The Role of Party Newspapers in Mobilizing the Masses in Tanzania: A Critical Analysis

by William M.F. Shija*

Abstract

This article critically analyzes the role of the Party newspapers in mobilizing the masses in Tanzania. It examines the existence of mass mobilizing content in the papers by method of content analysis. Three criteria were used to evaluate the extent to which four major message types carried potentially-mobilizing content for a period of one year. The article also examines the extent to which the existing communications infrastructure in Tanzania supports the process of mass mobilization through the party newspapers and other print media. It was found that there was an insignificant amount (16%) of media content for mass mobilization in the Party papers. Also, the communications infrastructure in Tanzania further hampered the process of mass mobilization through the Party papers and other print media. The article recommends an integrative policy and planning approach for the entire information and communications industry in Tanzania to enhance the media's roles in mass mobilization for development.

---

*Dr. William M.F. Shija is Head of the Journalism Department at Nyegezi Social Training Institute, Mwanza, Tanzania.

Analyse critique du rôle des journaux du parti dans la mobilisation des masses en Tanzanie

Résumé

Cet article fait une analyse critique du rôle des journaux du parti dans la mobilisation des masses en Tanzanie. Il fait une analyse du contenu à caractère mobilisateur des ces journaux par la méthode d'analyse de contenu. Trois critères ont été utilisées pour évaluer le degré auquel quatre types de messages étaient porteurs potentiels d'élements mobilisateurs pendant une période d'un an.

L'article examine aussi le degré auquel les infrastructures de communications existantes en Tanzanie soutiennent le processus de mobilisation des masses à travers les journaux du parti et la presse écrite en général.

Il a été conclu que le pourcentage de l'élement mobilisateur dans les journaux du parti était fort négligeable (16).

En plus, les infrastructures en Tanzanie entravaient le processus de mobilisation des masses à travers les journaux du parti et la presse écrite en général.

L'article recommande une politique intégrale et une approche de planification pour l'ensemble du secteur de l'information et l'industrie des communications en Tanzanie dans le but d'accroître le rôle des médias dans la mobilisation des masses pour le développement.

Introduction

The process of mobilizing a group of people may be conducted through traditional or modern channels of communication for various purposes or objectives and under a variety of societal typologies[1]. In contemporary Africa, the interplay of traditional and modern communications is still so significant that the process of mass mobilization has to take into account both the structure of the society and the content of the medium in which the process was occurring.[2] In other words, what are the physical facilities. that exist to suggest the possibility of mobilizing the public at a given time? To what extent is the media content of mobilizing quality and quantity? Is the target audience mobilizable?

Implicit in these questions is the cardinal functions of the mass media, that, is to inform, educate, persuade and entertain. Onyekwere[3] suggests that persuasion is analogous to the process of mass or public mobilization. However, in small and large societal entities, mobilization may be carried out under liberal, coercive, or socially-responsible circumstances,[4] for political, economic, social, cultural, religious, educational and other purposes and/or advantages.

An evaluation of the effectiveness of mass mobilizing instruments, such as the Party newspapers in Tanzania *(Uhuru* and *Mzalendo)*, must, by and large, be based on both structural and content perspectives. This article examines the strengths and weaknesses of the Party papers as mass mobilization instruments in Tanzania. Embracing the historical and contemporary factors, the analysis is guided by two questions:

1) How much of the Party papers' content does reflect mass mobilization in Tanzania?
2) To what extent does the communications infrastructure in Tanzania facilitate the mass mobilization role of the Party papers?

These questions presuppose that for a print medium to succeed in mobilizing the masses of a developing society, such as Tanzania, a certain level of infrastructural facilities must be available. Also, some criteria must be met for the content to qualify as belonging to mobilizing quality and quantity. In this case, it is important to review the origin and policy of the Party papers in Tanzania before we embark on the critical examination of their content.

The Origin and Policy of the Party Papers in Tanzania

The Party papers in Tanzania are *Uhuru* and *Mzalendo. Uhuru,* meaning 'independence' or 'freedom', is a daily, and *Mzalendo* or 'the patriot', is a sister Sunday publication. The *Uhuru* was started at

independence in 1961 as a weekly, but it became a daily in 1964. It was published by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), or the Party, mainly as its mouthpiece.[5] The TANU is the fore-runner of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the only political party in Tanzania today.

