

**THE IMPACT OF OWNERS' INTEREFERENCE IN THE MEDIA CONTENT
PRODUCTION IN THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS:
A CASE OF *HABARI LEO* NEWS PAPER**

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CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that he has gone through the whole work and gives his recommendations for acceptance of by The Open University of Tanzania dissertation titled: “The Impact of Owners Interference in the Media Content Production in 2015 General Election. A Case Study of Habari Leo Newspaper” in partial fulfillments of requirement for the award of Masters of Arts in Mass Communication of The Open University of Tanzania.

Signature.....

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Date

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

Signature

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Date

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to my beloved husband, Badi Sangu, my parents Mr. and Mrs. Baptist Kilasi, my daughters Loveness Badi Sangu, Empress Badi Sangu and my Son Prince Badi Sangu. I also dedicate this work to my lovely young sister Beatrice Mkalava, who in one way or another missed my presence and my comfort when I was not available attending my Master's degree. However, it could be possible to complete this work without their moral encouragement and prayers.

ABSTRACT

This study was set to assess the Impact of Owners Interference in the Media Content Production in 2015 General Election a case study of *Habari Leo* newspaper. Media ownership has remained an interesting issue in understanding the news production process. Various media studies have proven that media ownership do affect how media practitioners cover stories. The said influence takes various forms including direct censorship and coercion of editorial staff. Therefore, this study critically examines the Impact of Owners' Interferences in the Media Content Production in the 2015 General Elections in Tanzania with three specific objectives namely, to assess the frequency of media owners' interference in the content production, to investigate types of content that media owners interfered into its production and to identify the challenges journalists face when media owners interfere in the content production. Media ownership theory was applied to show how government owned media was used as an apparatus for promoting government propaganda. The study adopts a research design which focuses on both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The study employed three techniques of data collection namely, questionnaires, interviews as well as content analysis. The researcher examines the entire population in order to totally eliminate sampling error. The results presented by using pie charts, descriptions and frequency tables. The findings indicated that media owners either directly or indirectly controlled content production. The research recommended that media owners should make sure their practitioners are well motivated to enable perform better.

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ABBREVIATIONS

TSN	-	Tanzania Standard Newspapers Limited
DIS	-	Walt Disney
CMCSA	-	Comcast Corporation
TANU	-	Tanganyika African National Union
TBC	-	Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation
RTD	-	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
MCT	-	Media Council of Tanzania
TIS	-	Tanzania Information Services
SHIHATA	-	Tanzania News Agency
TVZ	-	Television Zanzibar
ZBC	-	Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation
CCM	-	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
ITV	-	Independent Television
BTL	-	Business Times Limited
MCL	-	Mwananchi Communications Limited
TMC	-	Tanzania Muslims Council
GCRN	-	Ghana Community Radio Network
NBC	-	National Broadcasting Corporation
UBC	-	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation
PTL	-	Printpack Tanganyika Limited
CHADEMA	-	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	-	Civic United Front
TEF	-	Tanzania Editorial Forum

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights the background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and area of the study, limitation and delimitation of the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

Media are very important channels of communication with the capacity of transmitting message to large audiences. This gives the media power to influence society in many ways as opined by Wilbur Schramm (1964) as far back as the early 1960's when he noted that, then it little doubt that media can be influential. Media also function as a system for disseminating symbols as well as messages to individuals with the values, beliefs and code of behavior that will integrate them into instructional structures of the large society (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

However, in any discussion on media content, news deserves special treatment because of its great impact. The significance of news is further exemplified by level of analysis and the extent of attention it gets. News occupies a significant place in the informal talk of workplace, pub and street. And at the level of learning, there is productive industry of article and books all seeking to understand what news (Hartley, 1982 cited in Kazibwe, 2010). The fairness and objectivity helps to give credence to media houses as well as the trust in the news and opinions published. It is important that news media are independent; clearly distinguish advertising from news, separately facts and opinion, and disseminating alternative viewpoints as completely as possible (Van, 2014; Kazibwe, 2018).

In fulfilling their role, the media ought to execute their duties of news gathering, writing, editing and disseminating in an unbiased and objective way. This compels journalist to rest their news choice on news value such as frequency, un-ambiguity meaningfulness, threshold, continuity, consonance, reference to elite persons and personalization (Galtung et al, 1965 cited in Kazibwe, 2018).

According to McChesney (2008), while the foregoing stresses the value of unbiased news content, it is important to role that, there are a number of factors that influence production of news content. One such factor is ownership. The most important sources of altering the professional codes come from the owners. Their constant drumbeat for profit, their concern with minimizing costs and enhancing revenues, invariably influence the manner in which news is collected and reported (McChesney, 2008). Many times media content is a reflection of the people or companies that influence on content indirectly by appointing key personal like news editors as well as making important decisions on when most of the resources should be allocated (Doyle, 2002). Due to that in the media today, a number of issues have emerged as critical outside the journalist or journalistic work. A key focus is on issue surrounding ownership (Makilla, et al, 2008).

Globally, there seems to be a connection between ownership and editorial stance of both state-run and privately owned media. Critical political economy of concentration media ownership and that of monolithic media corporations like Walt Disney (DIS), Comcast Corporation (CMCSA), Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, Time Warner, Bertelsmann and Viacom among others. Similar patterns are developing in the Tanzanian media. Of significant interest is the one leading media organization namely; Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) owning various newspapers including Habari Leo.

Historically, ownership of media in Tanzania has been shifting from the Christian organization that launched it to the political class and corporate persons. Notably, print media was the very first form of media in Tanzania. Sturmer (1998) notes as early as 1904, the Christian missionary society launched the newspaper known as “Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission zu Leipzig” (Evangelical-Lutheran Mission of Leipzig). A few years down the line, the Church of Scotland and finally the Catholic Church started publishing newspapers. According to Sturmer (1998), this was the genesis of media presence in Tanzania.

In 1902, the weekly African Standard was launched to serve the growing number of white settlers and administrators in British East Africa. The African Standard changed its name to the East African Standard and became a daily in 1910. Later, the company producing the paper was invited by Tanganyika's Governor to set up a paper in Dar es Salaam and the Tanganyika Standard was launched in 1930. Both papers took similar lines, representing generally the white settler, his interests and points of view.

During the 1950s the Tanganyika Standard supported the United Tanganyika Party which campaigned for racial 'partnership' and was outspoken in its opposition to TANU and its nationalist message. It was certainly read by a growing number of Africans and Asians but it remained firmly 'rooted in the culture and outlook of the small, mainly British white community (Graham, 1977). Makilla, et al (2008) notes that, the only radio station in Tanzania before independence on December 9, 1961 was the government owned Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) which was later renamed Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD). The journalist and press critic A. J. Liebling opines that freedom of the press belongs to those who own it (as cited in Baker, 2007).

In *Critical Political Economy Newspaper*, Curran (2000) argued that, “media has demonstrated that factors like ownership and advertising are important in influencing media messages. Media on their part shape public opinion and the political direction by holding politicians accountable. This is however not the case the world over, with emerging evidence in studies of the British press that media sometimes can lead to a particular direction with the aim of furthering their expansionist economic interests. In other words, the market can give rise not to independent watchdogs serving the public interest but to corporate mercenaries that adjust their critical scrutiny to suit their private purpose.”

In Britain context, some owners of national newspapers have clearly used their titles to further their own political or commercial aims at the expense of balanced and responsible journalism (Curran, et al, 1997). Previous studies have chronicled the tendency of at least some owners such as Victor Mathews (Owner of the Express titles from 1977 to 1985), the late Robert Maxwell (owner of the Mirror titles from 1984 until 1991) and Rupert Murdoch (Current owner of the Sun, The News of the World and the Times) to intervene in editorial decisions in such a way as to dictate and standardize the political lines of their newspapers (Doyle, 2002).

These assertions form very rich grounds on ownership influence of media that this study explores. In this regard, ownership influence on content of a media outfit either in government owned or privately owned has resulted to non-professional acts among media practitioners. In explaining why media owners interfere content reported, Sharma and Trinity (2003), outlined some factors which forced media owners to interfere media contents, the factors include but not limited to, conflict of interest, pressure, higher level

of manipulation of news, analysis and comment to suit the owners' financial and political interest, paid news, sycophancy; bribe taking, privacy and moonlighting.

A newsroom survey by McManus (1997) shows that, there is a strong declination of journalistic autonomy and editors may not ultimately be in charge of news stories and emphasis. The study noted that, journalists are no longer individually responsible for their actions, noting that, many news stories are influenced outside the news room although news stories do not bear the names of media owners but they are obviously the major determinants of news bulletin via editorial policy.

Yet media also faces another serious challenge, a loss of public trust. A recent Gallup poll in USA indicates of 15 American institutions, newspapers, television news are both near the bottom in public conformance. While news organizations claim they are fair and objective, and many try hard to be, American perceives widespread bias in news reporting. Nordenstreng (2005) noted that influences of media ownership on content have made many newspapers to collapse in operations and have also made them to lose their readership grip. This is due to the fact that, public trust is based on the credibility of the news published in the newspaper. Credibility is based on the knowledge, expertise, competence, objectivity, accuracy, and lack of bias as reflected in the newspaper's content (Stockman, 2006).

Trust in the media is eroded if the public perceives that the information being presented is inaccurate, biased or spun to suit political or business interests. In such a situation, the public looks for alternatives that have implications for circulation, advertising and the overall profitability of a newspaper. Whether the media outlet is government or privately owned also has a bearing on whether it is trusted or not. In their study commissioned to

analyse trust in media in 16 African countries, Moehler and Singh (2011) found that while government owned broadcast media were more trusted than private commercial stations, the public had more trust in private print media than government-owned print media except in a few countries. The citizens' perception of media credibility and trust affects how they consume the media and has an impact on their political attitudes (Stockman, 2006).

Curran (2000) in the critical political economy theory raised the questions of how internal reporting structures within the newsroom are not democratic enough to allow for new vision of what really makes the news. This study explores these aspects. It is noteworthy that extensive studies have been done in the area of critical political economy and on how media ownership affects media messages and discourses, and how these messages shape public opinion (Curran & Seaton, 2000). This study critically examined how media owners shape content production in Tanzania context and *Habari Leo* newspaper was taken as case study.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

According to Kilimwiko (2002), media are very important channels of communication with the capacity of transmitting messages to large audiences. This gives the media power to influence society in many ways. Makilla et al. (2008) argued that media function as a system of disseminating symbols and messages to the public. It is their function to shape, public opinion; they have a vast chance of holding people together as a nation. This can be achieved by having output which promote unity, discourage tribalism, and other kind of favoritism and discriminations.

In Tanzania, study on examining the impact of media ownership on media news content cannot emphasize enough. Most of the studies available in Tanzania context were

scholarly opinion pieces, newspaper articles, civil society and anecdotal reports. However, there are few existing studies which include the Editorial Policy and Journalist Practice in Tanzania by Florentine Theophil Mmbaga (2020), and Editorial Independence in Public Broadcasting in Africa by Mwafissi, Samuel (2013). As seen from the discussion above, while the government as an owner, is interested in affecting publics and building understanding of its policies by slanting certain message to suit its purpose, private owners may have different interest in mass media- they may be interested not only in influencing publics, but also in making profit. The problem therefore is to ascertain whether media practitioners are free to perform their daily routines with respect media content without ownership policies, ideological and so forth interference.

Therefore, this study investigated on the impact of owners' interference in the media content production in the 2015 general elections.

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Main Objectives

The main objective of this study was to examine the impact of owners' interference in the media content production in the 2015 general elections.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To assess to the frequency of media owners interference in the media content production in *Habari Leo* newspaper during the 2015 general elections.
- ii. To investigate types of media owners' interference in content production in the *Habari Leo* newspaper during the 2015 general elections.

- iii. To identify the challenges journalists face when media owners interfere in the content production of the *Habari Leo* newspaper during the 2015 general elections.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. How frequency did media owners interfere content production of *Habari Leo* newspaper during the 2015 general election.
- ii. What are types of media owners' interferences in content production in the *Habari Leo* newspaper during the 2015 general election?
- iii. What challenges journalists face when media owners interfere in the content production of the *Habari Leo* newspaper during the 2015 general election?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is useful to upcoming practitioners to broaden understanding on the contribution of the impact of owners' influence in the content production. The findings of the study are important to all stakeholders in the media fraternity and future scholars conducting further research on the topic. The findings are also important in finding a solution on effective media regulation that allows media to function independently irrespective of media ownership interests. This study is also adding values in knowledge as reference to academicians.

1.7 Area of the Study

The study was carried out at the head office of *Habari Leo* newspaper which is located at TSN Building Plot No. 11.4, Nelson Mandela Expressway, Temeke District. The reason for choosing this area is that, it is located within the financial and resource capacity of the researcher.

1.8 Limitation and Delimitation of the Study

The study was limited to *Habari Leo* newspaper, therefore it's not generalizable. Other limitation encounter included time constraints' and serious official assignment at the researcher's workplace, which hindered smooth execution of the study. The researcher also encountered a time problem whereby the study failed to be completed in the time framed due to the emergence of COVID-19 outbreak since at the instance, there was no people interaction and all educational institutions were closed.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEWS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights definition of key terminologies, theoretical framework, theoretical literature reviews as well as research knowledge gaps.

2.1 Definition of key terminologies

Ownership

Ownership is the state or fact of exclusive honesties and control over property, which may be asset, including an object, land or real estate intellectual property or until the nineteenth century, human beings. Ownership includes multiple rights collectively referred to as title which may be separated and held by different parties (Coulson, 1994). For the purpose of this study ownership means the process whereby progressively fewer individual organizations control increasing shares of the mass media.

