

Communication and Mass Media for Social Change in Tanzania

Case: Twaweza

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Media and Global Communication

Master's Thesis

November 2014



Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty Faculty of Social Sciences		Laitos – Institution – Department Department of Social Research	
Tekijä □ – Författare – Author Paula Johanna Toivanen			
Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title Communication and Media for Social Change in Tanzania. Case: Twaweza.			
Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject Media and Global Communication			
Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level Master's Thesis	Aika – Datum – Month and year November 2014	Sivumäärä – Sidoantal – Number of pages 103	
Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>Since colonial times, the media has been used as a tool in the quest for engendering social change in developing countries in general. In the East African state of Tanzania in particular, there has been a strong tradition of using the media to educate and inform the citizenry. The approaches have varied from the early top-down attempts to modernize the nation to the more recent trends of emphasizing participation and the role of the citizens. One of the social actors working in the field of development in Tanzania is Twaweza, a ten-year initiative that emphasizes the role of communication and the media in creating an active citizenry.</p> <p>This study was motivated by the desire to understand how the media can be deployed in the quest for development in a country still very much on the wrong side of the digital divide. Thus the aim of this study was to gain insight on how and why this single social actor is striving for sustainable change in Tanzania through the promotion of active citizenry.</p> <p>This study was conducted as a qualitative case study of Twaweza and four relevant media actors in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. As the aim of the study was to gain understanding, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were chosen as the main data collection method. Six Twaweza representatives and four media representatives were interviewed. In addition, prior to the interviews document form data was collected for background material.</p> <p>The data gathered was analyzed using thematic analysis. During the analysis five central, intertwined themes (social change, citizen agency, information, the mass media, the government and other social actors) rose from the data. From these discussions the key findings were that citizens are, indeed, believed to be at the root of sustainable change. All will not act to create change, but some can be activated through timely and well-targeted messages sent through the media. Yet, information alone will not activate people especially in a cultural and social context such as Tanzania. A key implication of this study for the organization is that it needs to clarify its ideology and focus its operations if it is to reach the ambitious goal of creating bottom-up change in East Africa.</p>			
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Social change, citizen agency, media, communication, Tanzania, development, Twaweza, information			

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to offer my sincerest thanks to my supervisor Marko Ampuja, whose thoroughness and willingness to help have motivated me throughout this project. This thesis would have not been possible without his support. I also want to thank Ninni Saajola for providing occasionally poignant, but always accurate and much needed critique of my sometimes colloquial use of language. And Matt Mitchell, you know it.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the past few centuries the West has seen the development of the so-called underdeveloped countries as both its prerogative as well as its duty. Up until recently the motives for aiding development have been ones of self-gain and have led to the exploitation of the target countries. First it was the colonial masters, aiming to benefit from their subject countries, who decided the direction of development (Easterly 2006). Later it has been the former rulers weighed down by the “white man's burden” (ibid.). Throughout the last couple of hundreds of years it has usually been elite groups enforcing their ideals of what needs to be done. Whether it has been missionaries, colonial landowners, international businessmen, non-governmental organizations or groups of local activists driving change, the so-called development goals have been crafted to suit the needs of those in charge. As Paulo Freire states in his famous book *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (1972, 21) it has been through false generosity, which is only possible through injustice, that the goals have been pursued: “an unjust social order is the permanent fount of this generosity, which is nourished by death, despair and poverty”.

Regardless of the motives, efforts have been made to develop Third World countries and better the lives of their countless citizens struggling to make a living. Research has been done, an endless variety of programs planned and launched, reports written and seminars held by actors ranging from large international organizations such as the United Nations to individual nation states, small non-governmental organizations and everything in between. (Easterly 2006.) Still almost half the world – over three billion people – lives with less than 2.5 dollars a day. In Sub-Saharan Africa, where Tanzania, the country of focus in this study is located, 46.5 % of people live in extreme poverty on less than 1.25 dollars a day. (World Bank 2014a.) As economist William Easterly (2006, 10) puts it: “Sixty years of countless reform schemes to aid agencies and dozens of different plans, and \$2.3 trillion later, the aid industry is still failing to reach the beautiful goal”. It is under much debate why the goal – the eradication of poverty and

all-round development in the underdeveloped countries – has not been achieved regardless of undeniable efforts.

One of the reasons proposed is that, traditionally, different actors aiming for development have approached the issue by trying to enforce their ideal of the kind of development that is needed. This ideal of development has been pursued by specific projects often not tailored to meet the real needs of the so-called receivers. Plans have been designed according to the designer's personal views on reality without taking into account the situation of the people towards whom the program is directed. (Freire 1972, 66.) This, in turn, has led to a continuum of various projects from building schools to running internet-skill workshops, which, though valid in premise, in many cases have ended with no real change having been achieved. The school might be built and a group of people might know how to use computers, but after the project is finished and the outside actor leaves the results are undone: there is no money to buy books or the teachers don't show up, the computers break down or the skills learned are not relevant. (Kivikuru 1994; Servaes & Malikhaio 2008; Sparks 2011.)

In recent years, however, the trend in development programs and projects – and the focus of development communication studies – has been to initiate change in these underdeveloped societies by relying heavily on the Habermasian ideals of a functioning public sphere and the Freirean concept of conscientization. (Jacobson and Storey 2004, 99; Mefalopulos 2003, 30; Ngomba 2011, 5.) In practice this means that the basis for creating sustainable change lies firstly with the individual learning the cause of their oppression, the obstacles hindering their development, and secondly in the individual then taking action in a public space in order to affect the situation. Here communication is seen as a prerequisite and a facilitator – without it development is not possible. (Freire 1972; Habermas 2004.) Within this school of thought citizen participation is the solution and this participation is promoted through and with the media.

There are as many definitions of development as there are writers. Though different definitions of the term will be discussed in the literature review of this paper, but when referred to in other chapters it is defined as a: “widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement,

including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment” (Rogers 1969, 18). This definition will be used, because instead of measuring development only by quantifiable attributes, such as GDP, it encompasses qualitative factors as well. It emphasizes the importance of social change in the society and the individuals' increased ability of controlling their lives. This, according to writers such as Freire (1972), is more important than – and the basis for – development in the economic sense.

This definition has been influential on the international field of development. It has affected the way development aid is thought of and distributed as well as how development is measured. One of the target countries that have received substantial amounts of development aid – both monetary and in the form of other resources – is the East-African state of Tanzania. In 2012, for example, it received a total of 2831.89 million dollars of monetary aid alone. This amount is the total sum of development aid given to Tanzania through all different donors from multilateral aid agencies to national governments. (OECD 2014.) The number of other resources, i.e. working hours, volunteer work and donated items, cannot be compiled in statistics. Yet they sum up to a substantial amount and should be taken into account when discussing development aid. It is hard to prove whether it is because of development aid or other factors or both combined, but in the past few decades the country has seen economic and social development. For example, rapid growth in sectors such as communications, financial services, construction and retail are driving economic development. Successes in engendering positive social change include reducing infant and under-five mortality, increasing enrollment in schools and combatting HIV/AIDS. (World Bank 2014b.)

Furthermore, and of greater interest to this study, the media landscape of Tanzania has changed dramatically. The number of media outlets has increased manifold and millions now have access to radio and TV. Newspapers have become numerous and even internet accessibility has improved. (African Media Barometer 2010; African Media Barometer 2012.) Communication and the mass media have been used as tools for development throughout the times of Western influence in underdeveloped countries. In Tanzania the potential for promoting development through the media has grown vis-à-vis its diversity. Possibilities for using the media as a tool for social change are now

vast in the country. Projects aiming at development through the use or with the help of communication technology are becoming more and more the norm. (Norris and Zinnbauer 2002, 4-8; Servaes 2008, 201-211.)

1.1. Motivation for the Study and Research Questions

This study is born out of personal interest and experiences of working with development communication in Tanzania. It is motivated by the desire to understand how the media can be deployed in the quest for development in a country still very much on the wrong side of the digital divide. I first worked in Tanzania in 2009 and three more times after that and have witnessed rapid changes in the media sphere of the country. Having first-hand experience of organizations funded with development aid engaging in short-term (communication) projects with no sustainable results I find the topic of communication and media for social change especially interesting and worth examining. Are information and the communication of it through the mass media the solution? Will it help a nation with 43.5 percent of the people living in extreme poverty to rise from the proverbial mire (World Bank 2014c)?

The object of the study is Twaweza, a ten-year initiative currently in its sixth year of operations. At the core of Twaweza's ideology is the concept of citizen agency: lasting change is achieved through active citizenry. Instead of targeting specific citizens with specific projects, the organization aims at creating an ecosystem of change, where information flowing through multiple partnerships fosters the possibility for citizen action. Over time this will result in lasting change brought about by the citizenry itself, instead of an outside force. (Twaweza 2009.) Twaweza's approach is embodied in its tagline "Ni Sisi!" (It's Us) and the statement that "citizens of East Africa can bring about change themselves, rather than waiting for governments, politicians, donors or NGOs to do it for them" (Twaweza 2014b). Initially Twaweza identified five networks to work through in order to reach the millions of citizens that they hope will initiate the change. The networks in question are the mass media, mobile phones, religion, teachers' unions and fast moving consumer goods. (Ibid.) Naturally, for this study the point of interest is the mass media network and Twaweza's partnerships within it. Its media partners include different media actors from national media houses to

independent TV and radio productions. The focus of this study is on Twaweza and four relevant media actors, all of which will be introduced in the next chapter.

Twaweza states it is striving towards its goals of sustainable social change in a unique way in the region of its operations. It claims that change in Eastern Africa as a whole and Tanzania in particular will come about through an active citizenry. The organization bases its operations on the idea of an ecosystem of change and believes that for citizens to become actors, or citizen agents, information and the access to it (through media) is of essence. These proclamations instantly raise questions ranging from the definition of an active citizen to the importance and distribution of information. These questions are the basis of this study. Its premise is to understand the role of the mass media in engendering active citizenship and thus development in an East-African, namely Tanzanian, context. The research problem at the core of this study can be simply phrased as how and why a single social actor is striving for sustainable change in Tanzania through the promotion of active citizenry.

The following research questions were posed to investigate this overarching research problem:

RQ1. Why do Twaweza and its partners see citizen agency as the key for creating sustainable change?

RQ2. How do Twaweza and its partners see the role of the mass media in promoting citizen agency in Tanzania?

In order to answer these questions, a qualitative approach was chosen and a case study of Twaweza and four of its media partners designed. During its execution a further research question was formulated. The additional question arose from the data gathered and was used to gain a better understanding of the underlying themes in the operations of the organization and its partners. This sub-question is:

RQ3. How do Twaweza and its partners define citizen agency?

In addition to answering the research questions the aim of this study is to gain understanding of why Twaweza has chosen this approach and how it operates with its

media partners. This is where the importance of this study lies: it aims to understand how a single actor promotes change on the grass-root level so that development would become sustainable and feed itself. Naturally it should be kept in mind that the results of this study cannot be considered universally applicable. They are based on individual opinions and should be considered in the appropriate context. As stated, these questions are addressed through a qualitative study carried out as a case study of Twaweza. The next sub-chapter will introduce the structure of the thesis and discuss the importance of each chapter.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises of six chapters and their sub-chapters. The first chapter shortly introduces the setting for the study, the research problem, research questions and the methods of the study, as well as motivates the reasons behind the topic.

The second chapter lays the foundation for the study. It aims to familiarize the reader with the setting so that the following chapters are logical and easy to follow. As Tanzania is in some ways different from other developing countries, even within East-Africa, it is logical to begin by giving a brief explanation of the history of the nation as well as its mass media. In order for the study to be coherent, this chapter will also introduce the object of the study, Twaweza and four Tanzanian media actors. These are a national media house Sahara Media Group, a small radio production Uncle Kochikochi, a television talk show called Minibuzz and a leading English newspaper The Citizen.

Chapter three offers a literature review and theoretical discussion on the topic. It outlines the history of the development and resonating development communication paradigms from the inception of modernization to the current situation of globalization. It discusses the aforementioned Habermasian and Freirean ideals as well as other key concepts, such as participation and citizen agency. In addition to Paolo Freire and Jürgen Habermas this chapter will draw from the works of renowned researchers and writers on the field, such as Everett Rogers, Wilbur Schramm, Colin Sparks, Jan Servaes, Nancy Fraser and Manuel Castells among others.

The fourth chapter will focus on the methodology. It will introduce and justify the qualitative methods used for both data collection and analysis. It is particularly essential for the analysis phase in case study research that a detailed description of the setting and individuals is given (Creswell 2003, 191). Therefore this chapter will describe the actual data collection period and the data gathered as well as introduce the interviewees. It will also present a discussion on ethical considerations and validity of the study.

The fifth chapter will present the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered. The analysis is presented through five different themes that rose from the data as the most central ones. These are social change, citizen agency, information, the mass media and other social actors. All themes are intertwined and consist of multiple sub-themes that will be discussed when needed. Reference to appropriate theory will be made throughout the analysis in order to place the findings in a theoretical framework. This chapter also offers a short concluding sub-chapter, though most of the concluding remarks will be presented in the final chapter.

The final chapter draws conclusions. First it will offer conclusions in reference to the main research questions posed, and then it will give concluding remarks and evaluate the study in general. Lastly, this chapter will discuss the possibilities and importance of further research on the topic.

2. BACKGROUND

For the purposes of situating this study it is essential that some historical background is given and the current state of the media in Tanzania is discussed. Thus this chapter will first briefly introduce the major historical developments that have led to the current situation. Then, in order to set the context within which the objects of the study operate, it will discuss the media in Tanzania today. Finally in preparation for the following chapters it will introduce in detail the object of the study, Twaweza and the four relevant media actors.

2.1. Tanzania and its Media: a Historical Overview

The nation of Tanzania and its mass media have developed hand in hand. In short, ever since the publication of the first newspaper in 1888 until the “Tanzanization” of the media field, the mass media functioned mainly as a mouthpiece of the governing party and was aimed at the elites (Sturmer 1998, 316). However, there has always been a strong tradition of educating the masses through communication in Tanzania. It was first done by missionaries and later on by international non-governmental organizations, but this tradition was never of a participatory nature. Only recently has it become more common to aim at engaging the citizens themselves in order to promote self-governance and action.

The development of the nation as well as its mass media can be roughly divided into five periods. The time of German East Africa (1890 – 1916), Tanganyika under British administration (1916 – 1961) and the period from 1961 to 1996 that saw two different stages, Independence and Democratization. (Sturmer 1998, 7.) The fifth and current stage is one of development and pluralization as well as stagnation and restrictions, both in a social context as well as in reference to the developments in the mass media. (African Media Barometer 2010; African Media Barometer 2012; World Bank 2014b.)

During the period of German East Africa the nation saw developments such as roads, railroads and cash crops, but it was also a time of exploitation and eventually a period of war. (Iliffe 1979, 88-116, 123-163.) This period also saw the birth of what was to become Tanzanian mass media. The actual development of organized mass media in

Tanzania started in 1893 with the launching of a monthly newspaper *Habari za Mwezi* (News of the Month). Prior to this there had been experiments with papers such as *Msimulizi* (Storyteller), *Mtenga Watu* (The Converter) and *Maongezi na Maarifa* (Entertainment and Information) but all of them were soon relinquished. Their names, however, give good insight into the contents and roles these papers had. Run by missionaries and published in Kiswahili, the papers aimed at dispersing not only to educate, but to convert as well. (Sturmer 1998, 29-30.) The first government-owned newspaper appeared in 1898 and was, from the beginning, a mouthpiece for the German planters and farmers. The next ten years saw the rise of multiple similar newspapers, all published in German and for the German population. (Ibid.)

The second period, that of British rule after they had won the territory from the Germans, was a time of some economic and social improvements. From 1916 – 1961 agriculture was strengthened, slavery made illegal, health and education initiatives to fight malaria and sleeping sickness were started. Even local rule, though limited, was encouraged through establishing a Legislative Council. The years after the Second World War in particular saw improvements, as the development of farming co-operatives was encouraged and the country slowly moved towards self-governance. Tanganyika became independent in 1961 and in 1964 after a series of revolts it joined with the islands of Zanzibar. After the union the country became known as Tanzania. (Iliffe 1979, 240-242, 261-264; Mwakikagile 2006, 20-28.)

This period was a time of development for the mass media as well. The first decade of British rule saw the rise of a variety of papers, monthlies and weeklies alike, run by and voicing the opinions of different groups in the society. Indian merchants as well as original colonial settlers had their own mouthpieces. Yet all continued to be published in English and the government had strong legal control over them. None of the papers served local interests. (Sturmer 1998, 52.) The first Kiswahili paper *Mambo Leo* (Affairs of Today), appeared in 1923 and served the needs of the government. It wasn't until 1937 that the first locally owned and ran newspaper *Kwetu* (Home) was published. (Ibid.) The Second World War was a time of fast growth for newspapers. 87 00 indigenous soldiers were recruited by the British Army and this created a want for information. Papers still appeared mostly in English, but they were now translated into

Kiswahili sibilings. Until the mid-1950s most of the papers functioned as government outlets with a few exceptions of locally owned papers that criticized both the colonial rule and Christian missionaries. Towards the end of this period, however, the government encouraged local participation and set up training to create a class of Tanzanian journalists and editors. (Ibid., 53-60.)

The turning point came with the establishment of the political party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954 and the subsequent creation of their party newspaper *Sauti ya TANU* (Voice of TANU) in 1957. More and more indigenous print media was created and used to promote nationalist ideas and feelings. Some of the almost 200 newspapers published during these years, such as Daily News and *Kiongozi* (Leader), are still published today. (Sturmer 1998, 61-69.) Another major achievement of this period was the establishment of radio. As a result of the increasing demand for information from the African population and the government's want for an effective propaganda instrument a station named Sauti ya Dar es Salaam (The Voice of Dar es Salaam) was established in 1951. In 1956, the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) came into being. It was formally independent from the government, but in reality had little autonomy. The radio gained popularity quickly and programs were aired both in English and Kiswahili. A study in 1960 revealed that nearly 500 000 people were listening to the radio regularly. (Ibid., 77-84.)

The twenty years following independence in 1961 and the union with Zanzibar in 1964 were a time of African socialism *ujamaa* (familyhood) and reduced individual rights. In short, *ujamaa* was a process of national liberation to create a self-reliant Tanzania independent both economically and culturally from capitalist Western powers and ideals. Julius Nyerere, the founder of TANU and the first president of the independent country, took complete control. As "the Father of the Nation" his aim was to build a unified nation and he felt that in a country with hundreds of ethnic groups multiple parties would pose a threat. Thus the Party of the Revolution, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) was founded from TANU and the Zanzibarian ruling party Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) and a process of Tanzanization was begun. Everything was from agriculture to small businesses was nationalized, trade unions were banned and opponents arrested. Consequently bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption became the norm. Economic

development decreased to the point where even essential commodities were unavailable. (Mwakikagile 2006, 30-46.) In 1985 Nyerere handed power to Ali Hassan Mwinyi, but stayed on as the head of CCM until 1990. From the mid-1980s political and economic reforms were made and in 1992 a multiparty model was adopted. The first free election was held in 1995, won by Benjamin Mkapa, the candidate of the ruling party. The current president Jakaya Kikwete is also a CCM representative. Regardless of the reforms, the development of Tanzania has since been slow. (Ewold 2010, 241-246.)