Ng'wanakilala[6] indicates that *Uhuru* became the second generation of the early Party's efforts to secure its own channel of information and communication. He writes:

> Of the nationwide newspapers, *Mwafrika* (the African), was one of the most open critics of colonial regime. *Mwafrika* emerged from *Sauti ya TANU* (The Voice of TANU), a Party news-sheet, and all along identified itself with the indigenous struggle for self-government and independence.[7]

The objective of the Party papers is, therefore, to publish and publicize the goals and aspirations of the Party. The goals and aspirations of the Party hinge on the grand policy of the need to build a socialist and self-reliant state in Tanzania. This policy orientation for the Party papers is still the same today, reflecting the original aim of strengthening the new nationalism in Tanzania.[8]

As *Uhuru* started with and from a broad-based foundation for readership, and aided by the paper's Kiswahili language, what has been its impact? As a paper which has identified itself with the common man, and the common man has identified himself with it, in terms of the cover price, language, story selection and cartoonization, what then has been the impact politically, economically, etc? Again, Ng'wanakilala notes that

> ...the trend is that *Uhuru* is a poor man's paper. It is mostly read by the low-income earners and less educated section of the population. It is regarded a 'local newspaper' as opposed to the *Daily News*.[9]

In addition, if *Uhuru* is a common man's paper, does its coverage reflect this factor? In the absence of thorough mass media impact studies in Tanzania, however, it is difficult to answer these questions and to claim any reasonable generalizations on the role of the mass media in Tanzania, particularly *Uhuru's* mass mobilization capability. The circulation figures, readership profiles, and the formula, as provided by Ng'wanakilala[10] and earlier studies, give us just a clue on the importance of media impact and not necessarily on media coverage. This is particularly relevant in times and needs of mass mobilization.

What is important in times and needs of media mass mobilization is both the message type and message timeliness. For example, if we apply Ng'wanakilala's formula[11] for *Uhuru's* readership in Tanzania, given that about 95 percent of Tanzanians speak Kiswahili; 90 percent of the population is literate; about 60 percent of the population is over 18 years; we arrive at about 12.4 million readers. This is about 54 percent of the population.

However, taking into account that every copy of *Uhuru* is probably read by three or four people, the *Uhuru* readership may jump to close to 90 percent or to almost the entire literate population in Tanzania. However, with the Party papers having an estimated 90,000 circulation, their reachability is only 0.72 percent of the 12.4 million readership audience. Therefore, it could be suggested that even with the aid of the nature of Tanzanian society, in which case the oral and social tradition encourages information sharing, the 0.72 percent reach makes it far less ideal in times and needs of mass mobilization. What is also difficult to ascertain is whether the mobilizing messages for the 0.72 percent reach are appropriate and timely. The primacy of content type and message timeliness cannot, therefore, be overemphasized in matters of mass mobilization. Theoretically, however, what is mass mobilization?

Definitions and Theoretical Perspectives

Mass mobilization is a concept embracing two concepts. The concept 'mass' has both negative and positive connotations. According to McQuail,[12] the concept negatively refers to 'mass' as '...the mob of multitude, especially the mass of the ignorant and unruly.' Further,

> Mass connotes a lack of culture, of intelligence and even rationality. In its positive sense, especially in the socialist tradition, it connotes the strength and solidarity of ordinary working people when organized together for political ends.[13]

Again, from a sociological point of view, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'mass' as an aggregate in which individuality is lost.

On the other hand, the concept 'mobilization' is conventionally defined as putting into movement or circulation; that is, 'to assemble and make ready for war or duty; to marshall (resources) for action.'[14] This then means that mass mobilization is a process which conventionally means marshalling large quantities of people for something considered to be reasonably drastic.

Under the functional analysis of mass communication, the mobilizing role is usually assigned to the mass media,

> ...to advance national interests and to promote certain key values and behaviour patterns, but especially so in times of war or other crises. And in certain developing societies and socialist states a mobilizing role is positively assigned to the media.[15]

These definitions show that mass mobilization can be attributed to a variety of social processes which involve people's mental and physical mobilities or movements. The definitions also suggest that mass mobilization involves the utilization of both traditional and/or modern means, approaches, or strategies by a mobilizing agent to achieve a goal, or, simply, for political communication.[16] The definitions further suggest

that mass mobilization in society may incorporate both persuasion and coercion, and the process may take the form of short-term campaigns or long-term socialization processes. Mass mobilization is, in a nutshell, synonymous with propaganda.