Interference

Interference has countless meaning; it described accordingly to an interest of its user. In this context the word can be defined as to hide or stop something to be exposed with an intention of hiding it from the public eyes (Coulson, 1994). For the purpose of this study, interference means direct intervention in the operations of media outlets, either by owners' requesting editors or others involved in the production of news to change or stop a story, or by replacing journalists critical of a particular political party or policy with ones more favourable to those in power.

Media

Martin et al. (2010) defines media as the communication outlets or tools used to store and deliver information or data. In this study, the term states to components of the mass

media communications industry, such as print media, publishing, the news media, photography, cinema, broadcasting (radio and television), and advertising which associated with news production.

Content

Margot (2011) well-defined content as is the arrangement of information for a purpose to an audience through a channel in a form. In this research, content is referred to what journalists' gathered and what editors' decided to process and disseminated concerning on journalistic professional practices and norms.

2.2 Literature Reviews

Media Ownership Theory

The media ownership theory was developed by Altschull in 1984. He posits that the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press (Dugle, 2013). This theory basically contends that the content of any newspaper is directly influenced by the interests of its owners; that is, the content of a medium reflects the interests and ideologies of those who own it. According to this, where a media outlet is commercially owned, the content revealed the commercial interest of the news organization's owners. According to (Shoemaker and Reese (1991), mentioned by Narteyet al. (2011) polished the theory to propose that media owners have the ultimate authority over news content.

There is a large number of theories in the field of communication, including but not limited to political economy of media theory, but the rationale behind choosing the media ownership theory is not unlikely from the fact that government-owned media in Tanzania was always sought to promote their image. It depend on the types of media if

the media owned by government it will support the government. The reason behind this nonchalant workout is due to the fact that these outfits are financed and managed by the government. For that reason, one could say that there is a connection between the selected theory and the topic under investigation; hence this makes the theory relevant and suitable for this study.

However, this study did not apply Political Economy of media theory, because the theory which was coined by the economist, Dallas Walker Smythe in mid-20th century is more focused on developing knowledge that could be applied to policies in support of public interest and the disenfranchised in the face of private capital. Some of his core ideas included the "unseen triangle; state power, ownership and the media.

2.3 Empirical Literatures Review

A review of various studies has revealed that media ownership has a great influence on news content (McChesney, 2008; Wang, 2003). However, most of these studies have been conducted elsewhere in Europe, Asia and other parts of Africa. For example:

In Uganda, the little studies carried out on television content have not investigated the impact of media ownership. For instance, a study by Chibita and Kibombo (2013) dwelt more on the regulatory structure and people's perceptions towards the content on Uganda's television channels. Another study by Thembo (2013) which dealt with the subject of ownership and content, focused on print media leaving television aside. A study on television in Uganda is thus vital because of its pervasiveness as a Compaene (1995) aptly put it; television with its power as an audio-visual medium, with the understanding it can convey, and with the entertainment it generates, has earned its weighty consideration as a social cultural, political and economic phenomenon.

Namyalo (2016), conducted research on “The Influence of Media Ownership on Media Content in Uganda. By using interview and questionnaire tools of data collection, the researcher establish out that ownership really influenced news coverage in the 2019 Ugandan elections. The winner in the elections was also the candidate with the most reporting in the two newspapers. Also emergent is the reason that the election was widely personality driven.

Cho et al. (2004) in their research titled, “The effect of ownership on content in newspapers” in America, as they tested length of articles, story sources, story subjects, political dimension, lead source, the number of quotation per each ownership group which is divided into higher ownership group, and lower ownership group, they found that story sources, type of subjects, lead source are different between high ownership group and low ownership group, while the length of articles, political dimension, and the number of quotation have no difference between them. Especially in terms of types of subject, high ownership group is more focused on politics than low ownership groups and more diversity (program diversity) is found in low ownership group unlike general economic perspectives. Like the type of topics, the further diverse lead sources (idea diversity) are found in low ownership group. Our findings seem to reverse basic opinion on the relationship between ownership and the content. This analysis worked on the effect of ownership on content in newspapers but they did not look on the impact of ownership on the ethics of journalist.

Dufe (2003) conducted research on the Impact of Media Concentration on Professional Journalism in Finland, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Romania. By using Interview and questionnaire schedule the researcher

found that Newspapers on the other hand have few chances to reduce their operating costs if they want to stay in quality journalism.

Similarly, Curran and Seaton (2003) note that ownership of newspapers in Britain has always been concentrated in the hands of a few powerful ‘press barons.’ Such a situation, they could distort the democratic functions of the media as these vested interests interfere with the vision of the media practitioners. For instance, in 1937 four men owned nearly one in every two national and local daily newspapers sold.

In Kuwait, Dashti (2008) conducted research on the Effect of Online Journalism on the Freedom of the Press. The researcher used three different tools (survey, online content analysis, and interviews) to determine the effect of online journalism on journalist’s practices and the freedom of the press in Kuwait, focusing on the furthestmost popular Kuwaiti personal writers’ sites, weblogs and forums. The results show that online journalism affected journalist’s practices but did not replace the traditional practices. The Internet became a source also communication platform for numerous local journalists. At the same time, online journalism became one of the tools that helped increase the level of freedom in the local press.

In Nigeria, Okwuchukwu (2014) conducted research on “The Influence of Media Ownership and Control on Media” by using in-depth interview method of data collection. The finding of the study revealed that different levels of government in Nigeria which comprises of state and federal governments, serving and retired high level public and private officials, politicians, as well as influential businessmen and women, own most of the media organizations in Nigeria. It was observed that these groups of people (the ruling elite) are the core “news makers” whose views and opinions populate

most of the views, news, opinions and information disseminated in the media in Nigeria. The findings further showed that the current media ownership pattern and the level of media control in Nigeria actually hinder the media from independently setting society's agenda.

Connection to that, a review of various studies has revealed that media ownership has a great influence on content (McChesne, 2008, Wang, 2003, Kazibwe, 2018). However, most these studies have been conducted elsewhere in Europe, Asia and other parts of Africa. For example, one study conducted in Uganda revealed how ownership affected media news content in the country:

The trade of industrial stations that own television stations use them continually as space for advertising products that they produce or sell. On the other hand, the individual behind these media, who belong to different political parties, use them as space for personal political promotion, especially at the time of election campaign. To our knowledge, we have seen several instances of pressure on journalists from media owners. One recent example between the owner of television station and its editor in chief provoked by the owner's insistence to influence the manner of reporting the news, which led to the journalist's transfer to another TV station (Kazibwe, 2018).

Egwu (2016) conducted research on the influence of Media Ownership Content on Program Content, using interview method of data collection, the findings indicated that there are in-house policy that guides their day to activities in the media station, that the major theme in the policy of government owned media is to relate the government activities to the people and to present the government to the people in good light. The

findings also showed that owners personally employ and educate the editor on the policies who then go out to edit reports and programme content in line with this in-house policies of the management which is usually dictated by the owner, owners of the media are mainly concerned with the control of and very careful about political and top political report, the study showed that private owned media main objective is centered around money making, while the government owned media is directed with the principal aim of putting government in good light to the people finally, findings showed that gate-keeping affect the quality of their programme content.

Herman and Chomsky (2008) noted that many times, media content is a reflection of the people or companies that finance the media. Doyle (2002) claimed that the owners often exert their influence on content indirectly by appointing key personnel like news editors as well as making important decisions on where most of the resources should be allocated.

2.3.1 Media Ownership in Tanzania

Media ownership manifests itself in the form of private and public owned media. Privately owned media is owned by individuals or companies who invest in media companies as a business geared towards generating profit for the owner, while publicly owned media are state funded media institutions whose sole business is to collect information and make it available to the public (Busterna& Hansen, 1995).

In Tanzania, just like many other African countries, there are categories of media ownership. Makilla, et al, (2008), groups media owners into five categories namely, (i) media owned by government, (ii), media owned by political parties and politicians, (iii) media owned by business enterprises, (iv) media owned by religious bodies and (v) media owned by other institutions.

Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) report of 2010, noted these categories as media owned by government, Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation which include Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) now TBC Taifa (radio), TBC One (television) TBC Two ,Tanzania Safari Channel, TBC FM Radio and TBC International. Also Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN), publishers of Daily and Sunday Newspapers and recently Habarileo and SpotiLeo editions were added to the list, Tanzania Information Services (TIS) and the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA). The other part of the Union, Zanzibar, has a radio –Sautiya Zanzibar and Television Zanzibar (TVZ) (currently Zanzibar Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC).

Media owned by political parties or politicians, include the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) which had, and still has, Uhuru and Mzalendo newspapers. Media owned by business enterprises such as IPP Media Group owned Nipashe, The Guardian and electronic media such as Radio One and Independent Television (ITV). Other private media include Radio Free Africa and Star television and a tabloid Sayari newspaper; several other newspapers such as Business Times and Majira owned by Business Times Limited (BTL), Mwananchi, MwanaSipoti and Citizen owned by Mwananchi Communications Limited (MCL), just to mention but a few. There were also media owned by religious bodies such as Kiongozi, Tumaini Letu newspaper, Radio Tumaini owned by the Catholic Church, Sauti ya Qur'an (Voice of Qur'an) owned by Tanzania Muslims Council (TMC).

2.3.2 Owners Control Media Content

The concept of ownership has become powerful at influencing media outcome not only in the editorials but also the coverage of the news by journalists and reporters reflects the political interests of the owners. McLuhan (1994) noted that content can be delivered via

many different media including the internet, cinema, television, radio, smartphones, audio CDs, books, e-books, magazines, and live events, such as speeches, conferences, and stage performances. Under this context, media content associated with what journalists do which include but not limited to, investigating issues, researching stories, writing news and features stories, taking photos, editing stories, checking facts and proof reading as well as advertising space selling.

Blidook (2009) noted that there is a common trend of ownership of media organisations in the developed world. Most of these organizations practice what is known as cross-ownership where one organization owns more than one type of media outlet. Canwest Global Communications Corporation; a major media conglomerate, for example, owns most media outlets in Canada. The organisation owned the Global television network and several other newspapers in Canada. Blidook describes CanWest's various media outlets thus: CanWest currently owns the largest component of newspapers in Canada with 13 dailies, 126 community papers, as well as internet assets, and its television network. It is also part owner of a television network in Australia and Alliance Atlantis Communications in the U.S (Blidook, 2009).

Shoemaker, et al. (1996) defined that there is a clear distinction between the terms 'ownership' and 'control'. Ownership implies a pure economic interest in the form of equity or shareholding in a company. Control implies the ability to influence decision-making in the company, which is of greater significance in the media context, as those who exercise control over management and operations of the company could also control content. As ownership of equity beyond a threshold level can contribute to control and influence over content, the ownership clause is subsumed in the definition of control. Control of a media company can be acquired through capital ownership either

directly or indirectly through associates, subsidiaries or relatives of the entity. The four methods identified by which ownership can impact news output: (i) direct intervention by an owner; (ii) indirect influence of an owner through the appointment of an editor who shares his view; (iii) the influence of the business approaches which the owner can take; and (iv) different approaches to journalism.

McManus (1997) confirmed that, there is a strong declination of journalistic autonomy and editors may not ultimately be in charge of news stories and emphasis. The study noted that, journalists are no longer individually responsible for their actions, noting that, many news stories are influenced outside the news room although news stories do not bear the names of media owners but they are obviously the major determinants of news bulletin via editorial policy. In the same vein, Christopher et al (2013) found that, the owner of a media organization may never have set foot in a newsroom but his/her influence is at the top even in absentia.

According to Manzu (2013) in recent years, the integrity and credibility of the media has been eroded by frequent cases of media owners intervening to kill or spike stories that negatively touch on their political or commercial partners or that go against their political views. On supporting the above statement, Otieno, et al (2020), claimed that those who own the media to some extent have the power to set the media agenda. Media owners can dictate and influence the editorial policies, which then informs the gathering, packaging, and dissemination of information to the public. This means that they decide what goes to the public and what remains buried. Media content is the most noticeable element of the media system (McKenzie, 2006). This is because the content is the main point at which the audience mentally comes into contact with the media. Content is the end product of media to which the audiences associate with.

Altschull (1984) contends that, “the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press”. Shoemaker et al (1996) pointed out that, the owners of a media organization have the ultimate power over the news content of the newspapers. In publishing, art, and communication, content is the information and experiences that are directed toward an end-user or audience. Content is something that is to be expressed through some medium, as speech, writing or any of various arts, (Odden, 2013).

Heck (1981) noted that, traditional Marxists argue that those who own the media also control it. Heck added that, they note that the media is owned by members of the bourgeoisie: very wealthy business owners. They argue that these bourgeois owners instruct editors and journalists to put across particular messages to the audience. These messages spread the dominant ideology which seeks to justify the power and privilege of the bourgeoisie. Through this, the media is able to contribute towards creating a false class consciousness. This idea of direct control by owners is sometimes described as the manipulative/instrumental approach and is associated with the writings of (Rioba, 2008). Rioba argued that the editors and journalists in newspapers and other media organizations depend on the owners for their jobs and therefore was not used any apparent autonomy they may have to resist the dissemination of bourgeois ideology.

Thembo (2013) found lots of evidence of owners directly manipulating media content. In the middle of the 20th century, “press barons” were quite open about their propagandist role, and also that there have always been a lot more Conservative-supporting newspapers than those critical of that party, which reflects them serving the interests of their wealthy owners. Thembo argued that in the later 20th century and today owners are, if anything, even more interventionist, with again Rupert Murdoch being the

obvious example. Navaneetha (2011) pointed out that, politicians clearly believe media moguls to have a great deal of control over media content because they try to get on the right side of them! Tony Blair famously flew to Australia to meet with Rupert Murdoch and was rewarded with the support of the Sun Several years later; David Cameron repeated this with the same outcome.

