THE ROLE OF TELEVISION IN MOBILIZING WOMEN TO POLITICS IN ZANZIBAR: A CASE STUDY OF ZANZIBAR BROADCASTING CORPORATION TELEVISION (ZBC TV)

BADRIA ATAI MASOUD

A DISERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN MASS COMMUNICATION DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND LIBRARY STUDIES OF THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

## CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that he has read and hereby recommends for acceptance by the Open University of Tanzania a dissertation titled: "The role of TV in mobilizing women in politics: A case study is Zanzibar broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)"in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Mass Communication (MAMC) of the Open University of Tanzania

Dr. Abubakar S. Rajab (Supervisor)

Date

## COPYRIGHT

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

## DECLARATION

I, Badria Atai Masoud, the work presented in this dissertation is original. It has never been presented to any other University or Institution. Where other people's works have been used, references have been provided. It is in this regard that I declare this work as originally mine. It is hereby presented in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Mass Communication (MAMC) of the Open University of Tanzania

Signature

Date

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to God for his fruitful help to finish this research report, as well as to my Lovely Father Mr Attai Masoud Khamis just like how I was an apple of his eye, he was the balm to my soul, memories will comfort until we meet again, rest easy dear father, he is always loved and never forgotten. May his soul R.I.P my lovely Father.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

All praise due to Allah blessing and peace to be upon his messenger and servant, and whoever follows his guidance. Much proud should reach my lovely mother who brought me up and being Anchor in the stormy sea of life.

This thesis is culmination of my journey of Master which was just like climbing a high peak step by step accompanied with encouragement, hardship, trust and frustration, a great many people including my family members, well-wishers, my friends, colleagues and various institutions have contributed to accomplish this huge task.

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr Abubakar Rajab Sheikh for the continuous support, patience, motivation and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of research. I could have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my master study.

I owe thanks to a very special person, my lovely husband for his continued and unfailing love, support and understanding during my pursuit of my master degree that made the completion of thesis possible. He was always around at times I thought that it is impossible to continue, he helped me to keep things in perspective. I greatly value his contribution. I appreciate my sons, my little boys Arman and Akhtar for their patience they showed during my thesis writing. Words would never say how grateful I am, I consider myself the luckiest in the world to have such lovely and caring family, standing beside me with their love and unconditional support.

I revere the patronage and moral support extended with love, by my sisters especially Doctor Wardat Attai, Mrs Hasna Attai, Ukhty Aysha Attai and Hon Mohammed

Dimwa for their support and passionate encouragement made it possible for me to complete these projects.

I place on record, my sincere gratitude to Mr Vincent Mpepo and Mr Yussuf Manning for their constant encouragement from the beginning of my study up to the end.

I humbly extend my thanks to all concerned persons who cooperated with me in this regard, and this could not be completed without the efforts and cooperation of my friends Doctor Mzuri, Sheikh Soraga, Hon Mgeni Hassan, Mr Abdalla Mawazo, Mr Hashim Uzia, Mrs Raya Hamad, Mr Haji Ramadhan Suweid, Mr Salum Ramadhan, Mrs Selme Moh'd Ali, Hon Haji Mzee, Mahmoud Ali Mussa, Mtumwa Ame Haji and Mr Khamis Juma Mwalim for their constant source of inspiration.

There are many too numerous to mention to whom I am indebted and I trust that they will not be offended by me in ability to list them all here.


#### Abstract

This research mainly examined the ZBC TV role in mobilizing women towards Participating in politics, case study Urban West Region in Unguja, the study used five research questions, which are found relevant to the study and were subjected to empirical test. A study of 300,000 populations was randomly and systematically selected. In the literature review, three relevant theories examined which agenda setting theory, social responsibilities theory and framing theory. In that context, the researcher selected a total of 105 questionnaires administered and the results generated from the study was analysed using tables and percentages. A qualitative case study design is chosen and various data presented were collected through focus group, in-depth interviews and questionnaires, and some by observations. The researcher used both close and open questionnaires and the total respondents were 120 based on case study within Urban West Region. Presentation and analysis of findings of this study, it focuses on testing the reliability of variables through presenting and analysing primary data collected using descriptive statistics analysis. In general, this study calls for the central government through local authorities should provide support to the local communities based on mobilization, political opportunities, and overcoming barriers in participating in political activities. Both central and local governments and other political activists who strive to improve the women political rights should provide absolute transparency regarding political process and its related activities.


Keywords: Role of Television in Politics, Role of Television in Mobilizing Women, Mobilizing Women in Politics

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATION ..... ii
COPYRIGHT ..... iii
DECLARATION ..... iv
DEDICATION ..... v
ACKNOWLEDGMENT ..... vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... ix
LIST OF TABLES ..... xiii
LIST OF FIGURES ..... xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ..... xv
INTRODUCTION ..... 1
1.1 Introduction ..... 1
1.2 Background of the Study ..... 1
1.3 Statement of the Research Problem ..... 3
1.4 Research Objectives ..... 5
1.4.1 General Objective: ..... 5
1.4.2 Specific Objectives: ..... 5
1.5 Research Questions ..... 6
1.6 Significance of Research ..... 6
1.7 Scope and De-limitation of the Study ..... 8
1.8 Limitation of the Study ..... 8
1.9 Organization of the Research ..... 8
CHAPTER TWO ..... 11
LITERATURE REVIEW ..... 11
2.1 Overview ..... 11
2.2 Definition of Key Terms ..... 11
2.3 Theoretical Literature Review ..... 13
2.3.1 Empirical Literature from Tanzania ..... 20
2.3.1 Empirical Literature outside Tanzania. ..... 25
2.4 Research Gap ..... 32
2.5 Conceptual Framework ..... 34
CHAPTER THREE ..... 35
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY ..... 35
3.1 Overview ..... 35
3.2 Research Paradigms and Philosophy ..... 35
3.3 Research Design ..... 35
3.4 Sampling Procedure ..... 37
3.5 Random sampling ..... 37
3.6 Sample size ..... 38
3.7 Variables and Measurement Procedures ..... 38
3.7.1 Discussion of Conceptual Framework ..... 38
3.7.2 Independent variables: ..... 38
3.7.3 Television political programmes. ..... 38
3.7.4 Effectiveness of Television political programmes: ..... 39
3.7.5 Women participation in television (ZBC) political programmes: ..... 39
37.6 Women political mobilization: ..... 39
3.7.7 Dependent Variables: ..... 39
3.7.8 Political Knowledge: ..... 40
3.7.9 Frequency of TV political discussion: ..... 40
3.7.10 Political Efficacy: ..... 40
3.8 Methods of Data Collection ..... 41
3.9 Research Instruments ..... 43
3.10 Ethical Considerations ..... 44
3.11 Validity and Reliability of Instrument. ..... 44
CHAPTER FOUR ..... 46
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS ..... 46
4.1 Chapter Overview ..... 46
4.2 Validity and Reliability Analysis ..... 47
4.3 Descriptive Statistics ..... 47
4.3.1 Gender of Respondents ..... 47
4.3.2 Age of Respondents ..... 48
4.3.3 Marital Status of the Respondents ..... 49
4.3.4 Education Level of Respondents ..... 49
CHAPTER FIVE ..... 68
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS/RESULTS ..... 68
5.1 Chapter Overview ..... 68
CHAPTER SIX ..... 83
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ..... 83
6.1 Chapter Overview ..... 83
6.2 Summary ..... 83
6.3 Focus Group ..... 86
6.4 Conclusion ..... 86
6.5 Recommendations. ..... 88
6.6 Areas of further research ..... 91
REFERENCES ..... 92
APPENDIX ..... 110

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Gender of Respondents ..... 47
Table 4 2: Age of Respondents ..... 48
Table 4.3: Marital Status of Respondents ..... 49
Table 4 4:Education Level ..... 50
Table 4.5: Respondents TV Watching Habit of Political Programmes on ZBC TV ..... 52
Table 4.6: Would you participate in one of the following activities ..... 54
Table 4.7 Member of Political Party ..... 55
Table 4.8: Vote of Respondents ..... 56
Table 4.9 Women's awareness of ZBC TV on political Programs ..... 58
Table 4.10 Response To If Political Programs Encourage The Respondents to Participants in Politics ..... 60
Table 4.11 Public Perception towards ZBC ..... 61
Table 4.12 Adequacy of Political Programs ..... 64
Table 4.13 Respondent's Response On The Political Content In Influencing Inhibitions Women May Have Towards Politics In The Future ..... 65
Table 4.14 The Effectiveness of ZBC TV Political Programs in Mobilizing Women toParticipate66

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2. 1: Conceptual Framework ..... 34
Figure 4.1: Respondents' Description on Socially or Politically Activeness ..... 53
Figure 4.2: Respondents Participation in Political Activities ..... 55
Figure 4.3: Member of Political Party ..... 56
Figure 4.4: Vote of Respondents ..... 57

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| :---: | :---: |
| CEDAW | Convention on The Elimination of Discrimination Against Women |
| DAC | Development Assistance Committee |
| DFID | Department of International Development |
| ERG | Evaluation Reference Group |
| EMBs | Electoral management Bodies |
| FM | Frequency Modulation |
| GAD | General Anxiety Disorder |
| GEWE | Gender Equality and Women Empowerment |
| MPs | Members of Parliament |
| NEC | National Electoral Commission |
| ORPP | Ordinary Reasonable and Prudent Person |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organizations |
| OBS | Organizational Breakdown Structure |
| PWDs | People with Disabilities |
| SAPADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SDGs | Sustainable Development Goals |
| TAMWA | Tanzania Media Women's Association |
| TSM | Temporary Special Measures |
| TV | Television |
| T-WCP | Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |


| UNICEF | United Nations Children Fund |
| :--- | :--- |
| WB | World Bank |
| WCCR | Women Coalition on the Constitutional Review |
| WFTs | Women Funds Tanzania |
| WID | Women and International Development |
| ZBC | Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation |
| UWT | Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania |

## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This research touches on the various aspects of the mass media as instruments of political mobilization. In other words, it explores into the mass media as a mobilization agency during the political transition period. Television viewing of both news and programmed of political contents plays an important role in the development of conceptions about the nature of the Zanzibar political system. Perhaps it is not surprising that the most pervasive medium in Zanzibar culture makes important contributions to conceptions of political reality and to the construction of political values. This section is intended to give an overview of the background of the study, statement of research problem, research objectives, research questions, limitations and delimitations, relevance of the research and lastly organization of the research.

### 1.2 Background of the Study

In the past several decades, UN processes and entities have yielded a range of strategies for deepening these commitments. Adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and since ratified by 187 countries, Convention on The Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) established a broad framework for enshrining a commitment to gender equality in democratic structures and processes: from recommending explicit mentions of equality between men and women in national constitutions; to eliminating discriminatory laws; to ensuring that legal systems offer women equal protection in both theory and practice; to focusing attention on women's rights to vote, to stand for and be elected to public office, to
participate in the development and implementation of public policies, to participate in civil society, and to represent their governments both nationally and internationally. This framework was deepened and extended in 1995 with the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action, which set explicit goals for women's political participation and linked women's ability to participate in the political realm with their ability to achieve equality in all other areas of their lives.

Advancing women's political participation is crucial for delivering on the SDGs. That is why one of the Targets for Goal 5 is to: "Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life." The media have customarily been understood to refer to the printed press as well as radio and television broadcasters. Nevertheless, television remains one of the most dynamic and ever-expanding forms of media. In order to fulfill their roles, the media need to maintain a high level of professionalism, accuracy and impartiality in their coverage. Regulatory frameworks can help ensure high standards. Laws and regulation should guarantee fundamental freedoms essential to democracy, including freedom of information and expression, as well as participation.

In that light, this study is geared toward finding out the role of television on mobilizing women towards political participation, a case study on ZBC TV political programmes in Urban West Region in Unguja, Zanzibar. Regarding television role in mobilizing women towards political participation, political debate programmes on television broadcasting presents a range of different opinions to an audience, and sometimes give women the opportunity to participate.

Unlike news media, which provide a one-way flow of information (a "monologic format"), discussion and debate programmes allow two-way communication (a "dialogic format"). These formats could be said to be a tool for supporting democratic discussions with regard women civil rights.

Based on that backdrop, the researcher of this study finds that it is imperative for women to be properly oriented, so that their sincere participation in politics, numerical strength and voting power can be beneficially stimulated and oriented towards empowerment of other women who will in turn look after the welfare of all women by formulating gender sensitive laws in quest for promoting women's cause.

### 1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

International standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects of the political process. In practice, however, it is often harder for women to exercise this right. In Zanzibar, there are frequently extra barriers to women's participation, and special care is required to ensure their rights are respected in this regard.

There is obvious difference in the ratio of men to women in politics and this has led to the under-representation of women in making national decisions. In 2019/20, out of 109 Zanzibar House Representatives seats available in Zanzibar only 20 seats were occupied by females, same goes for the public as only 24 posts out of 230 posts were occupied by women. In addition to the above statement, with vacancy in 5
administrative posts in Zanzibar there are no female governors in the country neither has there been any female president or vice president.

Based on the fact that women have every right to participate in political processes that affect them, their families, and their societies, this research focuses on key critical democratic rights of women: why women are less motivated to participate in political process? Why are so few women elected to public office in Zanzibar? It is our belief that strengthening women's rights and addressing barriers to political participation are critical to achieving gender equality and female empowerment in the country.

Television has an important role to play in mobilizing women for political participation, as this is one of the primary functions of the mass media. The fact that the television is not helping in influencing the participation of women in Zanzibar politics has been a major concern, because the television has a very strong power in influencing the perception of its audiences. Most women have a fear of getting involved in politics because of the political media content that does not support the participation of women in politics. These problems make it glaring that there is a need to carry out a study on the role of the television in mobilizing women towards political participation in Zanzibar.

We do not expect that women do wake up one morning and decide that they are going to engage in politics. They must be motivated to participate, often by people or organizations reaching out to them and asking them to get involved. Generally, people can establish the habit of participating in politics through political socialization, the process by which people acquire their political beliefs, attitudes, and actions. Political experiences with mobilizing agents sort of families, schools, friendship groups,
mosques, churches, community organizations, and mass media can motivate people to become lifelong political participants.

In due course, the researcher was examining ZBC TV political programs specifically two TV political debate programmes - Women and Dr Shein (Wanawake na Dokta Shein, and Women development (Wanawake na maendeleo) aired in the Isles, to understand its role in political movements, so as to be able to make predictions for the future. How ZBC TV has managed to fulfil this duty is major concern on this study.

### 1.4 Research Objectives

Therefore, the objectives of this study are:

### 1.4.1 General Objective

To find out how effective the ZBC TV political programmes are in mobilizing women toward political participation;

### 1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To examine the extent of which women within Urban West Region (Unguja) use the ZBC TV;
2. To determine the perception of women in Zanzibar on the ZBC TV political programs.
3. To examine how adequate are the ZBC TV political contents in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future.
4. How effective are the ZBC TV political programs in mobilizing women towards political participation in urban west region?

### 1.5 Research Questions

The importance of television as the most mobilization media is universally acknowledged. Hence, this research was guided by the following questions:

1. To examine the extent of which women within Urban West Region (Unguja) use the ZBC TV;
2. What is the perception of women in Zanzibar on the ZBC TV political programs?
3. How adequate are the ZBC TV political contents in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future?
4. How effective are ZBC TV political programs in mobilizing women towards political participation in urban west regionto participate into politics.

### 1.6 Significance of Research

The significance of this study lies in the fact that it is the first time in Zanzibar to analyse the role of television in mobilizing women towards political participation. So far, no one has attempted to study the impact, role or effectiveness of ZBC TV political contents in mobilizing women towards political participation. Hence, it is our expectation that at the completion of the study, the findings will be of great importance to the management of ZBC TV broadcasting outlet as the study seeks to explore the role of the TV and its impact to women mobilization to political participation. Also, this study seeks to raise the voices of the women who seem to be suppressed and marginalized from political process that proceeds within their local areas.

The study will also be useful to the ZBC TV management team to ensure that it dully perform its corporate social responsibility, as this will go a long way in improving the standard of its professionalism in community relation.

Over again, the study will be worthwhile to researchers and other scholars who intend to embark on a similar study as the study will serve as a reference point to further research. The study will be useful to academia's teachers, student, and the general public as the study will contribute to the pool of existing literature in the subject matter.

Moreover, the study will help to create awareness on the need for proper use of ZBC TV in political mobilization of the mass in Zanzibar. It will also help to create a more co-ordinate socio-political and socio-economic awareness on some burning issues at the grassroots. Again, since the study aims at providing a clear identification of the relationship between ZBC TV role and women mobilization toward politics, the findings will help the ZBC TV management team as well as policymakers to realize the impact of ZBC TV towards women's political participation.