In the African communication environment, the act of mobilizing sizeable groups of people has, since time immemorial, utilized traditional means.[17] These traditional means, strongly anchored on Africa's oral tradition, are still useful and used today. In Tanzania, for example, many village or community members are still called to assemblies by means of idiophones'; that is, 'the self-sounding instruments or technical wares which produce sound without the additon or use of an intermediary medium.'[18] Idiophones and other similar instruments are usually used with variation of tunes to signify the purpose or urgency of the call or message.

However, it is unfortunate that there is not yet a body of literature to show the extent to which the traditional media are superior to the modern media in Africa in terms of mass mobilization. What we know is that much of persuasion theory and research is, and has been, based on non-African cultures,[19] environments and idiosyncrasies. In fact, the lacuna of a tradition of persuasion research from an African perspective frustrates Evelyn Onyekwere to the point of suggesting that 'persuasion in the African sense is nothing short of coercion,'[20] particularly based on the Nigerian experience.

It is important to note, however, that persuasion *per se* cannot be coercive at mass level. Rather, persuasion may entail mobilization, and mobilization may be applied through wilful or forceful means, and it may be based on truth or deceit. In fact, it is also important to note that only selected traditional African mobilization exercises, such as for the youth; during ethnic conflicts; for serious farming, pastoral or famine concerns; or for other crises, always imply the application of authoritative force to enhance effectiveness.

Similarly, the modern (electronic) media of communication, which characterize the Western industrialized societies, have functionally evolved on conditions of crises and social conflicts, or, 'anomie' [21] In the process, the propaganda and communication research agenda for Western societies have brought about a definitional convergence among the concepts 'persuasion', 'propaganda', 'campaign', 'mobilization', 'social marketing', 'social engineering', and 'public opinion'.

Garth Jowett[22] reviews the chronology of the research on propaganda and communication. He states that the Catholic Church was the pioneer in designing what is known today as modern propaganda:

On June 22, 1622, Pope Gregory IV established what is commonly known as the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith), conceived as a means to counter the Protestant Reformation in Europe and carry the faith

to the New World. Through the unification and centralization of the Catholic Church's missionary activities, the *Congregatio* sought to influence public opinion and thereby mass actions through its doctrines. While Gregory's efforts were partially successful, his plan laid the foundation for modern propaganda techniques and christened the practice and techniques of public opinion control.[23]

Further, although the word propaganda 'was originally applied to any organization that set out to propagate a doctrine,'[24] it was later used to describe the doctrine itself. It is through this process that propaganda became known as a negative activity. Also, during and after the First World War, up until the time of the Second World War, the mass media were intensively utilized for propaganda. Again, Jowett remarks that:

For the first time, entire nations were mobilized for a total war effort by strategies and techniques developed for advertising of goods and services. Using the vast audiences created by the emergent mass media, these persuasive messages were disseminated on a scale previously unknown to society.[25]

That is why early researchers in the communication field, such as Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, Carl Hovland, and others, attempted to ascertain the power the media had on their audiences. For example, they attempted to ascertain, *inter alia,* '...the presence of Nazi propaganda from a careful analysis of the pro-German magazine, *The Galilean,* '[26] and made other analyses in the 1920s and 1940s. These researchers were working under the assumptions that the mass media messages have a direct and powerful impact or influence on man, and that mass media audiences were comparable to 'mobs'.[27] The theory from such studies became known as the bullet theory, or the hypodermic needle model of mass communication effects, whose influences upon people disregarded social and psychological audience differentiation. To the researchers, 'the rise of Nazi Germany appeared to be proof of the theory.'[28]

In relation to contemporary mass communication research, the relationship between propaganda and persuasion, in which case the process of mass mobilization is implied, is further shown by the 'spiral of silence' theory. The theory was developed by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann in 1974 with the assumption that 'most people have a natural fear of isolation and their opinion-expression try to identify and then follow majority opinion or the "consensus".'[29]