For the freedom of the media the years after independence were ones of regression. Already in 1956 Nyerere had stated, that “freedom of opinion should be subordinated to more important political goals” i.e. the abolishment of disease and poverty. (Sturmer 1998, 120.) He wanted to harness the media to be used in unifying the nation and begun the Tanzanization of the media by nationalizing TBC in 1965. Newspapers were forced to merge and in order to silence voices of opposition Nyerere introduced The Newspaper Act in 1976. The act made it practically impossible for private editors to launch newspapers and newspapers could be banned if they were found to be “detrimental to the public interest”. Subsequently the number of privately owned newspapers decreased. The ones that continued to be published were careful in their critiques of the ruling party. From 1976 to 1993 there were only two daily newspapers published, *Uhuru* (Freedom) and *Daily News*, both mouthpieces for the government. (Ibid., 313-317.)

Radio gained popularity and due to government efforts coverage became gradually better. Until 1993 the national Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RDT, former TBC) was the only radio station and the main source of information for citizens, mainly broadcasting material promoting socialist ideals. (Sturmer 1998, 187.) The monopoly in the media sector enabled the government to carry out successful adult education projects through the radio. For example campaigns on health care and elections were launched. During this period the mass media consisting of radio and newspapers was used to strengthen national unity and educate the masses. Some entertainment in the form of sports programs in the radio and a few religious newspapers were allowed. Television did not arrive in the country until mid-1990s, but since then it has gained considerable popularity. The liberation of the market in mid-‘90s has resulted in rapid

growth in the media sector. (African Media Barometer 2010; African Media Barometer 2012; Sturmer 1998, 314-317.) The following sub-chapter will discuss the current media landscape of Tanzania.

2.2. The Media in Contemporary Tanzania

For the coherence of the study it is important to understand the current situation of the media sphere in Tanzania. The media in the country has followed the global trend of media neoliberalization. National, state-owned and public service media systems are giving way to commercial media with concentrated ownership. With 763 registered newspapers, 24 private and 2 state-owned television stations, 82 private and 3 state-owned radio stations and internet penetration of 12 percent of the population, the media landscape is diverse and offers a wide range of sources for information and entertainment. (The Media Council of Tanzania 2012.) Radio is still the most popular and accessible media outlet with a reach of 96 percent of the population. Television reaches about 42 percent and newspapers approximately 32 percent of the people. In regards to geographical coverage, state-owned and private radio and TV stations are quite balanced. Nationwide coverage is obtained only by two state radio stations (TBC Taifa and TBC FM) and three private ones (Radio Free Africa, Clouds FM Radio One). Out of TV stations one state owned (TBC) and two private ones (ITV and Star TV) can be considered to have nationwide coverage. (IPSOS 2013; Murthy 2012.)

Though there are numerous commercial media outlets their ownership has concentrated into the hands of a few proprietors. Moreover, it is noteworthy that in contrast to the global control of multinational media conglomerates that is common in many African states, most media owners in Tanzania are locals. (Nyamnjohn 2004, 123.) The ownership of media is regulated by the constitution, which states that the right to own media is reserved for citizens of Tanzania and the East-African Community. Foreign ownership of a given outlet cannot exceed 30 percent. (The Media Council of Tanzania 2012.) Three of the largest media owners in the country are IPP Media, Africa Media Group and Sahara Media Group Limited, which control up to 90 percent of the private commercial media, including radio, TV, newspapers and online news outlets. All three are owned and run by Tanzanians. The biggest multinational media conglomerate

operating in the Tanzanian market is the Kenyan based Nation Media Group which has a strong hold particularly in the print sector, as they own *Mwananchi* (Citizen) one of the leading Kiswahili newspapers in the country and its English counterpart *The Citizen*. (Murthy 2012; The Media Council of Tanzania 2012.)

The media in Tanzania is officially regulated by the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA), which was founded in 2003. TCRA gives licenses and enforces license conditions, regulates rates and charges, manages the radio frequency systems and television broadcasting as well as monitors the performance of media practitioners (TCRA 2013). In addition, the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), a self-regulatory body “committed to promoting freedom of the media and ensuring the highest professional standards and accountability” was established 1997 (ibid.). MCT monitors media ethics, trains journalists, conducts media research and mediates complaints raised by the public against the media (ibid.). According to the council there have been positive changes in the state of the mass media as well as access to information. Yet, even though the government proclaims freedom of information in theory, sanctions are common and government-held information is hard to access for journalists in general and for those working for private media in particular. (African Media Barometer 2012, 17.)

Furthermore, as Nyamnjoh (2004, 124-125) states, regardless of the liberalization of the media of late, it is still very common for many African countries to charge journalists “simply for making statements that bring any state official into disrepute”. In Tanzania the government has continued to use draconian laws to control any media that they view breaking the unwritten rules of suitable content (African Media Barometer 2012, 6-8). This is well exemplified by the fact that during the data collection period for this study (September-October 2013) two leading newspapers were banned from publishing based on the Newspaper Act of 1976: the papers *Mwananchi* and *Mtanzania* were banned for three weeks and three months respectively, allegedly for publishing “seditious stories that aimed to provoke incitement and hostility” (The Media Council of Tanzania 2013). Additionally, according to the African Media Barometer (2012, 7), the media, especially print media, tends to publish stories in favor of its owners. For example, the treasurer for the ruling party CCM and Member of Parliament Rostam

Aziz owns a large share of one of the largest press companies Habari Corporation LTD and Sahara Communications Ltd is owned by the Minister of Livestock, Anthony Diallo, also a CCM representative. Newspapers published by these two companies tend to report from a partisan point of view. Others, such as *Mwananchi* or *Nipashe*, aim at objective reporting, at least in theory. The case is, however, that the majority of their income comes from advertising and hence they seek to satisfy the interests of their advertisers. The biased interests of the media owners are reflected in the style and content of reporting throughout. (Ibid.)

The media, particularly newspapers, is also very selective when choosing what it covers. It tends to rely on easy topics that sell: sports, celebrity stories and stories with shock value. Furthermore, investigative journalism is in poor condition, as journalists are afraid of repercussions from the state. Currently the state is known to pressure journalists to expose their sources claiming national security is at stake. Moreover, journalists and editors alike are known to be physically attacked. Many of these attacks have political reasons and though it is hard to prove, have been orchestrated by powerful political figures. For example, in 2012 the editor of *Mtanzania* and chairman of the Tanzania Editors' Forum Absalom Kibinda was kidnapped and tortured. Security officials of the main opposition party, Chadema, allegedly committed the crime. In another case journalist Erick Kabendera was harassed apparently in retaliation for testifying against the media mogul Reginald Mengi, the founder and owner of IPP Media. Kabendera's home was burgled repeatedly and officials interrogated his elderly parents on their son allegedly selling state secrets to European powers. (African Media Barometer 2012, 6-8, 11-20.)

In short, the current situation of the media in Tanzania is complex. On one hand the number of media outlets has increased and the media enjoys more freedom than before. Competition is tough and funding comes from many different sources, which has added to the diversification of content. An increasing number of the population has access to different sources of information than ever before and the quality of journalism is improving. Yet the government controls the media, some directly through subsidies and others indirectly through laws. Freedom of expression is by no means guaranteed. In Tanzania the media is, like in most of Africa, "effectively controlled by government and

capital, who are both keen to feed the public with nothing subversive to their interests and power” (Nyamnjohn 2004, 126). The media and journalists tend to operate from a partisan standpoint and the development of the media is dictated by ownership. In addition, many media companies struggle with lack of funding and therefore, as Nyamnjohn (2004, 126) states “financial difficulties have compounded the problems of news gathering and news production, and made newspapers in most countries even less credible”. There is a lack of research and background information in stories and journalists are compelled to be “jacks of all trades and masters of none” (ibid.). Currently Tanzania is witnessing a situation where government ownership and control of the media doesn’t seem to be able to promote development yet private ownership doesn’t guarantee media that works for the good of the public either.

Throughout the history of Tanzania the media has been used as a tool for development. Though the definitions of development have varied from the missionaries' aspirations of converting the nation to the Tanzanization promoted by Julius Nyerere, the media has been the weapon of choice in attempting to realize these goals. Even today the media is thought to have great potential as a tool for development and especially in engaging the citizens of the nation. The next sub-chapters introduce the object of this study: namely the initiative Twaweza operating in this field. It will also introduce three of its media partners and one other media actor relevant for the study.

2.3. Twaweza: an Introduction

Twaweza, established in 2009, is a “ten-year citizen-centered initiative focusing on large-scale change in East Africa” (Twaweza 2014b). Currently it operates in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The headquarters are located in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where this study was also conducted. Twaweza is funded by five donors who provide long-term support. They are Sida, the Hewlett Foundation, Hivos, the United Kingdom Department for International Development and SNV Netherlands Development Organization. (Ibid.) For the 2011-2014 period their overall budget covering all three countries is USD 72 million (Twaweza 2011, 2). The organization has a total staff of approximately 50 people and an eleven member supervisory board. The supervisory board is the highest governance body of Twaweza which approves the long term (5-

year) strategies and budgets, scrutinizes annual plans and reports, gives feedback on proposals and oversees the appointment of independent evaluation. The board consists of experts in areas related to Twaweza and donor representatives. (Twaweza 2008, 52.)

2.3.1 Theory of Change and Citizen Agency

“Twaweza” translates freely into “we can make it happen”, and accordingly its purpose statement reads that the citizens of East Africa can bring about change themselves: “when exposed to the ferment of information and ideas, and having access to practical tools, pathways and examples of how to turn these ideas into actions, ordinary citizens can become the drivers of their own development” (Twaweza 2008, 1). In the organization's view public pressure and debate are more effective drivers of change than expert-driven reforms. Over time normal citizens taking action will achieve a tipping point effect. (Twaweza 2011, 11.) This theory of change, that social change and development can be attained through an informed, active citizenry is the basis for all of Twaweza’s operations. (Twaweza 2014b.)

The ten-year initiative is divided into two main goals, first of which is to enable people to exercise agency. This “citizen agency”, a key term in all Twaweza operations, is defined as 1. citizens becoming informed, 2. citizens monitoring policy and practice, 3. citizens speaking out in practice and 4. citizens acting to make change (Twaweza 2011, 15-16) . This enhanced ability of citizens to get information, speak out and take action is essential for the second goal of enabling access to basic services, such as education, healthcare and clean water. Citizen agency is seen both as an end in itself and an effective means to realize improved quality of life outcomes, citizens taking control of their own lives and demanding access to what should be theirs (aforementioned basic services). (Twaweza 2014b.) Information flows in the ecosystem of change foster knowledge of options and motivation for citizen action and change, which eventually lead to “citizens having a greater sense of what’s going on within and outside their communities, about how things can be different, and how to make a difference – a greater menu of options” (Twaweza 2011, 15).

2.3.2 Strategic Partnerships

The initiative works through program interventions that instead of strengthening the state or funding small, separate NGO projects, focuses on brokering strategic partnerships to catalyze change at large scale. This means that it supports partnerships and initiatives that foster direct engagement with citizens. Each partnership is built around achieving a focused goal and brokered with actors within the aforementioned five networks that Twaweza sees as key in its operations. (Twaweza 2008, 17.)

According to its purpose statement, Twaweza is “not an implementer, nor simply a re-granter, to interesting projects” (ibid., 16). In practice, Twaweza offers their partners funding and support to realize different projects or initiatives. The partnerships are considered win-win, as each partner finds it in their interest to be in it and at the same time Twaweza is able to work towards their goals. (Twaweza 2014b; Twaweza 2010.)

One of the most important aspects of Twaweza’s work is its emphasis on communication and distribution of information. In its original strategy access to information is seen as a basic human right and as an instrumentally useful tool in enabling citizens to better their lives. (Twaweza 2008, 93.) Therefore many of its partners are ones that work in the media field and the organization puts effort into deepening media quality, plurality, reach and independence. (Ibid., 94; Twaweza 2014a, 10-11).

The partnerships are brokered based on a criterion that resonates with Twaweza’s theory of change. The partner (or program) needs to reach at least two million people, aim at enhancing citizen agency and service delivery and bring value for money invested. It also needs to be willing to engage in learning through transparency, documenting and evaluation. (Twaweza 2010.) This importance on learning and monitoring is emphasized throughout Twaweza’s operations. (Twaweza 2014b.)

2.3.3 Learning, Monitoring and Evaluation

Twaweza operations are largely based on research and country assessments carried out in the incubation stage of the initiative in 2008 (Twaweza 2008, 16). The organization declares a continuing emphasis on the importance of a culture of learning and self-

critique: “East Africa is littered with lots of development activities that were well meaning but that achieved little or did not last long. We therefore have a fierce commitment to learning and sharing lessons, so that we don't share this fate” (Twaweza 2014b). According to the organization, learning and programs making a difference are interlinked and reinforce one another. Therefore it has built a learning architecture of monitoring, independent evaluations and staff and partner learning. (Ibid.)

Internal monitoring aims at documenting the work of the organization and gathering information on which approaches are effective. The basic goal is to understand what works in order to make informed decisions. Internal monitoring is also done to enhance transparency and accountability. The organization monitors for baseline knowledge (current situations in each country of operations), inputs (the organization’s support to partners, investments and other activities), outputs (what has been done and achieved in projects in relation to expectations) and outcomes (evidence for effects). The monitoring of outputs and outcomes of programs is carried out in cooperation between the organization, partners and independent research firms. According to the organization, independent evaluations carried out by third parties are crucial for its development and learning. These evaluations aim at analyzing the effect Twaweza is having in the countries of operations and its contributions to social change. Multiple research teams are employed in order to cover all sectors of Twaweza’s work and to guarantee thorough analysis. The organization also emphasizes the role of communication, both internal and external, for the evaluation process. (Ibid.) Effective and transparent communication subjects the organization’s work to external scrutiny as well as enables the organization “to contribute to knowledge and program design across East Africa and globally (ibid.).

The organization also houses and manages the Uwezo initiative, which measures the literacy and numeracy of children between the ages 5 and 16 in all three countries of Twaweza operations. The initiative aims at informing the organization but also to make parents, students, local communities and the public at large more aware of the actual levels of children’s capabilities in reading, writing and arithmetic. (LME 2013; Twaweza 2014b; Uwezo 2014.) In addition, one of the most important initiatives of the organization is Sauti Za Wananchi (Voices of Citizens), Africa’s first nationally

representative mobile phone survey. Sauti za Wananchi collects information and opinions on current issues from a broad cross-section of Tanzanians. It provides monthly data from 2000 respondents from all regions of mainland Tanzania through mobile phones and solar chargers that were distributed to the citizens. Sauti za Wananchi aims at providing timely and relevant data for key actors, such as Twaweza partners, Members of Parliament, journalists and civil society leaders in order to influence the policy decisions of Tanzania. (Uwazi 2014.)

2.3.4 Current Operations

Twaweza's goals are twofold. Over its first five years (2009-2013), it sought to increase citizen access to information about services and entitlements, amplify opportunities for citizens to express their views in public and foster a culture in which citizens regularly monitor government, public resources and service delivery. One of its goals was also to facilitate improvements in media quality and plurality in East Africa. (Twaweza 2014b.) For the second stage 2014-2018 the goals were set for improved outcomes in basic education, healthcare and water, for example in regards to more teachers in schools, funds reaching schools and increased access to clean water. (Twaweza 2008, 32-35.)

In 2013, also during the data collection period of this study (September-October 2013), the organization was in process of evaluating their performance and engaged in discussions on how to proceed (Twaweza interviews 2013). In late 2013 Twaweza hosted a meeting of its independent evaluators, such as LPT (Lieberman, Posner and Tsai) AIID (Amsterdam Institute for Development) and ILPI (International Law and Policy Institute), key researchers and practitioners in order to reflect on the first five years of its operations and to plan for the second 5-year period. As a result, though its core idea of enabling citizens to become active agents of change is intact, some aspects of their operations were redefined and modified. For example, in its Annual Plan for 2014 the organization states an emphasis of a more thorough analysis of the concepts of action and citizen analysis, it commits to a more thorough investigation of the systems they are working with and within, the political and social surroundings of its countries of operations as well as a clearer statement of the outcomes they are trying to achieve. It also emphasizes the role of organizational learning in order to more effectively reach its

goals. In concrete terms this means narrowing down the number of partnerships and a more rigorous system of monitoring them. (Twaweza 2014a, 1-2.)

Though this reformed strategy cuts down on the number of activities and puts focus on continuing those that truly work, it still works towards the original, ambitious goals. Only time will truly tell whether these goals can be achieved and what are the means, if any, to do so. This study will seek to provide a critical discussion on the key concepts the organization bases its operations on. For this the views of both its employees and the partners it works with are important. Therefore the next sub-chapter introduces three different media actors that Twaweza has partnered with and whose representatives were interviewed for this study. These are the TV show Minibuzz, the radio satire Uncle Kochikochi and media house Sahara Media Group. It will also introduce one additional media, The Citizen newspaper. The paper is not a Twaweza partner, but one of its representatives was chosen as an interviewee in order to explore the viewpoint of a media and a representative that hold no allegiance to the organization.

2.4. The Media Partners

The representatives of the media partners who were interviewed will be introduced later on. This sub-chapter will introduce partners that the interviewees represent. The introductions are based on both background material studied during the data collection as well as the partner interviews.

1. Minibuzz is a daily thirty-minute TV-show filmed in daladala (a local form of public transport) turned TV-studio that travels around inviting the passengers who get on to have a debate on a current affairs. The show is taped each morning and the participants are common citizens on their way to work, school and so on. The show is one of the most popular TV-shows in the country. Minibuzz TV is produced by Made in Africa TV Ltd., a social enterprise that develops and produces media programming with a social impact. The show, created in 2010, is now also being filmed in Kenya and Uganda. Twaweza has partnered with Minibuzz since 2011. The aim and purpose of the show is to offer Tanzanians a nationwide platform to discuss issues in a public manner, something that has not been done before. The show wants to empower the citizens, to be

a medium for the people to express themselves as much as a vehicle for informing them. (MB 2014; Minibuzz 2014; Twaweza 2013a.)

2. Uncle Kochikochi is a radio satire airing on 16 radio stations nationwide. It tackles current issues and social problems through humor. It aims at informing listeners and ultimately inviting them to discuss matters, changing passive citizens into active ones. The show, produced by Dhamira Communicative Artists, started airing in 2010 and partnered with Twaweza in 2011. It hopes to waken people into becoming active in their social environments and to engage them through speaking about matters that others dare not in a language they can understand. Humor is chosen as the medium, since it allows for topics otherwise out of limits to be brought up. (Twaweza 2013c; UKK 2014.)

