



Assessment of TBC1 coverage of 2015 Presidential Elections in Tanzania

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Abstract

This study assessed TBC1 2015 Presidential Election news coverage. The study used the specific objectives firstly, to assess the extent TBC1 coverage of CCM and UKAWA 2015 Presidential candidates, secondly to examine TBC1 news tones coverage of CCM and UKAWA 2015 presidential candidate and lastly, to find out types of TBC1 news coverage of CCM and UKAWA 2015 Presidential candidates.

This research applied concurrent mixed research methods to collect and analyze both qualitative and quantitative data. The study examined news content in 448 news bullets aired in months of the election campaign from August to October 2015. The results showed that there is biasness in the TBC1 news coverage as ruling part, CCM received wide coverage and UKAWA Presidential candidate received lower coverage in all items including news frequency, news length, news placement and news tones. The general findings demonstrated that CCM candidate received 1,700 % equivalent to 75% while UKAWA candidate received only 566 news, which is 25% of news frequencies for both candidates.

The findings showed that the agenda-setting effect of journalism reflects the interests of media owners (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Unbalanced media coverage affects political candidate's especial opposition party. The findings suggest that there is a need to reform the policies and regulations informing electoral coverage to ensure a more balanced portrayal of all presidential candidates as it stated in the National Elections Act, 1995 Cap. 343 (URT, 2015).

Keywords: ias, presidential election, news coverage, Television, CCM, Ukawa

INTRODUCTION

In 1992, Tanzania reestablished the multi-party system after 27 years as a single party state (Msekwa, 2006; Mushi, Mukandara & Othman, 2004; Shivji, 2006; Bratton, Mattes, Gyimah, 2005). Since then a multiparty political system that promotes democracy has developed in conjunction with a free market system that stimulates the development of private media. The increased number of political parties corresponds with the growth of media outlets. Since 1994, there has been a noticeable development of electronic media. As of 1992 there was no any TV station in Tanzania Mainland. The first TV in Tanzania Mainland was TV-One, which stated in 1994. Since Tanzania adopted a multiparty democratic political system, electronic media and democracy have almost developed in tandem (Kilimwiko, 2009). However, few studies have focused on state/government owned media coverage in democratic presidential elections. In spite of the lack of academic attention, there is a widely accepted general consensus that a democracy requires citizens to make informed choices at the ballot box. This study explored state owned Television



coverage of Tanzania 2015 Presidential elections, using Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC1) as a case study.

Research Questions

- i. To what extent did TBC1 cover CCM and UKAWA 2015 Presidential candidates?
- ii. What are the news contents covered by TBC1 about CCM and UKAWA 2015 presidential candidates?
- iii. What are the types of TBC1 news coverage about CCM and UKAWA 2015 Presidential candidates?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Media is an instrument of democracy when it makes information available at all social levels. Citizens require access to information as a means of facilitating their informed decision-making and participation in the democratic process (Carmmaerts & Carpentier, 2007; Schudson, 2008). Similarly, politicians require the media so that they can take stock of the public mood, present their views, and interact with citizens (Carmmaerts & Carpentier, 2007; Wolfsfeld, 2011). Elections are significant events in the life of a democracy and the news media plays an important role in presidential election campaigns. Media election coverage is one of the main channels through which voters acquire the information necessary to make an informed choice about which candidate or party to vote for (Lim, Synder & Stromberg, 2010; Stanyer, 2007). Since only a small proportion of the public has the opportunity to meet candidates in person through the election campaign, media coverage of electoral contests is the primary mechanism for informing voters about political candidates and issues. The type of coverage provided to each candidate may play an important role in shaping voters' perceptions (Mhina & Ndumbaro, 2010; Druckman, 2008; Stanyer, 2007). Amponsah (2012) added that Journalists depending on political candidates as a main source of election information than their supporters. As Patterson and McClure (1976) have explained: "Of all the information voters obtain through the mass media during a presidential campaign, knowledge about where the candidates stand is most vital" (p. 49).

Media Campaign

The media serves as one of the easiest methods for campaign messages to reach the public. Studies have shown that campaign information garnered from news programs and newspapers tends to be retained more than information sent out in other forms (Brians & Wattenberg, 1996; Jerit, Barabas, & Bolsen, 2006). Hillygus (2005) and Schuck & de Vreese, (2009), argued that media can affect voters in different ways as campaigns and media messages can mobilize or demobilize, reinforce partisans' vote intentions (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995) or persuade undecided voters or independents about how to vote (Hillygus & Jackman, 2003). Most voters are informed about politics through the media (Mhina & Ndumbaro, 2010; Stanyer, 2007) because vast majority of citizens hear and learn about political decisions through the media rather than in person. There is a strong consensus that the media has an effect on voters' perception of parties and their candidates and whether,



ultimately, they vote for the candidates of one party or another (Beck, Dalton, Greene, & Huckfeldt, 2002; Mendelsohn, 1996; Wattenberg & Briens, 1999).

Various studies have shown that direct exposure to newspaper articles can have an important effect on political opinions (Norris, Curtice, Sanders, Scammell, & Semetko, 1999; Pan, Shen, Paek, Sun, 2006). However, Rozell & Mayer (2008) and Schudson (2008), claimed that the availability of media does not ensure their appropriate use due to various factors that affect news coverage. The factors include lack of media freedom and freedom of speech, professional culture, the type of political practice and political journalistic practices in a particular setting, and especially the relationships between journalists and politicians that shape what is reported.