Jowett and O'Donnell also amplify the 'spiral of silence' theory in relation to the process of shaping public opinion. They observe that the spiral of silence theory clearly shows the process of public opinion formulation and how the process of propaganda attempts to deliberately and systematically shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve the goal of the propagandist.[30]

Underlying the strengths of this theory, and of the modern propaganda techniques, it should be remembered that the post World War II period

also saw the Soviet Union intensify and integrate propaganda in the state's political profile. Peter Kenez's work describes the Soviet methods of mass mobilization between 1917 and 1929 as a process in which revolutionary intellectuals sought to bring the 'fruits of knowledge to the workers.'[31] Such phrases as 'bring enlightenment to the masses', 'create the new socialist man', 'instill class consciousness among the workers and peasants', etc., were systematically applied to indoctrinate the public.[32] Also, during the post-war years, the British, American, and French took similar propaganda measures for their national purposes and interests. It is, therefore, important to note at this juncture that although the post-war periods in industrialized societies relied on the electronic media (first radio and later film and television) to marshall political messages, the print media also played a significant role. Theoretically, this suggests that in times of heavy national propaganda, all the means of communication must be utilized.

Further, while the afore-mentioned research literature has tended to focus on the electronic media, there are some examples on the contemporary role of the print media in propaganda or mass mobilization activities. Terrell[33] has studied the first 25 years of the *Beijing Review* as an official propaganda organ of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China and has come up with interesting observations. Some of his findings indicate that:

1) the revolutionary messages were printed boldly by the party;
2) the revolutionary messages were repeated consistently;
3) the major attention was devoted to societies with opposite political systems, such as the United States; and
4) the last page of each issue was devoted to cultural matters.

In general, Terrell concludes that 'the *Beijing Review* faithfully presented the perspective, thoughts and priorities of the Communist Party of China throughout its first 26 *(sic)* years.'[34]

In a similar study, and on the same country, Shaochang[35] compares two national papers in China, the *People's Daily* and *China Daily* to assess whether the design and presentation reflected them as sources of mass mobilization or not. The *People's Daily* is the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Perhaps as a result of the papers' differences, Shaochang notes that 'their great difference in content and style is the result of catering to the needs of different readerships.'[36] The *People's Daily* is also educational and informative. It aims at inspiring the Chinese people to work together for China's modernization, and 'it tells them what to do and how to do it'. Comparatively, the *China Daily* does not carry out the above function, so the *People's Daily* is more an instrument of mass mobilization in China than the *China Daily*.
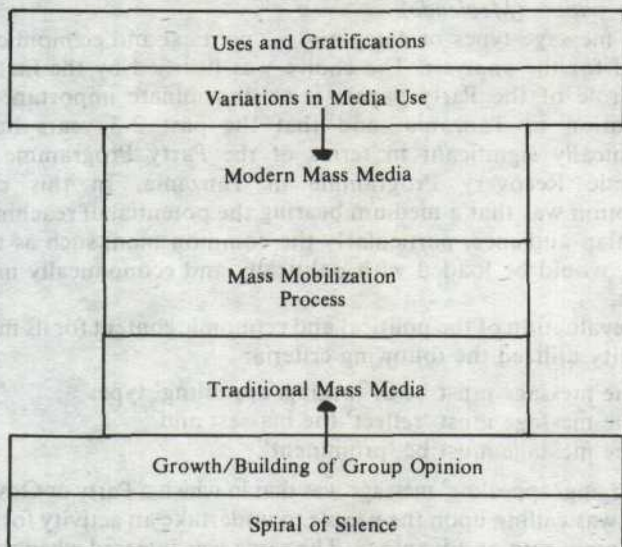
Generally, the above theoretical explication provides a reasonable background for understanding the meaning and dynamics of mass mobilization in a given society. The review of the literature also shows that, regardless of the type of society, mass mobilization involves and requires a purposive utilization of mass and other media to realize a mobilizer's goal.

Theoretical Framework for Mass Mobilization

Consequently, therefore, the process of mass mobilization suggests that a theoretical hybrid must be borne out of two theories, which have to be conceptualized by a potential mass mobilizer. The two theories are: 1) the spiral of silence and 2) the uses and gratifications. This means that messages constructed and planned along the assumptions of group opinion and consensus,[37] which is the basic assumption of the spiral of silence theory, can be refined along the line or thinking that different individuals would attach different meanings and uses to a given message.[38] The latter is the basic assumption of the uses and gratifications theory. Figure 1 shows this theoretical formulation for mass mobilization.