3. Sahara Media Group is one of the leading media companies in Tanzania and East Africa as a whole. It has three mainstream outlets with nationwide coverage. They are Star TV, Radio Free Africa and Kiss FM. Sahara Media Group has partnered with Twaweza since 2011 and their aim has been to strengthen the quality and quantity of investigative reporting in both radio and television. It has partnered with Twaweza in order to inform and educate the citizenry and thus create social change. The company wants not only to do successful business, but to help improve the situation of the people and the nation as well. Naturally, this in turn will benefit them as an informed citizenry will consume more media. (SMG 2013; Sahara Media Group 2014; Twaweza 2013b.)

3. The Citizen, first published in 2004, is one of the three leading English newspapers in Tanzania with a daily circulation of approximately 25 000. The paper and its sibling, *Mwananchi* (Citizen), the leading Kiswahili daily, are published by Mwananchi Communications Ltd, a private publishing company under the Kenyan Nation Media Group. It aspires to become the number one English newspaper in the country through “editorial independence and journalistic excellence”. (Murthy 2012; Nation Media Group 2014; TC 2013.)

3. LITERATURE REVIEW: DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION PARADIGMS

The next part of the paper will lay the theoretical groundwork for this study. It will begin by discussing history of development and development communication starting from its roots in the modernization theory and its counterpart, the dependency theory. It will then lead up to contemporary views on the field on models of development communication. The intellectual history of the field is conventionally divided into four partially overlapping and intertwined phases (Sparks 2007, 3). The phases begin with the period of the “dominant paradigm” of modernization, followed by the “imperialism paradigm” of cultural and media imperialism (ibid.). The imperialism paradigm was partly parallel to the rise of the “participatory paradigm” that emphasizes the role of the objects of development. The victory march of the Internet and the evolution towards a “global world village” has seen the rise of this current phase we are in, the “globalization paradigm”. (Ibid., 3-4.)

These paradigms are the products of their historical contexts and consist of multiple different variants. Therefore their historical backgrounds and the relevant variants within them will be discussed. It should be noted, however, that there is no attempt here to produce a complete history of the development communication paradigms. The purpose of this discussion is to present the ideas that have influenced the field as well as take a look into contemporary thinking concerning the role of communication in development.

In order to begin the discussion, a few key terms should be defined. The term “paradigm” is used throughout this thesis in reference to the distinctive phases in the development of the field. It encompasses historical events as well as theoretical formulations and practical approaches. Furthermore, though there are a variety of definitions for “development communication”, here it is defined as “the art and science of human communication linked to a society’s planned transformation, from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth” (Manyozo 2012, 9).

3.1. The Dominant Paradigm and Modernization

Historically, the key moment for the conception of the dominant paradigm can be set in 1947 and the birth of the Cold War. The USA emerged victorious from the Second World War and dominated the globe politically and militarily (Sparks 2007, 8). Political institutions that were formed after the war, such as the United Nations and the World Bank, were headquartered in the US. It set out to “revive capitalism everywhere in the world” (ibid.). The only real threat was the USSR and in the US struggle against communism it needed an ideology to counter Marxism-Leninism, which was seen to have greater appeal to the newly decolonized countries of the South. While advancing the interest of the US was the goal of policy science as a whole, the aim was also to alleviate poverty and this is what the dominant paradigm was developed for. (Ibid. 9-10; 20-21.)

The dominant paradigm, or modernization theory, derives some of its thinking from the works of Max Weber (1958/1904), who contributed the success of Western nations to a culture that valued entrepreneurial mindsets and hard work. He argued that the Industrial Revolution happened, because the people in those nations were hard-working Protestants. He thought that this culture of valuing achievements earned through efficiency and effort is what differentiates successful nations from the rest. Underdeveloped nations, on the other hand, suffer from a culture of poverty. In them people were poor, because they had poor work habits and ethics. (Ibid.) The modernization theory elaborated on these ideas. One of its leading proponents was Daniel Lerner, whose 1958 work *The Passing of Traditional Society* was among the first book-length publications formulating the theory. Lerner (1958, 79) saw that underdeveloped countries would develop if they adopted a modern, rational mentality. This mentality was the opposite of the superstitious, inflexible and traditional one that was binding them to poverty (ibid.).

Though the process of modernization was thought to be natural, one where each nation would ultimately evolve on its own, the modernization theory saw that this process could be sped up with the help of the Western nations. As Servaes and Malikhaio (2008, 159) state: “Consequently, the means of modernization were the massive transfer of

capital, ideology, technology, and know-how”. Here development was defined as “a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization” (Rogers 1969, 9). In other words, the proponents of the modernization theory argued, that by dispersing information, people’s mindsets could be changed in favor of the modern way of thinking and doing. The best way to disperse this crucial information was the mass media. (Thussu 2006, 42-44.)

3.1.1 Communication and the Mass Media

The dominant paradigm stressed the major role of the state in effecting changes in the society. Most often the state had total control over media systems in developing nations and thus Western development practitioners and policy makers had a coherent development communication plan to put in action in them. They advised local governments how to set up programs in order to introduce modern ideas to the population through formal education, but most importantly through the mass media. Because mass media was the cheapest and fastest way of reaching larger audiences it – especially radio – was assigned a leading role in making the process of modernization appealing to the masses. (Sparks 2007, 24-26; Thussu 2006, 44-46.)

In Lerner’s (1958) view being exposed to the mass media would show the people of traditional societies new ways of life and allow them to adopt modern ideas. For him modernity was exactly this “empathy”, the individual’s ability to imagine and desire a better future (ibid., 47). Modernity was seen primarily as a state of mind and it followed that development communication was to alter them. As Wilbur Schramm (1964, 131), one of the earliest mass communications scholars, stated “the mass media can create a climate for development” and contribute to the amount and kinds of information that was available, “widen horizons”. However, it was recognized that knowledge about something does not necessarily result in a positive attitude towards it or a change in behavior. Proponents of the modernization theory believed that new information being dispersed through the mass media alone might not effect change. (Rogers 1969, 366-396.) Instead it was thought, that the bulk of the people would follow opinion leaders and take up practices endorsed by these spokespersons. (Lerner 1958, 407.) Ithiel de

Sola Pool (1963, 247-250) argued that the messages sent by mass media become emphasized and are made understandable and effective when they are being validated by a role model, leader or a person of higher status than the person receiving the message. This diffusion model of communication was based on Everett Roger's (1962) formulations on the diffusion of innovations. It rested on the idea that the change agent should inform and empower the social elites oriented towards change. They, in turn, would then diffuse the information to the masses. (Ibid.)

The dominant paradigm rejected the notion that the populations of developing countries could be capable of even identifying the problems causing their suffering let alone finding a solution to them. (Sparks 2007, 29.) The individual, the victim of poverty, is never the change agent but change is “caused by outsiders, who on their own or as representatives of planned change seek to introduce new ideas to achieve definite goals” (Rogers 1969, 6). The outside experts who would decide on what kind of change was necessary and oversee the process were isolated culturally, intellectually and socially from the public they meant to modernize. The same was true of the local elite change agents, who might have little else in common with the rural population than language and nationality. (Ibid., 362.) This cultural distance proved problematic because of the obvious possibility that the messages sent would be irrelevant and even incomprehensible to the target audience. The solution was to integrate some level of feedback into the equation, make it possible for the “villagers’ needs, wishes, ideas and knowledge to enter into the transaction equally with those of the change agent” (Schramm 1967, 24). Yet, as can be seen, even though he might have some possibility of speaking on his own behalf, the villager remained the object of the change, never an active agent himself.

The modernization theory rested on the patronizing notion that the underdeveloped countries could and should be modernized fast with the help of outside forces. Speedy material improvements, which were at the top of the development to-do list, were emphasized at the expense of other goals, such as political and press freedom. The role of communication was not only to educate the masses on how to do things better, but also to “maintain public aspiration at a healthy level of discontent, in order to prevent

complete political and social disorganization” (Sparks 2007, 31). In other words, change was needed, but the public should leave it to the experts who knew better.

3.1.2. Critique and the Passing of the Dominant Paradigm

Although the modernization theory was a popular one, it encountered criticism quite early on. The critique stemmed from actual developing countries especially in Latin America. The rising critique was a result of changes in both political and intellectual climates when the mentality of the Cold War gave way to the radical and national liberation movements of the late 60s. (Sparks 2007, 38.) The critiques were versatile, but the core problem was seen to be the fact that “the modernization concept is a veiled synonym for ‘westernization’, namely the copying or implantation of Western mechanisms and institutions in a Third World context” (Servaes and Malikhaio 2008, 161). As Shah (2011, 6-7) explains, critics pointed out the ethnocentrism of the modernization theory as well as its patronizing approach. It gives the people of developing nations “a capacity to emulate without permitting them a capacity to create” (Ali Mazrui quoted in Shah 2011, 6).

In addition, critics stated that the modernization theory simply did not work nor did it take into account the social structures of developing countries. Two decades of development work had resulted in very little in terms of actual development, such as increase in GDP or growth in the industrial sector. Where development had occurred, the ones to benefit were mostly the upper social classes of societies. (Sparks 2007, 38-41.) According to critiques, development communication adhering to the dominant paradigm had not succeeded in changing behavior or in persuading people of the need for change. According to Charles Okigbo (1995, 4), in the African case “records show that very little was achieved in such critical areas as political mobilization, national unity, civic education and the diffusion of new agricultural techniques”. As I discussed in the previous chapter, this was the case with Tanzania as well. The media functioned as an information channel for the colonial masters and ruling elites, it didn’t serve the local interests at all.

In response to these critiques development and development communication paradigms shifted towards their second phase, which saw the rise of the imperialism paradigm and

the participatory paradigm. Though they were somewhat overlapping in regards to time periods, for the sake of clarity they will be introduced separately in the next sub-chapters.

3.2. The Imperialism Paradigm

Historically the rise of the imperialism paradigm was the result of the changing international situation. It gained support across the intellectual and political sphere during the late 1960's and early 1970's, largely due to the wave of anti-imperialism that spread around the world. Global unrest in the late 1960's, such as the general strike in France, student unrest in the US, revolts in Mexico, Bolivia and Chile and finally in 1968 the US military defeat in Vietnam and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia made it obvious that previous attempts to solve problems of underdevelopment had not succeeded and new thinking was needed. (Sparks 2007, 11-13.) Capitalism was seen to be failing and many newly independent nations had opted for the socialist model for development encouraged by the rapid economic growth in the USSR. Many thought that in order for the underdeveloped to truly develop, it was necessary to steer clear from international capitalism. (Ibid.)

These ideas were at the center of the dependency theory, formulated in Latin America and predominant in the Non-Aligned Nations Movement from the 1960s to early 1980s. It states that development and underdevelopment are merely two sides of the same coin. Here development is defined as a political struggle and measured by the level of political independence. (Servaes and Malikhao 2008, 161.) Underdeveloped nations stay underdeveloped, because it is in the interest of the Western capitalist nations: "Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others" (Ibid., 162). In other words, underdevelopment is the consequence of the international economic system and will not be remedied as long as capitalism remains predominant. One of the leading writers on the dependency theory was Andre Gunder Frank (1972), whose theoretical position was that there was a "center" of economically developed nations and a "periphery" of the underdeveloped, with a "semi-periphery" in the middle. The prosperity and development of the center was only possible through the exploitation of

the periphery. Therefore it was in the interest of the center to control the flow of capital, goods and services. (Frank 1972, 9.) The only way for the periphery to develop was to free themselves from the domination of the center by becoming self-sustainable (ibid.).

The new paradigm that emerged was based on the notion that although many of the developing countries were now sovereign states, formal political independence did not end the relationship of domination and subordination between them and the developed nations. As a consequence, the Non-Aligned Movement brought the “New International Economic Order”, a re-ordering of the economic and political relationships in the world, to the international forum. (Servaes and Malikhao 2008, 161.) Breaking the economic ties that were the cause of underdevelopment was not enough, though, but also the cultural and media ties that subdued the underdeveloped should be cut (ibid.). In the newly independent nations the mass media was still subordinate to the demands of old imperial powers. Messages communicated were propagandist, sent to enhance the standing of the dominant country, and economic control of the media through shares and political control through local representatives was used to ensure appropriate content. (Sparks 2007, 87.) Therefore, in the field of communications there was a demand for a “New World Information and Communication Order”. According to Kaarle Nordenstreng (2013, 1) the NWICO debates became “a leading theme in the media policy debates” from the 1970s to the 1990s. The policies were meant to “decolonize information”; challenge the distortions of world communications, to ensure a two-way flow of information and equal communication possibilities for all nations (Nordenstreng 2011, 229). The NWICO was “a part and parcel of the developing countries’ drive to emancipate themselves from structures of imperialist powers” in order to be truly independent (Nordenstreng 2013, 5).

3.2.1 Media and Cultural Imperialism

The NWICO policies were meant to counter what Oliver Boyd-Barrett (1977, 117) referred to as media imperialism, where “by the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country be - - subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any one country - - without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected”. There were four distinct modes of media

imperialism that created the dependent nature of media systems. Firstly, mass communication itself as a technology of one-way communication created in the developed world and secondly, organizing this technology into state organizations such as the BBC or along commercial lines as in the US. Thirdly, the professional norms and practices of media production developed in the West and lastly, the content of programming and the nature of media products modeled in the West and then exported to developing countries. (Sparks 2007, 98.)

The technologies, media practices, program contents and media institutions were developed and evolved in the West to meet western demands. Instead of working towards development, writers such as Herbert Schiller (1970; 1976) argued that the transfer of western media technology led to greater dependency on foreign capital as well as culture. This form of control Schiller (1976, 9) defined as cultural imperialism, a process by which a country is “brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system”. The term is used to refer to the spread of Western culture in general, but also specifically the “Americanization of the world” – the spread of American culture. The commercialization of public speech within the US meant that this commercialized culture, “broadcasting to sell products”, was the only one the rest of the world saw and was subjected to (Schiller 1970, 147).

The problem with the commercialization of communication in development was naturally that the developmental potential of the media was diminished. The media was seen as a powerful tool that could indeed be used to aid development, but the issue was that “desirable educational and developmental messages were confined to the margins of the media, whose central core was dominated by a flood of foreign entertainment material” (Sparks 2007, 93). The spread and consumption of commercialized, predominantly US -based media products meant that the inequalities of wealth and power were reinforced, particularly because the primary audiences for this commercial culture were the elites of developing countries who could afford a radio or a TV, and had the literacy level to access print media. (Ibid., 92-93.) Although development communicators were aspiring to increase the levels of awareness on matters such as

reproductive health and modern agricultural techniques, the drive of the mass media to promote a capitalist culture and society was overpowering (Schiller 1970).

In other words, the so-called core countries, especially the US, were spreading their ways of life, values, norms and culture; invading indigenous cultures in order to benefit from them. This was largely done through communicating commercialized messages through the media, which meant that while the elites here enticed with the luxury of a capitalist lifestyle, it provided nothing for the masses. The majority of the people had no access to mass media to begin with and the ruling elites that did, usually had no desire for national development, as it would have threatened their lifestyles and positions in society. Furthermore, as Boyd-Barrett himself (1977, 132) pointed out, a direct link between the media and cultural change cannot be drawn. Even when media products were available, their influence in behavior change could not be proven (ibid.). This possibility that the effect the media had on its audience wasn't that strong after all was one of the strongest critiques of the paradigm and led to its fall.

3.2.2 Critique and Failure of the Imperialism paradigm

The failure of the NWICO in the late 1970s was a setback for the imperialism paradigm and by the end of the 1980s as the Cold War drew to an end and the Soviet Union collapsed, the paradigm was regarded as outdated. (Sparks 2007, 109-113.) Proponents of cultural and media imperialism were challenged by a wave of new media and communications research that seemed to suggest that the mass media was not the powerful site of domination it had been thought as. Instead, new emphasis was put on the role of the audience in creating meaning from media messages and the different context media consumption was taking place. (Ibid, 115-117.) For example Tomlinson (1991, 21-23) argues that individuals consume media products very differently across the international spectrum and bring a wide range of beliefs, knowledge and meanings to them. He challenges the idea that individuals are passive receivers of information and can be manipulated by it. Instead, people interpret these media products through their existing culture, which for Tomlinson (ibid., 173) is the resource "through which people generate narratives of individual and social meaning and purpose".

Furthermore, as the idea of “imperialism” usually carries the underlying notion of coercion, Tomlinson (1991, 7) argues that this is not the case with the consumption of media; no one is forcing the audiences to watch American soap operas or Hollywood movies, people choose to do so. He (1991, 68-94) challenges the idea of cultural imperialism that there are homogenous national cultures that can either take over or be taken over. In his view, the spread of cultural goods cannot be considered cultural domination, as people will generate their own meanings to them, sometimes even ones totally contradictory to the meanings the products carry in their culture of origin. (Ibid., 113-122.) In the same vein, Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1995, 46-49), argues against the idea that cultural experiences have always been moving in the direction of uniformity and has been led by the West. He opposes the idea of cultural imperialism, as it does not take into account the influences that have emanated from the East to the West, or the effects eastern cultures have had on one another throughout history. Instead of cultural imperialism he states that through the exchange of cultural products a process of hybridization has been going on since mankind was born and is leading to a “global *mélange*”. (Ibid., 49-56.)

This view is true also in regards to the media, as the world especially since the popularization of telecommunications, was seen as an ever-changing, interconnected global village, where cultures affected one another in a two-way flow (Servaes and Lie 2008, 59). It could no longer be said that the flow of cultural goods as well as media products was only from the North to the South. The rise of national media systems in developing countries resulted in a more of a global media sphere and technical and economic changes were creating multiple possibilities for production. This challenged the idea of one dominant center of production. (Tomlinson 1991; Sparks 2007, 119-120). These critiques, together with increasing support for the parallel paradigm that emphasized participation, led to the formulations of the globalization paradigm which will be introduced later. The next sub-chapter, however, will focus on the ideals of participatory development that are crucial for this study.

3.3. The Participatory Paradigm

The participatory paradigm of development and development communication was formulated at the same time as the imperialist paradigm. It spread in academia throughout the '70s, by the mid-80s participatory development had become the most frequently used theoretical framework. International thinking shifted from modernization to a participatory outlook, where the trend of development programs that were “decided centrally and imposed on a population with or without their consent” was outdated. (Sparks 2007, 56.) Although there was no universal path to development, scholars saw that the key was in participation, reversing the old top-down models and engaging the people struggling for development. The participatory paradigm recognized that all societies had their own developmental aspirations that might or might not be aligned with those of the West, but in any case those needs should and would be defined by the people themselves. It was no longer the distant expert or the local elites who would dictate the course for development. Only by allowing the people to identify the needs for change would they be engaged with the projects and engender sustainable social change. (Ibid., 57.)

Thus the starting point for development communication and the role of the media were no longer the dissemination of new information and promotion of modern ways of life. Instead communication was seen as a way for the community to exchange ideas and “facilitate the emergence of objectives and methods” (Sparks 2007, 58). The needs of the people could best be discovered on a local level because it was there that the problems individuals faced would most likely be discussed (Servaes 1996, 10). Dialogue between the various parties concerned with the development problem would be facilitated by effective communication. (Ibid.) This dialogical approach recognized that while every individual, community and nation might require help on their path to development, the initiative had to come from the grassroots level: “only when a population itself was determined to change its own ways of living, and found the resources within itself that permitted such new ways of life to continue in the longer term, could anything of substance actually be achieved” (Sparks 2007, 58).