Like other African countries Tanzania has a number of media laws and regulations that contradict the declared human right to freedom of the press and freedom of speech (Thomas, 2011; Sturmer, 1998). Even without overt censorship, informal power relations can limit public access to information vital to critical analyses, political action, and the maintenance of civil society. Sometimes, media organizations develop a professional culture that accepts and relays the views of high government officials (Gans, 1979; Schudson, 2008; Wolfsfeld, 2011). When this happens, journalists have turned political power into media power, giving powerful political actors first priority and positive news coverage. By contrast, weak political actors, such as unpopular opposition political parties, receive low media attention and negative coverage (Schudson 2008, Wolfsfeld 2011). Moreover, when power translates into access to the news media, it affects the circulation of news to urban and rural areas. In this case, news generally comes from the richest and more populated towns (Wolfsfeld, 2011). In more problematic situations, the dissemination of news may be so selective and biased that the media can be accused of manipulation and propaganda (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). As gatekeepers of information, the media have a powerful ability to shape the perceptions of society.

Slant and Bias in the Media News Coverage

Various studies show that slant and bias in the media news coverage affect citizen's participation in general elections. Delli Carpini & Keeter (1996) say that the political knowledge that voters acquire from the media is subject to political information available to them in the media. McQuail (1992) has created a typology of four kinds of media bias: partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias, and ideological bias. Partisan bias is mostly displayed as editorial comments that recommend support for one political party or take sides in a policy controversy. Propaganda bias occurs when a story is reported with the deliberate intention of making the case for a particular party or policy or point of view without explicitly stating so. Unwitting bias happens because newspapers have a finite number of pages and news broadcasts have limited time slots so choices must be made about what to include or exclude. Inevitably these decisions involve a judgment about the issue and/or the people involved. Finally, ideological bias, which is hidden and unintended, occurs when hidden assumptions and value judgments included in journalistic norms and practices bias the news reported. State ownership of the media allows government functionaries to clamp down on critical reporting and recalcitrant reporters and enables the government to propagate its



unchallenged views among the people (Katrin 2013). The interests of media owners often determine media content and allow the media to be manipulated by vested interests.

Types of Media Bias

In his study of 2016 American presidential election Pan Yunzhao (2017) observed ideological bias as the most primary form of media bias. Yunzhao confirms Richard Nielson (2017) observation that various researches in American Media suggest that bias comes from a combination of factors. Nielson (2017) noted that framing devices are employed in stories by featuring some angles and downplaying others. That news is a product not only of deliberate manipulation, but of the ideological and economic conditions under which the media operate. That while appearing independent, the news media are institutions that are controlled or heavily influenced by government and business interests experienced with manufacturing of consensus. Entman (2006) supports the existence of a partnership of manipulation between the media, politicians and spin doctors. As pointed out earlier in the first chapter there are four types of bias in the media as described by McQuail (1992); partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias, and ideological bias. Entman (2006) in his argument says there are various types of media bias and some of them are practiced unconsciously. “If the decision biases persistently converge with stable concentrations of political skill and resources possessed by particular interests, media frames could consistently favor certain policy outcomes and political actors” (Entman 2006, p.165).

Although the nature of bias cover a wide range of material, Groeling, (2012) says the focus is primarily on political ideology or partisanship, negativism and various structural elements built into operational definitions of news. According to Newman and Fletcher (2017) younger groups and those on low incomes are much less likely to trust the news media. Studying media coverage of American presidential election they observed that the reason for lack of trust in the media is bias. They found that two thirds (67%) of those who distrust the media complained of some kind of bias (Yunzhao, 2017). Various scholars point at capitalistic system and associated markets structures within which media operate as the sources of bias. Issues of ownership, management of news organization and the dynamics within the organizations; the norms, values and attitudes of journalists are things that produce bias (Groeling, 2012).). According to Della Vigna & Kaplan (2007) media bias do not have big impact on the viewers if they know the source of the bias. They can ignore it or even strengthen their opposition. Della Vigna and Kaplan consider the case of a new media source that is more positive to the Republicans than other media sources. The viewer watches reports about a Republican candidate and finds the reports to be quite positive relative to what the viewer had expected. Therefore the viewer alters his or her beliefs after being persuaded by the bias media reporting. That happens in the short run but in the long run when the viewer realizes that the source of the news was not credible, the viewer will remain in his/her former thinking.

When television viewers make comparison with other media sources, it is obvious that viewers will start to evaluate the news sources and how they are presented. Della Vigna and Kaplan (2007) examined two theories of government ownership of the media: the public



interest (Pigouvian) theory, according to which government ownership cures market failures, and the public choice theory, according to which government ownership undermines political and economic freedom. Both theories judging from the face value tend to be impartial but in practice they are partisan. Government and state owned media have an edge over other media in terms of political power and financial muscle, which will render independent media and media holding a different ideology irrelevant.

Ideology Bias

According to a July 2003 poll conducted by the Pew Research Center, 56 percent of US citizens say media stories and reports are often inaccurate and 62 percent say the press generally tries to cover up its mistakes rather than admitting them, (Yunzhao, 2017). Ideological bias in American media is considered a big problem (Gans, 2003). Belsey and Chadwick (1992) consider it poor journalism. Scholars argue that bias is a primary reason why Americans do not trust the media. Studying public perception of Media bias in American election Quackenbush (2013) found that in answering the question “how much trust and confidence” the voters had towards the mass media, 55% of respondents said “not very much” or none at all. And the question of whether the media tend to be influenced, 80% of respondents asserted their beliefs that the media is often influenced by powerful people and organizations.”

This line of argument fits well with Katrin’s (2006) findings that most of the major television stations are owned by politicians or their families, thus making the concentration of power rest in the hands of the elite. This type of power play between media and politics has tremendous impact during elections to the extent that opposition voices find themselves suffocated and unable to mobilize sufficient number of supporters to win elections. Most private media owners would become partisan aligning themselves with the government for business and personal interest. An audience, who views television can know the extent of the bias and realize that a particular television station does not cover bad news about a ruling party for instance and that some of the good news is exaggerated. An ordinary person with a good sense of news can feel the degree of bias by the media and it is easy to compare with the coverage of the same news with other television stations. One thing is that this type of bias coverage has strengthened the opposition, since it ignites a feeling of dislike against the party and its candidate whose news is exaggerated (Katrin 2012). A viewer will not on average be persuaded by the biased news source. The prediction differs if the bias of the media source is unknown. This is the case for a television viewer who watches a new news source for the first time.