Thembo (2013) noted that media ownership has remained a thought-provoking aspect in understanding newspaper content reporting and endorsement in newsrooms. Various studies show that ownership influences have a big bearing on what finds space on newspaper pages. The said influence takes various forms including direct censorship and intimidation of editorial staff.

Thembo (2013) argued that a further bisection shows that this is a derivative of deeply entrenched owners' business, financial and sometimes political interests. Owners interests interlink with those of advertisers and government (which is the biggest advertiser) thereby creating propulsions into market-driven but government-controlled journalism. It emerges that the above trend in Uganda is leading to a decline in the true values of journalism—the craft of writing, the vigor in investigating injustice, the sense of fairness and equality and the impulse to what is right and wrong.

Before the media puts out any content, several factors might have influenced the end product. Thembo (2013) argued that press in Uganda is published much less than what it knows, less than what it ought to publish to advance the public sphere, democracy and good governance and that at the centre of this is owners' interests. Studies such as (Koltsova, 2001; McCullagh, 2002; McKenzie, 2006; Press Freedom, 1996; Shoemaker, 1991), among others, have elaborated on factors that affect the media outcome. When a

media places any content in the public, what is consumed by audiences is as a result of the media's interaction with several interests within the media organization itself (Shmykova, 2007).

Shmykova (2007) noted that within an organization, factors on the organizational level are the key to understanding the presence of a certain type of content. Decisions about the target audiences and type of content are made on this level. Ownership structure, as one of the factors on the organizational level, also affects the content of mass media messages. Makilla, et al. (2008) argued that, party and government owned media tend to be less independent than others. In supporting these claims, Shmykova (2007) pointed out that government-owned media outlets usually seen by social scientists as pursuing goal of social welfare and harmony, while privately owned media are seen as pursuing interests that are determined by desire to make profit, although it is not always the case. The fact that media are (partly) owned by government does not mean that channels and content are totally controlled by government. Usually, if not subsidized, these channels have to make profit, which means independence to certain extent from government ideological interests.

Schiff, et al. (2006) noted that, effects of ownership on serving the public interest are part of a bigger theme of effects of mass media ownership on content. There are number of studies that were able to determine effects of ownership on content, although there are some that present the opposite view. These studies looked at different effects in different areas. One of the areas of research that examined media ownership effects on content deals with consolidation of media, which occurred in order to pursue economic and organizational advantages. Chain ownership in the newspaper industry received a lot of attention. Studies found that the editorials of the big chain-owned newspapers were more

likely to express positions on some issues and less likely to vary in positions taken than editorials of non-chain-owned newspapers (Akhavan-Majid, Rife & Gopinath, 1991). Another study found that editorial's endorsement patterns changed when newspapers were purchased by chains (Rystrom, 1987). Thrift (1977) found that the editorials of the chain-owned papers tended to have less argumentative editorials on local controversial issues. The location of newspaper's headquarters (out of state place of headquarters is the case for chain newspapers) was also found to affect the way local conflicts were presented in papers (Donohue, Olien & Tichenor, 1985).

Fradgley et al. (1995) noted that, news reporting patterns were found to be connected to the type of ownership. Independently owned daily newspaper had more stories that require more reportorial efforts and used more enterprises news sources than chain-owned. Magolanga (2015) found that a strong correlation between the type of ownership and coverage (frequency and proportion) of non-local business. Magongola added that more characteristics of the corporate form of organization newspaper had, the more emphasis was placed on quality of news coverage. Rioba argued that people with no knowledge or interest in journalism have established media organs as profitable investments as opposed to social services institutions and their interest number one is to make quickly money or to pursue some private interests. The post-mortem in some of these newsrooms is done to establish how much money the previous issue made. Self-censorship too has become the norm in many newsrooms today. Our media would not investigate and publish or air a scam that involves their advertisers, for instance, lest they lose revenue.

2.3.3 The Positive Impact of Ownership Control of Media Content

Market place competitions are of great concern to owners and managers of news organizations. This is one of the reasons for bureaucratic routine in newsrooms. Newspapers are competing to arrive at newsstands on schedule. If not, readers may buy the available competing newspaper (Golding, et al, 1996). So owners are forced to influence media content to ensure business is done. Rioba, (2008) noted that, the post-mortem in some of newsrooms is done to establish how much money the previous issue made.

Roshco (1975) noted that news judgment is a ‘reflection of the economic and political arrangements that control the social order and shape its social values’. He emphasized the relationship between journalists and audiences and asserted that a news organization should study its audiences continue to see the changes within them over time.

2.3.4 The Negative Impact of Owners Interference in the Media Content

Production

Concentration of owners control has a negative impact on media diversity and plurality. Pollock and Rindova, (2003) argued that the editor under no circumstances can be asked by the proprietor to serve his private interests. In any country which swears by the freedom and the independence of the press, an attempt by any proprietor of a newspaper to use his editor as his personal agent to promote his private interests and to compel him to act and to write, to serve them is both offensive and reprehensive.

Okwuchukwu (2014) noted that, “the current media ownership pattern in Nigeria negatively affects the ability of the media to perform without hindrance. This is exemplified by the situation where media practitioners working in both private and

public media organizations make sure that their reports are not perceived as 'unfavorable' by the government of the day. The reality is that public media which are financed with public funds and controlled by public officials do not criticize government actions or inactions because of fear of sanctions. Many media executives in the public media have been known to lose their jobs because they disagreed with government officials. Some private media outfits established by associates of public officials indirectly influence the running of private media outfits. Evidence from data shows that Respondents“ agree that current media ownership pattern is making it difficult for the media in Nigeria to function effectively and efficiently for the overall good of society.”

Doyle (2012) argued that too much concentration of media ownership is dangerous and unhealthy because the media have the power to make or break political careers and have a considerable influence over public opinion. A newsroom survey by Zhu (1997) indicated that, there is a strong declination of journalistic autonomy and editors may not ultimately be in charge of news stories and emphasis. The study noted that, journalists are no longer individually responsible for their actions, noting that, many news stories are influenced outside the news room although news stories do not bear the names of media owners but they are obviously the major determinants of news bulletin via editorial policy.

2.4 Types of Media Owners' Interference in News Content

Four main media ownership structures have been identified in the academic literature. They are commercial, non-profit, public and community media (McQuail, 2005). The first category, commercial media refers to those media that are independently owned, for-profit, and funded mostly from advertising and sales. They range in size from international conglomerates to small local outlets. They are mostly owned by

individuals, corporations and families. As McQuail (2005) defines it, commercial media could be public or private, a large media chain or conglomerate or a small independent body. Although it is mostly privately-owned, it could be also owned by government as can be found in most new democratic countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The second category found in the literature is public media. This ownership type, he argues, comes in various forms ranging from direct State administration to elaborate and diversified constructions designed to maximize the independence of decision-making about content (McQuail, 2005). Two types of ownership of public media exist in the literature. They are the public service media model and the state-owned model. The first model is not directly controlled by government; there is often an intermediary in the form of regulators or parliament or board of directors with no specific allegiance to government. The state-owned media is controlled and funded by the state (taxpayers) and may be more or less focused on the public good, but is sometimes simply a mouthpiece for the government of the day. The last category is the non-profit.

According to McQuail (2005) it is a type of ownership structure that could be a 'neutral trust' designed to safeguard the independence of media operations or bodies with special cultural or social trust tasks such as political parties, and religious bodies among others. Party or politician-owned media cover a range of different types of mass media created and financed by parties; these outlets range from small party propaganda sheets to media owned by rich politico-business people. A fourth media ownership touted by some theorists as suitable for developing or third world countries is the community media. Scholars such as Rennie (2006) have isolated this as another form of media ownership. In Ghana, the NMC identifies it as the third type of media ownership. The community media is supposed to be owned by the community and funded by their contribution

either through cash or, expertise. This type of media ownership is not common in the world (Alhassan, 2005). Although there are no community newspapers in Ghana, there exists a number of rural and community radio stations. The few community radio stations are grouped together under the Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN).

Murdock and Golding (1977) contend that control cannot be radically separated from ownership. They argue that owners of means of production exercise a great degree of control over important processes of production. In this regard, two basic types of levels of control can be identified. Pahl and Winkler (1974) cited by Murdock (1983) speak of controls at the allocative and operational levels. At the allocative level, power is exercised to define overall goals and scope of the corporation and how productive resources are deployed. This is the prerogative of ownership. This includes deciding on who occupies what position in the organization. They outline four main areas of corporate activity covered by allocative control, namely: (1) the formulation of overall policy and strategy; (2) decision on whether and where to expand; (3) the development of basic financial policy and (4) control over the distribution of profits. At the operational level on the other hand, control relates to effective and efficient use of resources. Here, the operatives have some leeway for creativity. This somewhat tallies with Momoh's idea of professionalism, but even then, such creativity is operated within limits imposed by organizational goals and available resources. This also supports the views of Murdock and Golding that in the final analysis, the owners exercise a considerable degree of control over production.

On the other hand there are two levels of ownership: legal ownership and economic ownership. This distinction draws attention to the fact that not all shareholders are equal and that owning shares does not necessarily confer any influence or control over its

activities and policies. For legal ownership to become economic ownership, two conditions have to be met. First, the shares held need to be 'voting' shares entitling the holder to vote in the elections to the board of directors – the company's central decision-making forum. Second, holders must be able to translate their voting power into effective representation on the board or that subsection of it responsible for key locative decisions (since each share usually carries one vote, the largest holders are normally in the strongest position to enforce their wishes).

As a result, economic ownership in large corporations is typically structured like a pyramid with the largest and best organized voting shareholders determining the composition of the executive board who formulate policy on behalf of the mass of small investors who make up the company's capital base. Finally, studies of political economy of the media reveal that advertising is increasingly having influence on media messages. Advertisers are interfering with publications editorial line and on occasion even threaten to pull out their advertisements all together should their wishes not be adhered to. Given the continued dependence of media largely on advertising revenue, this factor cannot be ignored in studies of critical political economy as explained earlier.

Negrine (1994) agrees with the theory of media dependence on the advertising factor arguing that though advertising revenue freed the press from direct political control, it introduced its own form of constraints on an expanding press in the 20th century. He argues that in effect, without the support of advertisers, the British media would be in poorer and much truncated form. Advertising revenue, he argues accounts for some 40% of the popular press' total revenue, and some 70% of the qualities' total revenue. Advertising revenue also finances the commercial television channels, countless commercial radio channels, and a sizeable proportion of the new cable and satellite

channels. Without this extensive support, Negrine (1994) argued that many of our newspapers, for example, would either cost much, much more or cease to exist. This shows the rather near fatal dependence of media on advertising, echoing the argument of the marked influence of advertisement in studies of critical political economy of the media (Negrine, 1994).

Adding another dimension to the above arguments McNair (1994:1-50) argues that politico economic approach add to the constraints placed on journalistic content because of the need to attract and retain advertising revenue. The significance of the advertising factor, he argues, should not be overstated, however, since it is also true that the commercial logic requires companies to advertise in popular media outlets, regardless of their political complexion.

In Government Ownership

Netanel (2010) argues that government subsidy provides an opportunity for media to avoid biases inherent in reliance on advertising and the market for financial sustenance. As such government-funded media can be an important component of the system of free expression. They can serve both to engender public discourse that is not skewed to the wealthy and provide a forum for minority views that receive little play in commercial media. However, she further argues, there several incidents of governments including the democratic ones, seeking to use the power of the purse to extract influence over the content of state funded media.

Netanel insisted that “ideologically driven opposition newspaper would act as a more vigorous watchdog against the government and party in power.” In other words that the closer a newspaper is to a government, the less likely they may perform the watchdog

function against government. Again, she emphasizes that in such situation, those parties become “government press” and that at the very least, and press liberty is compromised and favour of power is essential to the support of the editors.” But once in power, those critics used the very same tools to reward their loyal supporters and curry favour with newspaper. The problem with such development, she claimed is with the difficulty of setting rational, neutral criteria for the distribution of government subsidies to the press.

In addition, state efforts to insulate state-funded broadcasters from government and political party interference have proven to be only partly successful. In some instances, public broadcasters’ internal supervisory organs have become politicized along party lines. Additionally, political pressures constrain public broadcasters from taking controversial positions or even tackling controversial issues. In their study, Djankov et al. (2002) discovered that government ownership hurts democracy. They argue that the governments owned the press –not to improve the performance of economic and political systems, but to improve upon their own chances of staying in power. Government ownership of the media, they say, is detrimental to economic, political and most strikingly social outcomes. They sum up their argument by urging increasing private ownership of the media through privatization or the encouragement of entry to advance a variety of political and economic goals, and especially the social needs of the poor. Leaving the media in private hands does not however provide the perfect remedy.

According to Paye (1996) owners of large media organizations seek public policies of particular concern to themselves by making campaign contributions, doing favours for politicians, or lobbying just like other interest groups. This is done through an indirect approach of using their publications or broadcasts to try and change beliefs and policy

preferences of most and /or elite audiences, which would presumably affect subsequent policy decisions. This indirect approach might be especially attractive to media organizations because of their special position as key disseminators of political information.