Lastly, the study will also contribute to our socio-cultural development through an empirical linkage of credibility and compliance in Zanzibar context. It will again enlighten our mind on the use of television for socio-cultural integration of the women through fair political news management in the television. By understanding the most applied and effective types of political programmes, politicians, political parties, media consultants and political campaigns committees may reallocate more resources towards the production of particular messages during political campaigns.

### 1.7 Scope and De-limitation of the Study

The study was conducted at ZBC TV in Urban West Region Unguja Island. The study is delimited to the political programmes. The researcher has significant knowledge of the ZBC TV and is known to some of the members making it easier to collect the necessary information.

### 1.8 Limitation of the Study

The main factor which was limit this study is limited time available for data collection. The researcher done the follow up on the questionnaires distributed to the respondents so as to minimize time problem. The second factor which was limit this study is insufficient funds. In order for the researcher be able to collect the data effectively must have enough funds to facilitate the collection. The researcher used budget to allocate activities effectively so as to minimize the problem. Another factor that limits the study is cooperation. For the data to be effectively and efficiently collected there must be cooperation between respondents and the researcher, also many people are not able to read and write so they faced difficulties to fill questionnaires. However, the researcher was effectively cooperating with respondents to minimize problem and self-administered technique will be used to facilitate data collection process.

### 1.9 Organization of the Research

## Chapter One

This chapter of the study contains introduction, giving a background of the study while putting the topic of study in perspective. It gives the statement of the problem
and the purpose of study. This chapter outlines the objectives, limitations, delimitations of the study.

## Chapter two

This chapter gives scholars" work on the role of TV on mobilization of women.
This towards political participation. The first section focuses on Political participation, the concept of Women Participation in Political Process, factors influence women participation in political process on economic influence, socio-cultural, personal factor and political influence dimensions on Women Participation in Politics.

## Chapter Three

This chapter consists of the proposed research methodology. It covers the research design, target population, sample design, data collection, validity and reliability of data collection instruments, data analysis techniques, and ethical considerations.

## Chapter Four

This chapter covers presentation and analysis of findings of this study. It focuses on testing the reliability of variables through Cronbach Alpha as well as presenting and analysing primary data collected using descriptive statistics analysis. Results of the findings were presented and analysed according to the specific objectives.

## Chapter Five

The data collected for this study were analysed using descriptive statistics and were presented by tables and charts. Qualitative and quantitative analysis were used to establish the ZBC role in the mobilization of women to political participation.

This section presents the discussion based on the significance of the themes identified in this study on: the role of ZBC TV in mobilization of women toward political participation.

## Chapter Six

This chapter presents summary, conclusion and policy recommendations based on findings of the study. Also, it includes areas for further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Overview

Roles of media and women have been an on going debate for a number of decades. It was a major topic at the conference of the 1975-1985 Decade for Women addressed at the 1995 Beijing women's conference (United Nations 1995, 1996) and the subsequent Beijing+5 and +10 conferences. International and national organizations have been formed and media research initiatives have taken place to monitor women's visibility in the news on radio, TV and newspapers. This chapter presents international and specific country reports on women and the media.

The chapter presents literature review and related theories to the research problem. It has been categorized into conceptual definitions, theoretical and empirical analysis as well as conceptual framework on the role of TV mobilization of women into political participation in Zanzibar. This study was theoretically grounded on the agenda-setting, the social responsibility and the framing media theories.

### 2.2 Definition of Key Terms

## POLITICS

Conceptual: the study of the control, distribution and use of power over human activities in society. Politics simply means the act of getting into activities that has to do with leading a group of people usually citizens and engaging in governmental activities. The theory and practice of government, especially the activities associated with governing, with obtaining legislative or executive power, or forming and running organizations connected with government.

Operational: Politics is the capacity for power acquisition and its application for governance of the state and influence the allocation of its both human and physical resources.

## ROLE

Conceptual: Persons or duties in an undertaking.
Operational: Function or part of the duty the mass media do to contribute national political consciousness and development.

## MOBILIZE

Conceptual: Mobilization according to Jerry Gana as cited in Oso (2002) is the process of pooling together, harnessing and actualizing potential human resources for the purpose of development. It is a process whereby human beings are made aware of the resources at their disposal, and are also motivated and energized to collectively utilize such resources for the improvement of the spiritual and material conditions of living.

Operational: Cause people to be actively involved in politics, to be politically minded and conscious and to believe in political process and result.

## POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Conceptual: is a development approach, which recognizes the need to involve disadvantage segments of population in the design and implementation of policies concerning their well-being.

Operational: referring to the act of active engagements includes voting, standing for office, joining of political party or to take part the political campaigns of the political
parties and to exert influence in the decision-making process through public debate, and dialogue with the representatives they elected or through their capacity to organize themselves; or exercise public power by holding public office at different levels of administrations-local, regional, national and international.

### 2.3 Theoretical Literature Review

In order to assess the role of TV in mobilizing women towards political participation in today's society, a literature survey was undertaken to establish a framework of theoretical perspectives regarding the role of television on mobilizing women towards political participation.

## Agenda-setting Theory

In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Viewers and readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information from media debates or in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues that is, the media may set the "agenda." of the campaign. The agendasetting theory, then, provides a more robust explanation of agenda-setting effects and framing effects in the securitization process of migration (Dekke and Scholten, 2017; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

The agenda-setting theory propounded in the year 1968 by Maxwell McComb's and Donald Shaw posits that the media may not always determine what we think but what
we think about. This theorist also posits that the media influence affects the order of presentation in news reports about news events, issues in the public mind.

According to Maxwell McComb's and Donald Shaw, the news media have a major influence on the focus of public attention, the specific issues that members of the public regard as most priority at any moment. Beyond this influence, the news media also direct our attention to specific aspects of these issues. This combined influence of the news media on the public's attention to and learning the key details of the major issues of the day is referred to as the agenda-setting role of the news media.

The intellectual father of agenda-setting theory is Walter Lippmann, whose book, Public Opinion (1922), began with a chapter titled 'The world outside and the pictures in our heads.' The central thesis of Public Opinion is that the news media are the primary bridge between the vast array of events in the external world and the truncated views of these events in our minds. ${ }^{\text {i }}$ As Lippmann noted, our opinions and behaviour are a response to these pictures in our heads, not the larger outside world.

According to McCombs (2014), across the world, the mass media strongly influences how we picture public affairs. In describing this media influence on what we think about and how we think about it, setting the agenda also discusses the sources of these media agendas, the psychological explanation for their impact on the public agenda, and the subsequent consequences for attitudes, opinions and behaviour. McCombs debates the role of the expanded media landscape on agenda setting, the impact of the internet on the power of legacy media and the role of agenda setting beyond the realm of public affairs.

This theory, no doubt, still retains its steam till to date. The main premise is that the nature of broadcast media's depiction of an issue or individual determines to a large extent, how the public will perceive such an issue or individual. This study is linked to this Agenda Setting theory of communication because the media is a very vital tool of informing and educating the public about the plight of women who are in focus in this study.

The theory assumes that the media sets the agenda, i.e., what people were thinking about or should think about. In this theory, media assumes the role of a gatekeeper, sieving what goes into news content. By giving prominence to specific issues, the media unconsciously shapes the audience to automatically consider the profiled issues as the most important ones. The agenda setting theory is useful to the extent that it hinges on the persuasive and predictive role of the media in determining societal priorities. The theory has also contributed to the media effects comprehension. However, the main weakness with this theory is that it assumes that large numbers of, or the entire societies focus on what is happening in the media, and secondly, that they were found what is covered by the media as critical enough to be prioritized. The agenda setting theory shares several points of convergence with the framing theory. In some instances, framing has been presented as a sub set of agenda setting.

Based on their experiment, McCombs and Shaw (11) declared that there was a strong relationship between the issues raised by media and the issues being discussed in public. The Agenda Setting Theory has been selected as the theory of change for this study amid our present-day media's growing agenda setting role in public debates on two counts:

- It is not necessary that media reflects reality;
- Its focus on few selected topics of their choice tends people to believe that only these topics are important while others are not.

The agenda-setting theory is one of the most important theories of change while analysing media content because it exposes media's pervasive role in political communications. If we really understand this theory, we can help influence media's agenda setting processing that may increase women's space as well as airtime in political communication.

All in all, the concept of agenda setting confirmed and sophisticated the paradigm known as "limited effects." This concept was partly inspired by Bernard Cohen's statement that the main success of the press is not to say how "people should think," but "what they should think about." The concept thus emphasizes the role of the press to line up topics, especially in contexts of electoral and political process.

On the one hand, Cohen posits that the concept of agenda setting minimizes the verticality embedded in the notion of "effects" because the media perceives the existence of an agenda of the public that is parallel to the media's agenda, and is not unaware of the disputes over the control of the agenda. This means that there is no guarantee of the effects of the media.

On the other hand, the vertical power of the media is restored when the concept of agenda setting is combined with the notions of framing and prominence or salience. In this case, the media is strong not only when setting agenda topics but also when proposing interpretative framing and determining positive and/or negative aspects in
advance of the topics released to the audience. Cohen's main conceptual investment comes from the debate over representation and democracy.

According to Hart (1994), one way to interpret the relationship between democracy and the media is that television, at least, is an imperfect and frequently shallow source of political information, but it teaches something about politics to even the most apathetic citizen and encourages the best citizens to learn more about politics and even to become politically active. Hart unfortunately has identified one handicap against television that is, television as the primary source of political information for numerous heterogeneous audiences, is a passive medium designed for personal entertainment, rather than encouraging political action and a sense of civic responsibility. Only the exceptional individuals are inspired by television to take an active and personal interest in politics, let alone in political campaigns.

However, the role of the mass media including the television in this case cannot be over emphasized, people need information and without communication through the media, information which is vital for citizen well-being cannot be easily disseminated. The remarks mentioned above brings to the fore some of the issues that were deliberated upon at the Beijing Conference of 1995. Key question among these issues is women's empowerment and political participation. Nineteen years ago, the Beijing Platform for Action made concrete plans to ensure women's equal access to full participation in power structure as one of its strategic objectives.

Since the essence of the research problem in question evolve around the issue of television role in relation to women participation into politics. Besides, ZBC TV is the
public service broadcasting, so it has duty to provide service to the public. In that context, the ZBC TV as mainstream broadcasting outlets must be fair and objective in discussing issues that affect women. As we have seen earlier that in Zanzibar women amount to $50 \%$ of the population. The question of television mobilization role will link us to analysis of the social responsibility of ZBC TV.

At its best circumstances, we assume that ZBC TV should encourage public participation; encourage public to participate through comments, response, airs and get involved in all aspects of media's work; emphasis on social responsibility. Moreover, ZBC TV must be responsible towards the society. Hence, in that connection, we find it wise to probe on the ZBC TV responsibility to women political affairs in Zanzibar.

## The Social Responsibility Theory

In mid-20th century most of the developing countries adopted the social responsibility concept. The media social responsibility theory is associated with "the Commission of the Freedom of Press" in the United States of America, 1949. Social responsibility theory allows free press coverage but at the same time this freedom is moderated by responsibility which the press as an obligation owes the masses and the political systems they serve. Media contents hence are regulated and a modicum of censorship in place before it reaches the mass audience.

The theory lies between both authoritarian theory and libertarian theory because it gives total media freedom in one hand but the external control by the public on other hand. Media as a democratic institution helps in maintaining democracy and it must
work on its own. It has the liberty to do anything they want, just not work out of the ethical standards. At its best circumstances, the media should:

- Encourage public participation;
- Encourage public to participate through comments, response, write and get involved in all aspects of media's work;
- Emphasis on social responsibility;
- The media must be responsible towards the society;
- Exercise self-regulation;
- Adopt some boundaries within itself to be ethical.

The regulations are to be followed by all the media professionals involved in the particular institution. Social responsibility is ethics that guide any action, be it in media or other organizations that put an obligation towards society, culture, politics and economy. The media like any other sector should not harm, but should promote socio-cultural aspects in relation to the economy of the place.

The theory moves beyond the simple Objective reporting that is facts reporting to "Interpretative" reporting which is investigative, analytical, critical reporting. The relevance of this theory to the study lies in the fact that if the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are to be achieved, especially SDG 5, which is related to this research work, women need to be informed in order to participate, as the political process of any country is a joint effort, which cannot be achieved single handedly let alone male dominated manner. Zanzibar like many other developing countries remains a male dominated system. In this case, the need to advocate and backing gender balance in political activities is imperative and inevitable.

### 2.3.1 Empirical Literature from Tanzania

Relevant to our study, is the evaluation report of the Wanawake-Wanaweza Project with regard Women Leadership and Political Participation commissioned by UN Women Tanzania (Sambodhi 2017). The report shades some light on status of women in political process in the country. The report provides rather comprehensive knowledge about the initiatives, so far taken in looking for solution of the women's right dilemma within the country. The report highlights about achievement that contributed to the realization of several initiatives that originally planned and executed to roll out by the Women's Caucus in Parliament (Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar).

The initiatives were aimed at increasing the awareness and sensitization of parliamentarians, ministries, legislation and policies toward gender mainstreaming and social inclusion. According to anecdotal evidence and qualitative interviews report, the report has revealed that there has been an increase in the participation of women parliamentarians in the parliamentary proceedings, which can be directly or indirectly attributed to the training and strengthening workshops provided under the WanawakeWanaweza project.

According to the author's remarks, one among the initiatives was aimed at enhancing the participation of women, youth and People with Disabilities (PWDs) within the political party structures and electoral processes. The outcome's target was to increase the proportion of women, youth and PWDs in the political party nominations and as final Member of Parliaments. The outcome target was realized for Zanzibar with 13 percent of the total parliamentarians in 2015 vis-a-vis the target of 10 percent. Key outcome which is relevant to our study is the outcome aimed to achieve 50-50
distribution of seats for women and men at all levels of governance in the new constitution.

It is also important to mention that advocacy and awareness raising with National Electoral Commission (NEC) by the Women Coalition on the Constitutional Review (WCCR) under Women Finds Tanzania (WFT's) coordination resulted in an increase in the proportion of women parliamentarians through: The new proposed Constitution integrates gender equality principle in representation, i.e., Article 129 (4) (2) (a) "equal representation of women and men in the parliament." Temporary Special Measures from 30 percent (which is provided for in the current constitution) to 40 percent as a progressive step towards achievement of the SADC agreed benchmark of 50 percent.

The academic paper, 'Women in Tanzanian Politics' (Chan and Gibbs, 2003) is another important study in the area. The paper states that despite constitutional measures and international frameworks, women, youth and PWDs remain underrepresented in the landscape of Tanzanian politics. A quick look at the key indicators for women in Tanzania shows that gender disparities exist across a range of areas subjects. Women form much of the population in the country (51percent of the total population) and provide 71 percent of labour force in rural areas 7 (Oscorio, Percic, \& Battista, 2014). Nonetheless, women register a higher rate of unemployment than men in Tanzania 8 (WB, n.d.). 27.2 percent of females (15-24 years) were illiterate vis-a-vis 23.5 percent males of the same age group (UNICEF, n.d.).

Similarly, women are under-represented politically with 95 percent of women in Tanzanian parliament selected through special seat arrangements between 1985-2010
(Meena, 2015). Currently, the number of female Members of the Parliament (MP) is at 37.9 percent, but the indicator disguises the fact that most of the MPs have been selected through Temporary Special Measures (TSM). Several reasons have been identified as contributing to this low participation of women in politics, including the majoritarian electoral system, political parties as gatekeepers, corruption, electoral violence, lack of economic power, culture and limited civic education (Makulilo, 2014).

The progress of women into political roles has been positive but slow. Likewise, women's progression into senior executive positions in the public and private sectors remains sluggish. Thus, gender discrimination remains one of the major obstacles for women, as several female candidates' report experiencing gender discrimination during intra-party and electoral campaigns (Killian, 2016). Such incidents are commonly reported, despite indicative estimates reporting that women nominees have a higher chance of getting elected vis-a-vis male nominees (Meena \&Makulilo, 2015). It is also interesting to note that the women representation done through TSM provides only limited representation. As noted by Tanzania Women Cross Party Platform (T-WCP), the women MPs through special seats are treated as second class representatives who cannot access electoral resources and are not entitled to constituency funds (TWCP, 2015).