Accordingly, this approach rests on the idea of participation, a complex concept that has been written about quite extensively and seems to mean very different things for different people. As participation is an important concept for this study, some of these ideas will be discussed in the following.

3.3.1 Varieties of Participation

One relevant analysis of the term “participation” can be found in the work of Cicilia Peruzzo. She has categorized different types of participation into general areas of non-participation, controlled participation and power participation (Peruzzo 1996, 169-173). In the context of development and development projects, non-participation refers to an authoritarian situation where decisions and designs are made and actions imposed by a select few. In this scenario there is no room for discussion or feedback; the only option for the subjects is obedience. (Ibid.) Controlled participation is divided into two subcategories of limited participation and manipulated participation. In the first scenario decisions and designs are again made by a few experts or the elite, but some discussion, for example on the details of implementation, is possible. Still the nature and amount of participation of the subjects is decided on and controlled by the elites. In the second case the elites allow discussion and even some influence in decision-making, but ensure suitable outcomes by manipulating the opinion forming process through the media, local leaders, etc. (Ibid.)

The category of power participation is also divided into two subcategories, namely co-management and self-management. Co-management refers to a situation where power has been divided among different interest groups involved, for example the donors, the NGOs and the local subjects, so that decision-making is a mutual process. However, this status quo rarely lasts and eventually one group will triumph and take control. In the scenario of self-management, however, all individuals involved are equal and the objectives, aims and implementation of a project are mutually agreed on. That way all parties involved can form opinions and have the power to execute informed decisions. (Peruzzo 1996, 173-179.) This last scenario is naturally the ideal for participatory approaches, but it is rarely achieved and thus other variants of participation are often

settled for. Two of these are broadly defined as negotiated participation and radical participation. (Ibid.)

The negotiated variant recognizes that the imbalance of social power is at the root of development problems and the restrictions this has on development projects. It believes that it might not be possible to resolve these core reasons of social problems, but that it is still possible to change things for the better on a smaller scale through communicative strategies. Therefore there is value in engaging people to communicate through existing, traditional channels and media. Big mass media is no longer the only communicative mechanism, instead the role and value of more traditional forms of communication is recognized. (Sparks 2007, 71-71.) In order to secure support from the ruling classes or at least to guarantee that projects can be carried out, this version does not seek to address any bigger social problems. Instead, problematically, it works only to treat the local level manifestations of these larger-scale problems. By not tackling any of the underlying issues, “it ensures that it will only ever be engaged with those kinds of change and development that are predicted to produce outcomes beneficial for the ruling order” (Sparks 2007, 74). In other words, here the needs of the people are defined and verbalized by the people and development projects are drafted to influence these local problems through communication. Yet this approach can be considered as a first aid solution with no real effect on a bigger scale. Locally urgent problems might be solved, but as the real reasons behind them are not addressed the issues will continue to reoccur.

In order to address these problems, the second approach focuses on trying to fix the social injustices that the negotiated variant recognizes but does not try to resolve. This radical variant seeks to find the groups of people who are most affected by social inequalities, like women, children and the disabled, and to encourage them to articulate their views and needs. It ultimately aims at empowering these marginalized groups so that they would organize as a social force and be the catalysts of change themselves. (Sparks 2007, 75.) The problems to be addressed are also recognized by the ones affected, but it will be issues that are either “shared by the wider community of the underprivileged or at least resonate with their own experiences of deprivation” (ibid.). This way, though the problem to be solved is articulated by a small group, it will

resonate with other members of the society so that they, too, will be engaged in trying to solve it.

Here the role of communication is just as important as in the other approaches, yet the theory acknowledges that communication alone is not enough to create sustainable change. Instead, the radical variant recognizes that development is always a politicized process and aims at engaging the people in self-socialization. By becoming active people will broaden their horizons and be able to take part in building social realities. This, in turn, will improve democracy and create more equal social structures. Ultimately through popular action the state would be forced to take part as well. Therefore, instead of simply designing messages to engage people on a local level, like in the negotiated variant, communication is used to formulate a program of empowerment, to mobilize popular support raising awareness of social problems and to influence public opinion. (Sparks 2007, 75.) Thus the radical variant takes direct action against what it sees to be the true cause of underdevelopment. True to its participatory outlook, it focuses on the self-action and self-liberation of the people, which problematically may cause it to ignore the fact that the ruling order is likely to resist changes that might prove unprofitable for them.

Consequently, these variants and their principles can be linked to the works of two prominent writers that are important for this discussion. The ideals of the negotiated variant on the need for change being discussed locally in a public space and thus the formation of a plan of action resonate directly with the theorizations of the public sphere by Jürgen Habermas. Similarly, the idea of sustainable change emanating from self-liberation on the grassroots level is at the core in the writings of Paulo Freire. Their respective works have had major impact on the formulations of participation, participatory communication and participatory development, and will therefore be discussed in detail in the following sub-chapters.

3.3.2. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Citizen Agency

In his famous book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, originally published in 1970, Paulo Freire formulates his ideas of a dialogical pedagogy, which he sees as the way to give voice to the voiceless. His theory relies mainly on the notion that people are not

voiceless because they have nothing to say, but because no one will listen to them. It focuses on human emancipation through communication and begins with the idea that the right to speak their word – engage in dialogue – is the right of every man, and to speak their word is to change the world (Freire 1972). In his view development at its roots is humanization; the aspiration of the oppressed to become free and more fully human. Underdevelopment is not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order and as objective social realities do not exist by chance, they cannot be transformed by chance, but by the actions of men. (Freire 1972, 21-27.) As the Freirean theory is a theory of dialogue, it is not only the oppressed who must take action. The oppressor, too, must play his part and enable the humanization of the oppressed. He must stop patronizing and giving “false charity” that only constraints the subdued (ibid., 21). This false charity is the aid from the West and it is given to further solidify the existing imbalance of power. In order to overcome this dependency the oppressed must choose whether they are to be spectators or actors in their lives and the oppressor must become aware of their role in the continuing suffering of the ones they oppress (ibid., 23-25). This awareness of one’s situation and actions, conscientization is central for Freire’s pedagogy, and can only come about through dialogue and communication: “the pedagogy of the oppressed must be forged with, not for, the oppressed” (ibid., 25).

Through conscientization the oppressed will see the need to struggle for freedom and be able to take steps towards action. It is only by becoming actors despite the chance of failure that they can transform their realities. Furthermore, it is only through dialogical education that conscientization can be happen, and therefore it is important that a problem-posing approach to education is embraced. (Freire, 42-46.) In the “banking system” of education, preferred by the oppressors “knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable on upon those whom they consider to know nothing” (ibid., 46, 56-57). This model of education negates the possibilities that people have to act because the state of the world is presented as being permanent and unchangeable. Instead, a dialogical pedagogy where both parties teach and learn will oblige people to respond to challenges. They will become aware that though the world and their situation might be problematic, they are still changeable. (Ibid., 57-60.)

In short, for Freire (1972, 75, 128-129) underdevelopment is a situation where “object societies” in the Third World are subdued by Western nations. Development is the transformation of a society through a cultural revolution, where leaders are needed, but they are still equal to the people. (Ibid.) The revolutionary leader must believe in the potential of the people, that they are “capable of participating in the pursuit of liberation” (ibid., 137). The need for change must always stem from the people. In order for a political or educational plan to be effective, it needs to be designed not according to the leaders’ views on reality, but that of the people. For this to be possible, the leaders must understand the context where the people create meaning to the world. (Ibid., 67.) In other words, for development to happen on a larger scale and even for individual development projects top work, the leaders must communicate with the people so that the need and direction of development become a reality and can be verbalized. Through dialogue both parties can become aware of the limiting situation and be able to take mutually planned action to improve it.

Specifically in relation to development communication projects, Maria Celeste Cadiz presents a relevant analysis on Freire’s formulations. In order for Freire’s ideals to be realized and for development communication to become truly effective, there are five key characteristics that should be taken into account. (Cadiz 2005, 147.) Firstly, in regards to Freirean theory, communication should always happen between equals and their roles should be interchangeable. Therefore development communication is no longer a message sent from teacher to student, between “expert and user”, but a dialogue between “change agent and development partner” (ibid.). As the roles are interchangeable, for the first time in the history of the field the “objects” of development have the possibility to become change agents themselves. The imbalanced power structure where the underdeveloped are subordinate to the development experts is replaced with a system where all parties involved intercommunicate equally. (Ibid., 147.) Secondly, the dialogue should be of a problem-posing nature instead of the banking-type that Freire criticizes in his work. Instead of offering ready-made solutions for predetermined social issues, development communication and communicators should draw from the people’s own experiences and knowledge in order to facilitate human learning. This, in turn, leads to self-determined and self-initiated social change.

(Ibid., 148.) The third characteristic is securing a cycle of action and reflection, meaning that in addition to actual projects there should be a constant engagement with feedback and learning. Through this “praxis”, development solutions will be drafted based on actual needs and previous experiences of what works and what does not. (Ibid., 148.) In addition, a balance of action and reflection is important, because “too much action and too little reflection is activism, while too much reflection and too little action, verbalism” (ibid.). Lastly, the fourth and fifth characteristics are intertwined. Cadiz (2005, 149) calls for a context of love, humility, hope, faith in the development partner’s ability and critical thinking for development communication or project to be successful. This context will allow for everyone involved to be heard and to be able to express themselves, which in turn will lead to the conscientization of not only the “oppressed” but also those who were the oppressors.

In short, Freirean theory and its other formulations in reference to development call for the oppressed to become citizen agents, the catalyst of change themselves. As stated, this concept of citizen agency is also at the core of Twaweza’s operations and therefore essential for this study. Furthermore, one of the research questions aims at understanding what is meant by the term, as there is no one universally accepted definition. As a base for the analysis and further discussion, one definition is offered by the Council of Europe (2004), which understands the term to refer to the involvement of individuals in public life and affairs. The Council emphasizes the local nature of citizen agency; citizens becoming actively involved in the life of their respective communities to tackle problems, create change, or even resist change that is not desirable. Here active citizenship is a form of literacy, the ability to understand what happens in public life and the interest in those happenings. (Ibid.) In other words, citizen agency implies “action and empowerment, i.e. acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes, being able and willing to use them, make decisions, take action individually and collectively” (ibid.).

It is in the public spheres that this action is taken. As Carol Pateman (quoted in Carpentier 2011, 33) states: “The existence of representative institutions on a national level is not sufficient for democracy; maximum participation by all the people at that level of socialization, or ‘social training’ for democracy must take place in other spheres in order that the individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed”.

This is particularly relevant in the case of development communication and related projects, as citizens of developing countries in many cases have limited, if any, access to participate in the political decision-making processes. Nor is participation necessarily even relevant in their lives, where filling basic needs has more importance, the sites of political power are far (geographically as well as figuratively) and the culture is one where the immediate community and happenings within it have much more importance than the nation. Therefore it is in these other (public) spheres that these participatory processes and projects should be encouraged in order for them to engender change.

3.3.3 Ideals of the Public Sphere

Although the theories of the public sphere formulated by Jürgen Habermas have received their share of critique, they are still recognized in academia as the foundation of contemporary theories of the public sphere. For this study these ideas are important, as Twaweza bases its theory of change on the notion that people will take action also in the public sphere, and this will catalyze change on a large scale.

In his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, originally published in 1962, Habermas recounted the historical events leading up to the rise of the European bourgeoisie of the late 18th and 19th centuries, who gathered in coffee shops, market places and salons to discuss matters of importance. This is where the ideal of the public sphere was best exemplified:

In its clash with the arcane and bureaucratic practices of the absolutist state, the emergent bourgeoisie gradually replaced a public sphere in which the ruler's power was merely represented before the people with a sphere in which state authority was publicly monitored through informed and critical discourse by the people. (Habermas 1989, xi.)

Thus the public sphere was ideally a realm of people's social life, completely distinct from the state and official economy, where through dialogue "something approaching public opinion" could be formed (Habermas 1989, 49). These "institutionalized" public spheres that appeared across Europe rested on the notions of disregard of status, a

domain of common concern and inclusivity. Though rarely realized, they were consequential to the ideals of a functioning public sphere. (Ibid.)

Basing his argument on analyzing the bourgeoisie of the 19th century, Habermas (1989) states that ideally in a society a functioning public sphere offered equal access for all citizens to partake in political action and discourse. In reality these public spheres remained a space for citizens of a certain level of education and social status to come together and discuss matters that were of concern to them. This notion of inequality and exclusivity of the bourgeoisie public sphere is one of the strongest critiques of Habermas' work. Women were excluded from political participation based on gender, men based on income, occupation and social status, and as Nancy Fraser (1990, 64) states: "Moreover, in many cases, women and men of racial ethnicities of all classes were excluded on racial grounds". Yet, as the privileged group was never totally excluded from the larger public, it could act as its mouthpiece and representative. This notion, too, has been criticized, since social inequalities affect the discursive processes and therefore the deliberations within a public sphere will tend to benefit the dominant group and further oppress the subordinates (Fraser 1990, 66).

The functioning of the bourgeoisie public sphere was facilitated through communication, which required "specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it" (Habermas 1989, 50). These means were the media; first magazines and later radio and television (ibid.). Although the media was important in the functioning of the public sphere, Habermas argues that the bourgeoisie public was destroyed and stripped of all potential to influence politics by a mass culture created by the mass media. (Habermas 2004, 237–244.) He especially emphasizes the effects of commercialization of the media and argues that journalism aims more at enticing the public to senseless consumerism than critical thinking (ibid., 249-250). In other words, the mass media executes its task in the total opposite of what his ideal for the creation of an informed, discursive public calls for.

This view is supported by Fraser (1990, 65), who argues that the privatization of the media has resulted in content favorable to the dominant groups of society. She also points out that there is an imbalance in access to information, a view shared by James

Deane (2005, 177)., who elaborates that the marginalized are excluded from the public sphere by trends in the media on a global scale in general, and in developing countries in particular. Firstly, the growing dependence of the media on advertising leads to content being created to fill the needs of the groups that advertisers wish to attract. Naturally, those suffering most from underdevelopment are not a profitable market for advertisers. It follows that it is not in the interest of the media to report on issues that are of concern to these groups. Secondly, the concentration of media ownership and consequent decline in the number of news agencies has led to West-centered reporting. This leaves the developing world under- or misrepresented. Lastly, the effect of parochialism in the wake of the global war on terror has resulted in increasing (self) censorship of the media and a backlash on support for global communication and exchange of information. (Deane 2005, 183-185.) Yet this erosion of the public sphere does not mean that it has outlived its use. Regardless of his disappointment with the media, still for Habermas the public sphere “remains a crucial site of participation and communication” (Carpentier 2011, 82). Although it “requires a new language and discourse”, the public sphere is never the less central for deliberation on social issues and the role of non-state actors, particularly the media, is increasingly important (Deane 2005, 189).

In contemporary (Western) societies this exclusion from and erosion of the public sphere has been somewhat alleviated by the emergence of new public spheres. Alternative public spheres have existed before, for example when gays and lesbians or ethnic and religious minorities have formed their own forums of discourse, but the internet and new media have facilitated this to an unprecedented extent. Members of the excluded groups now have multiple arenas for discussion on matters of common concern for them. This, in turn, provides minorities with the opportunity to have their voices heard and possibly convince the dominant groups that their common concerns should be the common concerns of the larger public. Thus equality of (political) participation can best be facilitated through a plurality of public spheres instead of an overarching one. (Fraser 1990, 71-76.) In his works, Manuel Castells has elaborated on the idea of multiple global public spheres and role of communication within them. He (2008, 80) introduces the idea of a global civil society where a variety of social interests

are expressed by everything from multinational businesses to world religions, interest groups and civic associations. This idea of a global civil society is the basis for the formulations of the current phase we are in, the globalization paradigm.

3.4. The Globalization Paradigm

Sparks (2005, 126-128) credits the rise of the globalization paradigm to the decline of the media and cultural imperialism theories as a result of “a much broader retreat of leftist ideas and movements”. During the last decade of the 20th and into the 21st century, theories of globalization gained popularity and became the leading trend in academia. (Ibid.) Yet there is no one theory of globalization, but rather a spectrum of theories all within the umbrella notion of globalization. These theories differ quite drastically from one another. Some writers suggest that globalization is the direct effect of the spread of modernity; others state that it is quite the opposite, that globalization facilitates the spread of modernization. Others yet claim that globalization is just another form of cultural domination. (Appadurai 1990; Pieterse 1995; Tomlinson 1991.) All these approaches within the paradigm do, however, have some common traits. This period we are currently living in is seen as an epoch unlike any before it, one of totally new social order where every nation is interconnected. (Castells 2008; Pieterse 1995; Tomlinson 1991.) The problems and issues faced by nations and its citizens alike are of global nature and as governments are unable to alleviate them, nongovernmental instances become “the advocates of the needs, interests and values of people at large” (Castells 2008, 83). It is through the mass media and the horizontal communication networks online that non-state actors exercise their power – in other words, influence individuals and ultimately engender social change (ibid., 90). From this viewpoint the potential of new media for development and the realization of global democracy are vast. Castells (Ibid., 80; 2007, 246-248) among others claims that this era of “network societies” and “mass-self communication” organizes its public sphere on media communication networks more than any other historical form of organization. In it a new global social order is constructed through the media and communication: “globalization is constituted in and through networks and the resulting circulation of symbols rather than things” (Sparks 2005, 133).

The advent of the internet among other technological advancements has given credence to this argument. The discussion on the roles and potential of the (new) media as tools for development has intensified accordingly and projects seeking to engender social change through the use of technology are becoming more common. As stated, writers such as Castells (2008, 80; 2007, 246-248) believe the internet to be the key in realizing global democracy. However, critics such as Bennett (2005) have said that in the everyday realities of developing countries the internet is irrelevant. The digital divide, the gap between demographics and regions that have access to electronic media, especially the internet, is still so wide that those most affected by underdevelopment do not benefit from these technological advancements (ibid; Norris 2001).

In regards to the media in general, though we are living in a time of globalization and media co-operation, there is no one, overarching global media system. The original theory on media systems dates back to *The Four Theories of the Press* (1956) by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm where media systems are divided roughly into the authoritarian, libertarian, communist and social responsibility models. These categorizations based on political systems are, naturally, products of the historical setting of the Cold War era. (Siebert et al. 1956.) However, as a result of the world globalizing these categorizations were seen to be too narrow and they have been elaborated on by writers such as Rodney Benson (2008). According to Benson (2008, 2591), theories on media systems today can be divided roughly under umbrellas of democratic and nondemocratic theories. The nondemocratic theories include the authoritarian theory, the totalitarian theory and the developmental theory. The authoritarian theory states that journalism should always be subordinate to the interests of the state, in the totalitarian theory a censored press helps totalize state control, and in the developmental theory journalism supports the economic and societal development of societies. (Ibid., 2592.)