Figure I: Theoretical Formulation of Communication and Mass Mobilization.

| Uses and Gratifications |
| Variations in Media Use |
| Modern Mass Media |
| Mass Mobilization Process |
| Traditional Mass Media |
| Growth/Building of Group Opinion |
| Spiral of Silence |

Key: A well-planned mass mobilization process is generated from a mere mention of the theme to stimulate the growth/building of group opinion, taking into account the variations in media use in a given society, and then uses both traditional and modern mass media to intensively mobilize a people for progressive action.

9

Nonetheless, if mass mobilization may be for peace or war for progressive change or reactionary purpose; for enslavement or liberation; for political unity or fragmentation; for economic recovery or sabotage; etc., depending on the motive of the mobilizer, how does this theoretical framework and the argumentation of the literature apply to the Tanzanian situation, with particular reference to the Party newspapers?

Methodology

To evaluate the extent to which the Party papers played the role of mobilizing the Tanzanian masses, two approaches were used. The first approach was to assess the content of the papers by the method of content analysis, and the second approach was a critical examination of the communications infrastructure vis-a-vis its potential for mass mobilization through the transportation of the Party papers.

In examining the Party papers' content, a period of 12 months (October 1, 1988 through October 30, 1989) was selected for the study and sampling. As Wimmer and Dominick[39] suggest, four to five issues of the papers per month (systematic sampling) were selected for the analysis, making a total of 50 issues. About 30 percent of the issues were Sunday papers *(Mzalendo).*

Two message types or categories — political and economic — were selected for the analysis. The choice was justified by the fact that the major role of the Party papers is to disseminate important political information in Tanzania, and that the past 2-3 years have been economically significant in terms of the Party Programme and the Economic Recovery Programme in Tanzania. In this case, the assumption was that a medium bearing the potential of reaching a large Tanzanian audience, particularly the common man, such as the Party papers, would be loaded with politically and economically mobilizing content.

The evaluation of the political and economic content for its mobilizing capability utilized the following criteria:

1) the message must be of 'urging/appealing' type;
2) the message must 'reflect' the masses; and
3) the message must be 'prominent'.

An 'urging/appealing' message was that in which a Party or Government official was calling upon the people to undertake an activity for political or economic gain or advantage. The same was inferred when the people called upon the Party and/or Government to undertake an activity consonant with a political or economic objective. A message that 'reflected' the masses was that which contained popular developmental

messages in such areas as agriculture, health, education, etc. The majority of the messages expected to meet this criterion were the features. Finally, a message considered to be 'prominent' was that which dealt with important contemporary social, economic, and cultural problems or issues, such as 'youths and drugs', 'desertification', 'women in development', and other similar issues.

The message types selected for the content analysis were: 1) editorial, 2) news story, 3) feature, and 4) cartoon. This is because the four categories or message types made up the core content of the Party papers, and they bore the potential for containing mass mobilizing signification. Message observation was made in respect of front pages, pages three and five, and wherever the cartoon was placed or printed in both *Uhuru* and *Mzalendo*.

This methodological approach in respect of mass media evaluation is in consonance with the description by Denis McQuail. In evaluating mass media, McQuail observes, content analysis is closely related to evaluative purposes. This is because its traditions emanate from 'literary and aesthetic criticism of commentary and assessment of popular culture.'[40] McQuail adds that, in studying media content,

...more germane to present purposes are evaluations that have been attempted within a social-scientific framework, seeking to provide objective assessments of media performance and tendency, according to certain criteria.[41]

Findings

Fifty issues and 750 message types were sampled for content qualification and quantification. Out of these, only 15.6 percent were found to be of mobilizing quality, politically and economically. Among them, 48.7 percent were political messages and 51 percent were economic messages.

The majority of the politically mobilizing messages were news stories (33.3%), followed by a distant 9.4 percent for features; 3.4 percent for the editorials; and 2.6 percent for the cartoons. On the other hand, both the news stories and the features carried 15.3 percent each for the economically mobilizing messages. These were followed by a close 14.5 percent for the editorials and a distant 5.9 percent for the cartoons. In general, however, 40 percent of the total mobilizing messages were found to belong to the 'urging/appealing' category, regardless of their political or economic nature.