Eva Solomon in her research work posits that one of the key roles that journalists have to play is to inform, motivate and sensitize public on issues of importance in the society. While stressing on importance women participation in the media, she cautioned that on plight of gender and women political participation in the country is
real. In her research work on Women's role in the media: Attitudes towards gender issues in six Tanzania newspapers, has revealed that in the Tanzania local print media female journalists play important roles in improving the coverage as well as portrayal of women. Solomon noted that as individual journalists, women perform effective roles while implementing their duties as members of a media women association TAMWA.

Solomon's research findings have also disclosed that the management of the local newspapers under study and the government as well play important roles, which enhance the roles performed by female journalists in the country. However, in her report Solomon has pinpointed several factors that also hinder female journalists in improving the coverage as well as the portrayal of women in the print media. Solomon identified patriarchy in terms of ownership and control; poor working conditions in the sense of poor incentives, poor education; professional constraints such as agenda setting and framing theories, deadlines and lack of space in the media, as well as absence of women senior positions in the media to be the unpleasant stumbling block in women struggle against gender imbalance.

Stephano Elias Goroi (2013) in his study on The Role of Electronic Media (Television) in Enhancing Democracy in Tanzania indicates that majority of community members agree that Television played considerably role in the Presidential Elections of the 2005 and 2010. However, some individuals had the view that media did not play any role in the Presidential Elections. Some of those roles included covering all campaigns and events concerning the General Elections from all Regions within the country.

According to Goroi, Television also can be successfully utilized to mobilize people to attend political campaigns and vote for their favourite candidates. At the same time television can be used to cover campaigns process and all activities of the candidates, so those who did not attend the rallies can still be able to get details from the television through special features documentaries, special programs, and live debates, and even for those who did not properly hear what was said during the campaign they had the chance to see and hear through Television.

The study shows how the electronic medium (television) played the role of communicating and informing the public about the general elections, updating the citizens with the happenings of the campaigns and election proceedings and gave a chance for the candidates to explain their policies on their party manifesto to the voters. Some community members also felt that television also played informative role by persuading the public on the importance of voting and how to vote. According to Goroi Television has managed to achieve this role through airing of in-depth special reports and television adverts.

The study found that most people agreed that electronic media, television particular had influence and played a 48 significant role in the general elections of 2005 and 2010. This is because people got better information about candidates and their profiles, their working experience and achievements from the special programs on the television which they gave voters influences to choose what candidate and which political party to vote for.

### 2.3.1 Empirical Literature outside Tanzania

Dr Regina Mwatha' and Grace Mbugua (2013); conducted survey research on Young Women Political Participation in Kenya. The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Structured and unstructured interview schedules, unstructured schedules for focus group discussions and document review were used to gather data. Interviews proceeded purposively among sampled respondents, who comprised of young women aspirants, women's leaders, community elders as well as politicians across five different regions in Kenya targeted for this study.

The findings in this study demonstrate that there exists a significant gender gap in the political participation among young women in Kenya. Young women face many barriers in their pursuit of active political roles. The study established that masculinity and the patriarchal nature of politics, lack of resources, and lack of support for young women who sought to assume leadership roles, the impact of societal expectations and stereotypes, insecurity and gender-based humiliation and violence often undermine young women's political ambitions. In spite of these challenges, young women have exhibited great confidence in their ability to overcome these barriers as a result of recently enacted laws and structures meant to entrench gender equality at all levels of leadership in Kenya. The researchers note that young women are politically active and quite informed as voters, but they need to be supported to achieve more significant impacts as political leaders.

Dr Regina Mwatha' and Grace Mbugua posit that there is still need to create and expand opportunities for young women to enable them become more active and
effective participants in the national and local political activities. The concluded that it is necessary to proactively enhance measures that address the barriers that deter and frustrate young women benefiting from the expanded political space and legislative safeguards related to gender equity.

It is also critical to raise awareness among young women, aspiring politicians and other members of the Kenyan society to promote understanding and address the ageold stereotypes that have continued to ensure few women succeed in the political arena despite there being evidence that they could actually make better leaders.

While studying Radio in the Mobilization of Women towards Political Participation in Ogun State in Nigeria Dr. Adekoya, Helen Odunola Dr. Akintayo, Johnson Babafemi Adegoke, and Jesulayomi Lois used the survey research design to counter-check the already existing ideas and knowledge known and seen which concerns this study;

The results from the collected data revealed that radio indeed has positive impact in mobilizing women to participate in politics and with the right contents it can indeed become a potent medium in fostering development for women in politics in Nigeria. The authors of the research reports stated that a lot of improvement beyond what by then obtained can still be achieved using the radio medium. They accentuated that all hands must be on deck irrespective of gender differences to propel the nation to a desirable political state.

Andrea Scavo and Chris Snow (2015) United Kingdom (UK) conducted survey research on Media Exposure and Political Participation. This very relevant and insightful work to our study was cited in which research methodology and participants
were chosen to reflect the population demographics of several countries. The research was based on quantitative data collected from more than 23,000 respondents across seven countries where BBC Media Action worked as part of a five-year project funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

Research participants were chosen to reflect the population demographics of each research country. The research hypothesis was that exposure to BBC Media Action governance programming is associated with increased political participation and three of its key drivers: political knowledge, discussion and efficacy.

The surveys were carried out between 2013 and 2015 and were based on a common set of questions, allowing for cross-country comparison. The research concluded with the following results:

- Media clearly matters when it comes to political participation and the factors contributing to participation.
- Programming that is balanced and fair, such as that supported by BBC Media Action, seems to have a positive effect on all of these factors. Because of the diversity of the programmes themselves, the audiences they cater for, and the political contexts in the seven countries in which they are produced, the link between programmes and political participation might be expected to vary substantially; it did not.

The findings also indicate that certain marginalized sections of BBC Media Action's audience - people who tend to participate less generally in politics - gain more by watching or listening to its media outputs. This suggests that political discussion and debate programme formats could be a powerful tool for social inclusion.

Catherine Corrigall Brown and Rima Wilkes (2014) have examined Media exposure in relation to increase institutional forms of political participation in Canada. In this study they studied the mechanics through which this relationship operates by considering the media's direct and indirect effect on voting and protesting, via political trust, efficacy, and knowledge. They make these comparisons by analysing the unique Jennings panel dataset that collects information on respondents at three separate points. The results illustrate the importance of disentangling forms of political engagement when considering media effects. In that context, the results show that media exposure affects voting more than protesting and that these relationships operate through different mechanisms. While media exposure leads to voting because it increases political knowledge, it is associated with protest via external political efficacy. Furthermore, while this relationship is causal for voting it is only correlational for protest.

In his research report on Women Empowerment and Awareness Raising, Kaan Tasli (2007) states that there are good possibilities of adopting the welfare, the equity (the first of the WID approaches), the GAD approaches as complementary (not as alternatives) to the empowerment approach. Different organizations working with different approaches can support each other's efforts. He asserted that the women and development discourse has developed rather valuable concepts and tools. When they are used with flexibility and creativity, but also with commitment, determination, and willingness, they promise a lot for achieving a more gender equitable society. The methodology employed in this study is based on an extensive review of the literature on the subject matter. It reviews in particular the original literature, which played a key role in emergence and development of different approaches.

Chang Sup Park (2012) in his study examined how media use for news can relate to expressive and collective participation through the mediating role of political talk and internal and external political efficacy in which two cross-sectional analyses and one autoregressive analyses of the data obtained from a two-wave panel survey during the 2012 presidential campaign in South Korea. The study finds that political talk and internal political efficacy mediate the association between news attention and expressive participation, while external political efficacy does not.

Political talk and internal political efficacy jointly mediate the impact of news attention on expressive participation. The analysis also reveals that social media news attention and internal political efficacy play a bigger role in connecting news attention and political participation than traditional news attention, external political efficacy, and political talk.

Dr. B. Shailashree (2013) carried out a study to Examine Social Impact of Television in Mobilization of Women towards Political Participation.The survey research was chosen as a method to collect appropriate data. The research study was conducted to know the impact of mass media in political empowerment of rural women in Kolar a district of Karnataka State through the case study of 'StreeShakthi (TV Political Debate Programme)..

The study concludes that StreeShakthi Programmes have brought social change in the village but it has not made the women politically conscious or politically empowered and the mass media have not really played any major role in their lives in making political decisions. According to Dr. B. Shailashree mass communication has played
a major role in the development of India throughout the history; communication has been a motivating factor in maintaining social order and integration of society.

Throughout the 20th century communication media have been assigned a greater role in achieving social progress and economic prosperity. He asserted that empowerment is also a methodology of ensuring social economic independence, self - reliance and restore dignity of women. Though mass media have not played any major role in the political life of women, yet it is expected that the information provided by media will sensitize the political consciousness of women. The study concluded that:
i. Majority of the StreeShakthi respondents are not interested in the political activities and political development.
ii. Majority of the Respondents do not discuss about local politics through inter personal communication media in the study area.
iii. StreeShakthi Programs have brought social change in the village but it has not made the women politically conscious or politically empowered.
iv. Large number of respondents has opined that the mass media have not really played any major role in their lives in making political decisions.

In another relevant study of Azhar Sharif (2012) examines Role of Media in Women's Political Participation in Pakistan. The study was conducted in five government sectors of Islamabad. The data was collected from a sample of 140 respondents, through random sampling. Blends of qualitative and quantitative tools were used regarding the role of faction formation and political behaviour was gathered through structured interviews and participant-as observer, while the data was analysed through

SPSS. The result was drawn that abundance of women motivated by the media to caste the vote.

The findings reveal that some women are permitted to caste the vote on her choice of the leader. However, some families are here cannot cast the vote for their choice. In these families, the patriarchal families are involved. The media was also playing a vital role in the awareness of the people about the then current political conditions. But a few channels are also biased and just working for the selective leaders.

Andrea Scavo (2015) conducted a case study on Broadcasting Media Exposure via BBC Media Action's Global Governance Project in Nepal. Scavo carried out eight case studies, two each from FM radio station partners in four districts of Nepal, were selected as part of the study. Each case study included qualitative interviews with audience members (local community members), panellists (relevant stakeholders) and production staff involved in the programme, following up several months after the episode had aired to understand from multiple perspectives what had happened following the show. The study revealed the following results:

- Local discussion programmes provide a platform upon which local government officials can be questioned and directly asked to follow up, thus supporting accountability of leaders.
- Local discussion programmes successfully highlight issues of local importance and prompt officials to commit to taking action. However, impact and satisfaction among audiences, in terms of actions taken following the show, varies across episodes.
- The programmes help to inform and make local people fully aware of the issues being discussed and, in some cases, help identify who is accountable for the service.
- Local discussion programmes bring attention to the needs of a diverse audience and ensure the voices of all groups have the opportunity to be heard, including women and girls and other marginalized groups.
- Programmes motivated some communities to take action to address their own problems.


### 2.4 Research Gap

Women in Zanzibar still lag behind in terms of political participation. Besides, gender discrimination remains one of the major obstacles for women, as several female candidates' report experiencing gender discrimination. As yet, unfortunately, there is very little evidence-based research or scholarly work on role of TV on mobilization of women towards political participation in Zanzibar at present.

Hence, in the absence of published knowledge, not much can be said about the general issues of role of television on mobilization of women into political participation in Zanzibar. In other words, with lack of empirical studies, it is often difficult to evaluate the real impact of TV role affecting women political participation for them to be potential or elected women leaders by different political factions in the country. Thus, there is a need to fill this knowledge gap in line with movements initiated by TAMWA and other professional women and media associations whose major
objective is to advance the material well-being and improve the socio-economic status of their members.

Currently several women pressure groups within the country are working very hard to rally behind the promise in terms of providing expertise, lobbying, mobilizing, awareness raising and advocacy on the matter. Their major objective is to advance the material well-being and improve the socio-economic status of their members.

Besides, while there are many studies exploring the impact of news media (a one-way, monologic format), studies of discussion and debate programmes (dialogic formats) are much less common. Where they do exist, such studies tend to focus on talk radio and political campaign debates. There is also a lack of evidence from developing countries; most evidence published in peer-reviewed academic journals comes from Europe and North America. There are many studies exploring the impact of news media (one-way, monologic format), but studies of discussion and debate programmes (dialogic formats) are much less common.

The study, therefore was explore the role of ZBC TV on mobilization of women participation in politics in Zanzibar, the journeys of those who seek to contest for elections, including pre-election, election as local leaders, their experiences of becoming a leader, and being a leader to some extent. It is hoped that the knowledge that could emerge from this study was fill this knowledge gap and point out possible strategies for improving the mobilization role of TV, so do the extent of women's participation in political process.

### 2.5 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework was presented diagrammatically in figure 2.1 to demonstrate the role of television in mobilizing women towards political participation:

## Figure 2. 1 Conceptual Framework

Independent Variables
Role of ZBC TV
Women political mobilization towards political participation

Effectiveness of ZBC TV political contents political programmes

Dependent Variables

## Women's Political Participation

- Women's political knowledge and discussions;
- Women's political efficacy;
- Women's perception and attitude towards ZBC TV political programmes;
- Women satisfaction with TV political

Source: Author (2020)

## CHAPTER THREE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Overview

This chapter covers research philosophy, research design, survey population and area of survey. It was also covered sampling design and procedure, methods of data collection, data processing and analysis and finally validity and reliability.

### 3.2 Research Paradigms and Philosophy

Research paradigms are patterns of beliefs and practices that regulate inquiry within a discipline by providing lenses, frames and processes through which investigation is accomplished (Weaver and Olson 2006). In this study, positivist views were used to predict and measure the relationship between ZBC TV role and mobilization of women towards political participation.

### 3.3 Research Design

To get the perceptions of respondents in regard role of television in mobilizing women towards political participation, a qualitative case study design is chosen. The chosen design and method are appropriate for answering the research questions to this purpose. A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected to the initial questions of the study. It is a plan that has guided the researcher in the process of collecting, analysing and interpreting data. Yin (1994:19) defines: 48 Colloquially, a research design is an action plan for getting from here to there. Where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there, is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions. Between here and there may be found a
number of major steps, including the collection and analysis of relevant data. Hence, this qualitative case study was designed to combine with informant interviews, focus group discussions and document reviews. It has enabled the researcher to interact with informants to get their perceptions. As Wimmer and Dominick (1994) observed, in addition to its flexibility that allows a researcher to pursue new areas of interest, qualitative research increases the researcher's depth of understanding of the phenomena under investigation. To enter the field to interview and analyses documents remains useful parts in qualitative research that enables the researcher to make use of multiple sources to improve on the reliability and validity of the study.

A case study is an empirical study that investigates the contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, more especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident as Yin (1994:13) puts it: In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" and "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is on the contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.

Wimmer and Dominick (1994:154) report that case study method is most valuable when the researcher wants a wealthy of information about the research topic. By adopting this technique, the researcher will be able to generate detail. This technique can suggest why something has occurred and thus, afforded the researcher the ability to deal with a wide spectrum of evidence through various data sources. Qualitative case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case.

The most common use of the term associates the case study with a location, such as a community, or organization where the emphasis tends to be an extensive examination of the setting (Gall et al, 2003; Bryman, 2004). A case study is done to shade light on a phenomenon, which is the process, events, persons or things of interest to the researcher (Gall et al 2003:436).

The phenomenon under this study is the role of television in mobilizing women towards political participation. As Gall et al (2003) writes, a case is a particular instance of a phenomenon. For purposes of this study, the case chosen was the ZBC TV political programmes, the Zanzibar public service television with the highest viewers across the country that employs a significant number of people.

### 3.4 Sampling Procedure

Sampling means selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as representative of that population. Any statements made about the sample should also be true of the population (Orodho, 2002).

### 3.5 Random sampling

Random sample is normally preferred by a method involving an unpredictable component. Random sampling can also refer to taking a number of independent observations from the same probability distribution, without involving any real population. The study chose random sampling as bias is generally eliminated and sampling error can be estimated.

### 3.6 Sample size

Sampling technique provides a range of methods, which enables reduction of data to be collected, by focusing on data from a sub-group rather than all cases of elements. A sample of total 105 respondents was drawn to represent the study population. This sample of respondents assumed to have stakes in politics and media, including women politicians, citizens and journalists have served the purpose of focus group discussions, questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews.

### 3.7 Variables and Measurement Procedures

### 3.7.1 Discussion of Conceptual Framework

This section presents conceptual framework that was used to guide the study. The key objective of the study is the television role in mobilizing women towards political participation in Zanzibar; a case study of Urban West Region. The following are variables that are investigated:

### 3.7.2 Independent variables

These are the variables that can be controlled and manipulated. This study has the following independent variables:

### 3.7.3 Television political programmes

Television political programmes have significant impact in shaping public opinion and attitude change towards women participation in political process in their locale. Women access to television political programmes was influence their political consciousness hence improvement in their will to participate in the political process.