To understand the influence on media ownership and media content, Paye stresses that “there is the need to know what sorts of issues the media is discussing, also who drives the process (owners, managers or journalists) and acting upon what motives (economic self-interest, values, ideology, protest or norms) and with what degree of consciousness. By what mechanisms the action of many individuals, co-workers are coordinated (ownership interference, managerial interference, selective recruitments, internalized norms or routines?”. In emerging democracies there are numerous instances where state and private ownership coexist, but in their work on the Romanian media landscape, Lesson and Coyne (2005) identified five means of media manipulation in both ownership structures. The first is direct control over outlets ownership. In this context the media is owned by the State and are therefore entirely controlled by the government of the day. They argued that the State-owned media outlets have a strong incentive to avoid being critical of the government in power. Furthermore, as State owned enterprises, these outlets are run exclusively by government appointed directors who determine both the stories that were covered as well as the light in which these stories were conveyed.

Here the government is in charge of the funding of the media organization or has greater control of the shares. The funding of the media could be direct funding, loans and overdrafts from banks. Where this is the situation, the editorial contents of such media are being influenced by the government. The effect is that government in one way or the

other was made to sure that it determines what may or may not be published and the medium will want to toe the line of government.

According to Nwosu (1995) “one characteristic of government ownership is that it is heavily biased, authoritative and laced with stories and propaganda. Its ownership is an antithesis of press freedom and it is the most recognizable type of ownership.

Government owned broadcast media (television) are not usually exciting enough and also not investigative enough. Nwosu stressed that this is because of the nature of ownership. When you are employed by the government you are bound to dance to the dictate of that government. A government employed journalist cannot go ahead and investigate a fraud or atrocity perpetuated by a government. He would surely be fired (Nwosu 1995).

Kasoma (2000) noted that government ownership of the media has resulted in restriction of information flow to the audience. Governments usually find it easier to use their media to propagate their ideas while at the same time locking out the views of the opposition. For example in Zambia during the 1991 first multiparty elections, the government owned Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) refused to run paid advertisements by Movement for 70 Multiparty Democracy (an opposition party) until it secured a court order to that effect. A similar incident happened in Uganda during the 2011 presidential election when the state owned Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) refused to air paid spot messages of the opposition doyen Dr. KiizaBesigye (Bath, 2012).

In Private Ownership

This could also be chain or corporate ownership. The owner or body concerned has a larger share in the funding or it is fully owned by the person or body concerned. For the electronic media since 1992 the National Broadcasting Commission was set up under an Act of the National Assembly No. 38 of 1992 to give licenses to private individuals to own the electronic media. Private ownership has the merit of giving the media the opportunity or freedom to criticize the ills noticed in the government unlike the ones owned by the government. Nwosu (1995) wrote that this form of ownership has a number of advantages which include; absolute control by the proprietor, which creates some stability of purpose, the owners can make decision at any point in time, clear cut operational policy steady, hold on business and staff proximity.

Privately owned media on the other hand are seen as pursuing interests that are determined by desire to make profit, although it is not always the case. The fact that media are (partly) owned by government does not mean that channels and content are totally controlled by government. Politicians in power thus choose directors and editors that will do their bidding, creating heavily biased news. Closely related to direct State ownership of media outlets is the ownership of outlets by incumbent politicians. This phenomenon, they note, has become known as “Berlusconisation”. A practice named after former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who is also a prominent media mogul. The practice refers to the vesting of media ownership and a political office in the same individual. Although in this case, outlets are technically in the hands of private owners, they are not acquired and operated for the purposes of profit. Instead they are acquired to manipulate information reaching the public. In many instances, these outlets are not even self-sustaining: they are cross subsidized by their owners with other

businesses that generate profit. Usually, if not subsidized, these channels have to make profit, which means independence to a certain extent from government ideological interests.

2.5 Challenges of Journalism Practice

Journalism is a responsible profession with the power to cause change. Journalists can effect change by monitoring the behaviour of authority and investigating structural imbalances that propagate misery and poverty in society. As watchdogs, journalists play the role of providing the required information for decision making in a democracy. The information role of journalists can also help to ensure accountability and transparency in public and private institutions (Andaleeb, 2014). It is in this spirit that Robert McChesney (2008) observed that; society needs a journalism that is a rigorous watchdog of those in power and who want to be in power, can ferret out truth from lies, and can present a wide range of informed positions on the important issues of the day. However, journalists in Africa face a lot of challenges that make it difficult for them to produce this quality of journalism.

Francis Nyamnjoh (2010) argued that practicing journalism in Africa is akin to swimming upstream mainly because of the many hurdles that news reporters and editors face in the different countries. Nyamnjoh noted that the constraints confronting journalism in Africa are political, economic and institutional in nature. Notable among these constraints is the tendency by governments in Africa to excessively politicize state media, making it very difficult for state employed journalists to reconcile the government's expectations with their professional beliefs, or with the expectations of the public (Nyamnjoh, 2010). Nyamnjoh's observation is also true of the state owned UBC television in Uganda. This study has revealed that several journalists at UBC have been

sacked for either writing stories critical of government programmes or hosting opposition politicians on their talk-shows. For example, Tom Gawayya-Tegulle was sacked in 2007 for hosting opposition leader Kiiza Besigye on his Tonight with Tegulle talk show (Gawayya-Tegulle, 2017).

Governments in several African countries have continued to harass independent media especially when they publish investigative stories that expose their impropriety. For example, Catherine Gicheru (2014,p15) noted that the Nigerian government in 2014 confiscated all printed copies of four leading newspapers for criticizing the military after its failed attempts to rescue over two hundred high school girls who were abducted by the Boko Haram terrorists earlier that year. Gicheru added that earlier in 2006, masked policemen had raided the Standard newspaper in Kenya and dismantled their printer before burning all the newspaper copies awaiting distribution. According to Gicheru's study, the Kenyan police defended its actions arguing that they had reliable information that the publication would endanger national security. However, despite police's accusations, no journalist at the Standard was charged in court for endangering national security.

Kasoma (2000) observed that donors have also exerted influence on African journalism in various ways. He noted that the —influence is exerted from the donors to the press directly or indirectly through the other media players whom the donors largely support (Kasoma, 2000). For example, the donor agencies directly give financial aid to the media to promote western values which may not necessarily be relevant for the African continent. The media is often cajoled through the regular press conferences held at the embassies. Some donor agencies also offer senior journalists and broadcasters with

educational tours in the western world which are meant to influence their editorial decisions (Kasoma, 2000).

2.6 Knowledge Gaps

A reviewed literature of various studies has indicated that media ownership has great influence on new content (McChesney, 2008). However, most of these studies have been conducted elsewhere in Europe, Asia and other parts of Africa. For example, one study conducted in Macedonia revealed how ownership affect television news content in country:

The trades of industrial stations that own television stations use them continually as space for advertising products that they produce or sell. On the other hand, the individuals behind these media, who belong to different political parties, use them as space for personal political promotion, especially at the time of election campaigns. (...) To our knowledge, we have seen several instances of pressure on journalists from media owners. One recent example is a quarrel between the owner of a television station and its editor in Chief provoked by the owner's insistence to influence the manner of reporting the news, which led to the journalist's transfer to another TV station (Trpevska, 2004).

In Tanzania, the few studies carried out on media ownership influence have not investigated the impact of owners' interference in the media content production. For example Mwafissi (2013) dwelt more on the editorial independence in public broadcasting in Africa. Another unpublished study by Mbagi (2020), which dealt with the subject of ownership and content, focused on electronics media leaving newspaper aside. A study on newspaper in Tanzania is thus vital because pervasiveness. Therefore,

this study examined how media ownership has influenced news production in Tanzania newspapers especially during the election. The study focuses on Tanzania because as indicated above other studies have not given it prominence.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter represents methodology in which this study was conducted. It includes research design, target population, area of the study, sampling design, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection methods, data analysis, ethical consideration and validity.

3.2 Research Design

Kothari (1990) defines research design as the plan on how the researcher systematically collect and analyze data needed to answer research questions. He adds that, research design is a framework or roadmap through which a research process is conducted to explain the social phenomena under investigative. This study used case study design so as to attain the objective of the study. Yin (2009) argues that a single case study is a qualitative approach in which a researcher explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded (cases) overtime through detailed in depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (such as audio visual materials, observation, interviews, and documents or reports) and report a case description and case based themes.

Hence that, the researcher was decided to apply single study design because it is useful method on narrowing down broadly field research into one easily researchable topic. The design the design was suitable to this study because it spotlights only *Habari Leo* newspaper. This decision is partly informed by an earlier study which observed that single case study design is appropriate for study containing a single case study (Baxter and Jack, 2008). The design is also relevant for this study since it can combine both quantitative and qualitative approaches as Zaidah Zainal (2007) observed; variations in

terms of intrinsic, instrumental and collective approaches to case studies allow for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data.

The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods. However, the two methods are diverse but compatible. They differ in terms of nature and purpose but not quality. Therefore, the assumed conflict between quantitative and qualitative approaches is without logical basis (Sarantakos, 2005). The two methodologies complement each other in such a way that when one approach fails to obtain the necessary data, then the other approach is utilized (Semujju, 2016). The two approaches are relevant to the study given that the researcher is interested in the entire phenomenon irrespective of its complexity (Keyton, 2011). The quantitative and qualitative data collected were integrated in the process of research to enhance the investigation of the relationship between media ownership and news content (Rubin and Babbie, 2013).

The researcher applied qualitative method by interviewing journalists on their duties in the newsroom. In this approach, Creswell (2013) argues that the researcher is also an instrument that collects data by observing people's actions and behaviours, examining documents and conducting interviews. An interview guide (appendix II) consisting of open ended questions was designed to guide the interview with respondents. The questions asked by researcher and techniques used were enriched by the knowledge, beliefs and worldviews of the researcher. Unlike quantitative research, the qualitative approach is so interactive in that it can be by the personal history of the researcher (Heppner, Wampold and Kivligan, 2008). A qualitative researcher also selects a research tool basing on his or her research questions for a better understanding of the phenomenon being studied instead of just accepting or rejecting hypothesis through statistical measures ad experiments. The approach was relevant for this study because

the rich narrative description of the subjects under study was of great significance to the researcher (Heppner et al., 2008). Thus, to understand one's thoughts, the researcher has to use qualitative techniques such as interviews and not quantitative designs. For example, you cannot adequately carry out an experiment to establish the extent to which journalists in Tanzania engage in self-censorship nor can you sufficiently use quantitative content analysis to find out the effect of the existing media laws on the practice of journalism in any particular country (Priest, 1996). This is why interviews were employed in the current study.

Quantitative approaches were further employed because of their effectiveness in a study like this one dealing with the complex relationships and interactions in media house. In this approach, content analysis was used to classify news characteristics as well as counting them and constructing statistical model to explain what was observed. The techniques was systematic and accurate in measuring what was contained in the news (McCusker et al, 2014). Berger (1998) argues that the patterns of behaviours and values observed in the produced content reflect the views and behaviours of journalists who produce that material. The method was relevant for this study because by examining the news content at *Habari Leo* newspaper, the researcher was able to ascertain the influence of ownership on news selection and coverage of the newspaper.

The study sought to discover how interactions between media owners, editors and journalists affected the content production. In the single case study design, the researcher was allowed to examine ownership influence in media content production at *Habari Leo* newspaper. The study employed three techniques of data collection, questionnaires, interviews and content analysis. Guido and Stempel (2008) state that content analysis is a formal system of doing something that is done informally rather

frequently, drawing conclusions from observations of content. It expresses opinions about the adequacy of different kinds of coverage by newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations. The content analysis of this study was on probing ownership influence of news content at *Habari Leo* newspaper for about three months from August to October 2015 general elections. The multiplicity of the techniques helped to ensure reliability of the data collected by giving the researcher an opportunity to analyze notes.

3.3 Target Population

Oswala (2001) defines population as the number of persons or objects to be covered by the study or with which the study is concerned. According to Maxwell (2005), population is the aggregate of all cases that confirm to designate set of specification. At the same time, Kombo and Tromp (2002) define population in research as the totality of the objects under investigation. In this study, the population of the study included editors and journalists. Editors are important in sense that they are the ones who decide which news stories should be published and which should not.

3.4 Area of the Study

Burns (1997) defines 'study area' as an interdisciplinary research as in the social sciences in a distinct geographic, socio-cultural, or political area aimed at a scientific understanding of the area as an entity and at relating it to other areas. This study was carried out at the head office for *Habari Leo* newspaper which is located at TSN Building, plot No 11/4, Nelson Mandela Expressway, Temeke District. The reason for choosing this area is that, it is located within the financial and resource capacity of the researcher.

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

purely with sports and entertainment. The history of Tanzania Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) dates back to 1930, when Tanganyika Standard Limited was established under the ownership of the East African Consolidated Holdings. The Company was later sold to London Rhodesia (Lonrho) of London, England. In 1961, Lonrho re-organised the company into Tanganyika Standard (Newspapers) Limited (TSN) and Printpack Tanganyika Limited (PTL). Both companies were nationalized in 1970. Daily News is a daily English paper while Sunday News comes out on Sundays. SpotiLeo is a bi-weekly tabloid published on Thursdays and Sundays.

HabariLeo, a Kiswahili daily newspaper was established in 2007. The paper is produced both in print and online. Online edition is aimed to extend and keep its readership with latest developments in Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The main policymaking organ of the company is the Board of Directors appointed by the Minister. The day-to-day activities are the responsibility of the management led by the Managing Editor (who is the company Chief Executive Officer and is appointed by the President) assisted by four heads of departments-The Deputy Managing Editor (who heads the Editorial department); The Personnel Administration Manager (who heads the Personnel and Administration department); the Business Manager (who heads the Business department); and the Finance Manager leading the Finance department.