State Media in Africa

In the 2013 Kenyan elections things were a bit different. In a BBC Media Action Working Paper; Bridging Theory & Practice Research dissemination Series, Angela Githitho Muriithi and George Page (2013) presented a paper titled “The Kenyan Election 2013: The role of factual Discussion Program.” The authors observed that most Kenyans who were interviewed did not perceive that the media was biased to any party participating in the 2013 general election. About 70 percent of respondents did not feel that Kenyan media was biased



at all and only 14 percent indicated suspected bias. Moreover, Angela Muriithi and Page discovered that perceptions of media bias were somewhat influenced by party affiliation among supporters of opposition party, Orange Democratic Movement ODM.

A number of television stations and other media monitored in 2007 Kenyan elections failed to provide equitable coverage for candidates and parties. Kenya Broadcasting Corporation failed to live up to legal requirement. (Semetko 2009, p.7). The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Act (Cap. 221) requires the public media during the campaign period to maintain a fair balance in the allocation of broadcasting hours as between different political viewpoints. The allocation of free airtime is to registered political parties participating in the election. Wilkins Ndege Muhingi, Aquinata Agonga, Marcella Moraa Mainye, Alice Bitutu Mong'are and Florence Kemuma Maranga in their paper titled *Political Communication for Sustainable Development in Kenya* (2007) claim that the media in Kenya has been used mainly to vilify the opposition and not for the promotion of development agenda. Killian and Rioba (2012) found out that the owners of three leading media organizations in Tanzania are members of the ruling party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi*– (CCM). Under such conditions it is most likely that media owners would not allow the coverage of stories that would hurt their own party. This is to say Television stations owned by these active members of the ruling political party would in all likelihood not be able to avoid becoming partisan.

Theoretical Framework

The study utilized theories like framing theory and agenda setting to understand the impact of mass communication on political communication dynamics. Framing theory suggests that how something is presented influences people's choices and interpretations of events (Kaufman, Elliott, Shmueli, 2013). It suggests that framing can be used to develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking (Druckman, 2009, p.6) Framing theory is closely related to agenda-setting but expands research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand. It suggests that media focuses attention on certain events and places them within a field of meaning.

Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting theory, developed by Walter Lippmann, is a critical approach to understanding the media's role in shaping public opinion. Lippmann believed that journalists act as a middleman between the central government, policymakers, and ordinary people, translating information from the elite to the public. He believed that the public reacts to images in their heads rather than actual events, and that ordinary people can influence the elite through voting power. Lippmann's work, *Public Opinion*, highlights the media's dominance over creating images in our minds, and researchers like Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (2006) have followed this concept to understand the media's role in shaping public perceptions and actions. Agenda setting theory, theory is suitable in examining the coverage of presidential elections as it helped the researcher assess the news contents to determine the type of coverage accorded to presidential candidates.



Research Methods

This research used descriptive research technique based on both quantitative and qualitative study approach. Descriptive research design in communication enable the researcher to identify characteristics of the particular group or category of people that are unique to the specific population (Merigan & Huston, 2020). This study used use both qualitative and quantitative approaches because of its advantages; that qualitative approach covers issues in great depth and detail, allow the interaction with research subjects, avoid prejudgments and provide data collection based on experiences (Terrel & Edmonds 2017). It is also flexible and creates openness during research. Quantitative approach allows for a broader study, involving a greater number of subjects, and enhancing the generalization of the results. Generally, quantitative methods are designed to provide summaries of data that support generalizations about the phenomenon under study (Almalki, 2016). According Creswell and Creswell, (2018) the strategy of employing both approaches enabled the researcher to get the best information because of the nature of the research which aimed at assessing TBC1 coverage of Tanzania 2015 Presidential elections, particularly the coverage of ruling and main opposition parties.

Population and Sample Size

Population of the study includes five TBC television stations, which are TBC1, TBC2, TBC Taifa, TBC International and TBC FM. The researcher focused on the news bulletin of TBC1 in order to make assessment of the TV coverage of two presidential candidates during election period between 22nd August and 24th October 2015. The researcher sample size is TBC1 one which is equal to 20% five TBC television stations. The study used 327 of TBC1 news bulletins aired between 22nd August and 24th October 2015. The total of 327 news bulletins include morning, (07:00hrs) ten hours news (10:00hrs), lunchtime, (13:00hrs), sixteen hours news (16:00), evening (20:00hrs) and late night news (23:00hrs). The 327 news bulletins included three live TV coverage of campaign rallies. The researcher has chosen this sample because of the nature of the study which examines 2015 presidential news coverage particularly CCM and UKAWA candidates. According to Wimmer & Dominick. (2014) population size does not normally affect sample size. With large sample sizes, small differences can be detected. According to Wimmer & Dominick. (2014) sampling method vary depending on the specific research questions studied. Since this study is going to examine the extent of the coverage of 2015 presidential candidates, the researcher has chosen purposive sampling method to achieve best results by analyzing the content of the coverage and type of coverage in order to determine the frequency, placement, duration and time provided to each candidate. The researcher used 327 news bulletins aired by TBC1 between 22nd August and 24th October 2015 to make assessments of television coverage of presidential candidates from ruling CCM and Main Opposition UKAWA.

