, S. (eds). In *Compendium of elections in Southern Africa 1989-2009*. Johannesburg: EISA.
- Brayman, A. and Bell, E. (2003), *Research Methodology: Business and Management Contexts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cresswell, J. and Plano, C. (2011). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Michigan: Michigan University Press.
- Donny, D. (2011). *Revitalizing Representative Democracy through Deliberative Elections*. California: University of California Press.

- Fidelis, C. (2015). *The Role of the Mass Media in the Nigerian Electoral Process*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-606. Retrieved on 11th May, 2017 from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol8/iss4/6>.
- Grisby, E. (2009). Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process. *Political Science and Politics*, 42(1), 29-58. Retrieved on 22nd November, 2016 from http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1083&context=polisci_pubs.
- Jennings, K. (1999). Citizen Participation Programs. A quarterly report on best practices for citizen participation programs. Retrieved on 1st March, 2017 from <https://www.ndi.org/what-we-do/citizen-participation>.
- Kothari, C. (2004). *Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers Limited.
- McQuail's, D. (1987). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- MCT, (2015). Tanzania Elections Media Monitoring Report. Retrieved on 26th March, 2017 from www.mct.or.tz/.../45-elections-reports?...2015-elections-media-monitoring-report...20.
- Mfumbusa, B. (2006). *Media accountability challengers in Sub-Saharan Africa newsrooms*. In Srampical, J. & al., (Eds). *Cross connections: Interdisciplinary communication studies at the Gregorian University*. Rome: Gregorian University Press.
- Oswala, E. C. (2001). *Introduction to Research Methodology*. Onitsha: Africana-Fep Publishers Ltd.

- Rioba, A. (2012). Media accountability in Tanzania's multiparty democracy: Does self-regulation work? Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tampere, Netherland. Retrieved on 18th November, 2016 from <http://repository.udsm.ac.tz:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/456>.
- Robert, Y. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 5). New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Thibon, C., Fouéré, M. A., Ndeda, M. and Mwangi, S. (eds). (2015). *Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election*. Nairobi: Modern Lithographic.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE FOR VOTERS, JOURNALISTS, MCT AND NEC OFFICERS

Introduction

This questionnaire is aimed at collecting information on an Assessment of Print Media Coverage on Civic and Voters Education Towards 2015 General Elections in Tanzania: Case of Mwananchi and HabariLeo Newspapers. It is administered by a student from the Open University of Tanzania conducting research as part of his masters' degree programme. All responses will remain anonymous and results from the survey will be used for an academic purpose only. Please do not write your name.

Instructions: Please answer the following questions by putting a tick (✓) for each appropriate answer to the best of your ability. For questions which ask for an explanation, please answer in the space provided.

General Questionnaire

{i}– English Version

- 1) Gender status {i} male { }, {ii} female { }
- 2) Age group..... {i} 20-34 { } {ii} 35-49 { } {iii} 50 and above
- 3) Level of education..... {i} Primary { } {ii} Secondary { }
{iv} BA Degree{ } {i} MA Degree { }
- 4) Are you interested reading newspapers?{i} Yes { } (ii) No { }
- 5) If YES, do you read them frequently? {i} Yes{ } (ii) No{ }

- 6) When do you read them? {i} week days { } {ii} week end only { }
- 7) Do you read Mwananchi and Habarileo newspapers?{i} Yes { }
(ii) No { }
- 8) Which one do you prefer to read most.....{i} Mwananchi { }
{ii}HabariLeo { }
- 9) From your choice of interest, explain why do you prefer such a newspaper
.....
.....
- 10) {i} What is your interest in reading the newspaper: General news { }
Political issues { } Editorial { } Cartoons { } Features { }Others{ }

APPENDIX II

(a) Questionnaire on civic and voters education issues – English Version

i) i) Did you participate in 2015 general election in Tanzania? Yes { } No { }

ii) Where did you get information that helped you to have knowledge on voting process?

Through newspapers { } Radio { } TV centers { }

iii) Did you get any information on civic and voters education through Mwananchi and HabariLeo newspapers? YES { } NO { }

iv) In which format did these newspapers give information on civic and voters education?

News story { } Feature story { } Editorial { } Cartoon { }

v) Did those newspapers use other contributors with the knowledge of civic and voters education? Yes { } No { }

If YES, how often: Frequently { } occasionally { }

Give your opinion.....
.....

vi) Do you think Mwananchi and Habarileo newspapers helped you to create awareness about civic and voter education? Yes { } No { }

Explain how.....
.....\

vii) From that experience, what is your advice to media houses for future elections in Tanzania?

.....
.....

APPENDIX 1II

Questionnaire for Editors and Journalists

- 1) How did your newspaper participate on education on voter and civic education toward 2015 Tanzania general election? Give your comments

.....