3.5 Sampling Design

According to Kabir (2016), “a sample design is the framework, or road map, that serves as the basis for the selection of a survey sample and affects many other important aspects of a survey as well. In a broad context, survey researchers are interested in obtaining some type of information through a survey for some population, or universe, of interest.” The researcher used consecutive-unit sampling design to choose the months

for the study. According to Question-Pro Survey Software (2021), consecutive sampling is defined as a non-probability sampling technique where samples are picked at the ease of research more like convenience sampling, only with a slight variation. Here, the researcher selects a sample or group of people, conducts research over a period, collects results, and then moves on to another sample. This is a type of sampling technique which involves taking content published during a certain time. The researcher focused on the election period because this is usually the time when media owners' influence on news content is expected to be more prevalent (Wang, 2003). This study therefore examines the impact of owners' interference in the media content production in the 2015 general elections.

3.5.1 Sample Size

Sampling is a procedure which uses a small portion of the identified population "to make a conclusion about the entire population" (Zikmund, 2003). The sample reflected the identified population as it is only individuals working in the newsroom who carry the responsibility of selecting the stories which are published or broadcast (Sylvie & Huang, 2008). The sample size of this study was 20 respondents, whereby there were 5 editors and 15 journalists. The sample size is relatively small because it is drawn from a hard to access population of people with a highly specific job. Leedy and Ormrod (2005) noted that a sample size of between 5 and 25 is deemed adequate for a study of this nature which requires a sample which has had direct experience of the phenomenon or process being researched.

Apart from that the study also used a case study research design by applying in Habari Leo newspaper government owned due to the fact that, it operated under editorial policy as indicated in its profile. Habari Leo is the only Swahili government print media

newspaper that operates to date. Therefore, the newspaper is good representative for the case study. The study observed types and numbers of stories published into selected newspaper on how media owners shape content production for three months from August, September and October to 2015 through content analysis.

3.5.2 Sampling Techniques

Kothari (2006) defined sampling technique as the process of selecting samples to represent the population. This study was used purposeful sampling technique in order to have a small group of people with interest to represent others. Patton (2002) stated that purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest.

According to Cresswell and Clark (2011), this involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest. In addition to knowledge and experience, Morse, et al, (2009) noted the importance of availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner.

In this study, a researcher decided to apply purposive sampling techniques because it can serve as primary data source due to the nature of consecutive-unit sampling design and research objectives. The researcher selected small numbers of media practitioners of *Habari Leo* newspaper because they have rich knowledge and experience regarding the impact of owners' interference on the media content production. However during the process of applying purposive sampling, the researcher straightly rejected the individuals who do not fit journalistic duties. Therefore, purposive sampling was used in selecting key informants such as news editors and reporters at *Habari Leo* newspaper who

knowledgeable on the subject matter. Purposive sampling may be defined as selecting units based on specific purposes associated with answering study question (Teddie and Yu, 2007). The sample consisted of five editors and fifteen news editors from the newspaper.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

Burns et al. (2001) defines data collection can be referred to as a systematic way of collecting data related to a given questionnaire and research objectives. Under this particular study, the researcher selected three methods in collection data which are; questionnaire, interview and content analysis. These methods were helped the researcher to collect accurate and valid data from the respondents.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

Cohen (2007) defines questionnaire as a predefined series of questions used to collect information from individuals. Brink and Wood (1998) state characteristics of questionnaire that, “data on a broad range of a topic may be collected within a limited period.” The researcher used this method because it is easy to manage and free from unfairness. The questionnaire was contained both closed and open-ended questions to enable respondents to provide independent answers. Questionnaires are easier to administer because each item is followed by alternative answers. They are economical to use since they save finance and time. The questionnaires were used in order to address the objectives of the study.

3.6.2 Interview

According to Kothari (2006), interview is a two-way dialogue in which question were asked by an interviewer to a participant or interviewee in tell to assemble facts and to learn about the information, viewpoint, view, opinion and behaviours of the participant.

In this study, the researcher applied interview guide to collect information on examining the impact of media owners' influence in the content production. An interview guide is defined by Oklahoma (2011) as a list of questions which are raised in the course of an interview. The researcher used an interview guide to ask oral questions in order to obtain information from those respondents. In-depth interviews were used to obtain detailed information on how media owners' interfered *Habari Leo* newspapers content production.

The sample consisted of six participants; two editors and four news reporters. Each interview lasted for approximately 20 minutes. The idea of in depth interviews provided the researcher with the opportunity to guide the discussion through further probing and redirecting the interview whether the respondents went off-track. It was the work of the interviewer to ensure that the respondents are steered away from giving information which was not relevant to the interview objectives (Phiri, 2001).

The news editors and reporters were asked questions relating to editorial policies, editorial independence, newsroom, organization and management, the role of management in the recruitment of editors and reports, the relationship between organization structures and the coverage of news, as well as self-censorship. The respondents were also asked to give their views on the effect of concentrated media ownership which is a new phenomenon in Tanzania. Here emphasis was put on respondents from *Habari Leo* newspaper owned by the State. The reporters from the newspaper were further asked on the degree of freedom in choosing stories to cover.

3.6.3 Content Analysis (Secondary Data analysis)

Luo (2019) says content analysis is a research method used to identify patterns in recorded communication. Researchers use content analysis to find out about the purposes, messages, and effects of communication content. They can also make inferences about the producers and audience of the texts they analyze. In this study a researcher used a content analysis method of data collection to quantify the occurrence of the news stories and articles reported in Habari Leo Newspaper so as to examine the impact of owners' interference in the media content production. This method was useful because it helped the researcher to analyze communication and social interaction without the direct involvement of respondents. In this particular study, the researcher analyzed data by going through news stories, photographs, features and editorials associated with the objectives of the study which published the newspaper during in those selected days and months. Here the researcher sorted news items that had semantic and conceptual connection to the research objectives.

3.7 Data Analysis

The analysis of data is the most skilled task in the research. It calls for researcher's own judgment and skills. Krishnaswami (2003) points out that analysis means a critical examination of the assembled and grouped data for studying the characteristics of the objects and for determining relationships among the variables relating to it.

Qualitative method of data collection was employed so as to get the needed information to complement those data collected through questionnaires .It aimed at specific key respondents so as to deduce information regarding the subject matter. These data were analyzed and interpreted to get the required information. The main concern of data

analysis is to summarize large mass of data, to take out descriptions, to identify casual factors and to make estimations or generalization.

Apart from that, content analysis was employed as an analytical tool in analyzing the newspaper articles in this study. Content analysis is an established research method that has been used in various areas of social science, including business since the middle of the last century (Neuendorf, 2002). Krippendorff (2012) defines the techniques as research techniques for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. This study employed content analysis to determine the impact of owners' interference in the media content production. The texts of *Habari Leo* newspapers were analyzed through qualitative content analysis, since it was one of the most realistic ways of determining the impact of owners' interference in media content. Hsieh et al. (2005) have defined qualitative content analysis "as a method of research for subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns."

Patton (2002) explains further that qualitative content interpretation or analysis is based on three aspects: (i) making obvious or confirming that what is already known about the subject (ii) making the obvious dubious, or identifying misconceptions and (iii) making the hidden obvious, or discovering important things that have not yet been illuminated by others.

Hsieh et al. (2005) identify three types of qualitative content analysis: conventional, directed and summative. In conventional content analysis, categories emerge out of the analysis rather than through preconceived categories being imposed on the data. Directed content analysis involves the application of conceptual categories to a new

context. Summative content analysis involves the counting of words or content and interpretation of that quantification. The summative approach is deemed appropriate for this study because it is used for identifying patterns and context (Hsieh et al., 2005). According to Hsieh et al. (2005) this approach is used to analyze manuscripts such as newspapers, books and reports. In this study, the summative content approach was used to determine how *Habari Leo* newspaper performed its roles in respect of its ownership influence. According to Hsieh et al. data analysis in this approach starts with either computer-assisted or manual search. It then follows with count of pages that covered specific cases, followed by descriptions and interpretation, including evaluating the quality of content (Hsieh et al., 2005).

A summative approach to qualitative content has certain advantages. It is an unobtrusive and non-reactive way to study the phenomenon of interest which means that unlike interviewing or participant observation, it does not interfere with research results (Babbie, 1992 cited in Hsieh et al., 2005). The application of qualitative content and data analysis techniques encompassing descriptions, figures and tables were considered so as to support the exploration, presentation, description, identification and examination of collected data.

3.7.1 Units of Analysis

A unit in content analysis can be defined as an identifiable message component on which variables are measured (Neuendorf, 2002). Units vary depending on the purpose and nature of the study. In communication studies, a unit of analysis may include a theme, an entire programme, a character, a film or a news story (Prasad, 2008). The units of analysis for this study were news articles, features, photographs, and editorials

published in Habari Leo newspaper. These four units were used to examine the impact of owners' interference in the media content production in 2015 general elections.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Gall et al. (2007) defined ethical is a principal or moral guiding a researcher protecting research participants from possible harm and how to secure privacy and confidentiality during data collection. Research ethics needs a researcher to follow appropriate guidelines and rules for protecting participants' dignity as well as publishing relevant and ethical oriented information (Fouka and Mantzorou, 2011). In this study the researcher observed ethics guidelines including confidentiality, privacy, plagiarism anonymity and beneficence. This involved the acquisition of the introduction letter from the Open University of Tanzania.

3.9 Reliability of the Instruments

Reliability refers to the ability of an instrument to produce consistent results (Creswell, et al, 2011). The method is reliable if it yield similar results when repeated (Best and Khan, 2006). Also, it is concerned with the correlation of the findings given by similar respondents but in different times. Reliability is grounded in three major dimensions such as test and retest, equivalent forms and internal consistency of the data (Kothari, 2004). In this study the reliability was assured by conducting a pilot study in which 10 questionnaires were administered to 10 journalists. In one week time the same procedure was done to the same journalists to find whether similar results were obtained.

3.10 Validity

Validity refers to as a method for measuring how truthful the research instrument can measure intended data and how open research findings are (Joppe, 2000). In other words validity can be defined as the extent to which research too is reliable. However, an

instrument can be reliable without being valid (Kimberlin and Winetrstein 2008). Researcher conducted test-retest pilot study to ensure validity of the data tools. Ten (10) Questionnaires were distributed and administered to the respondents. After one week same procedure was repeated to the same participants. According to Lee et al. (2016), it is important to pre-test data collection instruments as it ensures reliability and validity of the tools before the main survey.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter represents data collected from combination of quantitative data from content analysis as well as qualitative data from both questionnaires and interview methods of data collection. The aspects examined in content analysis include news campaign issues associated to 2015 general election from Habari Leo newspaper. The questionnaires and interview schedule were developed comprising several questions from English version designed to collect data to respond to research questions. A purposive sampling technique was adopted to achieve preliminary findings quickly with no screening process.

This study was conducted at head the office for *Habari Leo* newspaper located in Temeke Municipal and it involved 20 respondents with their defined characteristics. Data was collected for two weeks due to time limitation of OUT academic schedule. Quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed based on their content and frequency to derive conclusion from data collected through both questionnaires and interviews. The presentation of data is further analyzed in relation to the main objectives of the study.

Mugenda et al. (1999) argued that a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting; a rate of 60% is good and a response rate of 70% and above is outstanding. Response rate of this study was 100% since all 20 respondents filled both questionnaires and interviews successfully. Based on Mugenda et al. (1999) response rate of this study was outstanding hence the researcher proceeded with analysis and reporting.

4.1 Demographical Data

An analysis of the content of demographic details of 20 respondents produced the data presented in Table 1 below. Under this category respondents were asked to mention their level of education.

Table 4.1 Academic Qualification Distribution of Respondents

Descriptions	Frequency	Percentages
Certificate	0	00
Diploma	3	15
Degree	10	50
Masters	7	35
Professional	0	00
Other	0	00
Total	20	100.0

Source Field Data 2021

Table 1 shows that majority of 10 (50%) respondents had obtained degree, while 7(35%) of respondents had masters, and 3 (15%) respondents were diploma holders. These findings indicated that all participants were well educated on identifying media ownership influence in their daily activities and how they obtain and develop critical and logical thinking and make independent decisions to tackle the problem. .

Table 4.2 Positions Held by the Respondents

Department	Frequency	Percentages
Administrative	5	25
Operational	6	30
Production	9	45
Total	20	100.0

Source Field Data 2021

According to findings in the above table 2, majority of the respondents were in production department with 9 (45%) respondents, while 6 (30%) of respondents were in operational department and 5 (25%) of respondents were in administrative. The researcher was interested to these findings because news production department engaged in collecting, preparing and disseminating news media. Thus obviously media owners will influence news processing.

4.2. Awareness on the Different Media Ownership in Tanzania

When the respondents were asked to show their awareness on various media ownership they all affirmed that they were aware on media ownership in Tanzania. They outlined government, public, community and private media ownership.

4.2.1 If YES what are the Different Media Owners in Tanzania

Table 4.3 The different media owners Tanzania

Descriptions	Frequency	Percentages
Community	2	10
Government	3	15
Private	8	40
Public	7	35
Total	20	100.0

Source Field Data 2021

The findings in table 3 shows that the majority of the respondent supported private media ownership with 8 (40%), followed by public with 7 (35%) responses, government 3 (15%) and lastly community with 2 (10%) responses. In an interview with one sub-editor, she stated that many media owners ideology is to use their newspapers as a potent tool to help push the agenda of their interests and do not keep basic aims of journalism in mind in their operations.

The sub editor added that “the one who pays the piper calls the tune,” to support his view that media houses do the bidding of their owner. She carried on that, those who have a stake in management and financial muscles of media house have commercial, political, or socio economic or religious motives and would do all they can to satisfy such motives. Moreover respondents identified that most of media owners are affiliated to political parties especially ruling party making it difficult for media practitioners to be neutral and that they (owners) determine the forms of news writing on favoring their political aspirations.