The democratic models include the libertarian theory, the social responsibility theory, the democratic elite theory and the democratic participatory theory. The libertarian theory sees the government as the primary threat to press freedom and the press as pursuing its own economic interests and the social responsibility theory states that the press operates as a watchdog of the government. The democratic elite theory suggests

that democracy works best with educated elites in charge whereas, according to the democratic participatory theory, journalism should promote the political involvement of the public. Under this umbrella there are also the Habermasian public sphere theory, which emphasizes the media creating an environment where through argumentation a public opinion will be achieved, and constructionist theory, which promotes the diversity of discourse mediated by journalists. (Ibid., 2594-2595.)

Developing countries are usually instinctively set in the authoritarian or developmental theory models, and it follows that development communication is planned accordingly. The last sub-chapter of the literature review will discuss current approaches in the field.

3.5. Development Communication Today

Current theories in development communication are still heavily embedded in the participatory approaches on development. Globalization has brought about technological changes that can be used for the purposes of communication projects, but the key is still in engaging the people to participate on a grassroots level. Development communication today aims to empower people, strengthen communities and societies as well as to engender economic growth and equality. (Manyozo 2012, 11.) As there are many differing definitions of globalization, the practice of development communication in this paradigm has “diverse methodological and theoretical trajectories” (ibid.). Manyozo (2012, 1-2) classifies contemporary development communication into three different main approaches that are the 1. media for development approach 2. media development approach and 3. participatory communication approach. All of these approaches, though different in execution, uniformly seek to step out from the framework of ‘the rest wanting to be like the West’. They can co-exist even within the same development projects and are interrelated and connected through participation, power and policy. (Ibid., 11.)

The media for development approach, or development journalism, refers to creating content that satisfied the needs of different audiences. There are three different practices; factual news, creative and educational reporting, and indigenous knowledge communication systems. (Manyozo 2012, 57.) The factual news practice is “either externally or internally generated communications in which journalists, subject matter

specialists and policy makers develop and circulate development content so as to raise public awareness regarding development challenges and opportunities available in communities” (ibid.). This practice can be traced back to the modernization theory and its communication models, which still have substantial influence especially in the field of health communication. Projects aiming at affecting problems such as infant mortality or HIV/AIDS are as numerous as ever and use a top-down information flow to bring modern medical expertise to the masses. (Sparks 2005, 49) In the same vein, creative and educational reporting uses techniques adopted from the modernization theory to educate people about development issues. Entertainment and art are used for social marketing; to raise awareness on topics ranging from the importance of sanitation to the right to vote. (Manyozo 2012, 81; Waisbord 2005, 80). The indigenous knowledge communication systems refers to “the use of media and communication practices rooted in local and indigenous epistemology’ to empower communities on development issues” (Manyozo 2012, 95). Indigenous communication happens through different types of channels such as folk media, social groups, deliberate instruction and oral tradition. Development communication projects aim at encouraging peer dialogue within the community by communicating messages through these channels. (Mundy and Compton 1991.) Though still very popular, these practices have the same problems as their predecessors; there is no guarantee that informing people will lead to actual changes in behavior, no matter how good the intentions.

The media development approach, on the other hand, includes initiatives that aim at building media and ICT infrastructures and policies in order to promote good governance, free speech, citizenship and sustainable development (Manyozo 2012, 112-125). Here the roles of the local government and global community, including NGOs, international organizations and civil society actors, are emphasized. Local governments can build functioning media spheres by allowing freedom of the press, subsidizing, opening media markets and concrete building of media infrastructure. In order for them to be inclined to do so, pressure might have to be put on them both internally and internationally through communication. (Ibid.) This approach is a product of its time, as it shifts responsibility to the global community and sees that through communicative action it has the power to affect the state of the media in any given country. The time of

direct control through economic and cultural domination is over, but international attention and pressure can be used to influence affairs.

Lastly, the participatory communications approach builds directly on Freire's notions of community participation. It aims at grassroots development that will lead to greater community engagement, but also focuses on the communicative practices in development policy formulation and implementation. It is "a process which is built on dialogical processes to enable the local people to exert a level of commitment, ownership and control of the development process" (ibid., 155). As these approaches were discussed in the previous chapters there is no need to further elaborate on them here. Yet, as a short commentary on the problematic of participatory approaches, it should be stated that what many of them neglect to consider is the possibilities for participation. It is not given that participation is always possible or even feasible because of safety, health, social status or even geographical location. This is often overlooked in the design of participatory projects, which is somewhat surprising as at the root of them lay the ideology of understanding the realities of the people most affected by underdevelopment.

All in all, the current epoch is one of co-operation. In order to tackle development issues, governing bodies and civil society actors both locally and internationally must combine their efforts. In development communication the trend seems to be moving towards multi-method approaches. Instead of "what we believe" the focus is on "what works" as the basis for drawing up practices and lines between approaches are blurred. (Waisbord 2007, 84-85.) Communication is both an instrument for development and a right of every individual, it is "citizenship, a way to comprehend membership action in political communities" (ibid., 87). The object of this study, Twaweza, places the same importance on communication and adheres to these principles of applying multi-methods in their practices. In order to proceed to the analysis of their operations in the fifth chapter, the next chapter will discuss the research methodology used for this study.

4. METHODOLOGY

The study seeks to examine the role of participatory development, communication and the mass media in engendering active citizenship and thus development in an East African context. This theme is approached by conducting a qualitative case study of a social actor working in this sphere in Tanzania. The research problem at the core of this study is to understand how and why a single social actor is striving for sustainable change in Tanzania through the promotion of active citizenry.

Two main research questions are presented. Firstly: Why do Twaweza and its partners see citizen agency as the key for creating sustainable change? Secondly: How do Twaweza and its partners see the role of the mass media in promoting citizen agency? The study also addresses one sub-question: How do Twaweza and its partners define citizen agency?

The following sub-chapter will offer justifications for choosing a qualitative approach for the execution of the study.

4.1. A Qualitative Case Study

According to Cresswell (1998, 15) “qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem”. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2011, 10) state: “the word qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency”. Furthermore, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2011, 6), qualitative research doesn’t privilege one set of methods over another. Qualitative researchers use ethnographies and interviews, psychoanalysis as well as survey research, semiotic, discourse and content analysis, “even statistics, tables, graphs and numbers” (ibid.). Common to all forms of qualitative research regardless of the method is its time-consuming nature. It requires strong commitment from the researcher regardless of the method chosen, and should not be viewed as an easy substitute for a quantitative study. (Creswell 1998, 16-18.) This study by nature aims at gaining understanding of and explaining a given phenomenon. Its purpose is to

understand concepts such as change and development, active citizenry and the role of communication and media. The purpose is not to define entities with measurable units or present statistical findings. Therefore a qualitative rather than a quantitative method was chosen.

Furthermore, as Yin (2009, 18) states, when the research questions posed are “how” and “why” questions, the investigator cannot control events and the focus of the study is on a contemporary phenomenon within real-life context, a case study is the preferred approach. All of the aforementioned apply to the study in question and therefore this research was chosen to be carried out as a case study. The reasons behind this choice can be summarized in a quote from Hans Eysenck, who initially saw the case study method only to have worth in producing anecdotes. He later came to value the method and stated that “sometimes we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases—not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something!” (Eysenck 1976, 9). The aim of this study is not to prove a given theory or to find universal or generalizable answers to the research questions, but in the spirit of Eysenck, to learn something.

In theoretical terms, case studies are defined as in-depth investigations of a given phenomenon, event, activity, program or individual (Creswell 2003, 15). The objects of the study are bound together in some manner – be it time, place, activity or any other common denominator, thus forming the case to be studied. The researcher uses multiple procedures over a defined period of time to collect various kinds of data in order to fully understand the object of the study. (Hamel et al.1993; Creswell 1998.) Yin (2009, 47-52), among others, distinguishes between single and multiple case studies. It is usually argued that due to considerations of validity, objectivity and reliability multiple case studies should be preferred. In this study, however, the choice of a single case was clear based on the uniqueness of the case in question and the fact that the case presented itself rather than was constructed. As stated before, Twaweza operates in a structured manner (theory of change) on the premise of a clear mandate (informed citizens will be the force to drive change), in a certain geographical area in general (East-Africa) but with country-specific programs (Tanzania) and it concentrates much of its resources on one network of social actors (communications and media).

Though this research comprises of the study of one single case (Twaweza), there are multiple units of analysis within the case (the individuals). This type of case study is defined as an embedded study design, and here it is applied within a hybrid of an exploratory and descriptive case study. As Tobin (2010) states, all types of case studies can overlap because they have similar aims. They aim to depict details of the people, place, events, transactions and processes of the case, to give an organized and coherent presentation of the phenomenon and to develop and expand on relevant concepts (ibid.). An exploratory case study “investigates distinct phenomena characterized by a lack of detailed preliminary research, especially formulated hypotheses or by a specific research environment that limits the choice of methodology” (Streb 2010). Descriptive case studies, on the other hand, seek to reveal patterns and connections in relation to theoretical constructs. Their main goal is to assess a sample in detail and in depth. They are usually based on theoretical propositions that they seek to test. (Tobin 2010.) This study has some basis in theory, but the case to be studied is one that has not been studied before and the research does not aim at developing a theory. Therefore the study lies somewhere between a descriptive and an exploratory study.

Furthermore, according to Creswell (1998, 15), qualitative research is “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem”. In qualitative research, he states, “the researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting” (ibid.). Denzin and Lincoln (2011, 3) elaborate on this idea by stating that qualitative researchers attempt to make sense and interpret the phenomena or problem in question through the meanings people bring to them. Thus qualitative research is preferable when the researcher wants to get insight on the actors’ perspectives (ibid.). This naturally implies that qualitative studies can never truly capture objective reality, as the phenomena are explained and interpreted through existing subjective knowledge.

This problem of reaching objectivity in qualitative studies has traditionally been solved by the technique of triangulation (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, 5). Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods in a single qualitative study, is thought to validate the data and results as it combines multiple sources, methods and theories. O’Donoghue and Punch

(2003, 78) define triangulation as a “method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data”, resulting in the idea that if the same results and conclusions are drawn from two different sources, materials or observers, they are valid and have credibility. Denzin and Lincoln (2011, 5) see qualitative studies as inherently multi-method in focus, and state that triangulation is not a tool but an alternative for validation. In their view, using a variety of methods, materials, perspectives and observers in a single study “adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth” (ibid.). They elaborate that complete understanding of any given phenomena cannot be reached as qualitative research is always shaped by the researcher’s history, ethnicity, race, gender, social class and personal belief systems as well as those of the participants in the setting. But using triangulation the researcher is able to gather pieces and perspectives that in the end will form an interpretive structure, a reflexive representation of the context. (Ibid.)

In this study it was abundantly clear that the research was shaped by various social, historical, personal and cultural factors. Regardless of my previous experiences in Tanzania, I was still limited in my understanding of the cultural and social settings. I was affected by personal views on politics of development, foreign aid and communication as well as the theoretical background this study springs from. The organization and the individual participants were similarly shaped by their personal histories, organizational culture and social contexts. In order to add to the reliability of the study these hindrances were acknowledged. Multiple interviewees of different status and backgrounds were chosen to ensure a variety of perspectives and data was gathered in two different forms – interviews and documents. The next sub-chapter will describe the actual data collection in detail.

4.2. Data Collection with Twaweza

The data collection for this study was done during a brief but intensive period of time with Twaweza. From the 16th of September to the 28th of October 2013 the organization facilitated my study at their headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The data collection period was roughly divided into two phases, namely collecting document form data and conducting interviews. However, as is common in case studies, the

phases did overlap and gathering data in document form was an ongoing process throughout this time period.

The first half of the data collection period was spent studying material provided by the organization and thus also familiarizing myself further with Twaweza. Though I had done background research on the organization beforehand, once physically in Tanzania I was given full access to internal documents that offered deeper insight into the organization, its operations and partners. Only documents containing confidential financial information, such as staff salaries, were excluded. Relevant information on financial matters, such as the general source of funding and detailed program budgets, was made available. The data gathered includes strategic documents, plans and budgets, evaluations by and of the organization and its partners, publications, program evaluations and reports and so forth. In consideration of reliability and validity a case study database was established early on in the data collection phase and all documents were stored in a digital form. As Yin (2009, 101) states, document form data is used to corroborate and augment other evidence gathered. This material did indeed prove to be of great importance. It provided the opportunity to investigate the organization on paper and thus helped prepare for the interviews with the staff of the organization. It also made it possible to understand the media partnerships the organization is engaged in and to decide which media partners' interviews would best help in gaining comprehensive understanding.

The second phase of the data collection period focused on conducting in-depth, semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with both Twaweza personnel and representatives of the media partners.

4.3. Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

Interviews were chosen as the primary data collection method. They are an excellent qualitative method for learning what people think and how they feel about a given phenomenon and therefore the best method for this study. Interviewees' personal experiences give details and perspectives unobtainable from other types of data collection. (Rubin & Rubin 2012, section 2.) In-depth interviews focus the discussion on a certain topic in order to learn about it in detail. In this case, understanding what it

is that Twaweza and its partners strive for as well as key concepts of citizen agency, information and mass media in the Tanzanian context. One-on-one interviews were considered to be the most efficient method in order to achieve this. The interviews were chosen to be conducted as semi-structured interviews, because they are especially useful when the researcher knows something about the topic but wants to explore, deepen understanding and give interviewees the opportunity to raise new issues (Wilson 2014, 23). In contrast to surveys and structured interviews, where the same questions are asked from all participants, semi-structured qualitative interviews are conversational by nature and each interview is unique in content. Though the theme remains the same and the guiding questions are constant, the interviews can take different directions and questions and follow-ups are asked according to what each interviewee knows. (Rubin & Rubin 2012, section 4.)

Choosing the right interviewees is critical for both the overall success of the study and the credibility of the data. As Rubin and Rubin (2012, section 2) state, a researcher doesn't necessarily have to talk to a lot of people, but to people that are experienced and have first-hand knowledge of the topic of the research. In addition diversity of the interviewees, that is choosing people of different backgrounds, adds to the credibility of the evidence and the study as a whole. (Ibid.) All of these aspects were thoroughly considered and the interviewees were chosen accordingly. To ensure the emergence of different viewpoints, six members of Twaweza personnel and representatives from four media partners were chosen to be interviewed. Interviewees were chosen based on their ability to offer information and insight both on the day-to-day operations of the organization and its partners as well as the theoretical underpinnings central to this study. In order to ensure privacy and confidentiality the names of the interviewees are not published. Instead they are referred to by their titles and, once introduced, abbreviations of these titles. The reasons behind this choice will be discussed further in sub-chapter 3.5. The interviewees are also introduced in a table presented as Appendix 2 "The interviewees and interviews".

The Twaweza interviewees were:

1. FH: Founder and Head of Twaweza

Interviewing FH was an obvious choice, as he is the Head and founder of the organization and much of the ideology behind the organization's operations stems from him. FH is a revered civil society leader in Tanzania and East Africa as well as a globally recognized expert in areas of development and social change. He has a Western higher education, has led many social change projects promoting the role of education and the youth, and founded organizations working in these areas. He serves on the board of several Tanzanian civil society organizations and consults with organizations such as the World Bank and the Center for Global Development. (FH 2013, Twaweza 2014b.)

2. LME: Learning and Monitoring Manager

LME is a highly educated expatriate worker with years of experience in the field of development with organizations such as the World Health Organization. The choice to interview LME was based on three reasons. Firstly, it was logical to interview as many of the managerial staff as possible to gain understanding on how the organization actually operates and what tasks different units carry. Secondly, as Learning and Monitoring is deemed one of the core elements of the organization, it was of great interest. From this information could be gathered on how the organization evaluates the results of its operations, how it monitors its partners and how (and if) lessons learned are taken into account when planning for further actions. Thirdly, as LME is an expat and new to the cultural and societal realities of Tanzania, her perspective on and definitions of key terms are of value. (LME 2013; PSI 2014.)

3. PM: Programs Manager

Like LME, PM is a highly educated expatriate with twenty years of experience in the field of international development. PM was chosen as one of the interviewees for much of the same reasons as LME. He is the Programs Manager, and therefore can answer questions on the Programs unit in general and media programs and partnerships in particular. As an expat with a long history of working in development he is able to

position Twaweza and its operations in the context of other organizations in the field. (PM 2013.)

4. COMMS: Communications Manager

COMMS is a highly educated Tanzanian with experience in and knowledge of media and communications for development. Like FH, she has a Western education and experience in working in the field of development communications with international organizations. COMMS is the head of the Communications unit, and therefore an obvious choice for an interviewee as well. She can shed light on the theoretical aspects of communications and media for development in the global as well as the Tanzanian context. In addition, as communication is a core tool of the organization both in its external and internal operations, COMMS is the person to interview in order to gain as much information and understanding as possible on the role of communication in the organization. (COMMS 2013.)

5. PA: Programs Assistant

PA is a native Tanzanian with a Bachelor's degree in Political Science and Public Administration from the University of Dar es Salaam. He has worked with Twaweza since its conception in 2009 but has no previous experience in the field. PA was chosen because he has intimate and thorough knowledge of the organization and its history. Also, as he is an operational member of the staff, his standpoint is very different from those of the other personnel introduced previously and there is value in the fact that he is a local with understanding of the historical context and current situation in the country. (PA 2013.)

6. RO: Research Officer

RO is an educated Tanzanian with years of experience in research in the country. He holds an Honor's Bachelor's Degree in International Business Administration and has worked in both Tanzania and Kenya. RO brings valuable information to the study, as he is a Research Officer in the ground-breaking Sauti za Wananchi-initiative (Citizen Voices, introduced in Chapter 2.) that collects the opinions, concerns and thoughts of the nation through phone based surveys. Through his work with the Sauti initiative, he

has gained insight on how the citizens of the country view the concepts so essential to Twaweza operations and what they know of the state of current affairs. (RO 2013.)

The three media partners chosen to be interviewed were:

7. UKK: Radio Satire Uncle Kochikochi

The representative of Uncle Kochikochi was the director of the satire and CEO of the production company Dhamira Communicative Artists. UKK is a highly educated local with a background in working in arts and media, though originally an engineer by profession. UKK has worked, for example, as a scriptwriter for a famous children's animation, Tinga Tinga tales, political cartoonist and film producer. (UKK 2013, Twaweza 2013c.)

8. MB: TV-show Minibuzz

The representative of Minibuzz was the CEO of the production company and the only expat among the media partners interviewed. MB is a highly educated human rights and political communications expert, who has over 15 years of experience in television and cause communications. MB was chosen as the representative to be interviewed, because he has intimate knowledge of the show but also because he has expertise and deep knowledge of using communications for change. His expatriate status also gives a different view on the situation of the media in Tanzania and if and how it can be used to promote change. (MB 2013, Twaweza 2013a.)

9. SMG: Sahara Media Group

The representative of Sahara Media Group was the Sales Executive of the company. SMG is an educated local with years of working experience in the media in Tanzania. SMG was chosen because he has knowledge of the business side of the company but can also offer insight into whether there is an ideological background. As a local with experience of working in the media field he has valuable information on how the media is operated in Tanzania from a business perspective as well. (SMG 2013, Twaweza 2013b.)