Analysis

The findings in this study show that there was an insignificant amount of potentially mobilizing messages in the Party papers. In fact, even the 15.6 percent of the content found to bear mobilizing quality was based on a 'liberal' evaluation attitude. In this case, such messages as the story

headlined '*Masharti ya IMF Yakubaliwa: Serikali Kusaidia Kupunguza Matatizo ya Maisha*' (IMF Conditionalities Accepted: Government to Cushion People's Problems),[42] were considered to be economically mobilizing. Or, a front page story headlined '*Upelekaji Makada Vijijini: Hatua Kubwa Yapigwa Katika Kilimo*' (Cadre Deployment: Major Strides Recorded in Agriculture),[43] and other similar stories, were found to be politically mobilizing.

This liberal attitude was also applied to other message types; that is, editorials, features, and cartoons. Although the editorials were found to be potentially the most effective in mobilizing the masses, their nature usually precluded the attention of the common man, or popular readership. The potentially most effective mobilizing message type, the cartoon, was found to be neither consistently nor articulately utilized by the papers.

In general, it is considered that a more conservative or strict approach to the evaluation of the Party papers' content would reveal a less than 1 percent or no message at all to be of mobilizing type or quality, for the period under study. This *status quo* may be attributed to several factors. Some of the factors may be 1) the historical/structural background of the Party papers and the mass media in Tanzania in general; 2) the lack of innovation on the part of the Party papers' personnel; 3) the general retardation of the mass media industry in Tanzania, etc. For example, the historical/structural background of the Party papers, similar to other mass media in Tanzania, has been found by James Okeyo[44] and others[45] to be the source of poor rural coverage. This means that the urban-based mass media in Tanzania are of little use in mass mobilization purposes.

Further, the lack of innovation on the part of the personnel at the Party papers may be attributed to the medium's structural constraints, reliability on conventional journalism, or low staff morale or low professional credibility. The structural constraints are part of the general retardation of the mass media industry in Tanzania, and is a factor which implies the existence of policy and planning problems for the entire information/communication industry. Mwakawago's reference to radio's role and limitations bears the aforesaid implication for the print media in Tanzania. He states that:

> If the radio is to be used effectively, states will have to make more funds available to facilitate training of the necessary staff and the procurement of the required equipment. It is absolutely essential that new attitudes should be developed towards the radio by national decision-makers, both in the government and ruling party. It is not good enough to recognize the importance of the medium in stimulating development, while providing too little in the way of resources to utilize it fully.[46]

Indeed, it should be noted that although Tanzania has carried out a number of mass mobilization activities, or campaigns, such as *Mtu ni*

Afya (Man is Health), *Chakula ni Uhai* (Food Means Life), *Siasa ni Kilimo* (Politics Means Agriculture), the campaign against Idi Amin during the Tanzania-Uganda war in 1978-79, and other campaigns, their success was mainly due to a multi-media approach[47] and the strengths of radio in Tanzania.[48] Otherwise, there are several other themes yet to be utilized for mass mobilization exercises.

For example, the war against corruption, social injustice, laziness, drunkenness; the need to promote science and technology; the challenges of the Economic Recovery Programme and economic self-reliance; are but a few of the important themes yet to be undertaken by the Party papers and other mass media in Tanzania for mass mobilization. This type of work would, however, require going beyond the appropriate content preparation. It would require, *inter alia,* an appropriate communications infrastructure.

The Communications Infrastructure and Mass Mobilization in Tanzania

The issue of the role of the Party papers in mass Mobilization in Tanzania is relevant only with reference to development. As a result, effective mass mobilization for development cannot be assessed on the basis of content relevance only. The timely movability and reachability of such media as newspapers is of utmost importance. As UNESCO has observed through the MacBride Commission,[49] the lack of information on the infrastructural resources makes it difficult to determine the extent to which information and communication contribute to the gross national product.

Considering that the copies of the Party papers in Tanzania have to be transported from Dar es Salaam to upcountry stations, enroute to the rural areas; and considering that the transportation system in Tanzania is underdeveloped, the papers' timely reachability is greatly hampered. For example, in a large urban area such as Mwanza, which is linked with Dar es Salaam with a fairly reliable transportation system, there is still an irregular arrival of the Party and Government papers. Because of this irregularity and scarcity, sometimes the papers sell at higher prices than the official ones, and they simply do not reach the rural areas in Mwanza itself in time for utilization.