The findings indicated that most of the media ownership companies in Tanzania are being owned by private individual ever since the government commenced the privatization owned media companies which are managed by government. All media in Tanzania often avoids controversial stories or issues, especially those that are critical of government, and its officials. For example, the state media have always been pro-government on all issues. The editor of the *Habari Leo* confirmed this when he said in an interview that, “the objective of the *Habari Leo* is to publish news to inform the public particularly on what government is doing for the people and get feedback for government.”

4.2.2. A Nature of Operation of the Different Media Ownership

The respondents were asked a nature of operation of the different media ownership. One interviewee mentioned that the state runs the public media and it is hardly expected to have these media doing critical stories on government of the day. In case for the political campaign, one of the respondents claimed that the public that the public media report news stories that give incumbents more opportunity than opposition parties. In the same vein, respondents acknowledged that the private media and it is hardly expected to have new about their owners and slant stories in their favor.

One interviewee stated that,

If the media outlets in the country continue to be highly favorable instead of bringing out issue that helped majority of people or promote what we call the common good. I am afraid the future of professions is nothing but bleak and gloomy (Source: Interview data January 2, 2021)

Another respondent said, the nature of the current media ownership has lowered journalist standard in sense that most media owners go in for cheap labour and some

private media owners are among the politicians, or are funded businessmen and the party, but others are vendors who use the media for personal gain. Thus, there are some private media companies whose owners use its tool for political gain.

Quotes from responses presented below exemplify the views expressed by respondents on the issue of patterns of media ownership and nature of media performance in Tanzania. Respondent 7th argues that ownership is very important, if the media is private sector driven it will serve Tanzania better. Therefore there should be a change in the character of media ownership in this country.

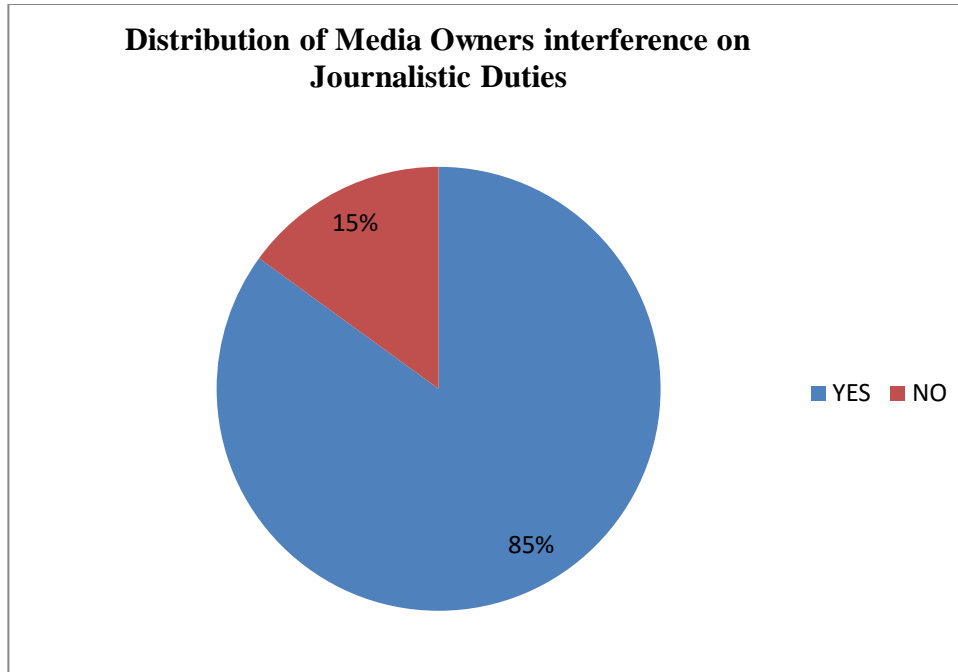
The second respondent revealed that

You risk losing your job if you give out unfavorable information about government activities, while reporter in public that makes use of such unfavorable also runs the risk of losing their job. However, private media organizations that come across such information normally use them but at times the reporter could be compromised. (Source: Interview data January 2021)

The findings indicated that the current media ownership patterns in Tanzania has a number of limitations with regards to the media playing critical role in setting agenda for societal discourse. This can be observed in the support which media organization give to the government of the day regardless of the performance of such a government.

4.3. Is Media Owner Interfering Journalist's Work

Respondents were asked to expose whether media owners interfered their journalistic duties or not. Majority of the respondents that is 17(85%) affirmed that media owners interfered their journalistic duties, while 3 (15%) respondents refuted.



Source: Field Data 2021

In the interview with some respondents noted that the public media are the unwritten rules which guide their work. According to reporters, newsroom practices influence how they cover events including issues relating to corruption against government. We have our usual style of writing our article and you need not change that way of writing. The fourth respondent said, normally ... we only concentrate on angles that would be positive on government.” According to respondents six, during the election of 2015, the newspaper refused to publish paid advertisements by opposition party. A similar incident happened in the 2015 presidential election when the state-owned Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) refused to air paid spot messages of the opposition doyen Edward Lowassa.

4.4 What Extent do Media owners Interfere your News Reporting?

Most of respondents agreed that news is mostly slanted to meet the tests and aspiration of the media moguls. The fourth respondent argued that it is not difficult to determine the political leaning of most media houses in Tanzania. To that extent he agreed that media

ownership is affecting news content and professionalism. One news editor said that most media houses political affiliation is skewed toward reporting mainly about their party. These use their platforms for bickering and insults at other parties. A respondent said it effects to a large extent mainly for owners who interfere in the objective delivery of news content, research, and hosting of programmes.

The seventh respondent claimed that:

In fact, we are often instructed on what to do through our house policy, and sometimes we get instructions from media owner on what news content should not be or should be available in our newspaper. This situation is found in mostly all media in Tanzania. We have employed by the government on doing public works. We would be foolish to ignore the owner's instructions in carrying out daily tasks. We will work in accordance with the values of journalism but also in accordance with the wishes of the owners. (Source: Interview data January, 2021)

In interviews with respondent 8, he said that there is no direct intervention in his role in the day to day news production but reporters said that the first thing they consider before writing a story is whether the story would see the light of day, suggesting some amount of self-censorship in their approach to reporting. The editor when asked the interference in his work noted that: “no one directs anyone as to what to do but, I as an editor have a gate keeping role.” Asked directly how he sees the newspaper watchdog role on government, he responded thus, “The objective of *Habari Leo* is to publish news to inform the public particularly on what government is doing for people and get feedback for government.” However, one respondent said: “As far as I am concerned as a journalist, there is no need to be critical on an issue involving government because, the story may not likely be published it will be in inside pages. In my years of working for the newspaper, you need to take a favorable (government) angle to get a front page.

Asked about newspaper especially is influenced directly or indirectly by the government in power, the journalist gave answers which on the surface may appear contradictory but upon reflection provides a good insight into the operations of the state owned media, while the journalists said the government did not directly intervene in their operation, they added that the government has its own representatives in the newsroom.

Finding from questionnaire indicated that majority of 8 (40%) of respondents were said always media owners interfere their news reporting while 6 (30%) of respondents said media owners do so daily. More than that 3 (15%) of respondents indicated that they do so weekly, while 2 (10%) of respondents said monthly and 1 (5%) of respondent said none. These data summarized in table below as follows:

Table 4:4 distribution of media owners interfere on news reporting

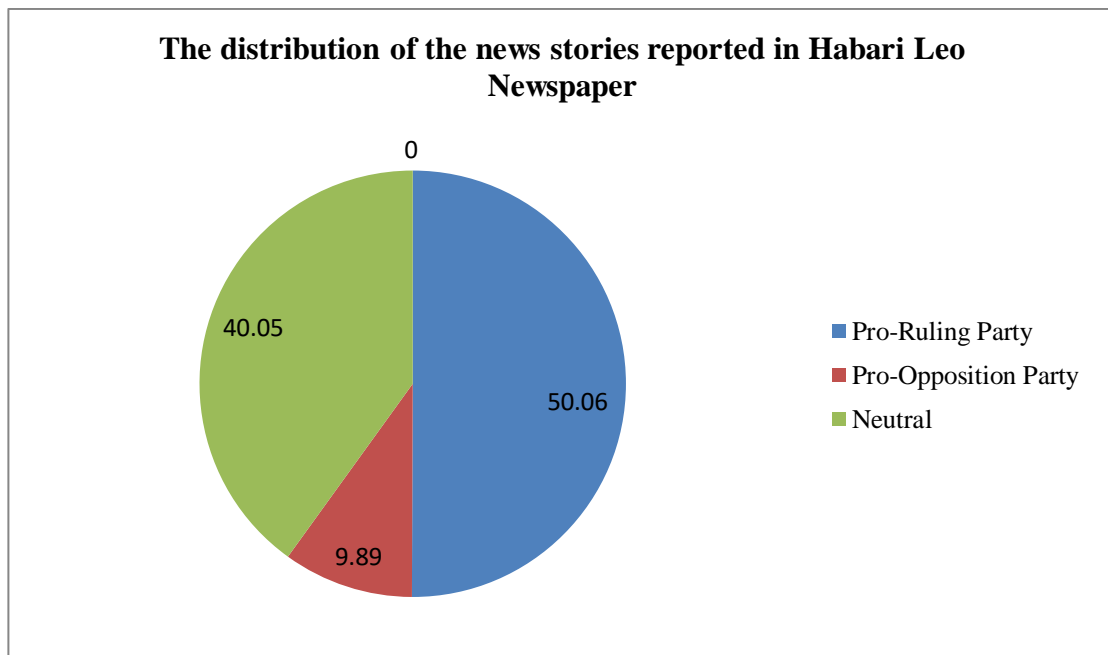
Description	Frequency	Percentage
Always	08	40
Daily	06	30
Weekly	03	15
Monthly	02	10
None	01	05
Total	20	100.0

Source: Field Data 2021

Apart from that, under this section analysis focused on the number of stories published in the *Habari Leo* Newspaper within a period of August to October, 2015. The content analysis included four units of analysis that is editorial, news stories, photography as well as features story. The newspaper published a total of 839 of news reporting associated with 2015 general election campaign for a given specific period of time. Under this

category the news reported was classified into three categories namely pro-ruling party stories, pro opposition party stories and neutral tone stories.

The stories that positively described the ruling party candidate were coded pro-ruling party, while those that positively described the opposition candidate were coded pro-opposition. The stories that never favored both ruling party candidate and opposition candidates were coded neutral. In short neutral focused on fact without showing any kind of favoritism. The findings summarized in pie chart below as follows:



Source: Field Data 2021

From the above pie chart, the findings indicated that the total of 839 published articles collected from the front pages, editorials and back pages of the selected newspaper from August to October during campaign period of 2015 general elections, only 420 (50.06%) of news articles were for pro-ruling party candidate, while 336 (40.05%) of news articles were neutral and 83 (9.89%) of news article were for pro-opposition candidates.

Furthermore, the numbers of news articles published in *Habari Leo* newspaper during campaign were 839. These articles were classified accordingly to four units of analysis

included photos, editorials, news stories and featured articles. These findings are summarized in Table 4 as follows

Table 4.5 Distribution of news articles published in Habari Leo newspaper from August to October in 2015 general election campaigns

Types of news articles	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Straight News stories	462	55.07
Photographs	181	21.57
Features	108	12.87
Editorials	88	10.49
Total	839	100

Source: Field Data 2021

The findings above designated that out of 839 published articles, most were straight news stories which was 462 (55.07%), while 181 (21.57%) of published articles were Photographs, followed by features which was 108 (12.87%) and 88 (10.49%) of published articles were editorials. The findings indicated that the newspaper plays its part on social responsibility theory by publishing news stories that inform, educate and persuade the society in general. The newspaper appeared not to serve the interest of the public on political arena since most of published news articles concentrate on favoring certain political parties. At certain circumstance, the content of news is built into the economic objective of the company. Though in some cases the owner may choose to make profits secondary to an ideological goal such as promoting a particular agenda, the organization cannot definitely ignore the economic goal.

Table 4.6 Distribution of overall coverage of campaign of 2015 general elections in Tanzania by Habari Leo newspaper

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Voter education news	173	20.62
Election Promise	111	13.23
Election Candidate	469	55.90
Interest Groups	86	10.25
Total	839	100

Source: Field Data 2021

The above findings from content analysis indicated that 469 (55.90%) out of 839 news articles collected from *Habari Leo* newspaper, concentrated on election candidates. While 173 (20.62%) of articles were concentrated on educating voters on how to vote. Followed by 111(13.23%) of news articles which associated with election promises and 86 (10.25%) of news directly concentrated on group interests. A cursory content analysis of the newspaper showed that the paper devoted considerable space to covering issues of the campaign, highlighting and scrutinizing manifestoes of the major parties that is CCM, CHADEMA and CUF as well as providing a forum for debate in commentary and opinions pages. The findings indicated that the performance of the newspaper during the election period was polity due to the adherence to the media code of conduct for election reporting which was developed by Tanzania Editorial Forum (TEF). The code set lines a number of benchmark for ethical practice ranging from ensuring objectivity, truth seeking and reporting, encouraging free speech promoting, democratic' value and objecting to hate speech and incitement of violence.

There was concern however, that in the newspaper news reporting the ruling party took the lion's share of visibility due to the fact that party activities were not easily distinguishable from government duties. The ruling party also dominated paid for advertisement space in the print media due to its strong financial positions.

The findings from content analysis showed that the *Habari Leo* newspaper a reasonable level of commitment to promotion of voter educations and the ruling party enjoy more favorable coverage in the paper than other parties.