### 3.7.4 Effectiveness of Television political programmes

This variable aims to assess whether the ZBC TV political programmes could achieve its targets.

### 3.7.5 Women participation in television (ZBC) political programmes:

It is television obligation to allow sufficient airtime for women activists as well as women politicians to participate in political debates and discussions strategically organized for the purpose of mobilizing women into politics. Women participation in television political debates and discussions will contribute to women awareness.

### 37.6 Women political mobilization

One among the roles of television political programmes is to mobilize women toward political participation.

### 3.7.7 Dependent Variables

- Women's political awareness and women political participation
- Women's political knowledge and discussions;
- Frequency of TV political discussion:
- Women's political efficacy;
- Women's perception and attitude towards ZBC TV political programmes;
- Women satisfaction with TV political programmes.

A dependent variable is a variable to be measured in the research or what is affected during the research. The change in dependent variable is due to change in independent variable(s). In this study, the dependent variables are women political awareness and
women political participation. Television political programmes may have either positive or negative contribution to local community through increased awareness of women toward political participation. The women freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government.

### 3.7.8 Political Knowledge

Political knowledge can be conceptualized on numerous levels. In its simplest form it is defined as knowledge of political facts (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1993), but it is related to the concepts of political awareness, political expertise and, at the furthest end of the spectrum, political sophistication. (This is defined by Eveland and Hutchens, 2008, as "knowledge of the political realm".)

### 3.7.9 Frequency of TV political discussion

TV political debates on politics issues - is an easy and interesting way to engage with country's political system. This helps women develop their own political views by listening to what other people have to say. It's great to have an opinion on a political issue, but also very important that women can be able to prepared to listen to what others think. By listening to other opinions women get to see things from another point of view which might change how they feel.

### 3.7.10 Political Efficacy

The relationship between the political efficacy and political participation has been supported in numerous empirical studies (Milbrath 1965; Easton and Dennis 1967;

Barnes and Kaase 1979; Verba and Nie 1972; Finkel 1985; Verba, Schlotzman and Brady 1995).

Political efficacy was originally defined by Campbell et al. (1954:187) as "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties."

Political efficacy is therefore concerned with the relationship between oneself and those who govern. In terms of participation, studies have shown that citizens who feel that they have the ability to influence politics are more likely to become involved in politics. Empirically, political efficacy can be considered a relatively strong predictor of political participation (Verba, Schlotzman and Brady 1995: Sullivan and Riedel 2001). Hence, the subjective assessment of one's possibility to have an influence is vital for the decision to act politically.

- Women's perception and attitude towards ZBC TV political programmes;
- Women satisfaction with TV political programmes.


### 3.8 Methods of Data Collection

Qualitative research is grounded in the assumption that features of a social environment are constructed as interpretations by individuals and that these interpretations tend to be transitory and situational. Qualitative researchers develop knowledge by collecting primarily verbal data through intensive study of cases and then subjecting these data to analytic induction (Anderson, 1987; Gunter, 2000;

Wimmer and Dominick, 1994). Robson (2000: 188) observes: Selecting a method or methods is based on what kind of information is sought, from whom and under what
circumstances. This study seeks to solicit the perceptions of women on mobilization role of ZBC TV political programmes towards women participation in politics. This necessitated interacting with women in a face-to-face interaction to reveal certain information. Thus, informant interviews, document reviews a well as focus group discussed. As Wimmer and Dominick (1994:47) observed, qualitative research allows researchers to view behaviour in a natural setting without artificiality, increases the depth of understanding and the method flexibility allows the researcher to pursue new areas of interest.

Qualitative case study was used to counter-check the already existing ideas and knowledge known and seen which concerns this study. The study was employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Structured and unstructured interview schedules, unstructured schedules for focus group discussions and document review were used to gather data. Interviews proceeded purposively among sampled respondents, who comprised of women aspirants, women's leaders, as well as politicians across two different districts on Urban West Regions targeted for this study.

The method of data analysis was used both quantitative and qualitative analysis using simple frequency and percentage in tabular presentation and chart for graphic illustration, in which descriptive analysis was used to infer meaning to the data in the table. Also, the Likert five scale method of data analysis was used to analyse the data. A total number of one hundred and five (105) questionnaire copies were administered to the respondents. The population of this study includes women of ages ranging from 18 - 60 residences of Urban West Region in Unguja. The sample size is one hundred
and five (105) that were selected among women of Urban West Unguja regardless of political parties' membership.

### 3.9 Research Instruments

The measuring instrument that was used in gathering information for this study was the questionnaire. The questionnaire was written in simple, unambiguous words so as not to confuse the respondents and to get accurate responses. The questionnaire contained questions which comprises of Linkert scale, closed-ended question and also a few open-ended questions. These types of questions were accompanied by a list of possible alternatives from which respondents are required to select the answer that best describes their situation. According to Sproul (1998), a self-administered questionnaire is the only way to elicit self-report on people's opinion, attitudes, beliefs and values.

The researcher developed questionnaires that were used to obtain important information about the population. The questionnaires were distributed by the enumerators to respondents so as to solicit the relevant information. The questionnaire for comprised of part A (Demographic details) B (Public Awareness Programs with Regard Mobilization of Women towards Political Participation), C (Public Perception towards ZBC TV Political Programs with Regard Women Political Participation), and part D (Respondents' Opinion on Challenges that Affects Women Participation into Politics in Zanzibar). Part A collects the background information of respondents, while Part B comprises of factors influencing women participation in political process in Zanzibar. Since public opinion on women's political participation is the key of this
study, Part D was used to gather information of women's views with regard possible challenges that affects women participation into politics in Zanzibar.

### 3.10 Ethical Considerations

This study involved asking humans questions, examining what they have done and obtaining secondary data about the organization. To ensured that the rights of the participants were not violated and to maintain good working relationship and credibility, the ethical issues were considered at three levels, thus; the planning level, during and after the study.

These reflect ones understanding of the regulations governing the research ethics through formal policies and right procedures in undertaking a research study that have been put into place by professional associations and governments (Wimmer and Dominick, 1994:399).

### 3.11 Validity and Reliability of Instrument

The instrument for gathering data was pre-tested using a pilot study which was conducted in an attempt to avoid time and money being wasted. On getting the results, modifications in the instrument were made to fill the gaps and lapses that were to be observed in the initial instrument. Face validity was conducted and used to measure the validity of the research instrument that is adopted to gather data.

The validity test was conducted to identify potential needs for modifications of some of the questions where necessary. Since the study is an empirical one, the data for this exercise was obtained from information gathered mainly from questionnaires which were self-administered to women of inhabitants of Urban West Region, in Unguja.

All four moderators who managed the debate and ten participants in FGD were studied. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to collect data. Data was also analysed by both quantitative and qualitative methods and presented in percentages and frequencies with assistance of SPSS computer software programme and narrative form respectively.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

### 4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter covers presentation and analysis of findings of this study. It focuses on testing the reliability of variables through Cronbach Alpha as well as presenting and analysing primary data collected using descriptive statistics analysis. Results of the findings were presented and analysed according to the specific objectives, which were: -

To find out the role of ZBC TV in mobilizing women toward political participation. The importance of television as the most mobilization media is universally acknowledged. Hence, this research was guided by the following questions:

1. To what extent the women within Urban West Region (Unguja) use the ZBC TV?
2. What is the perception of women in Zanzibar on the ZBC TV political programs?
3. How adequate are the ZBC TV political contents in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future?
4. How effective are ZBC TV political programs in mobilizing women towards political participation in Urban West Region to participate into politics.

In this chapter, various data presented were collected through focus group, in-depth interviews and questionnaires, and some by observations. The researcher used both close and open questionnaires and the total respondents were 120 based on case study within Urban West Region.

### 4.2 Validity and Reliability Analysis

Validity and reliability are terms, which are closely related. Validity is defined as correctness or credibility of a description, explanation, interpretation, account or conclusion (Maxwell, 1996). Another statement regarding validity stated by Ott \& Larson (in Ballinger, 2000) as it refers to whether the variables "measure what they are intended to measure".

### 4.3 Descriptive Statistics

In this part, the main characteristics of the respondents are presented in categories such that gender, age, marital status, level of education, exposure, political efficacy, political participation.

## Findings

## Demographics of Respondents

Table 4 provides the demographic details of all respondents who participated in the study.

### 4.3.1 Gender of Respondents

Gender is important because political participation affects both males and females. In this study only women were considered so as to find out whether females were the main beneficiaries of political participation activities in the study area. (See Table 4.3.1)

Table 4.1: Gender of Respondents

| Gender | Urban | Percent | West A | Percent | West B | Percent | Total | Percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Female | 48 | $45.71 \%$ | 23 | $21.90 \%$ | 34 | $32.38 \%$ | 105 | $100 \%$ |
| Total | 48 | 100 | 23 | 100 | 34 | 100 | 105 | 100.0 |

Source: Data, 2020

The table 4 above shows that that, $45 \%$ of the respondents are from Urban District, $23 \%$ are from West A district, the rest $32.38 \%$ comes from West B District. Those three districts form Urban West Region in Unguja Islands.

### 4.3.2 Age of Respondents

Table 4.3.2 below shows the age of respondents which were measured in years ranging from 18-25, 26-40 and above 40.

## Table 4. 2 Age of Respondents

| Age | Urban | Percent | West A | Percent | West B | Percent | Total | Percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 18-25 years | 02 | 1.90 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 01 | 0.95 | 03 | 2.86 |
| $26-40$ years | 32 | 30.48 | 08 | 7.62 | 16 | 15.24 | 56 | 53.33 |
| Above <br> years | 40 | 14 | 13.33 | 13 | 12.38 | 19 | 18.10 | 46 |
| Total | 48 | 45.2 | 21.0 | 19.9 | 36.0 | 14.2 | 105 | $100 \%$ |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

The age variable was used because it has influence on the ability to work and participate in various political activities available in the Urban West Region. The respondents with the age group of 18 to 25 in Urban West Region were 2.86 percent in aggregate. Urban was 1.9 , West A district was 0.0 . West B 0.0, West B 0.9. The respondents with the age group of 26 to 40 years were 53.33 percent and those with the age group above 40 were 43.81 percent of the total. The age groups between 18-25 and 26-40 are considered young and strong to participate in most of the political related activities which contribute so much on economic growth and improvement of
their livelihoods than the above 40 age group.

Table 4.3 Marital Status of Respondents

| Status | Urban | Percent | West A | Percent | West B | Percent | Total | Percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Married | 37 | 35.27 | 16 | 15.27 | 25 | 23.8 | 78 | 74.29 |
| Single | 11 | 10.4 | 5 | 4.76 | 11 | 10.47 | 27 | 25.71 |
| Total | 48 | 45.71 | 21 | 20 | 36 | 34.28 | 105 | 100.0 |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

### 4.3.3 Marital Status of the Respondents

Table 4.3.3 above shows the marital status of respondents. The total number of respondents was 105. Status of respondents was categorized as married and single. The researcher was interested to know the marital status of the respondents and to find out to what extent they are motivated to participating in political activities. It was found that 74.28 percent were married, 25.71 percent were single. Hence, the majority of respondents were married.

### 4.3.4 Education Level of Respondents

Table 4.3.4 below presents the education level of the respondents in two districts of Urban West Region (Urban West A and West B). Education is one among the determining factors which is believed to facilitate political consciousness and empowerment of women participation through empowerment toward participation in political and related activities in the communities. The researcher was keen to grasp the relationship between being educated and political awareness towards political participation within the region.

Table 44 Education Level

| Status | Urban | Percent | West A | Percent | West B | Percent | Total | Percent |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Primary | 03 | 2.85 | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ | 02 | 1.9 | 5 | 4.76 |
| Secondary | 11 | 10.47 | 09 | 8.57 | 13 | 12.38 | 33 | 31.43 |
| University | 35 | 32.38 | 12 | 11.42 | 21 | 20 | 66 | 62.86 |
| Total | 48 | 45.7 | 21 | 19.99 | 36 | 34.28 | 105 | 100.0 |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

The findings reveal that 62.86 of the respondents have university level of education, while $31.43 \%$ have secondary school education. The rest of the respondent's 4.76 percent have primary education.

These findings have significant impact to study, since education level matter if talk goes about political participation. In that regard, we are in the opinion that education serves as a sorting mechanism; whatever educational attainment may be median at a given time, individuals significantly above the median will tend to be members of social networks that can connect their views more effectively to political leaders and institutions. This matters because the capacity of the political system to pay attention to inputs is inherently limited. (For example, as information technology permits more and more citizens to communicate with their representatives, the impact of each message will decrease.)

If the people as a whole are the principal, their elected and appointed agents will always need mechanisms for allocating their time and attention, and position in social networks is one such mechanism. As education levels rise across society, the positive
effects of absolute increases in knowledge and understanding are counterbalanced by the negative effects of increased competition for scarce positions of social centrality.

Research Question 1: What is the extent of women's awareness of political programs on ZBC TV towards mobilizing them for political participation?

As a key component of political awareness and political participation, the researcher has probed the respondents to learn about respondents 'readiness and inclination towards political participation. So, within the question 1, respondents were asked if they would have joined a political party or movement, what would expect from that engagement.

1. Question One: To what extent the women within Urban West Region (Unguja) use the ZBC TV?

Question 1(i): Respondents TV Watching Habit of Political Programmes on ZBC TV
Question 1(ii): Would you describe yourself as a socially/politically active citizen?
Question 1(iii): Would you participate in one of the following political activities?
Question 1(iv): Are you a member of a political party?
Question 1(v): Do you vote on a regular basis?
Question 1(vi): What is the extent of women's awareness of ZBC TV political programs aiming at mobilizing women towards political participation?
Question 1(vii): Do ZBC political programmes encourage the respondents to participate in politics?
Question 1(i): Respondents TV Watching Habit of Political Programmes on ZBC TV

Table 4.5: Respondents TV Watching Habit of Political Programmes on ZBC TV

| ZBC Political Programmes | I am familiar of that Programme |  | I am not familiar of that Programme |  | I have never seen that programme |  | Rating |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Respondents’ | Frequency | Percent \% | Frequency | Percent \% | Frequency | Percent \% | Total | Percent \% |
| TV Watching |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Habit of |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Programmes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| on ZBC TV |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Women and | 49 | 46.67 | 16 | 15.24 | 40 | 38.10 | 105 | 100 |
| Development |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (Wanawake na |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Maendeleo) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Women and Dr | 54 | 51.43 | 8 | 7.69 | 43 | 40.95 | 105 | 100 |
| Shein |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (Wanawake na |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dokta Shein) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 4.4.1 above shows the rate of ZBC TV viewers by the respondents to political programmes broadcasted in Swahili language. The table shows the number of the respondents that watch the political programmes. The findings revealed that out of 105 respondents approximately half of them admitted to be familiar with the ZBC TV political programmes.

Comparing the two programmes, evidently the Women and Dr Shein Programme was the most watched by 54 women, which is $51.43 \%$ among the 105 respondents, against the Women Development that has 46.67 \% viewers representing 49 women. However, the findings shows that less than one-third (15\%) of the respondents are not familiar and close to $40 \%$ of them affirmed that they have never heard any of those two programmes. Generally, the results reflect the fact that more than half of ZBC TV viewers were not in the loop of political programmes that ordained to women rights issues.

Question 1(ii): Would you describe yourself as a socially/politically active citizen? The results of the findings shown in the figure below above have revealed that more than three-quarter of the respondents ( $86 \%$ ) do not consider themselves as socially or politically active. The respondents' responses were categorized into four scales: absolutely yes; mainly yes; mainly not and not at all.

Figure 4.1 Respondents' Description on Socially or Politically Activeness


Source: Field Survey 2020
Question 1 (iii) Would you participate in one of the following activities?

Table 4.6 Would you participate in one of the following activities

| Respondents' Response | Percent \% |
| :---: | :---: |
| - I would attend political party meeting | 32.2 |
| - I would help political party as political activist | 25.4 |
| - I would participate a political rally | 21.8 |
| - I would wear a shirt or a badge with political message | 21.1 |
| - I would share a post with political content in social media (twitter, Facebook, Instagram.) | 19.6 |
| - I would take party in political party campaign | 15.0 |
| - Would you vote for political candidate of your choice? | 14.1 |

Source: primary data 2020
Research Question 1(ii): The respondents were asked if they would participate in one of the activities listed on the table above as indicators of the political participation. The results of the findings shown in the table 8 above which have revealed that majority of the respondents were not politically active citizens. Less than one-third of the respondents have confirmed their enthusiasm to participate in political activities.