This situation is applicable to other urban centres and rural areas in Tanzania, and it is worse in the rural areas than the urban centres. Because of transportation problems, one media personnel is known to have remarked that '...we encounter tremendous problems in transporting news-related materials. If a plane became overloaded, for example, the first things to be off-loaded were the newspapers.'[50] This

situation may, however, improve or deteriorate from time to time. Also, a Member of the National Assembly for Mbarali, Lt. Col. Edward Mjengwa, remarked that '... a system be worked out to ensure that the newspapers reached the villages at reasonable prices.'[51]

By this analogy, the Party papers and other print media in Tanzania are nearly useless by the time they reach the rural areas, in terms of timeliness for mobilization purposes. Consequently, the absence of timely information by the Party papers, coupled with other inconsistencies in message consumption, further obscures the effect of potentially mobilizing messages for development in Tanzania. In this case, even the 15.6 percent content heretofore found to be of mobilizing capability, further diminishes due to the lack of a reliable transportation system in Tanzania.

Conclusion: Policy and Planning Implications

It has been clearly demonstrated that the role of the Party papers in mass mobilization in Tanzania cannot be effectively articulated unless it is linked to the overall information/communication industry in Tanzania. A modern and effective mass mobilization programme, which has the potential for continuity, will depend on the extent to which Tanzania's policy and planning framework for information and communication is structurally revamped and integrated. *Uhuru's* own editorial is instructive, as it posits that:

... due to the absence of research findings on the role of the mass media in Tanzania, and the absence of a communication policy, it was difficult to establish the extent to which the mass media were to participate in the country's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).[52]

It may, therefore, be concluded that the Party papers cannot be instruments of mass mobilization in Tanzania unless they undergo a diversification process. Mass mobilization requires sufficient planning, and the planning for mass mobilization demands systematic message preparation, consistency, thematicization, continuation, prominence, and linkage with other communication patterns and instruments in a given society. Further, as the mass media are not all-powerful, the effect of a mobilization exercise by a given medium can only be felt in relation to other communications media. It is through this integrative approach that the role of the Party papers in mass mobilization can be clearly identified, for the 1990s and beyond.

Recommendations

This article recommends the following measures in relation to the issue of mass mobilization:

1) Tanzania should institute a clear policy and planning system for the mass media and other media to enhance mass mobilization in the country.
2) The Party papers should radically reorient their content structure to ensure their role in mass mobilization exercises in Tanzania.
3) Mass mobilization in Tanzania should be based on research; and where applicable, depart from conventional journalism practice.
4) Mass mobilization in Tanzania should bear content structured and constructed to reflect the strengths of the African cultural heritage.

Summary

This article has argued that mass mobilization in Tanzania based on the Party papers should be understood from both content and infrastructural perspectives. The evaluation of the papers' content revealed that only 16 percent of the messages or message types were found to be of mobilizing quality. Even the 16 percent, however, was obtained through a very liberal evaluation approach of the content. A more conservative approach, it was felt, would reveal much less content of mobilizing quality by the Party papers. It was also argued that mass mobilization in Tanzania has to be based on the communications infrastructure. An underdeveloped communications infrastructure, such as the one in Tanzania, greatly retards the flow of information through the Party papers and other print media. It has been recommended that Tanzania should work to integrate the information and communications industry through better policy and planning options to enhance mass mobilization and other human information and communication processes.

Notes and References

[1] John C. Merrill, *Global Journalism: A Survey of the World's Mass Media*, New York and London, Longman, 1983.
[2] Robert L.N. Nwanko, G. Chinelo Nzelibe and A.O. Alali, 'Tradition and Modernity in the Development of Communications Technology in Nigeria, Mimeo, 1984.
[3] Evelyn C.O. Onyekwere, "Culture, Persuasion and the Management of Environmental Attitudes," *Africa Media Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1989: pp. 16-25.
[4] Shearon Lowery and Melvin L. DeFleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research: Media Effects*, New York & London, Longman, 1983. Also, see article by Amde-Michael Habte, "The Mass Media Role in the Third World," in L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary (eds.), *Comparative Mass Media Systems*, New York & London, Longman, 1983: pp. 95-110.
[5] Hadji S. Konde, *Press Freedom in Tanzania*, Arusha, Eastern Africa Publications Limited, 1984: pp. 38-39.
[6] Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, *Mass Communication and Development of Socialism in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, 1981, p. 17.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Graham Mytton, *Mass Communication in Africa*, London, Edward Arnold, 1983. Also, see Hadji S. Konde, op.cit.