Data Collection Methods

According to Krippendorff, (2019) content analysis can be defined as the study of human recorded communication. It is a method of text analysis among the set of empirical methods of social investigation. The researcher recorded news bulletin and transformed it into texts for



coding and classification. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to obtain information about TBC1 presidential news coverage. The researcher used quantitative method to assess news bulletins in order to explore the number of stories aired, length of stores, footages, placement and airtime provided for each candidate. Quantitative content analysis is normally used to make comparisons such as comparing value of the same variable for two or more individuals (URT, 2000). Quantitative data analyzed by measuring the news frequency the size of news articles, which are determined by length (duration used had used to air the news) tones, rank and location of the article. Normally the worthy news appeared rank in the list of news bullet.

Qualitative content analysis seeks to discover underlying themes in materials being analyzed (Kohlbacher, 2006). The researcher used qualitative content analysis to examine the content of the news coverage of CCM and UKAWA particularly election manifesto. Through qualitative content analysis the study uncovered themes, political ideology, tones, news bias and news framing such as conflict framing, strategy framing and horse race framing. Conflict framing occurs for instance where there are two or more sides of a problem, or where there is a point of disagreement, personal attacks or where candidates blame one another. Strategy framing occurs where manifesto is mentioned and the news is handled in a way in which an issue is presented in a positive way or it downplays a story.

Data Analysis

Quantitative data analysis may include the calculation of frequencies of variables and differences between variables (Field, 2009). The researcher used the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20 to code and summarizes the data in statistical format. Descriptive statistics were used to reduce the data for easier interpretation of frequency distributions (Cozby, 2007; Field, 2009). These measurements provided frequency distribution summaries by using tables, pie-charts, bar-charts and percentages. Qualitative data refers to non-numeric information such as interview transcripts, notes, video and audio recordings, images and text documents (Mayring, Phillip, 2000). Since this study has used discourse analysis to interpret content analysis, the process of categorizing verbal or behavioural data to classify, summarize and tabulate the data the process took three steps as follows, firstly, the researcher used ATLAS.ti, a software for qualitative data analysis to organizing, coding and organizing raw data to try to make sense of it. Secondly, the researcher identified and interpreted themes and patterns to get a clear meaning of the textual data and lastly, the researcher summarized the data.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Election News Classifications

The findings showed that in total TBC1 aired 2,976 election campaign news stories from 372 news bulletins. The topics of news articles were categorized into three main classifications: 2,446, equal to 82%, were about specific political parties, 370 equal to 13% news articles

were about the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and 160 (5) news articles concerned media itself as shown in Figure 1.

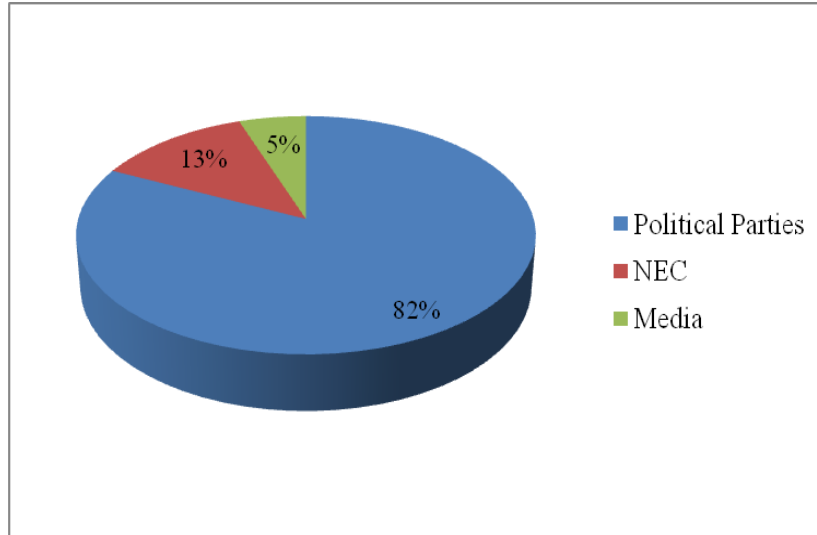


Figure 1. 2015 Tanzania Presidential election coverage

First Objective; TBC1’s coverage of 2015 Presidential Candidates

The 2,446 news about political parties were subdivided into three categories: 1,700, which is 70%, were about CCM presidential candidates, 566, (23%) concerned UKAWA, 100 equal to 4% were about all of the opposition parties while 80 news articles (3%) referred to all parties in general. The news about all opposition parties was generated by the ruling part CCM, when their candidates took or mentioned opposition during their campaigns. The news about all parties was generated by NEC announcements, journalists, human rights advocates. This includes stories which explicitly or implicitly referred to presidential candidates. Some stories implicitly referred to presidential candidates without mentioning their names or parties.

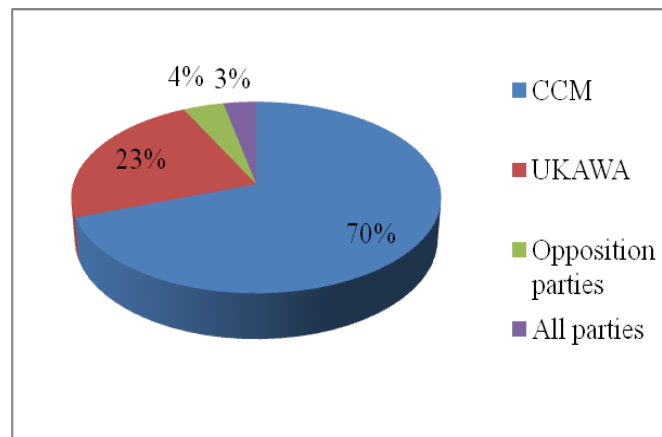


Figure 2. 2015 Tanzania Presidential campaign new

The study also analyzed presidential news published by TBC1, which published on August, September and October. The findings showed that in August CCM presidential candidate received 430 news while UKAWA candidate received 200 news, in September CCM candidate received 646 news and UKAWA candidate got 150. In October CCM Presidential candidate received 624 news while UKAWA presidential candidate received 216 news. This finding indicated that UKAWA candidate received lower news from begin of the company. However, in a last month of the campaign TBC1 increased number of the news for UKAWA presidential candidate while the number of CCM new had decreased as indicated in figure 3. This is due to the fact that CCM candidates spent more time to criticise UKAWA candidate in order to discourage votes to vote for him.