Figure 4.2 Respondents Participation in Political Activities


Source: Field Survey 2020

Question 1(v): Are you a member of a political party?
Table 4.7 Member of Political Party

| Respondents' Response | Percent\% |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\bullet$ Yes | $19.80 \%$ |
| $\bullet$ No but I have been | $21.80 \%$ |
| • No neither I have been | $58.40 \%$ |

Source: Primary Data 2020

Respondents were asked about their political membership as a important indicator of political participation and the results was based on the table 9 above shows that only $19.80 \%$ of them were members of political party. The rest $80.20 \%$ were not members of political party. Taken to the account that all of the respondents were women who
about $70 \%$ watched ZBC TV, it means the reach is high. But the question is why they are not politically motivated. Since, this study deals with broadcasting communication then we can cast doubt on the effectiveness of the ZBC TV political programmes in terms of effectiveness, taste and content of the programmes.

Figure 4.3 Member of Political Party


Source: Field Survey 2020
Question 1 (vii): Do you vote on a regular basis?

Table 4.8 Vote of Respondents

| Respondents' Response | Percent \% |
| :--- | :---: |
| - Yes | $81.9 \%$ |
| - No | $13.8 \%$ |
| - I did not have the right to vote | $1.4 \%$ |
| - I don't want to Answer | $2.9 \%$ |

Source: Primary Data 2020

Regarding voting, as another indicator of political participation, the respondents were asked if they regularly vote. The table 4.3 .10 shows that almost $82 \%$ of the
respondents declared to have vote regularly. It means, the majority of the respondents were seemed to be motivated when it comes to general elections. Possibly that scenario occurs because during elections, political campaign is always hyper-active and almost all media inside and outside Zanzibar take part to mobilize the public towards elections. Thus, this is not the case that is solitarily handled by ZBC TV political programmes alone. However, the result depicts the fact that the women in Urban West Region do take part in political activities especially when it comes to important political issues the like of general elections.

Figure 4.4 Vote of Respondents


Source: Field Survey 2020
Since television serves as important sources of mass communication and vital part of social institutions that provide political information, ZBC TV has two common political programmes that devoted to women rights. Hence, within question 1, as subitem of question one, the researcher sought information about respondents' watching habit of political programs aired by ZBC TV, so as to gauge how active are the respondents towards political activities in Zanzibar. The respondents' responses in this regard shades some light on the effectiveness of ZBC TV political programmes in
mobilizing women towards political participation in terms of reach and number of audiences that ZBC TV managed to capture. By and large, the findings reflect that effectiveness of ZBC TV political programmes is mediocre.

## Table 4.9 Women's awareness of ZBC TV on political Programs

| Research Question 1(iv): What is the extent of women's awareness of ZBC TV political programs aiming at mobilizing women towards political participation? (Please acknowledge if you remember those issues through ZBC TV political programmes). |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Critical Issues of Political Programs | $\begin{gathered} \text { Recall } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Not Recall } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | Somehow Recall \% | Never Heard \% | I am not sure \% |
| 1. Absence of gender equality policies/legal regulatory framework (constitution/election law) promoting women's participation | 48 (45.71) | 37(35.) | 11(10.) | 3(2.85) | 6(5.71) |
| 2. Unwillingness of political parties to promote women in their ranks. | 31(29.52) | 35(33.) | 27(25.) | 8(7.61) | 4(3.80) |
| 3. Gender blind institutions (governments, parliaments, political parties) and processes (elections, judicial appointments) | 26 (24.76) | 20(19.04) | 34(328) | 16(15.23) | 09(8.57) |
| 4. Conduct public awareness campaigns on the benefits of women's representation and meaningful political participation | 32 (30.47) | 22(20.95) | 28(26.6) | 12(1142) | 11(10.47) |


| 5. Create dialogue <br> platforms focused on a <br> religious discourse on <br> women's rights. | 27 (25.71) | $20(19.04)$ | $29(27.61)$ | $15(14.28)$ | $14(13.33)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 6. Take initiatives to <br> promote better <br> understanding of <br> gender equality issues <br> in society <br> (discrimination, <br> domestic violence, <br> socio-cultural <br> attitudes) | 33 (31.42) | $13(12.38)$ | $30(28.57)$ | $15(14.28)$ | $14(13.33)$ |
| 7. Biased media coverage <br> of women | $23(21.90)$ | $21(20)$ | $29(27.61)$ | $21(20)$ | $11(10.47)$ |
| 8. Legal discrimination <br> of women | $18(17.14)$ | $28(26.66)$ | $18(17.14)$ | $26(24.76)$ | $15(14.28)$ |
| 9. Lack of an enabling <br> environment for civil <br> society | $20(19.04)$ | $22(20.95)$ | $10(9.52)$ | $27(25.71)$ | $26(24.76)$ |
| Sour Pry |  |  |  |  |  |

Source: Primary Data 2020

The findings shows that approximately one-third of the respondents did remember some of the critical issues with regard gender issues air via ZBC TV political programmes. Likewise, about one-third of the respondents have affirmed of not recalling the discussions of those critical issues. The rest of the respondents said either they are sceptical or not sure.

TV political discussions are often studied as important factors in understanding the effects of political efficacy towards political participation. The fact is, political efficacy is the vital criterion of political participation.

Timing of broadcast of the programmes could also be part of the problem with regard watching habits of the viewers or calibre of the participants invited to participate in the programmes.

They also believe that the discussions aired though that TBV programmes more or less did contribute to their political efficacy. Given the results reflected on the table, it is obvious that effectiveness of ZBC TV political programmes is possibly could be hindered either by poor quality of information or messages imparted to the public.

Question 1(v): Respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether ZBC TV political programs encourage them to participate in politics.

Table 4.10 Response To If Political Programs Encourage The Respondents to Participants in Politics

| Do ZBC political programmes <br> encourage the respondents to <br> participate in politics? | Frequency | Percent | Valid <br> Percent | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Yes | 48 | 45.7 | 45.7 | 45.7 |
| Not | 29 | 27.6 | 27.6 | 27.6 |
| I am not sure | 28 | 26.7 | 26.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 105 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

Field survey (Table 4.4.6 above) revealed that 48 of the respondents (45.7\%) admitted that they felt encouraged politically after viewing ZBC TV political programmes, while 29 women $27.6 \%$ ) declared that they are not in any way encouraged. Generally, almost half of the respondents are encouraged by the ZBC TV political programmes.

Research Question 2: What is the perception of women on ZBC TV political programs?

The respondents were asked to express their perception in regard ZBC TV political programmes. As mentioned earlier that ZBC TV state-owned television runs two political programmes that devoted to women rights including their role on political process in the country (see. The Table 4.4.7 below). The respondents were asked to respond to four key statements that are:
i. ZBC TV Political Programmes are excellent and very enlightening with regard to importance of women political participation
ii. I do not think ZBC TV Political Programmes are of any significant in enlightening the importance of women political participation.
iii. ZBC TV Political Programmes do very well in mobilizing women towards political participation in the last five years.
iv. I do not recall anything to do with ZBC TV Political Programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years.

Table 4.11 Public Perception towards ZBC

| C. Public Perception Toward Political Participation | ZBC TV | litical |  | ith Reg | d Women |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Research Question 2: What is the perception of | True | Someho w True | False | Someho w False | I am not sure |
| women on ZBC TV political programs? | Frq (\%) | Frq (\%) | Frq (\%) | Frq (\%) | Frq (\%) |
| i. ZBC TV Political <br> Programmes are excellent and very enlightening with regard to importance of women political participation | (21.9) 23 | (43.8)46 | $\begin{aligned} & (18.1) 1 \\ & 9 \end{aligned}$ | (3.8) 4 | (12.4) 13 |


| ii. I do not think ZBC TV Political Programmes are of any significant in enlightening the importance of women political participation. | (7.6) 8 | (21.9)23 | $\begin{aligned} & (41.9) 4 \\ & 4 \end{aligned}$ | (20.0)21 | (8.6) 9 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| iii. ZBC TV Political Programmes do very well in mobilizing women towards political participation in the last five years. | (19.0) 20 | (34.3)36 | $\begin{aligned} & (18.1) 1 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | (9.5) 10 | (19.0) 20 |
| iv. I do not recall anything to do with ZBC TV Political Programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years. | (6.7) 7 | (21.9)23 | $\begin{aligned} & (34.3) 3 \\ & 6 \end{aligned}$ | (14.3) 15 | (22.9) 24 |

Source: Primary Data, 2020
On statement (i): The Table 4.4.7 above shows that less than one-third (21.9 \%) of the respondents believed that ZBC TV political programmes are excellent and very enlightening with regard importance of women political participation. While $18.1 \%$ of the respondents think otherwise, they had disagreed the statement. In that regard, more than three-quarter of the respondents were sceptic as far the statement (i) is concerned.

Besides, with regard statement (ii): Almost half of the respondents did not think ZBC TV Political Programmes are of any significant in enlightening the importance of women political participation.

While responding to Statement (iii): Less than one-third of the respondents had
confirmed that ZBC TV political programme did very well in mobilizing women towards political participation in the last five years.

Regarding Statement (iv): 34.3 \% of the respondents confirmed that they did not remember anything to do with ZBC TV political programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years.

Respondents' Recollection of the Critical Issues: In this item (Statement 1 (iv), the researcher sought to understand respondents' recollection of the critical issues that they have heard during political discussion or debate via ZBC TV political programmes. The table number 4.4.7 above shows the results of the respondents' recollection. It is assumed that these critical issues (listed as statements) in the table above normally stimulate public awareness and in the long run trigger women political participation.

Research Question 3: How adequate are the political content in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future? In this item the respondents were asked to respond if the ZBC TV political content adequate enough to dispel fears in them. All responses were broken down into three scales: adequate, not adequate and I am not sure.

Table 4.12 Adequacy of Political Programs

| Statement 1: Are the ZBC TV political content <br> adequate enough to dispel fears in women? | Frequency | Percent | Valid <br> Percent | Cumulati <br> ve <br> Percent |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Adequate | 20 | 19.1 | 19.1 | 19.1 |
| Not Adequate | 62 | 59.1 | 59.1 | 78.2 |
| I am not sure | 23 | 23 | 23 |  |
| Total | 105 | 100.0 |  | 100.0 |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

Table 4.4.8 above reveals that $20(19.1 \%)$ of the respondents believe that the ZBC TV political programmes are adequate to dispel the fears they have as women in participating in politics, meaning that these political programmes are actually effective in relieving whatever fears they have for participating in politics. Meanwhile, more than half of the respondents (62 $(59.1 \%)$ women are of the opinion that the programmes are not adequate in dispelling their fears. This implies that majority of the respondents; in fact do not believe that the ZBC TV political programmes dispel women's fear of participating in politics.

Table 4.4.9 below reflects the respondents view on the adequacy of political content in influencing women inhibitions that may have towards politics in the future. The respondents had responded differently to this question, as it was an open-ended question. All responses were broken down into two scales as seen in the table 16 below.

Table 4.13 Respondent's Response on the Political Content in Influencing Inhibitions Women May Have towards Politics In The Future

| Statement 2: How adequate are the <br> political content in influencing <br> inhibitions women may have <br> towards politics in the future? | Frequency | Percent | Valid | Cumulative <br> Percent |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Adequate | 45 | 42.9 | 42.9 | 42.9 |
| Not Adequate | 60 | 57.1 | 57.1 | 100.0 |
| Total | 105 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

The responses were broken into two scales: Adequate and Not Adequate. From the respondents' responses, it was learnt that 45 women representing $42.9 \%$ of the 105 respondents believed that the political content of ZBC political programmes are adequate in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future. 60 out of the 105 respondents $(57.1 \%)$ denied the statement, affirming that the political content of ZBC political programmes arenot adequate in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future.

Research Question 4: How effective are the ZBC TV political programs in mobilizing women towards political participation in urban west region.

The respondents were asked to share their perception towards ZBC TV political programmes. Response was broken into three statements and rated with three scales: Agree; Disagree and I am not sure.

Table 4.14 The Effectiveness of ZBC TV Political Programs in Mobilizing Women to Participate.

| STATEMENTS | RATING |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | I Agree |  | I Disagree |  | I am Not Sure |  |
|  | Frequency | Percent | Frequenc <br> y | Perce nt | Frequenc <br> y | Percent |
| 1. ZBC TV political <br> content highly <br> motivates women <br> for political <br> participation  | 31 | 29.5 | 34 | 32.4 | 40 | 38.1 |
| 2. ZBC TV political programs mobilize women to participation in politics. | 48 | 45.7 | 29 | 27.6 | 28 | 26.7 |
| 3. Women's participation in politics depends on their exposure to ZBC TV political programmes. | 18 | 17.1 | 37 | 35.2 | 50 | 47.6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Source: Primary Data, 2020

- Question 4 (Statement 1): 29.5\%, of the respondents agreed that ZBC TV political content highly motivates women for political participation, against 32.4 percent who disagreed the statement. 40 percent of the respondents are skeptical about.
- Question 4 (Statement 2): scored $45.7 \%$ of the respondents accepted that ZBC TV political programs mobilized women to participation in politics while $27.6 \%$ of the respondents have disagreed the notion and $26.6 \%$ were skeptical.
- Question 4 (Statement 3): less than one-third $17.1 \%$ of the respondents agreed the statement that women's participation in politics depends on their exposure to ZBC TV political programmes, while $35.2 \%$ of the respondents disagreed and $47.6 \%$ of them are not sure.


## CHAPTER FIVE

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS/RESULTS

### 5.1 Chapter Overview

The data collected for this study were analysed using descriptive statistics and were presented by tables and charts. Qualitative and quantitative analysis were used to establish the ZBC role in the mobilization of women to political participation.

This section presents the discussion based on the significance of the themes identified in this study on: the role of ZBC TV in mobilization of women toward political participation.

Research Question 1: To what extent the women within Urban West Region (Unguja) use the ZBC TV? The question has six sub-themes as follow:
i. Respondents' TV Watching Habit of Political Programmes on ZBC TV
ii. To assess whether respondents are socially/politically active citizen
iii. Probing on respondents' participation in political activities
iv. To learn if respondents are members of a political party
v. Respondents vote on a regular basis
vi. Whether ZBC TV political programs encourage respondents to participate in politics.

Given the results, it was learnt that three quarter (82.4\%) of the respondents confirm that they are not considered themselves as socially or politically active citizens.

Besides, three quarter $(80.20 \%)$ of the respondents are not members of political parties. But, almost $82 \%$ affirmatively agreed that they vote on regular base.

With regard voting, as an important indicator of political participation, if the majority of the respondents $82 \%$ regularly vote, it means, the majority of the respondents were motivated when it comes to general elections. Possibly, that scenario occurs because during elections, political campaign is always hyper-active and almost all media inside and outside Zanzibar take part to mobilize the public towards elections. Thus, this is not the case that is solitarily handled by ZBC TV political programmes alone. However, the result depicts the fact that the women in Urban West Region do take part in political activities especially when it comes to important political issues the like of general elections.

Besides in Question 1, the researcher has attempted to seek respondents' insights on watching habit of political programs aired by ZBC TV. So as to gauge how active are the respondents towards political activities in Zanzibar. The findings shade some light on the question of effectiveness of ZBC TV political programmes in mobilizing women towards political participation in the sense of reach and number of audiences ZBC TV managed to capture regularly. By and large, the findings reflect that effectiveness of ZBC TV political programmes is mediocre.

The findings revealed that out of 105 respondents approximately half of them admitted to be familiar with the political programmes (Women and Dr Shien \& Women Development). Comparing the two programmes, it was learnt that the Women
and Dr Shien Programme was the most watched by 54 women, which is $46.67 \%$ among the 105 respondents, against the Women Development that has 49 \% viewers representing 49 women. However, the findings shows that approximately 15 percent of the respondents are not familiar and close to $40 \%$ of them affirmed that they have never heard any of those two programmes.

Question 1(v): Respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether ZBC TV political programs encourage them to participate in politics. Field survey (Table 13 above) revealed that 48 of the respondents ( $45.7 \%$ ) admitted that they felt encouraged politically after viewing ZBC TV political programmes, while 29 women $27.6 \%$ ) declared that they are not in any way encouraged. Generally, almost half of the respondents were encouraged by the ZBC TV political programmes.

The respondents were asked to express their perception in regard ZBC TV political programmes. As mentioned earlier that ZBC TV state-owned television runs two political programmes that devoted to women rights including their role on political process in the country (The Table 4.4.4). The respondents were asked to respond to four key statements that are:
i. ZBC TV Political Programmes are excellent and very enlightening with regard to importance of women political participation
ii. I do not think ZBC TV Political Programmes are of any significant in enlightening the importance of women political participation.
iii. ZBC TV Political Programmes do very well in mobilizing women towards political participation in the last five years.
iv. I do not recall anything to do with ZBC TV Political Programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years.