10. TC: The Citizen

The representative of the paper was a local journalist with years of experience on the field. His interview is valuable because he is not connected to the organization and therefore holds no allegiance to it. He is familiar with the organization's work and knows the individual media partners, but can offer a perspective totally outside the sphere of the organization's influence. In addition he represents a leading mass media in Tanzania and has extensive knowledge of the media sphere in the country and can answer questions about the role of the media in regards to social change. (TC 2013.)

All in all ten interviews were conducted. The interviews were done in English, a second language to all the interviewees except one (MB). Ensuring that there would be no language problems was also a criterion for choosing the interviewees. Though different in fluency (from native to mediocre), they all spoke English well enough for the interviews to be meaningful. It has to be noted, though, that English not being the native tongue for the majority of the subjects nor the researcher, some details and latent meanings may have been lost.

These semi-structured interviews were guided by a list of prepared questions, but as is usual for these types of interviews, all questions were not asked in every interview and additional ones rose during them (Barlow 2010; Rubin and Rubin 2012). The list of questions functioned as a guideline but it was not followed to the letter because the interviews often took unexpected and surprising turns. Some questions were unnecessary at times and others were asked when the situation so required. The guiding list of questions can be found at the end of this paper as Appendix 1.

In duration the interviews varied from approximately thirty-five (SMG) to ninety (UKK) minutes (see Appendix 2). All interviews were recorded with a Zoom- audio recorder to ensure data accuracy and validity. The recorded data was then transposed to facilitate analysis and to add to data validity. The interviews were made possible and augmented by the document form data gathered. Together these two types of data form a substantial amount of material to analyze. The analysis will be done using thematic analysis, a qualitative analysis method, which will be shortly introduced in the following sub-chapter.

4.4. Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis

The data collected will be analyzed with a qualitative content analysis approach. According to Creswell (2003, 182, 190) qualitative research and therefore qualitative analysis is fundamentally interpretative and involves “making sense” out of text form data. It is an ongoing process that involves organizing and preparing the data for analysis, categorizing the data into general groups, finding preliminary themes, narrating the findings and finally interpreting the data - answering ”what were the lessons learned” (ibid.,190-194). Bryman (2004) describes qualitative content analysis as “an approach to documents that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning of and in texts”. The object of qualitative content analysis can be any type of data in a text format, in this case transcribed interviews and written documents, and the latent as well as the manifest content of the texts is analyzed (ibid.).

The advantage of qualitative data analysis is that it is never “off-the-shelf” or limited to a single approach. Instead it can be customized and modified for every study. Analysis methods can be combined to fit the needs of the particular study in question and the researcher learns by doing. (Creswell 1998, 20-21, 142-143.) This, however, does not imply that qualitative data analysis is any less rigorous or scientifically trustworthy than quantitative analysis. Though qualitative data analysis has been criticized for being largely intuitive, Creswell (1998, 142) points out that “the analysis process conforms to a general contour”. He calls this the data analysis spiral where the researcher “moves in analytical circles rather than a fixed, linear approach” that is common for quantitative studies. The spiral includes the basic, generic steps of data analysis (organizing and preparing the data, reading through the data and coding the data into “chunks”) but is then crafted to fit the specific needs of the research. In a case study research, for example, this involves a detailed description of the setting and individuals, followed by analysis for themes in the data. (Creswell 2003, 191.)

More specifically, this method of analysis is known as thematic analysis. It is an approach where the researcher identifies themes and patterns of cultural meaning and codes and classifies data according to them. (Ayress 2010.) According to Boyatzis (1998, 4) thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative information that can be

used as “a way of seeing, a way of making sense of seemingly unrelated material, a way of analyzing qualitative information and a way of systematically observing a person, a group, a situation, an organization or a culture”. For this particular case study thematic analysis was chosen as the analysis method because it allows the analysis of categories and themes that arise from the data. Here it is employed in a modified manner that best fits the needs of the study. (Ayress 2010.) The data will be rigorously processed according to thematic analysis procedure in order to produce more than a list of themes and their descriptions. Thematic analysis allows the researcher to find both manifest and latent themes in the material and interpret them. In cases such as this, where the sample size is relatively small and it is a study of one organization, a descriptive use of thematic analysis is preferable. (Boyatzis 1998, 128-129.)

The analysis consists of overlapping and ongoing processes of coding, theme development and comparing themes to each other as well as the context of the data. After coding and re-coding a number of the most important themes will remain, and these are what will be described in the interpretation part of the analysis in chapter five. The findings will be reported in a narrative text, which according to Creswell (2003, 205) is the most frequent form of display for qualitative data. As Lioness Ayress (2010) elaborates, the product of thematic analysis in a case study is a description of emergent patterns of experiences within the data set, and the overarching designs that unite them. In this case the final product will be a reconstruction of the participants’ views and the meanings they give to certain themes. The results will be presented in a thick description with relevant quotations from the participants in order to add to the validity of the study. They will also be compared to theory and general literature on the topic. Conclusions will be drawn and a discussion on further research and emergent questions will be presented.

4.5. Ethical Considerations and Validity

There are a number of ethical considerations as well as considerations about the validity of the study when conducting qualitative research. Some of them have already been discussed, yet further emphasis should be put on limitation of case studies in general. Also subject protection and the use of interviews as the main data collection method

need to be addressed. One of the most obvious limitations of using the case study method for this research lies in the issue of generalizability. Especially because this is a hybrid, embedded study of a single case, the question of how much can be learned from it is obvious. However, it is argued that the general lies in the particular and thus what is learned in the particular case can be transferred to similar situations and theoretical propositions. (Streb 2010; Tobin 2010.) Furthermore, it is not the researcher but the reader of the study that determines what applies to their context. As Stake (2005, 455) states, the researchers will “pass along to readers some of their personal meanings of events and fail to pass along others. They know that the reader, too, will add and subtract, invent and shape the knowledge in ways that leave it more likely to be personally useful”. In addition, as this study takes a look into a specific case in order to understand its complexity, it does not aim at a general, universal truth to be discovered. Therefore the results should be regarded as pertaining to this single case and not as being generalizable to every other situation with similar actors. Yet they can be used to gain insight on a thematically larger scale.

This notion of the researcher and reader bringing their interpretations into the research is also an ethical consideration. All qualitative studies are limited by the integrity of the researcher, as they are the primary instrument for both data collection and analysis. (Ibid.) As Hamel et al. (1993, 23) state, the case study method is faulted for its lack of rigor, which is linked to the problem of bias that stems from the subjectivity of the researcher. Furthermore, as Creswell (2003, 182) states, a qualitative researcher always filters the data through a personal lens and cannot escape the personal interpretation brought to the analysis of data. This is what Boyatzis (1998, 13) calls projection – the researcher projects themselves on the information. However, bias and projection can be avoided if the researcher acknowledges these challenges and discloses any preconceived positions they might hold. The validity of the study can be guaranteed with self-reflection and by keeping these limitations in mind. (Creswell 2003, 196; Yin 2009, 72.)

As with all other studies that rely on interviews, here too the possibility of bias stems both from the interviewee and their preconceived attitudes and opinions as well as the researcher's. It is through transparency that the reliability of the study is maintained. Possible cultural differences and other factors affecting the interviews should be

accounted for, yet it should not be forgotten that part of the value of qualitative case studies lies in just that – accounting for and including difference, not attempting to eliminate the human effect that cannot be eliminated. (Stake 2005, 454-455.)

Lastly, one of the important ethical considerations is the protection of subjects. Yin (2009, 73) among others emphasizes gaining informed consent and subject protection. The latter is especially relevant in cases where there are vulnerable groups of participants or when there is a possibility of the participation resulting in personal harm or damage, be it to their character, employment or any other aspect. Peggy Wallace (2010) elaborates that entities, such as organizations, may also suffer from loss of anonymity for example in regards to reputation or disclosure of trade secrets. In addition, she argues that “the confidentiality requirement is no less stringent when the research site operates in the public domain (e.g., a publicly traded corporation) or when information about research participants and sites is available to the public through alternative sources” (ibid.)

All subjects in this study gave informed consent to firstly participate in the project and secondly to allow their interviews to be used as material. In addition, consent on revealing identities was given as well, but in regards to good scientific conduct the identities (names) are not disclosed. Information on their backgrounds is given, however, because it is essential for the analysis of the data. Where the subjects come from affects the way they perceive the themes discussed, and therefore this information is important to the reader as well. The name of the organization is disclosed because the name itself carries explicit meaning and implications on the operations and culture of the organization.

As stated before, I was given full access to all needed documents and material, assistance in finding suitable interviewees and setting up the interviews as well as support in drafting the study. Yet it was agreed on from the early stages of the planning of the study that Twaweza would not have rights to modify the content nor would it have influence on the results. It was agreed that the organization would have the right to read the material and comment on it, but that it could not dictate what would be presented in the final product. In accordance to their values of learning and monitoring I

was given complete freedom to conduct the study in the best way I saw fit and encouraged to pose questions. In addition to this study, it was agreed that I would also present Twaweza with a separate, more concise report that they can use for their evaluation purposes.

The next chapter will focus on the actual analysis of the data. It will describe and discuss the themes that rose as the most central ones. It will offer a short general conclusion on these central themes, but most of the concluding discussion will be offered in the final chapter of this thesis.

5. ANALYSIS

In this study the analysis started already during data gathering. Notes were taken during and after the interviews and on the document form data. After all the interviews were completed, the data was then transcribed and read through in order to begin eliminating irrelevant material. Through coding and re-coding the data was reduced, and in the end, certain central themes were discovered. Those themes are the focus of the following sub-chapters. The theme of social change rose from the data as the most central, overarching one. Therefore the analysis will begin with this theme and work its way down. The theme of social change could be called the goal of the other four themes that were predominant in the data. The other major themes that arose from the data are citizen agency, information, the mass media and the government and other social actors. These themes are intertwined and overlapping. Each theme is strongly connected to the other three through sub-themes to the point where it is at times impossible to differentiate between them. Therefore, although the analysis that follows is fourfold to an extent, each section offers discussion in relation to the other themes as well.

For coherence, the analysis is presented in a chain of causality from top to bottom: social change is affected by citizen agency, which is created with information that is distributed by the mass media, and affected by the government and other social actors (such as NGOs and CSOs). Naturally this model is not totally accurate as all factors influence each other at all stages of the process. This way of organizing the analysis is chosen so that it would be easy to follow. Throughout the analysis sub-themes, such as imagination and attitude, outliers and illuminators, cultural and historical preconditions, managerial vs. operational views, organizational vs. individual views, expat vs. local knowledge and expert vs. grassroots knowledge are present and included in the discussion. The analysis will aim at answering the research questions through this thick description and discussion on each theme. References to appropriate literature will be made throughout the analysis when necessary, but most of the theoretical discussion will be presented in the final, concluding chapter of this thesis.

5.1. Social Change

It became clear early on in the research, that for all parties involved social change is both an ideological aspiration as well as a goal of operations. For Twaweza and Uncle Kochikochi it seems to be even more of an ideological stance than for the other interviewees. As FH notes: “We are in the business of making change happen, in the business of making it easier for people to have more ideas, more options, more stories, more tools to take action” (FH 2013). Uncle Kochikochi (2013) seems to operate from the same basis:

We want to open up people’s minds and expand their possibilities, because whenever people know about new possibilities they will question, demand and desire something new. They will feel like their lives will be better, if things change, and therefore they will attempt to effect that change. Change is about people fulfilling their desires.

Minibuzz and Sahara Media Group, on the other hand, see engendering social change more as a positive side effect of running a business than as the premise they operate from. Yet, even if it is not the sole purpose of the business, it is still a result they both actively aspire to. Minibuzz, which airs on a TV station owned by Sahara Media Group, has become one of the most popular shows in Tanzania. Although business-wise they are aiming at becoming self-sustainable and launching the show in other East-African countries, they also regard the popularity of the show as an opportunity to affect social realities:

Our premise is the people who participate in the show and watch it. We think that our show is giving people the opportunity to think and talk about issues that affect their lives and share them with their community. By doing that we are hopefully stimulating dialogue, some positive change. (MB 2013)

SMG (2013) shares this view of making successful business go hand in hand with a greater social purpose: “We have nationwide reach, why not use it to make things better? Of course we have to be careful so our business is profitable, but as long as we

do things within certain lines we can help change things”. With this statement he refers to the government control and restrictions that are placed on the media (to be discussed at a later stage), but also the social and cultural norms of the society.

This sub-theme of cultural and social norms and the restrictions that they have on creating change arose in the broader discussion of change. It brought forth interesting contradictions between the views of local and expat perspectives. There were also differences within the views of locals depending on how close they are to the so-called grassroots level, either in their professional or personal life. In general, all participants are quite aware of the challenges that Tanzania as a nation faces in striving for change. Yet, though all the participants recognize this problems stemming from the history of the country, it seems that the closer to the grassroots level they are, the more pessimistic their view. Where PM (2013) states that one of the major problems is the lack of organization around social issues and in MB’s (2013) opinion cultural and historical reasons make Tanzania a difficult nation to inspire towards change, PA (2013) questions the readiness of the nation as a whole for the scale of change Twaweza aspires to: “I’ve been asking myself, FH, COMMS and others if Tanzania is ready for this kind of change, this philosophy that we have. I think it is a dilemma. Is our society to change its mindset? I don’t know”.

Even more pessimistic is TC (2013), whose observation is that Tanzanians are not ready to change the nation, as they are simply used to sitting around and waiting for others to do things for them:

You see, I will tell you a story. So there is a Tanzanian family, a father and a mother and they have a son. A very stupid and lazy son. The mother and father, they have to go on a trip - for business or so, for a long time - two weeks. But they have a problem, what to do with the son? They can’t take him with them, but they are worried that he will die while they are gone, because he is so lazy and stupid that he doesn’t even know how to make food. So they come up with this idea, and they bake a very, very big chapati (a chapati is a sort of savory pancake) the size of this table. Then they sit the boy in the middle of the living room and put water next to him

and cover him with the chapati. That way, while they are gone, the boy can eat the chapati around him and not starve to death. The parents go on the trip and come home two weeks later and find the boy is dead under the chapati. He had eaten only the parts he could reach with his mouth without moving, because he was too lazy even to turn his head.

With this anecdote TC naturally refers to Tanzania being aided by developed nations for so long that it has become passive and dependent on aid. This history of dependence and subjection has, in some of the participants' view, left Tanzania a pessimistic nation unable to believe things could ever change.

On the other hand, even the most pessimistic do agree that if there is to be sustainable change, it will be created by the people themselves. TC (2013) sees that although many people aren't active in creating change at the moment, it is still the citizenry that must do it. Citizens "playing their role", such as paying their taxes, could then in return demand their rights to be guaranteed. PA (2013) is on the same lines, stating that public pressure from the citizens is key to having long-lasting change that it "must start on the grass-root level". This belief of bottom-up change is naturally very strong in the operations of Twaweza. As PM (2013) states, people need to be behind the change and co-create it:

Top-down change is just a machine that seems to make a lot of noise but gives no traction, no speed, so we think that if you really want to have change in a society people need to be a part of that change. They need to believe it, they need to believe they can co-shape it. Then change will occur.

This focus on the individual, the belief that change must emanate from people wanting to better their lives, is what the discussions on change boiled down to. All participants agreed that social change is what all efforts should be put towards; people should have the ability to better their lives, poverty should be eradicated, service delivery guaranteed and literacy rates improved. Yet it was only FH (2013) who approached the notion of the need for change from a less concrete viewpoint, one that encompassed not only the visible symptoms of underdevelopment but the deeper reasons behind them:

We often forget that poor people are poor not only because they have no money, but because they are told that 'this is good enough for you' and they begin to believe it. So their capacity to aspire is diminished, they are conditioned to believe their situation is God-given and permanent.

Breaking this chain of oppression is crucial for social change, and for the chain to break people's capacity to aspire must be enhanced. FH (2013) believes that the first step in making change happen is for the citizen to be able to imagine it is possible in the first place. This, both for Twaweza and its partners, can be done through the distribution of convincing information. All interviewees believe that an informed citizenry is an active citizenry executing agency and this, in time, will lead to large scale social change. All participants clearly recognize the need for proactive change, where people do not remain passive, but interestingly only UKK (2013) goes as far as to suggest that the path to change goes through social friction and that the possibility for conflict it must be embraced.

From the broader discussion of social change arose a model of how social change could be achieved. With some variations in focus and emphasis all participants see that information, distributed by the mass media to the people, will lead to citizen agency and action. At the same time, these are affected by other social actors, such as the government and CSOs, and how the media relates to them. In the following sub-chapters these larger themes are discussed, and finally a conclusive sub-chapter is presented to discuss whether this cycle of information-action-change is truly working.

5.2. Citizen Agency

The centrality of the theme of citizen agency was expected, as it is at the core of all Twaweza operations. From the interviews and following analysis of the data it became clear that although the term is used both within the organization and by the partners, there are multiple different definitions as to what it actually means and how it can be promoted and achieved. Naturally, within Twaweza, there is an overarching definition of what is meant by the term. Even so, the representatives of the organization still had differing personal opinions on what the term encompasses. Especially when the

discussion focused on whether every citizen can, in fact, be a citizen agent, the views were quite contradictory.

From these discussions it became clear that the definition of the term, and views on whether everyone can execute agency, had much to do with the interviewee's background. The managerial staff, both expat and local, seemed to heed more to the organizational definition and emphasize the importance of imagination - a sub-theme that became quite relevant throughout the data. All of the managerial staff referred back to the four-fold official definition of accessing information, monitoring services, speaking out and taking action. As such, it is a very practical concept, where people are both aware of the options that they have and take action to make use of these options, for example if their child gets sick, they know where to seek help. It has also much to do with the feeling of empowerment and thus imagination. As FH (2013) explains, it is: "moving from a situation where people think 'things happen to me' to 'I can make things happen. It is this basic feeling that what happens in the world, in my world, is something I can influence". PM (2013) is on the same lines, with his notion that the feeling of being able to co-create the community and society brings individuals confidence, which in itself has inherent value: "Citizen agency, I think, is in a way an attitude - how you stand in life, how active you are in your environment, how much you believe that your environment creates you, but also you create your environment and you believe you have the possibility to do that". COMMS (2013) states that citizen agency has a lot to do with the notion of mindsets, that people can't be asked to change their lives until they have a mindset that lets them believe they actually can do something.

The only other interviewee to refer directly to the notion of imagination was UKK (2013) with the statement that "We are trying to free people from the shackles of their minds. We are using our creativity to cultivate new ideas that kill off old ideas and it is that which will open them (the citizens) up to other aspects of thinking". For the operational staff of Twaweza, as well as the other partners, citizen agency boiled down to very concrete things. For RO (2013) citizen agency is not only being aware, but also taking action: "To me, citizen agency is not only knowing the possibility to vote but actually voting, going there and doing something". Both MB and UKK also brought up

the notion of not only imagining a better situation, but actively pursuing it. No matter how small the action might be, such as telling someone they are wrong to cut a queue or calling UKK's shows to discuss an issue, it is citizen agency.