An interview with *Habari Leo* reporter supported the content analysis when he said that:

Normally... we only concentrate on an angle that would be pro-government or ruling party.

Another respondent said that a key issue of most elections has been the promises made by various political candidates sell themselves and various positions. In a developing country such as Tanzania, these promises include development issues such as infrastructures, stamping out vices like corruption which is widespread and rampant at that time, reviving failed agricultural sector activities and creation of employment given the high unemployment rates.

4.5 How many times have you received a letter or Phone Call Preventing you from Publishing Information or Photos?

Respondents were asked about a number of warning letters or phone calls made by media owners to prevent the publication of information or photos. This question seemed to be answered more by editors than reporters because editors acted as gatekeepers of filtering which news should be published or not based on the editorial policy of the respective media.

A respondent four claims:

You know the responsibility to check specific standard for news values lies to the editor. Thus, anything about information that does not comply with editorial policy, the first person to be held accountable or responsible is the editor of a particular unit. However, personally I have never received a warning letter or call, but there are some of our colleagues who have experienced the situation.” (Source: Interview data January, 2021).

On an interview with one of the sub-editor stated that many media owners ideology is to use their newspapers as a potent tool to help push the agenda of their parties and do not keep basic aims of journalism in mind in their operations. The sub editor added that “the one who pay the piper calls the tune,” to support his view that media houses do the bidding of their owner. He carried on that, those who have a stake in management and financial muscles of media house have commercial, political, or socio economic or religious motives and would do all they can to satisfy such motives. But respondents identified that most of media owners are affiliated to political parties especially ruling party making difficult for media practitioners to be neutral and that they (owners) determine the forms of news writing on favoring their political aspirations.

The sub editor adds that:

I have received more than two warning letters. One wanted me to explain why I should not be fired and another shifted me from higher post to lower one.”(Source: Interview data, January 2021).

He added that political scandal or sensationalism in its reporting largely because its news editors believed that the audience was more interested in scandals and controversies. Respondents argued that scandal sell more than issues of services delivery and economic empowerments. They are strong selling point. Controversies give you interesting news and they hook your viewers. A reporter noted that apart from getting guidelines on

election reporting, they also had refresher training just before the campaign period which sharpened their reporting skills. She added that the forceful gate-keeping at the newspaper also helped them to eliminate overly their reporting skills.

The reporter also added that they were influenced by their editors to prioritize political scandals in their news reports. She explained that often times editors trashed about services delivery and would instead direct them to give those stories controversial angles.

She added that “you would write about service delivery and the editor asks you so what?” (Source: Interview data January, 2021).

Another journalist said in an interview that he was recognized that reporting on corruption allegations against government and its official is a prime responsibility of the media. However, the focus of state owned media appears to be different from that of the private media. In private media are more interested in allegations against government officials, the publicly owned media mostly focuses on allegations against private individuals and high state states official who are not political holders.

4.5.1 Kind of Warning received by respondents in that Letter or Phone Call

Respondents were asked in some letters or warning calls, what they received they were told. The data summarized in table 7 below as follows:

Table 4.7 Distribution to the types of warning provided to media practitioners

Types of action taken	Frequency	Percentage
Will be suspended	3	15
Will be fired	6	30
Will be demoted	4	20
Will be transferred	7	35
Total	20	100.0

(a) Source: Field Data 2021

The above findings indicated that 7 (35%) of respondents were said that they will be transferred, followed by 6 (30 %) of those who said that they will be fired while 4 (20%) of respondents were said will be demoted and 3 (15%) of respondents were said will be suspended. In interviews with the journalists and editors said that there were no direct intervention in their role in the day to day news production but some of reporters said that the first thing they consider before writing a story is whether the story would see the light of day, suggesting some amount of self-censorship in their approach to reporting.

One of the editors of the newspaper, when asked on the interference in his work noted that:

“No one directs anyone as to what to do (but), I as editor have a gate-keeping role.” (Source: Interview data January 2021).

When asked directly how he sees the *Habari Leo* newspaper watchdog role on government he respondent thus:

The objectives of the newspaper is to publish news to inform the public particularly on what government is doing for the people and get feedback for government. (Source: Interview data January 2021).

However, one journalist said that:

“As far as I am concerned as a journalist, there is no need to be critical on an issue involving, government because, the story, feature or photo may not likely be published and if it evens it will be inside pages. In my years of working for *Habari Leo*, you need to take a favorable (government) angles to get a front page.” (Source: Interview data January 2021)

The response of the reporter provides a good explanation of why public newspaper scored low on critical coverage variables. Asked on whether newspaper is influenced directly or indirectly by the government in power, the journalists gave answered which on the surface may appear contradictory but upon reflection provides a good insight into the operation of the state owned media whole the journalists said the government did not directly intervene in their operation, they added that government has its own representative in the newsroom.

They further explained that journalist whose political parties go into opposition because inactive during this period but take on active roles once their professed political parties assumes power. In the words of journalist from the newspaper said:

Depending on which political party is journalist who appear not to side with the government (pro-ruling party) will not be active in editorial meeting or will not partake in editorial meeting at all. So, it is because something likes a field day for those who support government.

He added that

Our newsroom we practice influence how we cover events including issues relating to corruption against government. We have our usual style of writing our articles and you need not change that way of writing.

The data from the field further revealed that government has on several occasions forced in TSN management to sack some reporters and editors that it deems antagonistic. A

respondent from *Habari Leo* cited an example where government forced them to sack two journalists for producing a critical story on a neighboring country. There was a general consensus among respondents that political and other overzealous state agents often interfered with the process of gathering which eventually affected the final product on publication. The interference was usually in form of intimidation, banning of particular media, physical violence torture, and suspension of some journalists by government, and forcing media houses to sack some broadcasters. It was acknowledged that this interference affected all media houses in Tanzania irrespective of the type of ownership.

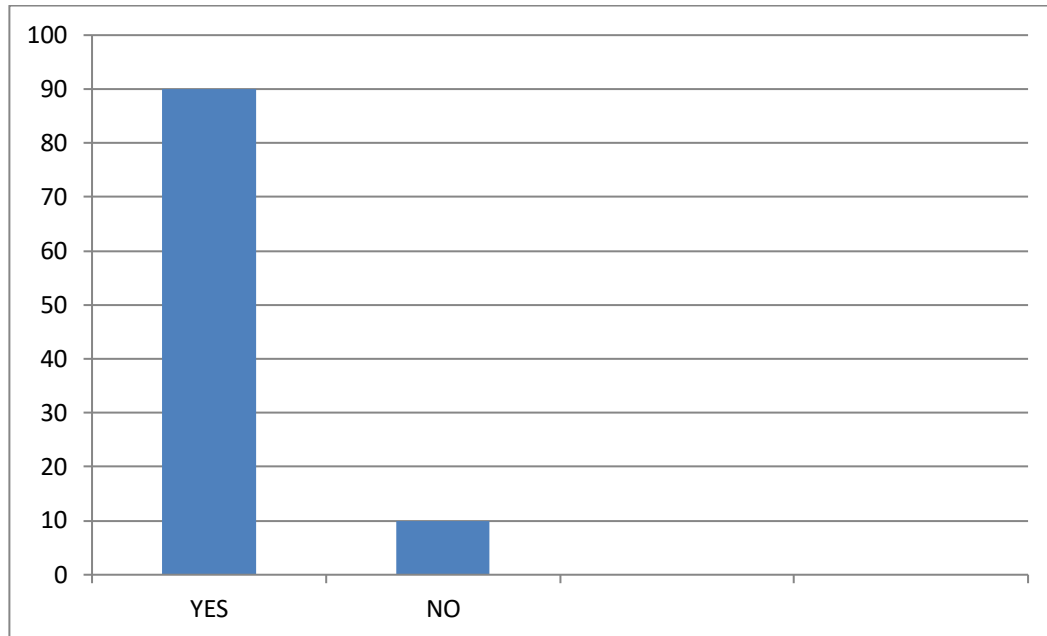
The data indicated that the intolerance was usually at its peak during and immediately after elections. In this context the media owned by state and are therefore entirely controlled by the government of the day. This means that, the management of the newspaper have a strong incentive to avoid being critical of government in power. The newspaper as State owned media, is run exclusively by government appointed directors who determine both the stories that will be covered as well as the light in which these stories will be conveyed. Politicians in power thus select directors and editors that will do their bidding, creating heavily biased news.

Furthermore, the finding indicated that media manipulation is entry through the agency of the licensing authority whereby government contrives to exercise control media organizations.

4.6 Types of media owners' interfere in contents

Respondents were asked to expose whether they know types of media owners interfere in contents. Majority of 18 (85%) of respondents affirmed that they know, while 2(10%) they refuted. The data summarized in bar graph below as follows:

Bar graph to represent knowledge on types of media owners' interfere in content



Source: Field Data 2021

4.6.1. How Media Owners interfere Newspaper Content?

Most of respondents who affirmed that they know mentioned political news as most significant concentration from media owners, this indicated that the interest of the media owners. These findings supports the media ownership theory and propaganda model as more than half of the stories are on politics only. The combination of all other types of stories is still less than given to politics. The second most reported articles mentioned are economic news. But the gap between politics and economic news is very wider since that 13 (72.2%) of those who affirmed out of 18 while 5 (27.8%) of articles associated with economics news and other news such as educations and so on.

These findings show that the newspaper's newsroom interested in political matters. Education and other principally established to further political ideology of the owners. The findings indicated that the candidates were covered with certain biases. Opposition candidates were given far less coverage most of which was negative. One of a reporter revealed that some reporters were biased against the ruling party candidates: "Even if ruling party candidates would want and have been in power for several decades, we would not give them a lead every day" (Source: Interview Data of January, 2021). The reporter was also bothered by claims that the newspaper was sympathetic to the opposition hence giving it more prominence in the news.

Asked on whether the newspaper was influenced directly or indirectly by government in power, the respondents gave answers which on the surface may appear contradictory but upon reflection provides a good insight into the operations of the owned media, while the respondents said government did not directly intervene in their operation, they added that the government has its own representatives that is supporters in the newsroom. They further explained that journalists whose politics parties go into opposition become inactive during this period take on active roles once their professed political parties assumes power.

4.6.2. Challenges facing Journalists when Media owners interfere with their

Content Production.

The open questionnaires were administered to respondents to find out challenges facing journalists when media owners interfering news content productions. One of a respondent noted that people with no knowledge or interest in journalism have established media organs as profitable investments as opposed to social services institutions and their interest number one is to make quick money or to pursue some

private interests. He added that the post mortem in some newsrooms is done to establish how much money the previous issues made. This has had serious ethical implications.

Another respondent argued that:

We as journalists, we need editorial independence in order to be professional, ethical and serve the public interest. A problem is we lose our credibility because we are not free. Our readers consider us as political agency or propaganda arm of state which responsible on promoting a narrow set of government sanctioned image and message.

The respondent added that:

We have another problem that there is times when the ruling party needs to buy space in a paper, because this is a state-owned newspaper; we have to agree with the ruling party's demand to provide space for a candidate defending his position. Here the editor or journalist has nothing to do he has to agree to the wishes of the owner.

Another respondent wrote in questionnaire that some journalists have viewed that election period as the best time to harvest bribes. She details instances in previous election (2010) when she was in a larger media house where top journalists and senior editors had been accused to accepting inducements to influence coverage of politicians particularly around election time.

Furthermore, she added that, many politicians have become media owners (especially radio stations), either directly or through proxy. The extent of political interference in such facilities is enormous. Dependence on advertising revenue, especially from the government, makes the media even more dangerous.

She said that few months after the election, one of popular media house in Tanzania (but not *HabariLeo*) was forced to fire one of its top editors after writing editorial articles

criticizing a ruling party candidate. This came months after the media house canceled the contract of a prominent journalist because of pressure from state house.

Sub-editor of the paper noted that, media have opportunity to liberate themselves and serve the public. This can be done by removing the wheel from the media owners who are politicians and starting to set the country's agenda out of the political issues of the leading candidates.

He added that:

If it were left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate to propose the latter. An informed citizen is the blood of any healthy democracy. The role of the media in ensuring that people collectively understand the challenges and options facing them and hold governors accountable cannot be overstated. For a long time, the Tanzanian media has taken this heavy responsibility lightly - it must start to do better.

Evidence from the study showed that apart from ownership, the relationships between the media and state power also play a big role in influencing the process of news gathering. As the study suggested in Tanzania media freedom can only be guaranteed if the government's interest are not at stake. Whenever government felt threatened during the period under study it used its might to influence media operations. Another interviewer said that there are many challenges, but the biggest is working in a stressful environment. A journalist like any other human being is incomplete, so what he does in a dubious environment is easy to lose confidence.

4.7. Discussion of the Findings

This discussion focuses to answer three research questions namely, what is the frequency of media owners' interference in the content production, what are types of

media owners' interferences in content production and what challenges journalists face when media owners interfere in the content production of the *Habari Leo* newspaper?

4.7.1. What frequency does media owners' interference in the content production?

The analysis of the findings for the research question one focused on extent of a problem of journalists to be interfered by media owners in their daily routines and implications occurred to them. The result for this question provides insight into importance of media practitioners to perform their operations without restrictions.

Firstly, majority of 85% of respondents affirmed that media owners interfered with their journalistic duties, while 15% respondents were refuted. Secondly, findings indicated that majority of 40% of respondents said always media owners interfered with their news reporting while 30% of respondents said media owners do so daily. More than that 15% of respondents indicated that they do so weekly; while 10% of respondents said monthly and 5% of respondent said none. Thirdly, one news editor said that most media houses political affiliation is skewed toward reporting mainly about their party. These use their platforms for bickering and insults at other parties. A respondent said it effects to a large extent mainly for owners who interfere in the objective delivery of news content, research, and hosting of programmes.