On statement (i): The Table 4.4.4 above shows that only 21.9 \% of the respondents believed that ZBC TV political programmes are excellent and very enlightening with regard importance of women political participation. While $18.1 \%$ of the respondents think otherwise, they had disagreed the statement. In that connection, more than threequarter of the respondents were sceptic as far the statement (i) is concerned.

Besides, with regard statement (ii): Almost half of the respondents did not think ZBC TV Political Programmes are of any significant in enlightening the importance of women political participation.

While responding to Statement (iii): Less than one-third of the respondents (19.0 \%) had confirmed that ZBC TV political programme did very well in mobilizing women towards political participation in the last five years.

Regarding Statement (iv): $34.3 \%$ of the respondents confirmed that they did not remember anything to do with ZBC TV political programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years.

Research Question 2: The respondents were asked to reflect their perception with regard the ZBC TV political programs that target women.

Based on the results of statement 2 (table: How adequate are the political content in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future? On that regard the respondents view on the adequacy of political content in influencing women inhibitions that may have towards politics in the future. The respondents had responded differently to this question, as it was an open-ended question. All responses were broken down into two scales: Adequate and Not Adequate as seen in the table 16.

Regarding question, responses of the respondents show that 45 women representing $42.9 \%$ of the 105 respondents were tagged under the adequate response. 60 out of the 105 respondents ( $57.1 \%$ ) had their responses tagged under not adequate. Most of the responses boil down to the content being not adequate. This outcome means that the political content on ZBC TV political programmes is mediocre or not effective enough in influencing later decisions that women might have towards participating in politics in future.

Research Question 5: How effective is the ZBC TV political programs in mobilizing women towards political participation in Urban West Region.

While probing on effectiveness of ZBC TV political discussions programmes on women mobilization towards political participation, the respondents were asked to share their perceptions towards ZBC TV political programmes. Response was broken into three statements and rated with three scales: Agree; Disagree and I am not sure. The following results were recorded:

- More than two-third of the respondents were either disagreed (32.4\%) or skeptical (38.1\%) over the statement that ZBC TV political content highly motivate women for political participation.
- Besides, when the respondents were asked to rate ZBC TV political programmes whether the programmes mobilized women to participate in politics, less than half of them (45.7\%) have agreed that ZBC TV political programs mobilize women to participation in politics but more than half of them (54.3\%) disagree.

With regard a statement that women's participation in politics depends on their exposure to ZBC TV political programmes, majority of the respondents (83.8 \%) disagreed the statement against 17 percent of the respondent who agreed. Here we can argue that despite ZBC TV enjoying lion share of the audience in the Zanzibar Islands, its political programmes especially on women right issues, it still struggles to be able to draw attention of majority of the audience or effectively appeal its audience to its programmes deal with women rights issues. In other words, ZBC TV political programmes with regard critical women rights issues for the last five years have seemed to have mediocre influence on its audience. The situation reflects that, women in Urban West Region do watch ZBC TV political contents programmes that were meant to advocate women right issues only with little enthusiasm. Since the reasons could be many, we can simply put that the programmes have barely be able to draw maximum attention of its potential viewers. Subsequently this state of affair has potentially limited ZBC TV leverage to fully mobilizing women towards participation into political activities.

Research results reveal that almost half of the Urban West Region (\%) watches political programmes, but majority of the respondents (\% ) disagreed that women's participation in politics depends on their exposure to ZBC TV political programmes.

The findings concur with Popkin \& Dimock, who posits that democracy requires democratic citizens, whose specific knowledge, competences, and character would not as well suit to non-democratic politics. Popkin \& Dimock, in their analyses of low information rationality theory, demonstrated that citizens with low level of information cannot follow public discussion of issues and are less inclined to participate in the political process. In that context, based on the research findings one can argue that political education is still the missing link among majority of women politicians in Zanzibar.

Previous studies provide evidence that broadcasting debates and talk shows can result in learning; however, where this entails learning incorrect information it cannot be equated with knowledge increase. Rather it constitutes a decrease in political knowledge. In a panel study to measure participants' political knowledge before and after the screening of a televised presidential debate, Maurer and Reinemann (2006) found that although exposure resulted in "learning", participants learned both correct and incorrect facts. Although it used a quasi-experimental design, their sample was small and self-selected, and participants had higher levels of education and interest in politics than the general audience of the debate programme.

The observations above can also be discussed in terms of mediated deliberation which is a form of public deliberation that can be achieved when the media acts as a "mediator" between the mass public and elected officials. Media communication professionals relay information, values and diverse points of view to the public in order for effective public deliberation to occur. This concept in practical in a democratized public sphere in which all members of society, especially marginalized groups, should have the opportunity to participate in shaping, influencing and criticizing public opinion.

The characteristics of these media formats echo those principles on which political theories of deliberative democracy are based. Deliberative democracy can be thought of as a discursive system where citizens voluntarily and freely participate in discussions on public issues, share information about public affairs, talk politics, form opinions and participate in political processes (Kim et al, 1999). In a democratized public sphere all members of society, especially marginalized groups, should have the opportunity to participate in shaping, influencing and criticizing public opinion.

At the core of deliberative democracy is public deliberation - defined by Burkhalter et al (2002) as a combination of careful problem analysis and an egalitarian process in which participants have adequate speaking opportunities and engage in attentive listening or dialogue that bridges divergent ways of speaking and knowing. 3 Public deliberation in the context of media is known as "mediated deliberation" - a concept originally advanced by Benjamin Page. Page (1996, p. 6) argues that the size of the
citizenry and the multitude of complex political problems "necessitate a division of labour in political expertise, policy-making and political communication."

Page argues that there is a need for "professional communicators", who "not only help policy experts communicate with each other, but also assemble, explain, debate and disseminate the best available information and ideas about public policy, in ways that are accessible to large audiences of ordinary citizens". Page's view resonates with that of Habermas (2006) who argues that the media play an important role to mobilize and pool relevant issues and required information, and to specify interpretations; to process such contributions discursively by means of proper arguments for and against; and to generate rationally motivated yes and no attitudes [i.e. public opinions] that are expected to determine the outcome of procedurally correct decisions. Habermas, 2006

Gastil and Black (2008) propose a framework that considers both the analytic and social processes that should be in place for deliberation to occur across a range of different sites of public talk. Dialogic formats such as audience, political and campaign debates and political discussion programmes, which incorporate these media system functions, could be said to deliver the functions of a deliberative media process.

In that light, ZBC TV political programmes is obliged to play pivotal role in impacting political education and shaping public opinion and attitude change towards women participation in political process in their locale. Particularly the discursive nature of those programmes is indispensable, in which women access to those political
programmes will for certain influence their political consciousness so do their political knowledge their will to participate in the political process as well. Simply put, women participation in television political programmes is essential. Hence, it is ZBC TV responsibility to allow sufficient airtime for women activists as well as women politicians to participate in political debates and discussions that strategically organized for the purpose of mobilizing women into politics. Women participation in ZBC political programmes whether it is debates or discussions will contribute to women political awareness.

Given the fact that political education is still remain a missing link amongst majority of women within Urban West Region in Zanzibar as depicted in research findings, so it is essentially that the ZBC TV should also perform with equal weight its educating function in sensitizing women to take part in political activities. This role can be successfully achieved by educating these women of their basic rights in the society. In doing so, the ZBC TV will be able to motivate them to participate in political activities because people usually participate in a human action that they are aware about. Thus, in an attempt to lure more women to become loyal viewers of the political programmes, it is imperative that ZBC TV management of political programmes has to take extra effort to portray women in a better light and not just mere housewives as most adverts would depict.

In that respect, ZBC TV can inspire women by bringing female politicians who have made it to enlighten other women on the benefits of participating in politics. These women can act as role models to other women and when people have role models, the
tendency to do as they do is high. There is also need for ZBC TV to re-orientate women of their equal rights with men in the political arena, decision making process, because most men now see politics as their sole rights and so discourage women from participating in politics.

The question of ZBC TV mobilization role will link us to discuss on the importance of political education. For our purpose in this study, political awareness that must have been raised by ZBC TV political programmes via Dr Shein and Women and Women Development programmes. Retrospectively, concept of political education has been subjected to different interpretations by scholars, however in traditional socialization studies, the term political education was used synonymously with political literacy to mean the goal of political education. In a similar perspective, Denver \& Hands have conceived political literacy or education as the knowledge and understanding of political issues, which enable people to perform their roles as citizens effectively.

Westholme et al. 5 describe political education as the basic concept and facts that constitute a necessary condition for comprehending the contents of public debate. Krosnick simply viewed political literacy as political expertise, while Zaller,6 called it political awareness, which is the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics and understands what he or she has encountered.

Political efficacy is another important dependent variable in this study. In its simplest form it is defined as knowledge of political facts (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1993), but it is related to the concepts of political awareness, political expertise and, at the
furthest end of the spectrum, political sophistication. (This is defined by Eveland and Hutchens, 2008, as "knowledge of the political realm".) "The most widely accepted conceptualization of political efficacy describes it as 'the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change'." Campbell et al, 1954.

Political efficacy can be divided into two related but distinct components - external and internal efficacy. External efficacy constitutes the individual's belief that political elites and governmental institutions are responsive to citizen demands. Internal efficacy is the belief that one is competent to exert influence on and engage in the political process (Clarke et al, 2010). McKinney and Chattopadhyay (2007) further distinguish political information efficacy (an element of internal efficacy). This may be defined as the level of confidence one has in one's political knowledge and the belief that one possesses sufficient knowledge to engage in the political process through formal political behaviours such as joining political party, participate in petition, voting etc.

Political knowledge is extremely difficult to measure, and in practice few studies explore political sophistication or more complex levels of political expertise. Rather, measures tend to be fact-based responses to survey questions about political representatives or systems, or self-ratings of levels of knowledge on specific political "issues", both of which are problematic. However, it has been found that those who
can recall factual information most completely may not necessarily possess a deep understanding of political affairs (Mondak, 1995, in Gajora, 2012).

However, the nature of quantitative survey data collection limits the extent to which studies can take alternative approaches, and so for now most large-scale studies continue to employ simple factual or self-report style measures of political knowledge. Inter-relationship between these outcomes, empirical studies generally do not focus on participation, efficacy or knowledge outcomes in isolation, but rather investigate the relationships between them, or the mediating effects of the latter two on participation. Scholars widely accept the relationship between political efficacy and political behaviour.

Our point of discussion based on the the statement 1(iv)that sought to share to learnt respondents; recollection while gauging their political knowledge. (I do not recall anything to do with ZBC TV political programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years). This statement can directly linked to political knowledge attained by the sample respondents in this research. In response to this statement, 34.3 \% of the respondents confirmed that they did not remember anything to do with ZBC TV political programmes with regard mobilization of women towards political participation in the last five years. Besides, it was learnt that three quarter ( $82.4 \%$ ) of the respondents confirm that they are not considered themselves as socially or politically active citizens. Besides, three quarter ( $80.20 \%$ ) of the respondents are not members of political parties. Based on the results
it obvious that majority of the respondent lack internal efficacy towards women rights issues.

The results concur with Morell (2005, p. 50) who posit that without internal political efficacy individuals "will likely become apathetic about, indifferent to and disengaged from the democratic process." DelliCarpini (2004, p. 398) notes that democratic attitudes such as political efficacy "are positively associated with the amount and quality of democratic engagement." Verba et al (1995) identify efficacy as part of a broader political engagement factor, among three overarching factors predicting political participation (which incorporate knowledge and recruitment networks).

Larcinese's (2007) analysis of 1997 British election data showed that a person scoring the maximum on a measure of knowledge is around one-third more likely to vote than someone at the bottom of the knowledge distribution. The author concluded that political knowledge has a statistically significant association with British citizens' likelihood to vote. Galston (2001) found that people possessing more political knowledge were better able to understand political processes and events, more likely to support core democratic principles such as tolerance, and more likely to participate in public matters.

Moreover, Carol \& Celia, have conceived political education as the potential for informed participation in political activities. Annette, 7 in describing political education, employed the concept of education for democracy which he argues that education is based on the study of politics for the purpose of encouraging civic
participation, as well as the development of virtues, and political knowledge through the provision of opportunity for service learning or active learning in the community.

By and large, ZBC TV serves as sources of mass communication as well as vital parts of the dominant economic and political structures in the country and its role parallels the political and economic values of a society. In that context, ZBC TV can also play a major role in mobilizing women for politics, but it cannot work in isolation. The ZBC TV should therefore be very creative in producing better political programmes that can effectively appeal to the rational of its audience by putting into consideration other factors, (public deliberation, participatory means, culture, gender gaps, etc) and by so doing the women are confident that their beliefs are still important and not treated as nothing. Therefore, a call is made on ZBC TV station to step up their programmes by conducting several sociological communication researches so as to communicate effectively. This should be done because ZBC TV is the most effective medium for reaching the majority viewers including minority groups in the society.

## CHAPTER SIX

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents summary, conclusion and policy recommendations based on findings of the study. Also, it includes areas for further research.

### 6.2 Summary

This research mainly examined the ZBC TV role in mobilizing Zanzibar women towards participating in politics, Case Study Urban West Region in Unguja. The Urban West Region in Unguja was chosen since the area tends to be the business centre and the headquarter of almost all of the political institutions including popular political parties. Generally, most of the political activities are initiated and regulated from this area. It is the most populated area in Zanzibar Islands with population of 500,000 people, according to censor results of 2010.

The issue of women mobilization towards political participation became pertinent in Zanzibar as access to political office as in other African countries, due to the profoundly constituted structural societal barriers cited in many imperial studies, hinder women's entry into political leadership or merely participate into political process. In Zanzibar, women constitute slightly more than half (51\%) of the population. Their contribution to the social and economic development of the country is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Yet women's participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant. Among many
women in Zanzibar, the implicit assumption behind the many decades of concerted efforts to gain access to political process as well as political leadership and governance has remained that women can and do make a significant and constructive difference when in leadership.

This view has still remained anchored on the conviction that despite political polarization, throughout Zanzibar's political life, women have demonstrated positive performance in public leadership and in their daily lives and could do even better if they attained a critical mass. The failure to include "critical mass" of women in formal political representation structures will definitely result to perpetual patriarchy system in the society in which politics will continue to remain male game field.

Women in politics play a vital role in ensuring the democratic governance of this country and therefore their contribution to these processes need to be analysed in the appropriate context by the media. Women's issues as raised by the women politicians show the democratic participation of the Zanzibar woman. There cannot be a real democracy if the voices and issues of more than half of the country's population are ignored or marginalized.

In that gender issues struggle in which women are in disadvantage, media has very crucial role play, since the media are potentially powerful channels of information in a society. The messages they transmit can change or reinforce social mores and behaviours, and mobilize citizens to take progressive actions. While, ideally, the media should strive for accuracy and impartiality, in reality there are often imbalances
in coverage, including in terms of women and their perspectives.

The study made use of five research questions, which are found relevant to the study and were subjected to empirical test. A study of 300,000 populations was randomly and systematically selected from two districts of Urban West Region. In the literature review, three relevant theories that constituted the background of the study were examined which agenda setting theory, social responsibilities theory and framing theory.

In that context, the researcher selected a total of 105 questionnaires administered and the results generated from the study were analysed using tables and percentages.

In order to achieve those objectives, the study questions were developed as follows:

1. To examine the extent of which women within Urban West Region (Unguja) use the ZBC TV.
2. To determine the perception of women in Zanzibar on the ZBC TV political programs.
3. To determine how adequate are the ZBC TV political contents in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future.
4. How effective are the ZBC TV political programs in mobilizing women towards political participation in Urban West Region.

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data information collected were used in data analysis using SPSS version 16. The mentioned research objectives have been met and research questions answered as shown in the previous chapters.

### 6.3 Focus Group

Also, the participants gave suggestions of the actions to be taken to reduce or to completely eliminate challenges facing the community which they believe will improve their participation in economic activities and lift themselves from poverty line, such actions include raising awareness, providing language classes among villagers, increasing long term jobs, giving priorities to native villagers, increasing incentives and improving efficiencies in local authorities.

### 6.4 Conclusion

Women's participation in Zanzibar politics is an issue of great importance. Women have been tone down politically for years; this has led to women under-representation in public life. Some of the problems responsible for this situation are entrenched in the fears most women have, some of which borders on insecurity, lack of finances, inadequate political support and many more.