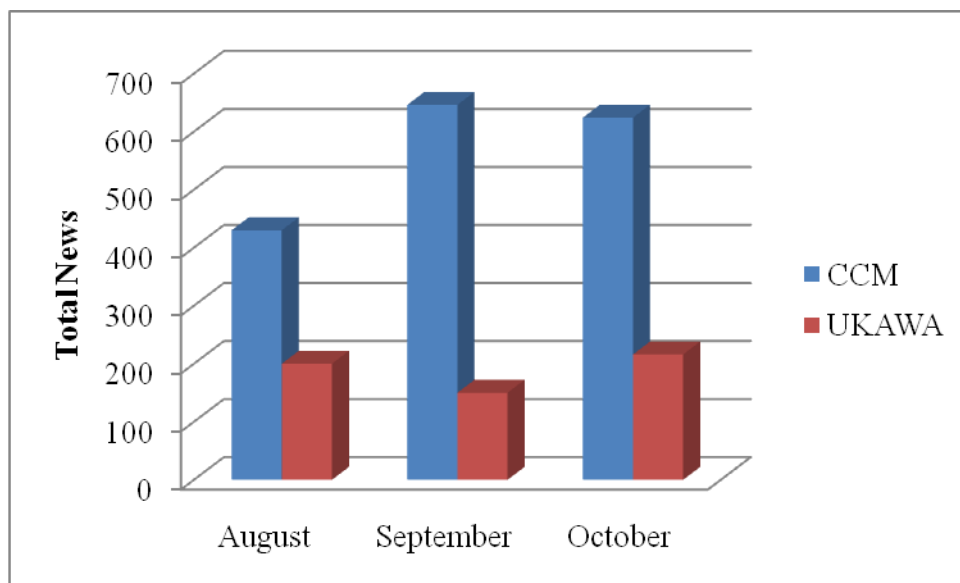


Figure 3. The 2015 Presidential news coverage by month

The findings show that TBC1 allotted more airtime to CCM presidential candidate stories in the news bulletin compared to UKAWA Presidential candidate. The results confirmed Kaale (2013) and Mwafisi (2013) findings that although TBC is legally an autonomous public broadcaster was biased toward the ruling party and its government. In more problematic situations, the dissemination of news may be so selective and biased that the media can be accused of manipulation and propaganda (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). As gatekeepers of information, the media have a powerful ability to shape the perceptions of society. TBC1 portrayed unblemished image of the CCM presidential candidate in its news bulletins vs the image of the opposition candidate, which was tarnished. In its 327 bulletins aired between August 22 and October 24, 2015, TBC1 never allowed a single story which carried an element of negativity against the CCM presidential candidate go through. On the other hand, negative stories tarnishing the image of the opposition presidential candidate were allowed to go through.



Studying American election Yunzhao (2017) and Nielson (2000), observed that the reason for lack of trust in the media is bias. They found that two thirds (67%) of those who distrust the media complained of some kind of bias. Mwafisi (2013) admits the biasness of TBC1 citing structural bias and self-censorship coupled with partisan bias and laws. Entman (2006) argues that there are various types of media bias and some of them are practiced unconsciously. “If the decision biases persistently converge with stable concentrations of political skill and resources possessed by particular interests, media frames could consistently favor certain policy outcomes and political actors” (Entman 2006, p.165).

Presidential Candidate Visibility

The examination of news coverage for individual presidential candidates included frequency of news items, news tone and pace, length, and news placement. The findings showed that CCM Presidential candidates received a wide coverage that UKAWA presidential campaign. CCM candidate received a total of 6,800 minutes which is equal to 86% of total TBC1 news bulletin length for the three months, while UKAWA Presidential candidate received only 1,132 approximately 4% of total air time for 64 days of election campaign as indicated in figure 4.

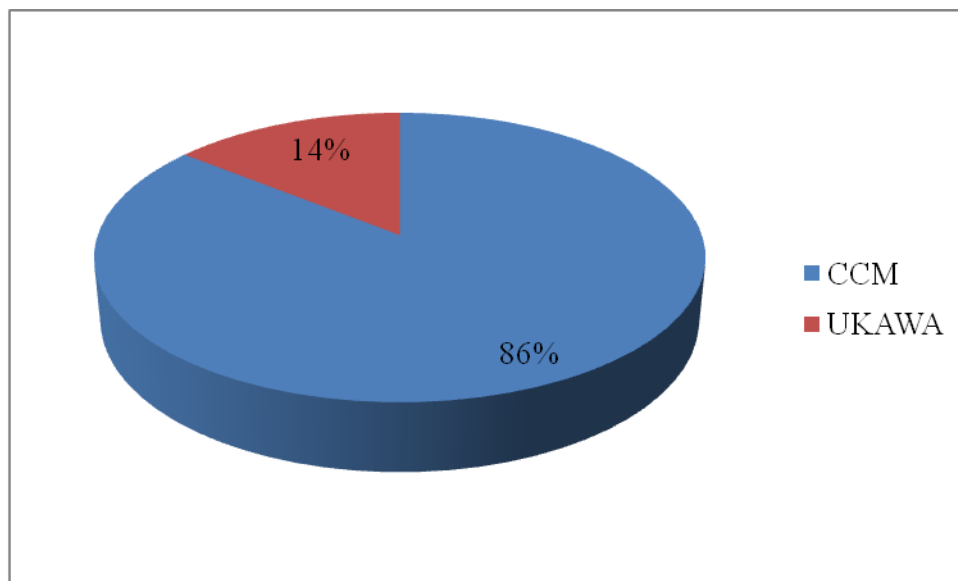


Figure 4. Total News Length for CCM and UKAWA presidential election

News Bullets Schedule

The findings showed that there was biasness in the selection of news. The findings indicated that CCM Presidential candidates received high coverage in all 448 TBC1 news bullets aired in 64 days of election campaign as shown in figure 5. The UKAWA Presidential candidate received lower coverage in all news bullets. For instance in a news bullet aired 6:00 CCM candidate received 800 minutes (93%) while UKAWA candidate received only 60 minutes which 7% of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets during 64 days of election