- 2) As an individual, did you write any story concerning voter and civic education?
 Yes { } No { } If Yes, what was all about

.....

- 3) a) Did you write that article as: i) news story { }, ii) feature { }, iii) opinion { } iv) editorial { }
 b) How often? a) Frequently { } b) occasionally { }

- 4) i) Did your newspaper write any editorial concerning voter and civic education?
 Yes { } No { }

ii) How often? a) frequently { } b) occasionally { }

- 5) Did interview any person with the knowledge of voter and civic education?

Yes { } No { }

How often? i) frequently { } ii) occasionally { }

- 6) i) Did you publish any cartoon that has any educative message on voter and civic education? Yes { } No { }

ii) If yes, how often?

a) frequently { } b) occasionally { }

APPENDIX 1V

Questionnaire for MCT officers

- 1) Did MCT publish any educative materials on voter and civic education through newspapers? Yes { } No { }
 If YES as i) Feature stories{ } ii) Opinions{ }iii)Press releases{ } News stories
- 2) Did you publish those articles in which newspaper?
 - i) Mwananchi.....{ }
 - ii) Habarileo.....{ }
 - iii) Other print media.....{ }
- 3) Why did you decide to use Mwananchi/Habarileo or another newspaper?
 - i) Its distribution covers a large area of the country.....{ }
 - ii) It has many varieties of news that attract many people.....{ }
 - iii) It does not bias, therefore it is readable to all cadres.....{ }
 - iv) It has many sources, therefore many people read it to get more information.{ }
- 4) Which educative article did you write about?
 - i) Just basic right on voting process.....{ }
 - ii) General education about election.....{ }
 - iii) General knowledge on civic education.....{ }
 - iv) All of them.....{ }
- 5) How was the editors' response?
 - i) Negative.....{ }
 - ii) Positive.....{ }
 - iii) Not sure.....{ }

APPENDIX V

Questionnaire for NEC Officers

- 1) Did you publish through any print media any information on voter and civic education the 2015 general elections ? Yes { } No { }
- 2) If YES, How often?
 - i) Occasionally.....{ }
 - ii) Frequently.....{ }
- 3) Did you publish any article of the subject matter in Mwananchi or HabariLeo?
 - i) occasionally.....{ }
 - ii) frequently.....{ }
- 4) Which other means did you use to make sure voter get enough information about election?
- 5) Do you think voters are well knowledgeable on elections matters?
Explain.....
.....
- 6) What is your plan for the coming other general elections for better conditions?
.....
.....
- 7) What was the response of editors when were asked to use your articles for voters and civic education? i) negative { } positive { }
What is your comment.....
- 8) What is your future plan to make sure the voters are well informed before any coming general elections.....

Dodoso – Kiswahili

1) 1)Taarifa Binafsi

- a) Jinsi..... {i} Mwanaume { }, {ii} Mwanamke { }
- b) Umri..... {i} 20-34 { } {ii} 35-49 { } {iii}Zaidi 50{ }
- c) Kiwango cha Eilimu.....{i} Shule ya Msingi { } {ii} Sekondari { }
- {i} Shahada ya kwanza { } {iii} Shahada ya Uzamivu { }

2) Taarifa Kupitia Magazetini

- a) Una kawaida ya kusoma magazeti?.....{i} Ndiyo { } (ii) Hapana { }
- b) Kama ni Ndiyo, unasoma kila mara? {i} Ndiyo { } (ii) Hapana { }
- c) Ni wakati gani unasoma magazeti?{i} Siku za wiki{ } {ii}Mwisho wa wiki{ }
- d) Unasoma Mwananchi na HabariLeo? i} Ndiyo { } (ii) Hapana { }
- e) Ni lipi unasoma zaidi?{i} Mwananchi { } {ii}HabariLeo { }
- f) Elezea kwa ufupi ni kwanini
-
-
- g) Ni habari gani unapendelea katika magazeti haya: i)Habari za kawaida { }
- { ii) Maoni ya Mhariri { } iv) Katuni{ } v) Makala {}Nyinginezo{ }

3) Dodoso Kuhusu Upigaji Kura - Kiswahili

- a) Ulipiga kura Uchaguzi Mkuu wa Tanzania 2015 ? Ndiyo { } Hapana { }
- b) Taarifa za kukuwezesha kuwa na uelewa wa upigaji kura ulizipata kupitia wapi?
- i) Magazetini { } ii} Redio { } iii} Vituo vya TV { }