This study showed that the intent of the Beijing Conference of 1995 which was to ensure that women have equal opportunities with men has yet to be reached. However, there is positive indication from this study that television political programmes have indeed been effective in mobilizing women for political participation in Zanzibar. But there is still more to be done in mobilizing women to participate in politics, emphasizing that no gender is more important than the other because in politics, intellectual ability counts more than physical energy.

In that context, the broadcasting media outlets including ZBC must be fair and objective in discussing issues that affect women. It was in recognition of the power of
the media to eliminate stereotype images of women and provide women with easier access to information that paragraph 206 of the 'Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women' called for 'the participation of women at all levels of communication policy and decision-making, in programmes design, implementation and monitoring'.

The ZBC as well as other Zanzibar media outlets can adopt this and help in realizing these nationally necessary objectives in their performance towards political periods to come. The results reflected that broadcast media have positive impact in mobilizing women to participate in politics. It is safe to conclude that broadcast media is found wanting in fostering development for gender equality in politics. Though, television can also play a major role in mobilizing women into politics, but TV cannot work in isolation.

The TV should therefore seek ways to produce better programmes that can effectively appeal to the rational of its audience by putting into consideration other factors (culture, community, etc) and by so doing the women are confident that their beliefs are still important and not treated as nothing.

Also, TV programmes should be in cognizance with the cultures of women, as any TV that broadcast out of context will be mere informing and not communicating and this will not bring about the desired change.

The quality of democracy influences the quality of gender equality. Gender equality and democracy are linked in an intricate and reinforcing feedback loop. The more democracy, the more chances for gender equality; the more gender equality there is, the more chances for democracy. Because of their interdependence, we need to be as
clear and specific as possible about what kind of democratic principles and practices are aimed for and needed to achieve real gender equality.

Besides, some essential factors inherent in women acceptability of television political information, the following recommendations down here are suggested:

- The government through its agencies should not be using television stations the way and time it suits the government. Subsequent television political programmes should always be organized for these women or various women who have made it in politics should always be called to educate others hence arousing their enthusiastic.
- Also, scheduling programmes at least two or three times a week which will entail various women groups to attend or visit radio stations to discuss various issues be it political issues or not.

We presume that if the government and its agencies do these, they will help in enhancing these women television exposure there enhancing their television political proclivity wherever the information is conveyed.

Furthermore, the broadcasting TV practitioners should be selective about what will be of benefit to those women and not what the government will hear.

### 6.5 Recommendations

In general, this study calls for the central government through local authorities should provide support to the local communities based on mobilization, political opportunities, and overcoming barriers in participating in political activities. Both
central and local governments and other political activists who strive to improve the women political rights should provide absolute transparency regarding political process and its related activities. There is a need to provide support and awareness to the communities of Urban West Region and other rural areas regarding women participation in politics. Advancing women's political participation in democratic transition countries like Zanzibar requires determined efforts not only by women themselves, but also by governments, the international community and civil society. Action by mass media is particularly important.

In that context, it is recommended that women issues should be properly integrated into the information and communication system. Furthermore, ZBC TV political programmes should be more responsive to the needs of women in politics. It should present information which do not distort, be little or demean women or confine them to stereotyped behaviour and roles. Hence, the call for broadcast media in which women participates and shares in determining the content, in decision-making and control. In fact, broadcast media should be more committed to social responsibility and 'gender accountability' in the arena of politics.

Key recommendations that can be put forward for implementation by mainstream ZBC TV are:

- Work with the mainstream and new media to ensure that women are represented more fairly. Increase women's access to new media technologies as these can potentially provide inclusive and innovative platforms for shaping public debate and deepening democracy.
- Strengthen the overall accountability of democratic institutions to women and gender equality by improving the transparency and accountability of public officials and institutions on their gender equality commitments. Ensure that women know their rights and are aware of the laws that protect them, and that they have access to effective channels for demanding accountability and claiming their rights both individually and collectively.
- ZBC TV should provide women candidates with at least as much airtime and print space as that given to men. Providing increased airtime for women in politics between elections could also advance women's participation by enabling voters to make informed assessments at election time of the overall performance of political parties, including their support of women who have been elected as representatives.
- ZBC TV should focus attention on issues of special concern to women in news programming;
- ZBC TV should undertake voter and civic education programmes aimed specifically at women.
- Provide training to political parties, journalists, security forces and others to convey the importance of women's political participation and gender sensitivity;
- Advocate improved media coverage of women's issues and women candidates;
- Also, ZBC TV should provide gender-sensitive coverage of elections, avoiding negative stereotypes and presenting positive images of women as leaders;
associated with role of TV broadcasting among the media house owners before this industry is widely supported as a mechanism that could encourage women participation in politics.
- ZBC TV should forge a strong cooperation and practiced between all women activists based on political process initiatives, planning, implementation to management, and sharing experiences and information.


## The media should

- Provide gender-sensitive coverage of elections, avoiding negative stereotypes and presenting positive images of women as leaders;
- Provide women candidates with at least as much airtime and print space as that given to men;
- Focus attention on issues of special concern to women in news programming;
- Undertake voter and civic education programmes aimed specifically at women.


### 6.6 Areas of further research

1. Screening gender portrayal and programme making routines Co-regulation: a new model of media regulation.
2. Working, watching and waiting. Women and issues of access, employment and decision-making in the media in Zanzibar.
3. Promoting gender equality in and through the media: A Zanzibar Case Study.
4. Representation of Women In The Zanzibar Media.

## REFERENCES

Ackerly, Brooke A. (1995): "Testing the Tools of Development: Credit Programmes, Loan Involvement, Women's Empowerment", in IDS Bulletin 26 (3), 56-68.

Andersen, C. (1992): "Practical Guidelines", in Lisestergaard (ed.), Gender and Development: A Practical Guide, London and New York: Routledge.

Adam Simon and Michael Xenos (200); Media Affective and Public Deliberations; Pages 363-376; https://doi.org/.

Adami, B. (2005). Fundamentals, ethics and effects of television. Akure: Linda Bee Publishing.

Agbalajobi. D.T. (2010) Women's participation and the political process in Nigeria: Problems and prospects. African Journal of Political Science and International Relations Vol. 4(2), pp. 075-082, February 2010.

Ali, 2010. Cultural Barriers in Women Empowerment: A Sociological Analysis of Multan, Pakistan. European Journal of Social Sciences 18(1): 44.

Anaeto S. G., et al (2008). Models and Theories of Communication. USA, Bowie, Maryland: African Renaissance Books Incorporated. Hans Klein (2005) the right to political participation and the Information Society. Presented at Global Democracy Conference Montreal, May 29-June1 2005 INEC Launches Its Gender Policy, INEC Chair Calls On Political Parties To Increase Female Participation In Elective Positions. Retrieved 18/03/15 from http://www.ng.undp.org/content/nigeria/en/home/presscenter/articles/2014/11/ 25/as-inec-launches-itsgender-policy-inec-chair-calls-on-political-parties-to-increase-female-participation-in-electivepositions.html

Ananth PurKripa'Political Communication for participation. Linking local governance and rural citizens through radio in Karnataka, New Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2003.

Andrea Scavo and Chris Snow (2015); Media and political participation: fostering inclusive governance; The research report examines the relationship between BBC Media Action's governance programmes and political participation.

Aririguzoh, S. (2004). How the press impinges on the political and sociocultural subsystems. Nsukka Journal of the Humanities, 14, 137-147.

Aririguzoh, S. (2011). Did television make you change your choice of candidate? The International Journal of Communication. 13,100-121.

Aririguzoh, S. (2012). Influence of television broadcasts on urban-rural voting behaviour. Ife Journal of Politics,

Aririguzoh, S. (2014). Television broadcasts' influence on voters in a presidential election. Saarbrucken, Deutchland, Germany: Lap lambert Academic Publishing/Omni Scriptum GmbH\& CO. KG.

Aririguzoh, S. (2015). Television broadcasts' influence on undecided voters' choices of candidates in Presidential election. Journal of Contemporary Communication. 1(4), 141-156.

Arnfred, Signe (2001): "Question of Power: Women's Movements, Feminist Theory and Development Aid", in Discussing Women's Empowerment: Theory and Practice (SIDA Studies, No: 3), Stockholm: SIDA, 73-87.

Aruna Goel, political participation and good governance, women in power and decision making, New Delhi, Deep and Deep publication, 2004.

Asthana, Sheena (1996): "Women's Health and Women's Empowerment: A Local Perspective", in Health \& Place 2 (1), 1-13.

Baden, Sally and Goetz, Anne Marie (1998): "Who needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]?: Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing", in Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson (eds.), Feminist Vision of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy, London and New York: Routledge, 19-38.

Azhar Sharif; (2012); Role of Media In Women's Political Participation; The Explorer Islamabad: Journal of Social Sciences ISSN: 2411-0132(E), 2411-5487(P) Vol-2, Issue (2): 196-199 www.theexplorerpak.org

Bardhan, Kalpana and Klasen, Stephan (1999): "UNDP's Gender-Related Indices: A Critical Review", in World Development 27 (6), 985-1010.

Barker R.L, 'The politics of empowerment' social work, Vol. 4, No. 2, March 1991.
Barrett, Laurence I. "Getting down and dirty (presidential Campaign)." Time March 1992: 28-30

Barrett, Laurence I. "Getting down and dirty (presidential Campaign)." Time March 1992: 28-30

Batliwala, Srilatha (1994): "The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action", in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain and Lincoln C. Chen (eds.), Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights, Boston: Harvard University Press, 127-138.

Bishop, George F. "Secret ballots and self-reports in an exit poll experiment." Public Opinion Quarterly 59.4 (Winter 1995): 568-569.

Bishop, George F. "Secret ballots and self-reports in an exit poll experiment." Public Opinion Quarterly 59.4 (Winter 1995): 568-569.

Boserup, Esther (1970): Woman's Role in Economic Development, London: Earthscan Publications.Buvinic, Mayra (1986): "Projects for Women in the Third World: Explaining their Misbehavior", in World Development 14 (5), 653-664. The Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) (1996): Gender Equity: Concepts and Tools for Development, Washington, D.C.: CEDPA.

Bucy, E.P. and Gregson, K.S. (2001) Media Participation: A Legitimizing Mechanism of Mass Democracy. New Media \& Society, 3, 357-80.

Burkhalter, S., Gastil, J. and Kelshaw, T. (2002) A conceptual definition and theoretical model of public deliberation in small face-to-face groups. Communication Theory, 12:4, 399-422.

Campbell, A, Gurin, G, Miller, WE (1954) The Voter Decides. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company.

Cappella, J., \& Jamieson, K. H. (1997). Spiral of cynicism. The press and the public good. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Catherine Corrigall-Browna,*, Rima Wilkes b; Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How the media shape political participation; The Social Science Journal home page:www.elsevier.com/locate/soscij.

Charmes, Jaques and Wierenga, Saskia (2003): "Measuring Women's Empowerment: An Assessment of the Gender-Related Development Index and the Gender Empowerment Measure", in Journal of Human Development 4 (3), 419-435. CIDA (1997): Guide to Gender Sensitive Indicators, Canadian International Development Agency. (available online at http://acdi-cida.gc.ca).

Clarke, H.D., Kornberg, A. and Scotto, T.J. (2010) Accentuating the negative? A political efficacy question-wording experiment. Methodology: European

Journal of Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, 6:3, 10717.

Corrigall-Brown, Catherine and Rima Wilkes. (2014). "Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How the media shape political participation". The Social Science Journal. 51(3): 408-421.

DekkeDietram A. Scheufele, David Tewksbury; (2007); Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models, Journal of Communication; Vol.;57 pgs 9-20.

Dietram A. Scheufele, David Tewksbury (2007) Framing agenda Setting, and priming : The evolution of the Media Effects Models: Journal of Communication 57 (1) :9-20.

DelliCarpini, MX, Keeter, S (1993) Measuring political knowledge: Putting first things first. American Journal of Political Science 37(4): 1179-1206.

DelliCarpini, M.X. (2004) Mediating democratic engagement: The impact of communication on citizens' involvement in political and civic life. In: L.L. Kaid (Ed.) Handbook of Political Communication Research (pp. 395-434). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

DelliCarpini, M.X. and Keeter, S. (1996) What Americans know about politics and why it matters. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 48 RESEARCH REPORT // ISSUE 01 // SEPTEMBER 2013

DelliCarpini, M.X., Cook, F.L., and Jacobs, L.R. (2004) Public Deliberations, Discursive Participation and Citizen Engagement: A Review of the Empirical Literature. Annual Review of Political Science, 7, 315-44. Department for International Development (DFID) (2010) Building Peaceful States and

Societies A DFID Practice Paper [online] Available from: www.gov.uk/ government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67694/Buildingpeac eful-states-and-societies.pdf [Accessed 25 September 2013]

Dennis, E. (1978). The media society: Evidence about mass communication in America.Lowa: W. M. Brown company publishers.

Devadas, M.B and Ravi, B.K (2013). Cultural Impact of Television on Urban Youth An Empirical Study. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention ISSN (Online): 2319 - 7722:2(8).

Diana B. Carlin \& Kelly L. Winfrey (2009), Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage, Vol. 60, No. 4, September-October 2009, pp. 326-343

DietramScheufele. "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects," Journal of Communication (2009): 105. 19. David A. Copeland, Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 46-66.

Dijkstra, A. Geske (2002): "Revisiting UNDP's GDI and GEM: Towards an Alternative", in Social Indicator Research 57 (3), 301-338.

El-Bushra, Judy (2000): "Rethinking Gender and Development Practice
Eva Solomon (2006), Women's Roles in the Media: Attitudes Towards Gender Issues in sex Tanzanian Newspapers. A Paper submitted in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's Thesis of the University of Tampere, Finland.

Friedman, J. (1992): Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development, Cambridge, MA. and Oxford, UK: Blackwell for the Twenty-First Century", in Gender and Development 8 (1), 55-62. 85

Gajora, L. (2012) Online Behaviour and Political Knowledge - Effects of internet use on actual and self-perceived political knowledge, issue certainty and political participation. Colne: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing AG \& Co.

Galston, W.A. (2001) Political Knowledge, Political Engagement, and Civic Education. Annual Review of Political Science, 4, 217-34.

Gastil, J. and Black, L.W. (2008) Public Deliberation as the Organizing Principle of Political Communication Research. Communication Research Journal of Public Deliberation, 4:1, Article 3.

Genyi, G. (2015). Political Participation and Voting Behavior in Nigeria: A study of the 2015 General Elections in Benue State. Conference Paper.

Girard, C. (2011) La délibérationmédiatisée. Démocratie et communication de masse. Archives De Philosophie du Droit, 54, 249-66.

Grönlund, K. and Milner, H. (2006) The Determinants of Political Knowledge in Comparative Perspective. Scandinavian Political Studies, 29:4, 386-406.

Goetz, A.M. (1997): "Introduction: Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development", in Anne Marie Goetz (ed.), Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development, London and New York: Zed Books, 1-28.

Goetz, A. M. and Sen Gupta, R. (1996): "Who Takes the Credit? Gender, Power, and Control Over Loan Use in Rural Credit Programs in Bangladesh", in World Development 24 (1), 45-63.

Gross, L (20100 Invisible in the Media, UN Chronicles, 47-1, pg 22. United Nations Publications.

Habermas, J. (2006) Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research. Communication Theory, 16:4, 411-26.

Hart, Roderick P. (1994). Seducing America: How Television Charms the Modern Voter. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hashemi, S. M., Schuler, S. R., and Riley, A. P. (1996): "Rural Credit Programs and Women's Empowerment in Bangladesh, in World Development 24 (4), 635653.

International IDEA, (2000). Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogue(s) for Nation-Building.

Jaquette, J.S. (1993): "The Family as a Development Issue", in Gay Young, Vidyamali Samarasinghe and Ken Kusterer (eds.), Women at the Center: Development Issues and Practices for the 1990s, West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 45-62.

Journal of Communication and Media Research. Vol. 4 No. 1 April 2012. Delmas Comms Ltd. U.N. Decade Conference on Women (1985). 'The Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women', Nairobi, July. UNESCO (1999). Unit for the Promotion of the Status of Women and Gender Equality, Passport to Equality, Paris, p.6.

Jung, K., Kim, Y. and de Zuniga, H.G. (2011) The Mediating Role of Knowledge and Efficacy in the Effects of Communication on Political Participation. Mass Communication and Society, 14:4, 407-30.