campaign. In all 64 days bullets aired at 7:00 CCM candidate received a total of minutes 1020 equal to 96% while UKAWA candidate received minutes 40 minutes (4%) of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets during 64 days of election campaign. In news bullets aired at 10:00 the CCM candidate received a total of 960 minutes (80%) while UKAWA candidate received a total of 240 minutes equals to 20% of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets during 64 days of election campaign.

The findings show that on the news aired at 13:00 CCM candidate received 1000 minutes equivalent to 79% while UKAWA candidate received the total of 260 minutes equals to 21% of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets during 64 days of election campaign. The news aired at 16:00 still reveals that the CCM candidate received more minutes of 1000 corresponding to 83% compared to UKAWA candidate who received the total of 200 minutes equals to 17% of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets of the whole election campaign. The findings show that on the news aired at 20:00 CCM candidate received the total of 1020 minutes equals to 96% while the UKAWA candidate received 40 minutes equals to 4% of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets during 64 days of election campaign. The CCM candidate led on received more minutes on the news aired at 23:00 by receiving a total of 1000 minutes which is equivalent to 77% while UKAWA candidate received the total of 292 minutes (23%) of total campaign news aired in 448 news bullets during 64 days of election campaign as shown in figure 5.

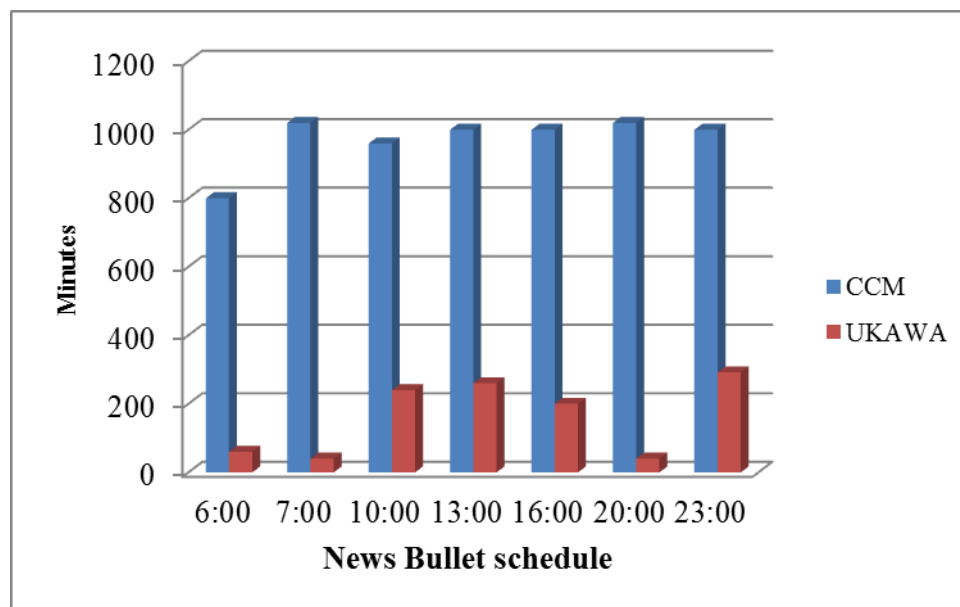


Figure 5. CCM and UKAWA News from seven TBC1 news bullets

Placement of the Stories

During the whole period of 2015 election campaign, presidential candidates had given air time to make then known by voters. According to the findings the ruling party candidate

received highest exposure to compare with his contestant, UKAWA presidential candidate. The findings indicated that out of 1,700 CCM Presidential candidate news article, 1,000 was a leading, 450 news were a second lead and 250 news were a third lead. The news article about UKAWA presidential candidate got lower profile. The findings indicated that out of 566 news article for UKAWA presidential candidate only 70 (12%) lead in TBC1 news bullet, 188 news (21%) were aired as a second lead and 378 (67) news were a third lead as indicated in figure 6.