These remarks led to the rise of the sub-theme of action and discussions on what type of action should be taken and where it should be taken. Here most of the participants were on the same lines. Action could take any form, anywhere, from protesting in public to talking to your child's teacher about their learning or discussing matters in a family setting. As LME (2013) put it: "To me, it is not necessarily about citizens rising up and demonstrating, it is having a dialogue, listening, asking questions, becoming informed. Then public spaces become problem solving spaces". PA (2013), who also referred to the organizational definition of citizen agency, agrees that taking action is inherent in the idea but is of the opinion that even non-action is citizen agency: "Though Twaweza sees it more as the active form, that people have to do something and not sit quiet, I think even becoming quiet as a form of protest can be a form of citizen agency".

Others elaborated on this idea by bringing up the fact that it should be taken into account what the reasons behind choosing to take or not take action are. In some circumstances it might be impossible, even dangerous, for people to take public action and in other cases a lack of action might be the result of the cultural restraints mentioned before. A few of the participants felt that not everyone can, in fact, execute citizen agency in Tanzania today because they lack the resources and knowledge. UKK (2013) saw that they are working as citizen agent for the citizens, and TC (2013) stated that for the ordinary Tanzanian it is very hard to take action that would result in any change. This was also the thinking of LME (2013), who emphasized the need to understand the situations of individuals and the effect it has on their ability to take action:

The most active citizens are often the ones who hold some kind of government position or authority, like teachers, counselors, village leaders. To think that average citizens who are not holders of this power could just rise up in a revolutionary manner - I think we should paddle back from that.

The majority, however, stated that everyone can be a citizen agent; everyone has the potential for it, but the majority will not fulfill that potential. PM (2013) added that Twaweza, as an organization, doesn't even expect everyone to become citizen agents. Instead it sees potential in those people of influence that LME (2013) also mentioned. All participants thought that citizens would be more likely to take action if someone set an example for them to follow - if there was a leader. These are what Twaweza has defined as "outliers" and what UKK (2013) refers to as "illuminators". These extraordinary individuals are citizen agents with the ability to "convince, to organize, to galvanize, inspire" (COMMS 2013).

Twaweza sees the role of outliers as extremely important. According to FH (2013), they do not expect all citizens to take action and become citizen agents, but that some will organize and identify themselves, and by doing so they will inspire others. Their thinking is based on the idea that seeing and hearing stories of success will inspire the greater public into thinking change is possible for them as well. As PM (2013) describes, Twaweza works towards "creating an attitude in people, that if the opportunity arises, people will be more ready to take action or follow someone who takes action". This thinking that these more active, out of the ordinary people will be rallying points for others, is also based on the idea that these people are often already people of some power in the society and therefore it is easier for them to step up. These people can be anything from teachers, journalists, religious leaders, village elders and women's group activists to people in politics. Although the other partners agreed, that people would be more likely to step up if they had someone to set an example, only UKK (2013) was as passionate as Twaweza representatives about the role of outliers:

Someone standing up will inspire others. There are people, illuminators, both in the government and the citizens that have new ideas and influence others. They are people who can create and make change happen. These are the real citizen agents exercising their power.

This is most likely due to the fact that UKK was very adamant about their role as a citizen agent for the people and the positive changes that could be traced back to the show, such as people engaging with it and becoming more aware.

With the concept of outliers the cultural and social implications come to play as well. As SMG and PA point out, people have much respect for certain individuals in the society and will act according to their instructions. SMG (2013) explains that in Tanzania “When my teacher tells me something, I think ‘yes, it must be so’ because he is an authority. I do not question what he says. This is the same in a family context, I will revere what my elders say and do as they tell me”. This kind of power and influence over others, of course, has negative implications as well, but surprisingly only PA and CT brought them up. They reflected on the results of such blind faith and obedience and questioned whether it will truly lead to positive change. As PA (2013) says:

A priest can preach from the pulpit and tell people how to vote in the coming elections and people will do as he says, even though he is not supposed to preach politics. But people can’t challenge that. Sometimes it feels like these people, priests, teachers, are semi-gods, if their intentions are good, they bring change, but it can be the opposite.

Along the same lines, TC (2013) brings up the outlier role of journalists and people in power, stating that people will believe what such authorities tell them, especially if it is printed in a newspaper or broadcasted in other media, but what are the consequences if they are being misled on purpose?

In any case, all participants saw that outliers play a crucial role in promoting citizen agency. By taking action they will encourage more micro-agents to step up and eventually this ripple effect of action will result in change on a larger scale. The question then became about how to engage these outliers in the first place? How to help and encourage them? The answer, according to all, is information:

There are a few people who agitate and are motivated, who make things happen, and it spreads. They are the people we need to find and kind of say we see you and we want to give you information and a boost.
(COMMS 2013)

5.3. Information

The theme of information was present throughout the interviews. It is, clearly, one of the most important aspects of Twaweza operations as well as the work that their partners do. All interviewees were unanimous in the opinion that what it all comes down to is information and the access to it:

A prerequisite of citizen agency is open information and access to communicate and share with others. If you are going to be engaged and active you need both the access to information and the platform in which you can convey that information and share it. (PM 2013)

For Twaweza's theory of change information and communicating it are intrinsic. Ideally, information will create awareness that will lead to people acting in ways they might not otherwise act in. As FH (2013) describes, information in Twaweza's view has two different roles. A very practical one and a deeper, more ideological one that again draws back to the theme of imagination:

The practical role is simply knowing very concrete things like when my child is hot she has a fever. The deeper role is what we really call imaginative information. The point of imaginative information is that it makes you say 'oh, wow, maybe this could be something different I never thought of before'. It expands the boundaries of your imagination, of what you think is possible. (FH 2013)

Twaweza as an organization and its staff stand behind the idea, that information is key in creating citizen agency. Therefore information should be distributed as widely as possible. It is still up to the people whether they will act on the information, but at least they are given the possibility to do so. Twaweza's thinking is that hopefully at the end of the day people will choose to act:

I do believe that information plays a key role in creating citizen agency. Information, I mean, is what drives you. So it is of course up to the citizen to select what information he wants to use, but it is information that drives us. (PM 2013)

For the partners the role of information is more of the practical kind. Most of them feel that people need to be informed in all aspects of their lives, about the issues they are struggling with so that they not only know what is going on but also have tangible options on how to act. As TC and MB (2013) pointed out, if people are informed on very concrete things such as their right to vote or problems with access to clean water in certain place, their options on taking action are increased manifold. Yet, although they are now informed of the problem, they might not know what to actually do about it. Or the information that is given to them might end up being completely irrelevant and useless to them. In a country like Tanzania, where levels of knowledge are drastically different between social classes, it is a long shot that information spread unselectively will have an effect: “How do you make sure you are giving out the right information to the right people? There are people in the villages who think Nyerere is still alive and will rule forever, where do you start informing them?” (TC 2013).

Trying to avoid becoming too prescriptive is one of the problems Twaweza is struggling with. According to the Twaweza interviewees, the organization has not wanted to walk down the same “wash your hands - sleep under a mosquito net” -path as many other NGOs (FH 2013). Therefore their original ideology was to distribute as much information as possible without selecting target groups in society and “hope people would act on it” (COMMS 2013). Now the organization is beginning to feel it should be revised: “We want to give people options, information so they can choose what is best for them. Because of that I think we have shied away from telling them what to do, and maybe we should be clearer in our message” (PM 2013). LME (2013) states that “If we are interested in enabling the citizens to holding the government accountable, the answer is not simply giving them information”. This is also what the partners seem to think. According to SMG (2013), information should be dispersed in a form that interests the public, such as educational programs, and targeted so that it truly influences the audience it reaches. In addition, the information given should offer concrete options on how to take action. In general the opinion of both Twaweza staff and the partners is that the solution is to target the information better, so it resonates with the audience and reinforces the message:

Maybe we need to use a smaller bucket to catch our audience, we won't catch as many, but out of the ones we catch will come to the next level with us. If I speak to you, Tanzanians in all shapes and sizes, that's one thing, but if I speak to you, young man aged 16-24 who likes football, suddenly what I can do with you is a whole different way of communicating, different types of messages and hopefully it's a whole lot more likely you'll take something out of it. (COMMS 2013)

Then again, with targeting messages and especially giving advice on what to do arises the problem of becoming patronizing, a path Twaweza as an organization is reluctant to take. Though they, and generally the partners as well, feel that the need for information should come from the citizens themselves and not be dictated from above, an anecdote by COMMS (2013) gives light to the other side of the problem that sometimes what people see as incremental needs are, actually, unconstructive:

There was a village so poor that the people didn't even have shoes. They were asked, that if they could have anything in the world that would improve their lives, what they would ask for. Can you guess what they asked for? A night club. Now I am all for people enjoying themselves, but I think that most of us would agree that a night club would not be the cure to these people's problems. But they asked for it, so what then, should a lot of money be put into building them a night club?

This belief that some prescribing is necessary is true with the need for information as well. The interviewees think that though local knowledge is a prerequisite in understanding the needs and situations of people and thus ensuring that the messages sent are actually effective, there needs to be some kind of censorship or regulation from the senders on what is communicated. Out of the participants SMG (2013) declared most clearly that the citizens need to be informed by "someone who knows", an expert like them. Generally the participants were a little more hesitant in declaring their expertise and knowledge over the larger public. Yet, there was a consensus that on matters of importance some decisions can be made for the people:

If we were to ask a regular man on the streets if he knows what the Capitation Grant is, he would most likely say 'no, and I don't care to know either'. But I think that it is ok on that level to be a bit dictatorial and say 'well we think you should know'. It is still then up to him to decide what to do with that knowledge. (COMMS 2013)

Twaweza sees that giving information to the people at its core is equipping them with tools to take action if they wish to take it. The challenge, then, is how to concretely distribute the information, whatever it may be, and in this the mass media plays a key role.

5.4. Mass Media

For all interviewees the role of the mass media in distributing information and promoting citizen agency was an important one. This, of course, was to be expected since the partners all represent different media outlets and Twaweza as an organization places much emphasis on the media. There were, however, some differences of opinion on the matter of how effective the media truly is, principally on whether it is functioning on its own or not, and where they saw the media being of most use. Interestingly, none of the interviewees brought up the Internet in the discussions as a media to take into account. SMG and TC (2013) mentioned the increase in internet use in passing, but no one discussed it as a potential tool to be used. Therefore, in the discussions the mass media encompasses radio, television and print media.

The representatives of the media saw their role as one of giving the citizens a platform to express their views in as much as fulfilling the basic function of distributing information. As SMG (2013) states: "Through us the people can get their voices heard and are able to get their questions answered". All four felt that there is no better way to reach the masses than the media, since "even the poorest of villages will have at least one radio and the media can deliver messages to places no others can reach" (TC 2013). In addition, SMG, UKK and TC believed that the media alone could have direct effect on issues in people's lives and encourage them to strive for change. MB and Twaweza representatives, however, were not quite as convinced on whether the media alone could

engender desired action. They, too, saw the media as having great potential, but when it came down to its power as a single entity, the interviewees had their doubts:

Relying only on media as an agent of change is wrong. To expect that the media alone will take action and hammer change, change, change - I think that is not correct. I don't expect the media to bring me water or a minister to change his ways because he reads about the failures of his ministry in a paper. (PA 2013)

Yet, even though the media alone cannot effect change, it does play a significant role in reaching those that can. Many of the interviewees saw the media functioning as a bridge between the citizens and the government, as something that facilitates discussion and the flow of information in both directions. Twaweza representatives in particular discussed the importance of not only using the media to inform the citizens, but other stakeholders as well. LME (2013) points out that the citizenry and the government do not exist in a void without one another and therefore information should flow both ways, while ensuring that the information used to reach either target audience is appropriate. COMMS (2013), too, see this space between the citizens and the government as an important one, something that Twaweza should put more focus on: "We should influence government and policy makers more directly. I think we might have underplayed this side too much as an organization". RO (2013) is on the same lines and feels even more strongly that the key truly is in informing stakeholders and policy makers, even more so than informing the people: "Only through informing stakeholders and policy makers and changing their thinking can sustainable change happen".

The local interviewees considered the importance of informing policy makers from the standpoint that culturally it is very hard for an ordinary citizen to reach out to people of higher social standing, but for the media this is possible and therefore they are an important link in between the two. As TC (2013) puts it, "A regular person would never think of calling the prime minister, it is not possible, it is not done. As a representative of the media I can call him and have his ear".

Twaweza representatives agree with the importance of the media as a facilitator of discussion. According to LME (2013), the media does have considerable traction and is

powerful in reaching all parties involved. FH and PM see the media as one of the most important networks to work through and COMMS emphasizes the trust people place on the media, stating that often the citizen will rather call journalists than the police to inform them of a problem trusting that the media will pick up on the story and something will be done about it. (FH, PM and COMMS 2013.) This authority, almost outlier/illuminator-status that journalists hold was brought up by the other interviewees as well. In CT's (2013) opinion journalists have a great responsibility to their audiences, since they are regarded as an authority and people believe their word. He states that "citizens interact with the media, call us with information. They will rather call us than the police because they know something will happen, they believe that when something is told to the media, the media will do something about it". UKK (2013) believes that journalists and the media are "true illuminators, forces working in the society that will unveil things and shed light on problems". He sees that the media in Tanzania is in a transformative phase and the importance of it in influencing social realities and discussion has increased remarkably in recent years. This was discussed by the other interviewees as well, and they saw that the potential of the media to affect change had grown exponentially with the sheer number of media outlets. The simple fact that people have easier access to multiple different media makes for a more informed society that will not be sated with half-truths but knows to demand more:

Tanzanians use more media now than ever, access to information is better than ever before. Back when we were growing up we had very limited sources of information, but now you have to be careful what you publish, because people can check different sources. This, I think, leads to more accountability from the government and other social actors, when people know what to expect and know what they have right to demand. (SMG 2013)

Yet, as all the interviewees pointed out, there are also major problems and factors restricting the effectiveness of the media. TC's (2013) somewhat naive concept of the responsibility that journalists have to their audiences and SMG's (2013) straightforward belief that the media can and will affect people's problems directly was countered by others. It seems that the higher the interviewee's education and the more experience

they have had with the media, the more they recognized its problems. MP and MB (2013) both stated that one of the major problems with the media is the utter lack of trained professionals. COMMS (2013) pointed out that even when there are trained professionals, there are multiple things working against good journalism in Tanzania. Most journalists are freelancers, who have no guarantee of an income, so engaging in deep investigative journalism is not profitable. Most media outlets do not encourage investigative journalism either, as content is dictated by loyalties of the owners, and in addition the government control over the media is still very strong. Almost all of the interviewees saw this issue of government control as being the biggest hindrance to the media realizing its potential to the fullest: “There are some progressive minds in the media that are working towards engaging the people, but the society cannot protect the media and the media cannot protect the society from the leaders, so it is a very hard situation” (PA 2013). This is well exemplified with the earlier mention of two leading newspapers getting banned during the data collection period in the fall of 2013. There is really no free and viable media or an environment where professional journalists could operate. As MB (2013) concludes, “it is a challenging media environment to try and affect change”.

These restrictions against the media fulfilling its potential brought up discussion on the role of other social actors, especially the government. What, exactly, is the role that other actors play in the strife for social change?

5.5. The Government and Other Social Actors

The outcome of the discussion on the roles of the media was that although the media is a powerful tool with a lot of potential, there are restrictions to its effectiveness. Therefore, the interviewees saw that other social actors have responsibility and a role to play as well. Their views varied from placing great responsibility on and hoping for more engagement from CSOs and NGOs and to seeing the government as the sole actor that can facilitate conditions in which change is possible. RO (2013) had the strongest opinion on the importance of the government:

The government is responsible for enabling citizens to become citizen agents. One guy might influence another in a village and he influencing another ten. They might demonstrate in front of the regional government, but even if they do, it is not enough. We can't wait for Tanzanians to be ready, but we and other CSOs should fight hard to make policy make ready. They will make things happen and the people will pick up on it!

What RO means is that Tanzanians are not ready to make change happen for themselves and the CSOs have little power in trying to enforce change for them, if the governing authorities are not behind it. Here change is a top-down process to some extent, at least in the respect that without government support and facilitation the people are rendered quite powerless. This view is surprisingly different from the Twaweza organizational views. Although others within the organization seem to call for a little more emphasis on the role of ruling bodies as well, none go as far to as RO (2013) in saying that it is the responsibility of the government to facilitate citizen agency. While others see that ideally the government would not actively restrict citizens' abilities to engage and it would be accountable to the citizens, they do not as strongly call for direct action from the government.

UKK and MB (2013) were quite possibly the closest in opinion to RO. They place equal responsibility on both the government and civil society in setting up and maintaining an infrastructure where citizens can work for change: "The government and civil society must secure the possibilities for people to create and be innovative. They are the forces that can help a person who is creative, but ignorant of his capacity" (UKK 2013). This idea of the citizens being ignorant of their capacity to be creative draws directly back to Freire's ideas of conscientization, becoming aware and imagining a better future, although in his works he did not place responsibility on others to facilitate it.

MB (2013) especially felt that civil society actors have great responsibility and possibilities in influencing the government to become more accountable, which in turn would lead to enhanced opportunities for the citizens themselves. This view was also shared by PA and MP (2013), both of whom stated that a society needs a government, but there should be a power balance between the government and the citizens. The civil

society is tasked with helping to maintain this balance. In addition, all interviewees strongly felt that a government not accountable to its citizens filters down to every level of a society to the point where citizens will become passive and unwilling to act. This, according to most of them, seems to be the case in Tanzania:

For so long there has been an absence of a supportive authority in Tanzania, that people are so used to things not working so they think 'why should I try when it's never going to change'. Personally I believe it has a lot to do with the kinds of people that are attracted to being in the government, and at the moment those people are not reform minded, change agent type of people. (COMMS 2013)

Yet the interviewees saw that through cooperation between civil society actors, the spaces where citizens and the government interface could be created and the existing ones brought closer together. This, in turn, would encourage action from the citizens and responsiveness and accountability from the government. The government and the citizens were seen to reflect each other and although the interviewees saw some positive change happening, they also acknowledged the fact that the process is gradual and slow: "Lasting change does not come about in a generation and it cannot be hurried along" (UKK 2013).

All in all it the interviewees agreed that creating sustainable change is the sum of many different factors. In order for it to be realized everyone from the citizens themselves to governing bodies have to do their part. Although they put different emphasis on the importance of each actor, all interviewees seemed to agree that the prerequisite for any of them taking any action is information. They all believed that information distributed to stakeholders, whoever they might be, would somehow translate into action. Twaweza as well as the media partners base their operations largely on this idea and put effort into executing this task of informing. Yet they all recognized problems with this model of engendering change and discussed the chain of information-action-change at length. Therefore, before moving on to the actual concluding remarks of this paper, the next sub-chapter will offer a discussion on whether or not this thinking seems to be working.