- c) Je, unajua chochote kuhusu elimu ya uraia na upigaji kura? Ndiyo { }
Hapana { }
- d) Kama ni ndiyo, taarifa hizo uliwahi kuzisoma katika magazeti ya Mwananchi na HabariLeo? Ndiyo { } Hapana { }
- e) Kama ni ndiyo, zilikuwa katika mfumo upi? i) Habari za kawaida { }
ii) Makala { } iii) Maoni ya Mhariri { } iv) Katuni { } v) Habari nyinginezo { }
- f) f){i} Je, uliwahi kusoma habari hizo kutokana na makala za wataalamu wa kada hiyo kupitia magazeti hayo? Ndiyo { } Hapana { }
{ii} Kama ni ndiyo {i} Mara chache { } Mara nying { }
{iii} Toa maoni yako.....
.....
- g) Je taarifa za elimu ya uraia na mpiga kura ulizosoma katika magazeti haya ya Mwananchi na HabariLe zilisaidia kukuongezea uelewa? Ndiyo { }
Hapana { }
Elezea kwa ufupi maoni yako
.....
.....
.....
- h) Kwa uzoefu wako, nini kifanyike kwa vyombo vya habari katika kuelimisha umma juu ya chaguzi zijazo?
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX VI:**Research Clearance Letter to Regional Commissioner (RC), Dar****THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA****DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, AND POSTGRADUATE STUDIES**

Kawawa Road, Kinondoni Municipality,
P.O. Box 23409
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
<http://www.out.ac.tz>



Tel: 255-22-2666752/2668445
Ext.2101
Fax: 255-22-2668759,
E-mail: drps@out.ac.tz

Date: 18th November, 2016.

Regional Administrative Secretary
Dar es salaam.

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The Open University of Tanzania was established by an act of Parliament No. 17 of 1992, which became operational on the 1st March 1993 by public notice No. 55 in the official Gazette. The act was however replaced by the Open University of Tanzania charter of 2005, which became operational on 1st January 2007. In line with the later, the Open University mission is to generate and apply knowledge through research. To facilitate and to simplify research process therefore, the act empowers the Vice Chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania to issue research clearance, on behalf of the Government of Tanzania and Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, to both its staff and students who are doing research in Tanzania. With this brief background, the purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Bantulaki Christopher Bilango** Reg.No. PG201608006 Master of Arts in Mass Communication. We hereby grant this clearance to conduct a research titled "**An Assessment of Print Media Contribution on Civic and Voters Education towards 2015 General Elections**". He will collect his data from 01/12/2016 to 15/12/2016.

In case you need any further information, kindly do not hesitate to contact the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic) of the Open University of Tanzania, P.O. Box 23409, Dar es Salaam. Tel: 022-2-2668820. We lastly thank you in advance for your assumed cooperation and facilitation of this research academic activity.

Yours sincerely,


Prof Hossea Rwegoshora
For: VICE CHANCELLOR
THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

APPENDIX VII:

A letter from RC to District Commissioner (DC), Kinondoni

The United Republic of Tanzania
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT



REGIONAL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
P.O. Box 5429,
DAR ES SALAAM

DAR ES SALAAM REGION

Phone Number: 2203156/2203158

In reply please quote:

Date: 24/11/2016

Ref. No.


District Administrative Secretary,
KINONDONI
DAR ES SALAAM

RE: RESEARCH PERMIT

Prof/Dr/Mr./Mrs/Ms/Miss. BANTULAKI BILANCO is a student/researcher from OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA has been permitted to undertake a field work research on ASSESSMENT OF PRINT MEDIA CONTRIBUTION ON CIVIC AND VOTERS EDUCATION TOWARD TO 2015 GENERAL ELECTION

From 01/12 2016 to 24/12 2016

I kindly request your assistance to enable him/her to complete his/her research.


For: Regional Administrative Secretary
DAR ES SALAAM

Copy to: Municipal Director,
KINONDONI
DAR ES SALAAM

Principal/Vice Chancellor,
OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

APPENDIX VII:

A letter from DC to Respondents

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
 PRESIDENT OFFICE
 MINISTRY OF REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

KINONDONI DISTRICT

Telephone No. 2170169 / 2170183

To reply please quote:

Ref. No. AB.320/378/01B/163



THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
 P.O BOX 9583,
 KINONDONI,
 DAR ES SALAAM,
 TANZANIA.

1st December, 2016

TANZANIA STANDARDS NEWSPAPER LTD.
 BOX 9033
 DAR ES SALAAM

RE: RESEARCH PERMIT

Bantulaki Bilango is a Student/researcher from **Open University of Tanzania**. He has been permitted to undertake field work research on **"Assessment of Print Media Contribution on Civic and Voters Education toward to 2015 General Election"**. From 01st December, 2016 to 24th December, 2016.

I kindly request your good assistance to enable him to complete his research.

A handwritten signature in blue ink.

F. A. Lisakafu

For: - District Administrative Secretary
 KINONDONI