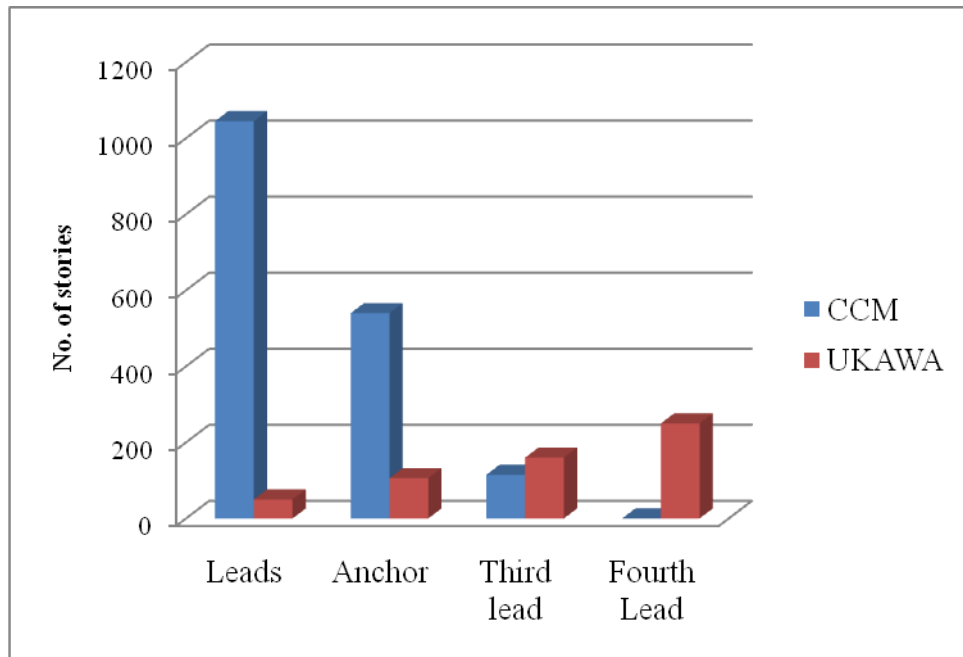


Figure 6. CCM and UKAWA Presidential candidate’s News rank

As figure 5 shown, the ruling part CCM received high exposure as 93% of story his news appeared in first and second lead. 90% of news for UKAWA candidate appeared in third and fourth positions.

Second Objective; News Tones

The study also looked at whether news items possessed a positive, neutral, or negative tone. Positive tone describes an enthusiastic or upbeat story presented as good news that should be welcomed or applauded for instance. The findings show that all 17,000 about CCM presidential candidate was portrayed in positive way For example Magufuli is a God’s choice. When you vote for CCM Presidential candidate means you vote for peace. Negative news tone refers to stories presented as bad news, implying that the events reported critical concern. For example, the findings showed that at the same time his counterpart the opposition UKAWA coalition presidential candidate Edward Lowasa was portrayed as a liar, hypocrite, corrupt, power hungry and unqualified to lead the country. The finding showed that 450 (80%) out of 566 news about UKAWA presidential candidate were portrayed in negative

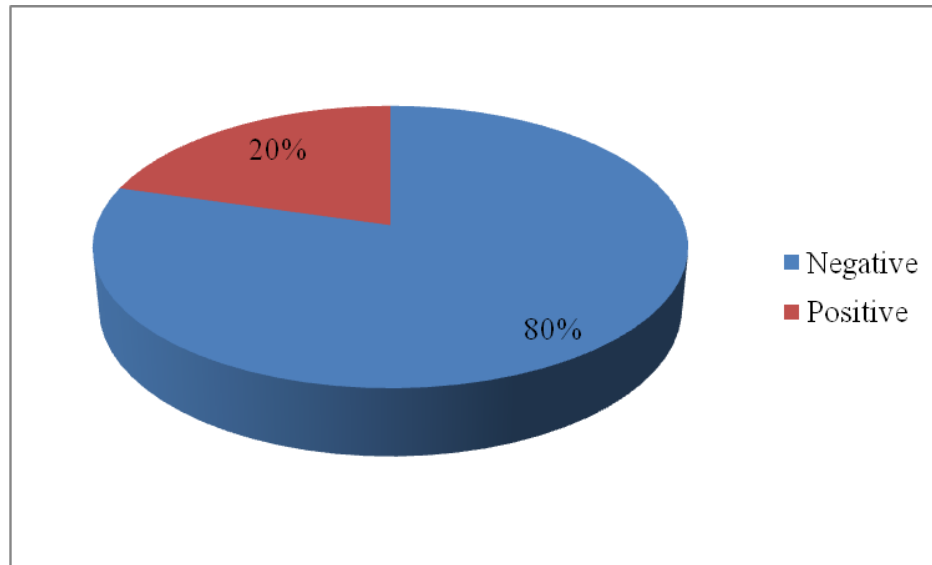


Figure 7. CCM and UKAWA Presidential candidate’s news tones

The findings from qualitative content analysis revealed that TBC1 news has bias reporting. To mention a few examples, TBC1 news described UKAWA candidate as a swindler, corrupt, power hungry and a threat to peace and political stability. Another example TBC one aired one of CCM MPs candidate said, “the oppositions (UKAWA) have picked a wrong candidate who since his youth is a racketeer; “he smells corruption in the head...corruption on his chest...corruption in his hands, and corruption in his heart...”(TBC, August 27, 2015).

Most of their stories revolved around building industrial economy in order to create more employment, offer free education for all from primary to secondary schools, improving medical care and raising the standard of living of their citizens. They also agree on the fight against corruption, increasing budget in agricultural sector for it employs more Tanzanians and as a pre requisite for industrial development. They also agree that Tanzania has all the resources needed to become a wealthy nation.

In the issue of corruption the CCM presidential candidate John Magufuli was clear, he did not murmur his words, he warned corrupt official to find hiding place if wins election. He was aggressive and showed bitterness against plunder of national resources by a few corrupt individuals. He repeatedly cautioned the rich who acquired their wealthy from dishonest means. In his stories aired by TBC1 Lowasa mentions the word corruption two times. Most of his news stories revolved around industrial development, education, investing in agriculture and livestock development, empowering people economically and erasing poverty. TBC1 covered CCM Presidential candidate showing him bemused by the statement of his counterpart to voters that he is going to eradicate all mud and thatched houses in the country in his first hundred days in office if he gets elected president of the country.



“There is one candidate who told you that when he gets elected to be who...the woody houses will be eradicated within one hundred days, even if you are asking votes from people do not lie them as if they are children, like woody houses in Igunga to Uguruwi wo...or this man is not walking, is it possible to remove all those woody and grassy houses to end in one hundred days is it possible?” Magufuli said.

When UKAWA Presidential candidate was in his campaign rally in Tabora, TBC1 reported him using religious affiliation to solicit support from church members. Lowasa talking to the faithful of the Lutheran sect in Tabora.

“Tanzania has never had a Lutheran president since independence, Nyerere was Roman Catholic, mkapa also a Roman Catholic, Kikwete, Muslim, may be now it’s the time you elect me to represent you,” Lowasa said.

On the other hand CCM presidential candidate JPM repeatedly used the word “mafisadi” meaning corrupt individuals. The footage shows him telling a rousing crowd that he is going to deal perpendicularly with “mafisadi” if he wins election.