[9]Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, op.cit., p. 59.

[10]Ibid., pp. 51-53 and pp. 59-60.

[11]Ibid., p. 52.

[12]Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1983: p. 35.

[13]Ibid.

[14]*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, G & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Massachusetts, p. 732.

[15]Denis McQuail, op.cit., p. 79.

[16]Kwadwo Anokwa and Osei-Mensah Aborampah, "The Mass Media, Political Attitudes and Behaviour in Ghana," *Gazette* Vol. 37, No. 3, 1986: p. 141.

[17]Des Wilson, "Traditional Systems of Communication in Modern African Development: An Analytical Viewpoint," *Africa Media Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1987: pp. 87-104. See also Frank Ugboajah, "Developing Indigenous Communication in Nigeria," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 29, 1979: pp. 41-44; and Njoku Awa, "Bringing Indigenous Knowledge into Planning," *Media Development*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, 1987: pp. 22-24.

[18]Ibid., p. 91.

[19]Evelyn C.O. Onyekwere, op. cit.

[20]Ibid., p. 19.

[21]Shearon Lowery and Melvin DeFleur, op. cit., p. 8.

[22]Garth S. Jowett, "Propaganda and Communication: The Re-emergence of a Research Tradition," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1987: pp. 97-114.

[23]Ibid., p. 97.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., p. 98.

[26]Sydney Kraus and Dennis Davis, *The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behaviour*, University Park and London, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976: p. 116.

[27]Ibid., p. 117.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Quoted in Denis McQuail, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

[30]Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnel, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1986: p. 16.

[31]As cited by Garth Jowett, op. cit., p. 100.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Robert L. Terrell, 'The First 25 Years of the *Beijing Review*, an Official Propaganda Organ of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China,' *Gazette*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1986: pp. 191-220.

[34]Ibid., p. 198.

[35]Qian Shaochang, People's Daily and China Daily: A Comparative Study, *Gazette*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 1987: pp. 57-68.

[36]Ibid., p. 68.

[37]Denis McQuail, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

[38]Shearon Lowery and Melvin DeFleur, op. cit., p. 374.

[39]Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, Second Edition, Belmont, CA., Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1987: pp. 172-173.

[40]Denis McQuail, op. cit., p. 125.

[41]Ibid., p. 126.

[42]*Uhuru*, November 5, 1988, Front Page; Author's Translation.

[42]*Uhuru*, September 30, 1989, Front Page; Author's Translation.

[44]Jams Okeyo, As credited in an Article in the *Daily News Tanzania*, March 7, 1989: p. 4.

[45]Nkwabi Ng'wanakilala, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

[46]Daudi Mwakawago, Radio as a Tool for Development, in George Wedell (ed.), *Making*

Broadcasting Useful: The Development of Radio and Television in Africa in the 1980's, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986: p. 90.

[47]See the theoretical approach proposed by Ikechukwu E. Nwosu, 'Mobilizing People's Support for Development: An Analysis of Public Enlightenment Campaigns in Africa,' Africa Media Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1986: pp. 48-65. Also see William M.F. Shija's 'Model for Involved Rural Communication', Master's Thesis (Unpublished), Washington, D.C., Howard University, 1984: p. 100.

[48]Budd L. Hall, 'MTU NI AFYA: Tanzania's Health Campaign,' Washington, D.C. Academy for Educational Development, 1978. Also, see Second Edition, Toronto, International Council for Adult Education, 1985.

[49]UNESCO, Many Voices, One World, Paris, UNESCO, 1980: p. 213.

[50]William M.F. Shija, 'The Implications of Communication Policies for Development Planning in Tanzania: An Integrative Analysis,' Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Washington, D.C., Howard University, 1988: p. 238.

[51]Ibid., p. 258.

[52]Uhuru's Editorial, August 20, 1987: Author's Translation.