Findings from this question indicated that journalists are often interfered in their activities and media owners intervened when they realize that there is a need to do so for the purpose of fulfilling their political or commercial aspirations. This means, statistical data support the propaganda of media theory which state that media platform are used to promote their owners' political affiliations.

From the content analysis, it appeared that the public newspaper believed as lapdog of a government. A lapdog news media, according to Bagdikin (1987) displays lack of

independent power of being reliant upon government, corporate and elite source for both information and economic support. On other hand, might play a role similar to what has been described by Tichenor, et al. (2006) as guard dog. A guard dog newspaper is one that does not operate for the public as whole, but for a group that have sufficient power and influence. The coverage of *Habari Leo* newspaper could be seen in this context the newspaper could be serving the interest of ruling party which appears to be very close to. The findings supported by Manzu (2013) in recent years, the integrity and credibility of the media has been eroded by frequent cases of media owners intervening to kill or spike stories that negatively touch on their political or commercial partners or that go against their political views.

Otieno, et al (2020) supported the findings by claiming that those own the media to some extent have the power to set the media agenda. Media owners can dictate and influence the editorial policies which then inform the gathering, packing and dissemination of information to public. This means that they decide what goes to the public and what remain buried.

4.8.2. What are types of media owners' interferences in content production?

The research from research question two provides evidence that media practitioners were not free at all. The question needs to expose kind of interference is being perpetrated by the owners against their journalists. This question is important because it sheds light on what needs to be done to ensure that journalists are free to carry out their duties. The findings specified that most of media owners are affiliated to political parties especially ruling party making difficult for media practitioners to be neutral and that they (owners) determine the forms of news writing on favoring their political aspirations.

This is proven when respondents 'said reporting on corruption allegations against government and its official is a prime responsibility of the media. However, the focus of state owned media appears to be different from that of the private media. In private media are more interested in allegations against government officials, the publicly owned media mostly focuses on allegations against private individuals and high state states official who are not political holders. Apart from that most 90% of respondents have affirmed that they know that political news as most significant concentration from media owners, this meant that the interest of the media owners. These findings supports the media ownership theory and propaganda model as more than half of the stories are on politics only.

Moreover, the combination of all other types of stories is still less than given to politics. The second most reported articles mentioned are economic news. But the gap between politics and economic news is very wider since that 72.2% of those who affirmed while 27.8% of articles associated with economics news and other news such as educations and so on. Findings indicated that the newspaper's newsroom interested in political matters. Education and other principally established to further political ideology of the owners. The findings also indicated that the candidates were covered with certain biases. Opposition candidates were given far less coverage most of which was negative.

This finding confirms that the claims of the Framing Theory, that is how something is presented to the audience influences the choices of people make on how to process that information under which article is constructed in certain way to convey particular messages and propaganda model and stand in support of the research question on what are types of media owners' interferences in content production in the selected newspaper. The paper framed its news with media owner's pressure in favour of ruling

party and acts as propaganda platform for the party. The findings supported by McQuail (2005), who noted that state-owned media is controlled and funded by the state (taxpayers) and may be more or less focused on the public good, but is sometimes simply a mouthpiece for the government of the day. The last category is the non-profit.

In their study, Djankov et al (2002) found that state media ownership hurts democracy. They argue that the government owns the media - not to improve the performance of economic and political systems, but to improve their chances of staying in power. Government ownership of the media, they say, is detrimental to economic, political and dramatic social outcomes.

Apart from that, Leeson and Coyne (2005) found that direct control over store ownership. In this context the media is owned by the Government and is therefore completely controlled by the then government. They said that state-owned media has a strong incentive to avoid criticizing the incumbent government. In addition, as state-owned businesses, these stores are run exclusively by government-appointed directors who determine all the stories that will be covered as well as the enlightenment with which these stories will be delivered.

4.7.3. What challenges journalists face when media owners interfere in the content production?

The results in third research questions revealed that journalists were faced with various challenges caused by media owners' interference. The respondents identified ethical implications as main problem. This cause by people with no knowledge or interest in journalism have established media organs as profitable investments as opposed to social services institutions and their interest number one is to make quick money or to pursue some private interests.

This claim is supported by Nyamnjoh (2010). Nyamnjoh argued that practicing journalism in Africa is tantamount to swimming in the river mainly because of the many barriers that journalists and editors face in different countries. Nyamnjoh noted that the barriers to journalism in Africa are political, economic and institutional. Notable among these barriers is the tendency of governments in Africa to impose excessive politics on state media, making it very difficult for government-employed journalists to reconcile government expectations with their professional beliefs, or with public expectations.

Evidence from the study showed that apart from ownership, the relationships between the media and state power also play a big role in influencing the process of news gathering. This as Wask (2005) argued that dispelled the (own myths about our economic and political system, especially the notions of pluralism, free enterprise and competition. As the study suggested in Tanzania media freedom can only be guaranteed if the government's interest are not at stake. Whenever government felt threatened during the period under study it used its might to influence media operations.

Apart from that the finding indicated that journalists faced a challenge when the ruling party needed to buy space on paper, especially for newspaper which owned by state; agreeing to the demands of the ruling party to provide space for a candidate defending his position. Here the editor or journalist has nothing to do but must accept the wishes of the owner.

Furthermore, the findings also revealed that journalists have viewed that election period as the best time to harvest bribes. Many politicians have become media owners, either directly or through proxy. The extent of political interference in such facilities is enormous. Dependence on advertising revenue, especially from the government, makes the media even more dangerous. Few months after the election, one of popular media

house in Tanzania was forced to fire one of its top editors after writing editorial articles criticizing a ruling party candidate. This came months after the media house canceled the contract of a prominent journalist because of pressure from state house. The findings revealed that most of media practitioners who worked under government owned media were lost their ability of performing their works under confidence. Therefore the possibility of doing mistake is big.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights summary, conclusions, recommendations of the study on the impact of media owners' interference in the media content production in the 2015 general election and suggestion of further study.

5.1 Summary of the Study

The study examined the Impact of Owners' Interference in the Media Content Production in Tanzania 2015 General Election. Specifically, the study had three specific objectives namely, to assess the frequency of media owners' interference in the content production, to investigate types of content that media owners interfere into its production and to identify the challenges journalist face when media owners interfere in the content production.

Apart from that, the study applied Media Ownership Theory to show how government owned media are used as an apparatus for promoting government propaganda. In literature reviews, Otieno, et al, (2020) argued that those who owned media to some extent have the power to set the media agenda or used their media as a tool for propaganda. Media owners can dictate and influence the editorial policies, which then informs the gathering, packing and dissemination of information to public. Media ownership patterns negatively affect the ability of the media to perform without hindrance.

Furthermore, the study population was selected and from it a sample of 20 respondents were chosen. The study employed a single case study design so as to accomplish

objectives of the both qualitative and quantitative study approaches. The findings were obtained through content analysis, questionnaires as well as structured interviews method of data collections which served as field data of the study.

Moreover, the findings from this study had shown that many media owners' ideology is to use their newspapers as a potent tool to help push the agenda of their parties and do not keep basic aims of journalism in mind in their operations. Connection to that, the findings indicated during the political campaign that newsrooms were interested in political matters. Education and other principally established to further the political ideologies of the media owners. In line with these findings from the study there is no possibility for journalists to work without ownership interference in sense that, 'the one who pays the piper call the tune.'

5.2 Conclusions

This study explored the impact of owners' interference in the media content production on during the 2015 general election in Tanzania. The findings from the study show that *Habari Leo* newspaper published more positive stories on political parties of their owners while it reported more negative stories on opposition parties. The findings revealed that media owners influenced content production.

Firstly, there is direct control over outlets ownership. In this context the media owned by State and are thus entirely controlled by government of the day. This means that, State owned media outlets have strong incentive to avoid being critical of the government in power. Those outlets are run exclusively by government appointed directors who determine both the stories that will be covered as well as the light in which these stories will be conveyed. Political leaders thus select directors and editors that will do their bidding, creating heavily biased news. Secondly, close related to direct State ownership

of media outlet is the ownership of outlets by incumbent politicians. In this case, media are technically in hands of private owners, whereby the outlets are not acquired and operated for purpose of profit instead they are acquired to manipulate information reaching to the public. In many instances these outlets are not even self-sustaining: they are cross subsidized by their owners with other business that generates profit.

Politicians find it worthwhile to keep these media source operating, despite the fact that they often generate monetary losses, because of their ability to control information reaching the public. Thirdly there is indirect control via financial pressure. In this means of control, government creates an environment in which most private media outlets depend financially upon the State. In such circumstance, the media to remain in business, it ought to stay on the good side of those who wield political power. Fourthly, the findings conclude that media manipulation is entry though licensing. There was overwhelming evidence to show that the newspaper could not report news stories that went against the interest of their respective owners. While state media are always castigated for being biased, this study posits that some private media houses have also been compromised in many countries including Tanzania.

The government is usually the biggest advertiser, so the media in Tanzania do not want to antagonize business due to their profit making orientation. The private newspapers have to survive economically. Therefore, it would not make sense for them to offend government. Other private newspapers at provincial level and local council level are in many cases owned by politician or their business cronies. This makes it difficult for reporters and editors to expose them when they engage in corruption issues. Therefore, the statistical results did support the proposition of media ownership theorists such as

Altschull (1984) that media content media often tend to reflect the interest and ideology of its owners.

5.3 Recommendations

This section covers recommendations to different stakeholders relevant to this study:

- i. Government has a lot to do in the area of press freedom. Greater freedom for the press will motivate media practitioners of government owned media to work with less fear of the owners' wrath. Similarly, the owners of private media will have less need to restrain their staff in the fear of offending the government of the day.
- ii. Media owners should also ensure that their employees are well motivated to enable them perform better and professionalism must be applied. This
- iii. Editors should obey to formulate editorial policies which essentially cover issues on how news should be and covered and how journalists should professionally go about their work.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Research

The study covered only single print media yet there are many other ownership structures in Tanzania, especially to the private media ownership such as civil society, political parties, religious organizations as well as individuals. Apart from that although this study probed the impact of owners' interference in the media content production in 2015 general election, the researcher did not examine whether the produced content influenced decisions of the voter in any way.

Media owners should desist interfering with the process of collecting, preparing and disseminating news. Editor decision ought to be left in the hands of news editors. In the

worst case scenario, media proprietors should only sponsor ideas which can either be taken or rejected. This study has shown that when owners influence editorial decision, the quality of news tends to go down since many media proprietors not have the necessary professional competence to determine stories.

Editors should adhere to formulate editorial policies which essentially cover issues on how news should be covered and how journalists should professionally go about their work. This may also help editors are undue ownership influence of their work. However, it is a difficult feat to achieve as the world over have had to resign or are forcefully dismissed when they stick to their professional inclinations which makes the adherence to professional values a bit tricky.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I- Research Question

Dear Respondent

My name is SALOME BAPTISTER, the final year student of the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) conducting an academic study on the **Impact of Owners Interference in the Media Content Production in the 2015 General Election**: A case study of Habari Leo Newspaper.

It is partial requirements for fulfillment of the award of the Masters of Arts in Mass Communication of the Open University of Tanzania. Responses provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for academic purposes only. I, therefore kindly request you to spare some time to truly answer this questionnaire.

Thank you in advanced.

SECTION A:

Demographical information (Please tick (√) as appropriate)

1. Highest Academic Qualification of the respondent.
 - (a) Certificate
 - (b) Diploma
 - (c) Degree
 - (d) Masters
 - (e) Professional
 - (f) Other specify

2. Age of the respondents
 - (a) Below 25 years
 - (b) 26-30 years
 - (c) 31-35 years
 - (d) 36-40 years
 - (e) 41-45 years
 - (f) Above 46 years

3. Gender of respondents
 - (a) Male
 - (b) Female

4. Which Department (section) do you belong?
 - (a) Editorial
 - (b) Sports Desk
 - (c) Hard News
 - (d) Features Desk
 - (e) Photo Desk

5. What position do you hold in the company?
 - (a) Editor
 - (b) Chief Editor
 - (c) Journalists/reporters.
 - (d) Content Manager

6. How long have you worked with Habari Leo newspaper?

- (a) Less than year
- (b) 1-4 years
- (c) 5-9 years
- (d) 10 years and above

SECTION B: The nature of media ownership in Tanzania

7. Are you aware of the different media ownership in Tanzania?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

8. If yes, mention them.

.....
.....

9. According to the media you're working with, can you mention what kind of information that are covered mostly (nature of operation of media ownership)

.....
.....
.....

SECTION C:

10. Is media owner interfered your work?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

11. To what extent does media owners interfere your news reporting?

- (a) Always
- (b) Daily
- (c) Weekly
- (d) Monthly
- (e) None

12. How many times have you received a letter or phone call preventing you from publishing information or photos?

.....
.....
.....

13. What kind of warning did you receive in that letter or phone call?

- (b) will be suspended
- (c) will be fired
- (d) will be transferred
- (e) Will be demoted

14. Please specify

.....
.....
.....

15. Do you know any types of content that media owner likes to interfere?

(a) Yes

(b) No

16. If yes, please mentions them and then express in briefly how media owners interfere your media contents?

.....

.....

.....

17. What do you think are challenges face journalist when owners interfere in the content production?

.....

.....

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. I would like to know your age, education and position in your organization.
2. Which Department do you belong
3. What is the nature of operation of the different media ownership?
4. Can you tell me, what is the frequency of media owners' interfere in the content production?
5. What are types of media owners' interfere in content production in your organization
6. What challenges you face when media owners interfere in the content production of the newspaper