“In my government of fifth round all corrupters I will lie with them forward” Magufuli said. A member of JPM campaign team, Mwigulu Nchemba referred the presidential candidate from UKAWA coalition, Lowasa as;

“And the opposition took the leader who is doing deals since his youth wood and he smells corruption in his head, in his chest, corruption in his hands and corruption in his heart” (Mwigulu Nchemba in TBC, September 10, 2015).

In September during the heat of the campaign a research organization of Twaweza came up with the result of survey on opinion polls which showed that CCM presidential candidate John Magufuli was going to win the election by a comfortable margin, and that the large crowd which was characteristic of UKAWA’s rallies did not reflect the votes. Haug, Koppang, & Svennevig, (2010,p.74) contend that “Political parties are now totally dependent on TV managers, planners and journalists for the amount of TV coverage each candidate receives and for the kind of treatment parties and candidates can expect on TV.”

This study supported the views of Killian and Rioba (2012) that the owners of three leading media organizations in Tanzania are members of the ruling party *Chama Cha Mapinduzi*– (CCM). Under such conditions it is most likely that media owners would not allow the coverage of stories that would hurt their own party. This is to say Television stations owned by these active members of the ruling political party would in all likelihood not be able to avoid becoming partisan. This line of argument fits well with Katrin’s (2006) findings that most of the major television stations are owned by politicians or their families, thus making the concentration of power rest in the hands of the elite.

TBC1 News Coverage of CCM and UKAWA 2015 Presidential Candidates

Scripts of news stories were picked to identify and analyze textual meaning to establish the type of news coverage accorded to CCM and UKAWA presidential candidates



during the 2015 presidential election. More than 70% of CCM presidential candidate news stories were about the promises to build roads, water projects, ships and ferries, and other infrastructures.

“Tanga was one of the industrial regions in the country; we want to have more industries to employ more Tanzanians, we will revive industries which could not be developed, and if there are any challenges, we will talk so that we know how to solve the challenges in order for Tanzanians especially young people to be employed.” (Magufuli in TBC, September 14, 2015).

He also promised to build a bridge at river Pangani to alleviate the problem of crossing the river. Such promises were characteristic of his rallies wherever he went. “I will make sure that the problems brought by Pangani River are over, I will build the bridge to enable the easy crossing of the river,” (Magufuli in TBC, September 14, 2015). The words ‘fisadi’ and ‘mafisadi’ which means the corrupt were used to address the opposition presidential candidate and his party. Former Prime Minister Judge Joseph Warioba speaking in Magufuli’s rally in Mara region said that the opposition had lost the credibility of calling others mafisadi, because they had welcomed to their court a person they were calling ‘fisadi.’

“The UKAWA have no right or guts to call anyone the corrupt since they have welcomed the corrupt person who they want to become their leader” Former Prime Minister Judge Warioba said. In a rally in Tanga the speeches appealed for peace and tranquility. The CCM election campaign team addressed the public asking citizens to guard the peace which the country has enjoyed for a long time. The underlying meaning was that choosing the opposition was a threat to peace and stability, and that the right choice is to elect the ruling party in order to guard the existing peace. Addressing the rally in Tanga one of the speakers from Magufuli’s campaign team said,

“When electing Magufuli, my fellow women in Tanga, we have ensured ourselves the peace and calmness in our country.” One of the speakers from Magufuli’s campaign team said. This implies choosing CCM is equal to the maintenance of peace and tranquility while choosing the opposition of UKAWA coalition is equal to inviting instability and chaos in the country.

During mid-September in 2015, in the heat of the campaign a nongovernmental organization known as TWaweza announced the result of its survey of opinion polls which favored CCM presidential candidate John Magufuli against UKAWA coalition presidential candidate Edward Lowasa. TWaweza said if election were to be held during the time of announcement of the survey results, the outcome of the election would favor Magufuli by 65% of the votes cast against 25% of Lowasa. The survey was a kick to CCM presidential candidate Dkt John Magufuli by making him appear a winner, well before election.



This is what framing theory says that media gatekeepers select the topics or stories they will cover and decide how they will be presented to the audiences. The selection and decision of journalists determine the issues audiences think about and how they think about them (Nikata, 2016). This is what TBC1 did by reporting the survey to frame the people of the coming presidential election. Framing theory expound that audiences interpret information through their own frames; which may overlap or contradict the media's frames. As the findings show that the media frames overlapped with the audience frames as the CCM presidential candidate won and that was what the media tried to frame on reporting TWaweza survey result. The findings reveal obvious partisanship in terms of coverage of the presidential candidates. This finding is supporting MacQuail 1992 notion that propaganda bias occurs when a story is reported with the deliberate intention of making the case for a particular party or policy or point of view without explicitly stating so.

Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter presents the recommendations and conclusion of the study done on the assessment of TBC1 coverage of 2015 Presidential Elections in Tanzania.

Conclusion

TBC1 is biased in its reporting since it prioritized CCM news stories than UKAWA news stories. It used framing language which emphasized people to choose CCM presidential candidate over UKAWA presidential candidate.

Recommendations

Public Broadcasting (TBC1) should be fair to air the news either it is from ruling party or oppositions since it serve the public with heterogeneous people. The public has those who support ruling party and those who support opposition. The public owned broadcasting station should have variety of views and treat all of them equally by giving them equal air time.

The news story should not use painting language which frames the citizen to choose a specific presidential candidate. The news story should use language that is neutral to allow the audience decide who they want to choose to be their leader. The public broadcasting should not be personalized by any candidate and use it as if it is the mouth piece for his political party.

The content of public broadcasting should not be biased by favouring one side in reporting election because it should stand for all citizens and provide objective reporting. The biasness hinders credibility of the public broadcasting since it is not expected to be biased.



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