5.6. Does it Work?

All interviewees agreed that at its core trying to encourage people to take steps towards change is most effectively done by offering them information. Yet, as LME (2013) states, the antecedents to change are more than just possessing information. A person must also have the skills, motivation and power to take action and these cannot be secured by information alone. This, in the opinion of all Twaweza representatives, is something that Twaweza as an organization has not thought through well enough; how do you make sure that in addition to the information, people know what the next step is? As PM (2013) states:

In a sense, I think we are giving people the feeling that they should do something but they don't know what and have no support. We don't provide real alternatives to people, what to do. So how can they get organized? We've always kind of said, well, that's for the people to figure out, but I think the social capital of Tanzania, the organizational readiness is simply very low. There is no logical place for people to go to get help.

Then again, the media partners seem to think that after they have done their duty of informing the people or whoever the stakeholder may be, it is not their responsibility to do anything further. MB (2013) states that ultimately the choice to act or not to act will be the person's own, that one can only give people the information and tools necessary for action, but they cannot be carried over the finish line. TC (2013) concurs that "people need information to be able to react if they want, so we collect and publish it, but we also leave it to the people to decide what to do".

Yet Twaweza as well as the partners honestly state that they have only anecdotal evidence of this line of thinking truly having effect. MB (2013) states that he can relay many stories of an issue getting picked up by other media after they have discussed it in the show, and eventually the government doing something about the issue. UKK, TC and SMG (2013) have similar experiences with audiences engaging with them and giving feedback that through their media outlets and products they have become informed, taken action and seen change happen. They all think that they are affecting the social realities, but they cannot prove it scientifically, nor do they want to take too

much credit for their small-scale influence. Twaweza also acknowledges this problem: “If you want to create a good society you need a citizenry that exerts agency and we think people will act on things if they have information, but we don’t have evidence for it” (PM 2013). The organization has come to realize that their original theory of change is flawed in thinking that information alone will yield action.

The general consensus was that in a contemporary Tanzanian context this straightforward linkage of information leading to change cannot be drawn. In the participants’ view whether an informed citizen is an active citizen depends largely on the individual but also the psychology of the group. This, according to some of them, in the case of Tanzanians is inherently passive. The interviewee’s opinions are well represented in MB’s (2013) thinking:

Seems like in Tanzania, due to cultural and social and historical reasons, going from awareness to action hasn’t quite reached the tipping point. That’s the million dollar question, how do you get to that tipping point? We know that awareness doesn’t always result in action or meaningful impact. But it certainly is the first step. Without awareness and some kind of consciousness raising people aren’t going to make any changes.

It can be seen that the participants are somewhat skeptical of the concrete impacts of information alone and feel that there is a need to understand the cause-effect chain better. Yet they see it is a good point of origin. Despite some differences on emphasis on the roles of social actors all are of the opinion that participation of the people and their inclusion is incremental. That if people become aware of their struggles, are able to imagine better futures, they will also be able to create them.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter offers a concluding discussion on the findings of this study. The discussion is divided into three parts. The first part draws conclusions on the topic in reference to the theory I discussed in the literature review of this thesis. The second part sums up the research questions of why Twaweza and its partners see citizen agency as the key for creating sustainable change, how they see the role of the mass media in promoting it and how they define it. Finally the last sub-chapter will offer critical discussion on the success of this study and recommendations for future research.

6.1. Theoretical Considerations

Most of the participants' views are very much in line with the ideals of the participatory paradigm of development and development communication. Although most of them see the roots of the need for social change in Tanzania to be in the dependency the nation has been subjected to throughout its history, they propose solutions that follow quite closely in the footsteps of writers such as Freire, Habermas and Servaes. Their notions of how change will happen might not be consciously based on theories formulated in academia, but still resonate with them. For example, the discussions on imagination, creation and awareness can be linked back to the works of Daniel Lerner and later Paolo Freire. For most of the participants, it seems, citizen agency is more about a person becoming aware of their place and situation in the world, being able to imagine different options and then acting on that desire of a better future. This is both the conscientization, that Freire (1972) discusses, as well as the idea of empathy – being able to imagine oneself in different circumstances – introduced by Lerner (1958). As Freire (1972) states, a person who is aware of the restrictions in their lives will want to work towards changing this situation. Furthermore, just as communication is crucial in Freire's and Lerner's formulations, so it is in the participants' eyes as well. It is information that shall set people free, and what would be a better medium to spread this information than the mass media. This emphasis on the role of the mass media is also present in Habermas' (1989) ideal of a functioning public sphere and is reiterated by the participants. LME (2013) states that the media can help organize the spaces between the citizen and the government, so that they become public spaces where problems can be

solved. COMMS (2013) emphasizes the importance of executing agency in a public sphere: “As a citizen agent I want to discuss with you about the things that I think are important and am comfortable having these discussions in the public as well”

In general, the model that could be formulated on the basis of the interviews is one that draws most strongly from the participatory, imperialist and modernization paradigms. Most of the interviewees agree on the imperialism paradigm’s explanation on the causes of underdevelopment, place great emphasis on the participation of the people, but still retain some aspects of the modernization paradigm, especially in reference to defining who it is that should be informed and with what kind of information. In reference to the participatory paradigm Twaweza’s theory of change and the partners’ ideas on how to create social change have much in common with the radical variant of the participatory approaches introduced by Sparks (2007). Just as in the radical variant, both the organization and the partners want to address the underlying social problems that are causing the more visible symptoms of underdevelopment. They think, that change will begin with people becoming empowered, and see the role of the communicator (themselves) as ones facilitating and encouraging action. Especially Twaweza’s views fit right in with the ideas of the radical variant, as in it is non-state actors that use communication to first “make the wider community aware of the problem, and perhaps even engage them in political action, and secondly to influence the mass media and through them the public opinion, to achieve change on the part of the state” (Sparks 2007, 75.). This view of the media being a way to influence the policy makers was also shared by the partners, though they emphasized their two-way nature of being a bridge in between citizens and the government.

Ideas of the modernization paradigm, on the other hand, are visible in to some extent in Twaweza’s and even more so in the partners’ thinking of who to inform and how. Though Twaweza as an organization attempts to shy away from prescriptiveness, the partners were not as reluctant to admit that the people themselves might not be the best judges of what they need, both in terms of information as well as concrete assistance. According to writers such as Charles Okigbo (2000) prescriptive development communication is mostly used in health communications today, for example in AIDS and malaria campaigns. Although it is exactly this kind of “wash your hands - sleep

under a mosquito net”- type of communication that according to COMMS (2013) Twaweza as an organization has not wanted to exercise, yet at the same time their goal has been to give people practical information to help them “know concrete things, like if my child is hot, I know she is sick” (FH 2013). This contradiction of not wanting to tell people what to do while at the same time wanting to increase their practical knowledge seems to be a weakness in the organizations thinking and should be reconsidered. On the other hand, the partners, excluding MB, declared that this is exactly the type of information that should be given to the people as their knowledge levels are very low and informing them on matters like clean water will quite concretely save lives.

Another aspect of the modernization theory that has been articulated in a form or another in all later paradigms is de Sola Pool’s (1963) notion on validation of messages through a reference person. He argued that messages aiming especially at changing deeply rooted attitudes become more effective if they are reaffirmed by a person the receiver trusts or looks up to (de Sola Pool 1963, 243-246). This idea is clearly visible in the interviewees’ trust in outliers and interpersonal persuasion. These opinion leaders, as they were originally called by Lerner (1958), are the ones who will persuade other to take action. Naturally, this same idea is also presented by Freire (1972, 67-70) in his discussion on the revolutionary leaders that the ordinary citizen can look up to and learn from. De Sola Pool (1963) also emphasizes that the message has to be understood before it can have any desired effect. This thinking is also present in the interviewees’ musings about the importance of targeting messages and their delivery.

The importance of the media in engendering change is something that has carried through almost all theories of development. Through the different paradigms its role has changed from the diffuser of information in the modernization theory to amplifier of imperialist dependency ties and dialogical medium of discussion of the participatory models. In this case the role of the mass media is versatile and though developing countries are usually instinctively set in the authoritarian or developmental theory models, the media sphere in Tanzania today is more complex than that. The models suggested by Benson (2008) are ideals and there is no clear-cut answer to where Tanzania fits within these formulations. Currently the state of the media is a hybrid of aforementioned models with tendencies from the developmental and the authoritarian as

well as the constructionist and even social responsibility theories. The media is tasked with informing the people as well as the government, fulfilling their watchdog role and engaging with their audience in order to offer them a public platform of discussion. This mixture of roles echoes different theories of the media systems as well as all historical paradigms, yet what is absent is the contemporary emphasis on digital media and the internet. A few of the participants brought up the increasing access to the internet, especially in urban areas, but none saw it as a medium to put much focus on. In this case, the internet positive standpoints of writers such as Castells (2008) and Bennett (2003) seem out of place. Even with the acknowledgement of the digital divide, defined by Pippa Norris (2001), it seems that in Tanzania the formulations on digital public spheres and online citizen activism are premature.

All in all in reference to theory the operations of both Twaweza and its partners fall under quite a variety of formulations. They seem to combine what are the most functional aspects of each theoretical current. Still, at the core they rely extremely heavily on Freirean concepts of communication, dialogue, participation and inclusion. The most theoretical variation between the participants rose in the discussion of the identity of the change agent. FH, COMMS, LME and PM believed wholeheartedly, like Freire, that it is indeed the citizen who is the agent of change but that in some cases they might need assistance to get momentum and direction. UKK and SMG believed the actors they represented to be the agents of change for the citizens, the experts mentioned in the dependency theory. PA and TC saw that the media and other experts like CSOs and NGOs could work hand in hand with the citizens so that they both catalyze change, as is proposed in the participatory models. RO and MB, however, saw that without heavy top-down influence from the government, as in models of modernization, citizens could not be agents of change.

6.2. Answers to Research Questions

In reference to the first research question, although there was some variation in opinions, the participants do truly believe that sustainable change can only be brought about by the people themselves. Therefore citizen agency is of utmost importance. All interviewees recognized that there are other factors that need to be in line for citizen

agency to be achievable, such as support from the government and a functioning civil society. But at the end of the day, change cannot be imposed on the people, it has to be initiated by them. Citizen agency, people taking action to improve their lives, is what can transform a nation. As the previously mentioned anecdote from TC exemplifies, people sitting around waiting for someone else to change their lives for the better will (quite literally) die waiting. By becoming citizen agents, people can not only influence their individual lives, but the lives and realities of their communities as well. Little by little, this ripple effect of people standing up will effect change on a nationwide level as well. It is up to debate whether every individual can, indeed, become a citizen agent. Some of the interviewees thought that everyone has the potential to be a citizen agent and other felt that in a country like Tanzania it is simply not possible for all to activate. What is interesting is that all were unanimous in their view that even if they have the possibility, not everyone will take action nor are they expected to. All of the interviewees stated quite the contrary, that only a select few will become active in a sense or another and begin the process of change.

Still this notion of taking action is also what the concept of citizen agency is at its core, and answers the third research question. In some form, all answers included the idea of action. Although there were differing views of what kind of action should be taken and where, the basic idea was still the same; citizen agency is people being active. The definition also included becoming informed and engaging with information that was delivered, yet even here the underlying assumption is of acting: engaging with information is a form of action as well. Although the participants felt that citizen agency can be executed in any realm of an individual's life, most seemed to believe that for that action to be truly effective there should be some form of publicity as well, be it demanding quality service from healthcare professionals or discussing the studies of your child with their teacher. The idea was that action was taken on a somewhat public forum. Strongest examples of this were the statements that citizen agency is debating things literally in the public, for example on the Minibuzz- show, or not being content with only knowing about your right to vote but to actually going out and voting.

The ideas of information being an inherently important prerequisite for citizen agency link the research questions together. Because information is so important for citizens

becoming citizen agents, the mass media becomes a major part of the equation. Although all participants agreed that information can be spread through other means as well, the media is by far the one with the most influence and reach. In the context of Tanzania, it is singlehandedly the most effective means of getting information to the people. Therefore the answer to the second research question is very simple; the mass media plays a crucial role in promoting citizen agency. Out of the participants Twaweza representatives were more critical of the belief that the mass media alone can effect change, but they too believed strongly that it can active people. And, just as importantly, it can function as a mediator between the citizen and the authorities. This relates to the discussion on who defines what the information is that is distributed through the media, and thus who decides what direction change and development should take. Though some of the interviewees, mostly Twaweza representatives, proclaim that the need for change should always come from the people even they admit that in cases the people do need “to be told what to do”. This contradiction between what the organization lists as one of their core principles on paper and how it manifests in actual operations is interesting. Even the concept of outliers is somewhat patronizing, since it relies on the idea that exceptional people, who are somehow above regular citizens will lead the masses. Furthermore, even these people are still at the mercy of the instances informing them – the media and Twaweza. The partners, on the other hand, don’t seem to have a problem in admitting that the citizens do indeed need an authority to show them the right way and some even openly admit that they are those authorities that will guide the masses towards a better future.

In conclusion the beliefs of Twaweza and its partners in regard to the research questions can be summed up with the statement that if you inform people, they will take action and bring change. Regardless of their position and background, all interviewees agreed with this somewhat naive statement, at least to some extent. It seemed, however, that the locals with the most experience and knowledge on the grassroots level were less inclined to buy wholly into this thinking. They seemed to doubt the readiness of Tanzania as a nation as well as the capacity of individuals to truly affect change, no matter how much information they might be given. These participants based their opinions clearly more on actual life-experiences than theories and ideals of change that

seemed to affect the thinking of the participants with a higher education and expatriate backgrounds. This is not to say that these participants were blinded with the notion of information as the magic bullet solution either, but to point out that it seems theirs were opinions of a more ideological basis. This, of course, has also a lot to do with the fact that as they very openly admitted, Twaweza is an initiative, almost a social experiment, to see what works and what doesn't. Its model of operations is based on avoiding repeating previous mistakes of top-down development projects that in reality have not brought much change.

It can be said that the belief of both the organization and the partners that information will magically transform into action is somewhat misguided. The organization has later realized this problem and begun work to re-articulate their strategy, which hopefully will be clearer in specifying the steps in-between. The most important question that should be considered is what different elements does a citizen need in order to act on given information? What are the restrictions and challenges that they may face? It is also relevant to raise the question of how, truly, can one make sure that the messages sent are reaching the right people at the right time? Not only in reference to reach on a geographical and numerical scale, but in terms of effectiveness as well. It became evident that the same piece of information is not as valuable to all and even has different value to the same person at different times; therefore emphasis should be placed on understanding the importance of targeting. Who and at what time is the message supposed to influence? These are questions that should be answered in future research.

On a bigger scale, as Twaweza representatives stated, similar initiatives have been successful in other parts of the globe and citizen-led change is more and more the word of the day. Yet I cannot but wonder whether the organization has truly put enough effort in understanding the country-specific limitations for social change that Tanzania has. I feel that there is a real dissonance between how Twaweza as an organization understands the cultural and social limitations that Tanzania has and how its partners understand them. It seems that the organization places maybe even unwarranted trust in the possibilities of people in the country and though I agree that they are of utmost

importance, I think it is crucial that the organization puts more emphasis on understanding these country-specific conditions.

6.3. Critical Discussion and Recommendations for Future Research

Even though the findings of this study consist mainly of further questions, the study was still successful in what it set out to do. Its aim was not to uncover universal truths, but to understand the operations of a single social actor and its partners in a very specific context. In this it has succeeded. Through the interviews and access to extensive background material I was able to draw a clear picture of what it is that this organization strives for and how. Yet there are many questions that warrant answering and opportunities for future research.

In regard to future research, questions posed in the previous sub-chapter are ones in need of answering. It would be of interest to return to the original subject of the study and see if and how the organization has modified their thinking. During the data collection period the organization underwent discussions on a “strategic pivot”, as they called it and this would be something worthwhile to look into. This study was not able to delve deep into what this “strategic pivot” really would mean for the organization, or what had initiated it. Now, a year later, it would be of great interest to return and see what changes if any have happened.

In addition, it should be recognized that due to the lack of resources this study was limited in its scope. Further research with more resources, such as a research team, would enable a more thorough examination of whether the organization is impacting social change and if so, on what scale. For now, the only conclusions that can be drawn about this are based on anecdotal evidence from the interviewees. Although the organization has had third party evaluations done and held a substantial evaluators meeting right before the data collection period, this study does not have the possibilities to examine that material.

Research should also be conducted to examine how the organization works in the other East-African countries of its operations. By comparing these different nations it would be possible to begin to understand how much cultural and social factors truly affect

social change. In addition, the role of the media in affecting change could also be compared between the countries. This could result in some guidelines as to how the media could be used more effectively.

The topic of communication for development is a very extensive one, and in hindsight this study might have benefitted from a narrower area of focus. Interviewing both representatives of the organization and partners of multiple backgrounds gave a thorough understanding on the situation as a whole, but it might be of use to conduct research that would focus on, for example, only one or two of groups the respondents. That would possibly allow for the repetition of interviews or the use of focus groups and perhaps result in a more comparative look into how people's backgrounds affect their standing on these issues. Yet, all in all, the execution of this study was relatively smooth and resulted in findings that can be referred to and applied in, for example, the planning of other studies.

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8. APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Interview question framework

- How do you define citizen agency?
- How does it manifest?
- Where does it manifest?
- Why is it important for sustainable social change?
- What kind of change is aspired to? Who defines what direction it should take?
- What is an informed citizen?
- Is an informed citizen an active citizen?
- Who is a citizen agent? Is it the same as a citizen activist?
- Will an informed citizen take action?
- What kind of action should he take?
- Where should he take action?
- Is choosing not to act an action in itself?
- On a grass root level, how will access to information empower?
- What is the information the citizens should have access to? Who determines this?
- How is this information being dispersed?
- What else is needed for creating an active citizenry?
- Can citizens themselves drive change in a country like Tanzania?
- How do you see the role the government and other civil society actors?
- How do you see the role of the media in all this?
- At the moment (in Twaweza operations) the media is used mainly to promote citizen agency to the people (educate & inform), do you think that there would be a way to use the media to influence policy makers and stakeholders directly?

Appendix 2. Interviewees and interviews.

Organization	Position	Date and duration of interview	Abbreviation	Notes
Twaweza	Head	16.10.2013 01:01:27	FH	Local, higher Western education, extensive experience in international circles, knowledge of social context
Twaweza	Learning and Monitoring Manager	9.10.2013 00:58:30	LME	Expat, higher Western education, extensive work experience
Twaweza	Programs Manager	17.10.2013 00:59:15	PM	Expat, higher Western education, extensive work experience
Twaweza	Research Officer	7.10.2013 00:54:55	RO	Local, undergraduate education, extensive work experience, implemented surveys, knowledge of social context
Twaweza	Programs Assistant	23.10.2013 1:03:03	PA	Local, undergraduate education – little work experience, knowledge of social contexts
Twaweza	Communications Manager	10.10.2013 00:48:25	COMMS	Local, higher Western education, knowledge of social context, some work experience in international circles
Sahara Media Group	Sales Executive	8.10.2013 00:36:20	SMG	Local
Minibuzz	CEO	25.10.2014 00:58:47	MB	Expat
Uncle Kochikochi	Director & CEO	3.10.2014 01:30:12	UKK	Local
The Citizen	Journalist	21.10.2013 00:57:30	TC	Local