Kabeer, Naila (1994a): "Empowerment from Below: Learning from the Grassroots", in Naila Kabeer (ed.), Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought, London: Verso, 223-263. Kabeer, Naila (1994b): "Gender-Aware Policy and Planning: A Social Relations Perspective", in Mandy Macdonald (ed.), Gender Planning in Development Agencies: Meeting the Challenge, Oxford: Oxfam, 80-97.

Kabeer, Naila (1999): The Condition and Consequences of Choice: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment, UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) Discussion Paper No. 108, Geneva: UNRISD.

Kabeer, Naila (2001): "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment", in Discussing Women's Empowerment: Theory and Practice (SIDA Studies, No: 3), Stockholm: SIDA, 17-57.

Kandiyoti, Deniz (1998): "Gender, Power, and Contestation: Rethinking Bargaining with Patriarchy", in Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson (eds.), Feminist Visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy, London and New York: Routledge, 135-151.

Kassa S. (2015) Challenges and Opportunities of Women Political Participation in Ethiopia. J Glob Econ 3.

Keval. J. Kumar: 'Mass Communication in India, Bombay, Laico Publishing House 2003.

Kim, J., Wyatt, R.O. and Katz, E. (1999) News, Talk, Opinion, Participation: The Part Played by Conversation in Deliberative Democracy. Political Communication, $16,361-85$.

Maurer, M. and Reinemann, C. (2006) Learning Versus Knowing: Effect of Misinformation in Televised Debates. Communication Research, 33:6, 489506.

Mwesige, P.G. (2009) The democratic functions and dysfunctions of political talk radio: the case of Uganda. Journal of African Media Studies, 1:2, 221-45.

Page, B.I. (1996) Who deliberates? Mass media in modern democracy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Regina Mwatha' and Grace Mbugua: (2003), A study on the experiences and challenges of young women in political engagement, Kenyatta University.

Scheufele, D.A. (2002) Examining differential gains from mass media and their implications for participatory behaviour. Communication Research, 29, 2965.

Walter Lippman (1922). Public Opinion. New York: Free Press.
Walter Lippman, Public Opinion (New York: Harcourt, Brace \& Co., 1922): 81. Cited by Juan Gonzalez and Joseph Torres, News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media (London: Verso, 2011): 3.

Lewis, Peirce. "Politics: who cares? (voter turnout for 1992 Presidential elections) (cover story)." American Demographics 16.10 (Oct. 1994): 20-27.

Lewis, Peirce. "Politics: who cares? (voter turnout for 1992 Presidential elections) (Cover Story)." American Demographics 16.10 (Oct. 1994): 20-27.

Lucian W. Pye: 'Communication and Political Development' USA, Princeton University Press, 1963.

Luka, R.C (2011) Women and political participation in Nigeria: An Imperative of Empowerment Volume Journal of Social Science and Public Policy 3, March 2011 p33.

Madhumatlii. M: 'StreeShakthi and Swashakthia comparative study of self help groups in Karnataka, Bangalore CACEE publications series, Bangalore University, 2007.

Mahmood, A 2004. Political Empowerment of Women: A Comparative Study of South Asian Countries. Pakistan Vision. 10 (1):151-152.

Maxwell McCombs. Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. 2004. Pages 124-127.

McQuail, D (2000). Mass Communication Theory. 4th Edition. London: Sage Publication.

Micheletti, M. 2003. Political Virtue and Shopping. Individuals, Consumerism, and Collective Action. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Micheletti, M., A. Follesdal and D. Stolle, eds. 2003. Politics, Products, and Markets. Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Micheletti, M. 2004. Just Clothes? Discursive Political Consumerism and Political Participation, Paper for the 2004 ECPR Joint Sessions, April 13-18, Uppsala, Workshop 24: Emerging Repertoires of Political Action. Toward a Systematic Study of Pos-tcoventional Forms of Participation.

Micheletti, M. and D. Stolle. 2005. "The Concept of Political Consumerism," in Youth Activism—An International Encyclopedia. Lonnie R. Sherrod (eds.).Westport: Greenwood Publishing.

Mohanty, Chandra T. (1987): "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", in NaliniVisvanathan (ed.) et. al., The Women, Gender and Development Reader, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 79-86.

Molyneux, Maxine (1985): "Mobilization without emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua", in Feminist Studies 11 (2), 227-254.

Mosedale, Sarah (2005): "Assessing Women's Empowerment: Towards a Conceptual Framework", in Journal of International Development 17 (2005), 243-257. 86 Moser, Caroline O.N. (1989): "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs", in World Development 17 (11), 17991825.

Moser, Caroline O.N. (1993): Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training, London and New York: Routledge.

Mowlana, H. 1987. Development: a field in search of itself. Paper prepared by the International Association for Mass Communication Research (lAMER). Budapest: Mass Communication Research Centre.

Murphy, D.R (1977). Mass Communication and Human Interactions. Boston: Houghton Miftlin Company.

Naz, Umair 2011. Socio-Cultural and Political Constraints to Gender Development. An Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-iAzam University, Islamabad, Pakistan, 12(4): 43-44.

Njiro, Ester Igandu (1999): "Women's Empowerment and the Anthropology of Participatory Development", in Valentine Udoh James and James S. Etim (eds.), The Feminization of Development Process in Africa: Current and Future Perspectives. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger. Østergaard, Lise (1992): "Gender", in LiseØstergaard (ed.), Gender and Development: A Practical Guide. London and New York: Routledge, 1-10.

Nwosu, E. I. (2003). Polimedia: Media and politics in Nigeria. Enugu, Nigeria: Prime targets limited.

O'Donnell, C. (2013) Visual Persuasion: Media's Use Of Images In Framing People Groups ElonJournal Of Undergraduate Research Vol. 4 No. 1

Ogun State Broadcasting Corporation. Retrieved on 18 January, 2015 from http://www.ogunradio.com/about_us.php

Okorie, N. \&Oyesomi, K. (n.d.). Radio and Political mobilization of women in AdoOdo/Ota local government of Ogun state. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/ on March 8, 2018.

Olufunmi, F.J. (2006). Women and national development: An appraisal. The constitution, 6, (4) 34-67.

Onabajo, O. (1999). Essentials of Broadcasting Writing and Production. Lagos: Gabi Concept.

Onabajo, O. (2000). Fundamentals of Broadcast Journalism. Lagos: Gabi Concept. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Orodho, A. \& Kombo, D. (2002). Research Methods and Thesis Writing. Manila : Rex Bookstore

Osirim, Mary Johnson (2001): "Making Good on Commitments to Grassroots Women: NGOs and Empowerment for Women in Contemporary Zimbabwe" in Women's Studies International Forum 24 (2), 167-180.

Oxaal, Zoë and Baden, Sally (1997): Gender and Empowerment: Definitions, Approaches and Implications for Policy (Briefing prepared for the Swedish International Development Office - SIDA ), SIDA report No. 40. Pitt, Mark M., Khandker, Shahidur R., and Cartwright, Jennifer (2003): Does MicroCredit Empower Women? Evidence from Bangladesh, Policy Research Paper 2998 (Rural Development, Development Research Group), Washington: The World Bank Rathgeber, Eva (1990): "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice", in The Journal of Developing Areas 24 (July 1990), 498-502.

Patterson, T. (1993). Out of order. New York, NY: Knopf.
P. Novosel (1971, 25-31), "Televizija I RazvojPolitičkeKulture", RevijazaSociologiju, vol.1, br. 1, str. 25-31, 1971.

PrornillaKapur: Empowering the Indian Women, New Delhi publications division, 2001.

Razavi, Shahrashoub and Miller, Carol (1995): From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse, UN Fourth World Conference on Women, Occasional Paper No. 1. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

Ryan, K (2013) The media's War on women: Gendered coverage of female Candidates, Xavier University pg 87

Rouner, Donna. "How perceptions of news bias in news sources Relate to beliefs about media bias." Newspaper Research Journal 20.2 (Spring 1999): 41-50.

Rouner, Donna. "How perceptions of news bias in news sources Relate to beliefs about media bias." Newspaper Research Journal 20.2 (Spring 1999): 41-50.

Rouner, Donna. "How perceptions of news bias in news sources Relate to beliefs about media bias." Newspaper Research Journal 20.2 (Spring 1999): 41-50.

Rowlands, Jo (1995): "Empowerment Examined", in Development in Practice 5 (2), 101-107.

Rowlands, Jo (1997): Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras, Oxford: Oxfam. Rowlands, Jo (1998): "A Word of the Times, but What Does it Mean? Empowerment in the Discourse and Practice of Development", in Haleh Afshar (ed.), Women and Empowerment: Illustrations from the Third World, London and New York: St. Martin Press, 11-34. Sen, Gita and Crown, Caren for DAWN (1988): Development, Crisis and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives, London: Earthscan Publications.

Shafqat Munir, and President, Journalists for Democracy and Human Rights, Pakistan, Munir et al., J Mass Communicate Journalism 2014, 4:3 DOI: 10.4172/2165-7912.1000183

Snow, David A., Benford, Robert D. 1992. "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest." In Frontiers in Social Movement Theory, ed. Morris, A., Mueller, C., 13555. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sparr, Pamela (1994a): "What is Structural Adjustment", in Pamela Sparr (ed.), Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1-12. 87

Sparr, Pamela (1994b): "Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment", in Pamela Sparr (ed.), Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 13-39.

The Beijing platform for action. Retrieved October 13, 2014 from (http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/women/gender.html) The Press, Politics and Journalism.

Townsend, Janet G. et al (1999): Women and Power: Fighting Patriarchies and Poverty, London and New York: Zed Books. United Nations (1986): The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (as adopted by the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Nairobi, Kenya, 15-26 July 1985).

Tripathy S.N: 'Women in informal sector, New Delhi, Discovery publishing house, 2003.

UK Essays: (November 2018). The Concept of Media framing. Retrieved from https//www.ukessays.com/essays/media/the concept of media framing media essay.php?

United Nations (1995): Women in a Changing Global Economy: 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, New York: United Nations. United Nations (1999): 1999 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Globalization, Gender and Work, New York: United Nations.

UN Women Tanzania; Final Project Evaluation: Wanawake-Wanaweza Project on Women Leadership and Political Participation in Tanzania; 2017; Sambodhi Limited, Tanzania A103, Slipway Apartments, Chole Road, Masaki, Dar-esSalaam

United Nations Development Programme (1990): Human Development Report 1990, New York: Oxford University Press. United Nations Development Programme (1994): Human Development Report 1994, New York: Oxford University Press. United Nations Development Programme (1995): Human Development Report 1995, New York: Oxford University Press.

United Nations Development Programme (2004): Human Development Report 2004, New York: Oxford University Press.

Vandana Shiva: Environment for Women's empowerment (ed) by PromillaKapur, 2001.

Vincent, R. C., \& Basil, M. D. (1997). College students' news gratifications, media use, and current events knowledge. Journal of Broadcasting \& Electronic Media, 41, 380-392.

Wallenlind, Anna (1997): Empowerment Through Literacy: Mozambican Women Tell Their Stories, (Minor Field Study for International Relations C-Course, 19961997), Gothenburg: Department of Peace and Development Research, University of Gothenburg.

Wiegersma, Nan (1997): "Introduction to Part 4", in NaliniVisvanathan (ed.) et. al., The Women, Gender and Development Reader, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 257-266.

Wierenga, Saskia (1994): "Women's Interests and Empowerment: Gender Planning Reconsidered", in Development and Change 25 (1994), 829-848.

Williams, Suzanne, Seed, Janet and Mwau, Adelina (1994): The Oxfam Gender Training Manual, Oxford: Oxfam (UK and Ireland). Young, Kate (1993): Planning Development with Women: Making a World of Difference, London: Macmillan. 88 Young, Kate (1997): "Gender and Development", in NaliniVisvanathanet. al. (eds.), The Women, Gender and Development Reader, London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 51-54.

Wimmer R.D \& Dominick J.R (2003); Mass Media Research: An Introduction. Wadsworth Cengage Learning. United States of America. WIN (1985). The WIN Document. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria: Women in Nigeria Editorial Collective. WLP. (2011, March 11).

Women's political participation: Revisiting Sarah Jubril and Nigeria's 2011 primaries. Retrieved on 07/10/2014 from www.learningpartnershipp.org/blog/2011/03/politics-Sarah-Jubril/cached

Wright. C.R: 'Mass Communication Sociological perspective, 3rd ed., ew York, Random House, 1986.

Wimmer and Dominick (1994) Mass Media Research: An Introduction (4 th edition). Wardsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California. Yin. R.K. (1994) Case study Research: Designs and Methods. Sage publications.

Yin. R.K. (1994) Case study Research: Designs and Methods. Sage publications.
Yuval-Davis, Nira (1994): "Women, Ethnicity and Empowerment", in Feminism \& Psychology 4 (1), 179-197.

## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX: 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ZBC TV ROLE ON MOBILIZING WOMEN INTO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN ZANZIBAR




## iii. Which types of ZBC TV programs do you frequently watch?

| a. Social and economic issues | $\square$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| b. Political issues | $\square$ |
| c. Educational programs | $\square$ |
| d. Music and sports | $\square$ |

iv. Please, try to mention the title(s) of ZBC TV political programs that you can remember.
2. To what extent do the ZBC TV political programs manage to mobilize women in within Urban West Region (Unguja) towards political participation?
3. What is the perception of women on these political programs?
4. Do the ZBC TV political programs have brought any political consciousness among women within Urban West Region (Unguja).

Research Question 3: Are the ZBC TV political media content adequate to dispel fears in women?

| I | Someh | Disag | Someh | I am |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| agre | ow | ree | ow | not |
| e | agree |  | disagr | sure |
|  |  |  | ee |  |



Research Question 4: How much adequate are the ZBC TV political contents in influencing inhibitions women may have towards politics in the future? (Please tick to identify your response)

Very Satisfactory
Unsatisfactory at all
Research Question 5: How effective is the ZBC TV political program in mobilizing women towards political participation in Zanzibar.

|  | I agree | Disagree | I am not |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| are |  |  |  |
| a. The ZBC TV political programs are |  |  |  |
| very effective in mobilizing women to |  |  |  |
| participate in politics. |  |  |  |


#### Abstract

b. ZBC TV broadcast political programs are sufficient enough in encouraging women participation in politics.


c. ZBCTV political contents highly motivate women for political participation.
d. The ZBCTV political programs surely dispel my fears as a woman to actively participate in politics.
e. ZBC TV political programs mobilize women to participation in politics.
f. Women's participation in politics depends on their exposure to ZBC TV political programs.
g. ZBC political programs openly discuss all discrimination aspects that contribute to the non-participation of women in politics.
h. ZBC TV political programs thoroughly discuss and expose all negative cultural factors affect women participation in politics.

| D. Respondents' Opinion on Challenges that Affects Women Participation into |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Politics in Zanzibar |  |
| Question 1: Which among these barriers that you think discourage women in |  |
| Zanzibar to participate in political activities? (Please tick all that apply) |  |
| Respondents' Opinion on Barriers related to Tools, | Please Tick |
| Capacities and Resources |  |
| a. Lack of solidarity among women |  |
| b. Lack of financial resources and skills among |  |
| women | $\square$ |
| c. Lack of education and literacy among women | $\square$ |
| d. Lack of tools (manuals and guidelines) on gender |  |
| equality and women's political participation |  |
| Please list any additional challenges or obstacles to women's representation and |  |
| meaningful political participation in Zanzibar: |  |


| 2. In your opinion $\square$ <br> 1. Increases public trust in the political system;  <br> what are the benefits $\square$ <br> 2. Impacts the policy agenda;  <br> for promoting $\square$ <br> 3. Expands the pool of women willing to run for  <br> meaningful political office; <br> participation of $\square$ <br> 4. Contributes to socio-economic development;  <br> women in Zanzibar? $\square$ <br> 5. Promotes better understanding of gender equality  <br> (Please tick all that $\square$ <br> apply) issues in society; |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |



| 3. In your opinion <br> which strategies should <br> ZBC TV political | $\square$ | 1. Encourage women to enter politics and advance <br> their careers; |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| programs apply to |  |  |
| effectively promote |  |  |
| meaningful political |  |  |
| participation of women |  |  |
| and increase their | 2. Work with political parties to support women <br> candidates; |  |
| representation in | 3. Shape positive public attitudes towards women in <br> politics; |  |
| country? | 4. Work with the women civil societies advocate <br> against gender-based stereotypes campaigns; |  |
| (Please tick the three |  |  |
| strategies most useful |  |  |
| in Zanzibar context) | 5. Work with academia to educate and inform the <br> public about the benefits of women's political <br> participation; |  |
| 6. Engaging with executive and legislative powers to |  |  |
| support the institutionalisation of gender equality in |  |  |
| structural and policy frameworks; |  |  |

