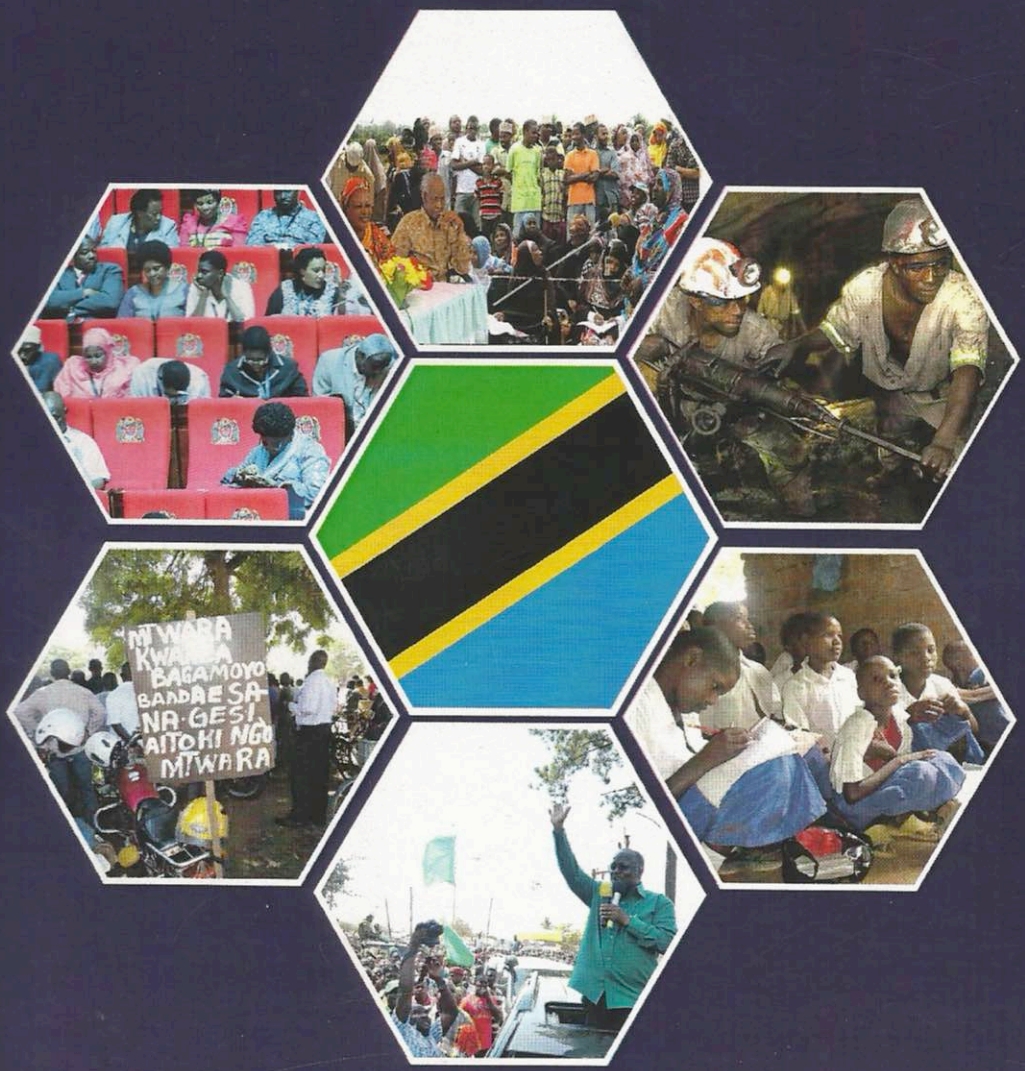
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHANGE IN TANZANIA

Contestations over Identity, the Constitution and Resources



Edited by
Rwekaza S. Mukandala

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Rwekaza S. Mukandala

Department of Political Science
and Public Administration,
University of Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 35042
Dar es Salaam.
politics@uccmail.co.tz
politics@udsm.co.tz

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Chapter 19

When will Violence against Women End? Cases from Tanzania's Corporate Companies' TV Advertisements

Vicensia Shule

1. Introduction

It is Saturday, 22nd February 2014. It is almost a quarter past ten in the morning. I am tuned in to one of the most popular radio stations in Tanzania – Radio One. The programme on air is *Miwani ya Maisha* (loosely translated as Life Spectacles). It is a weekly documentary focusing on women's issues in Tanzania – their successes as well as the challenges they face. I hear the voice of Mwarobe Ramadhan (a pseudo name), a mother of three children who is being interviewed by a female journalist in a hospital in Tabora. Mwarobe has sustained injuries after being beaten mercilessly by her husband.

Her sad story goes thus: "One day, when I returned from a river where I had gone to fetch some water I found my husband raping my daughter... He beat me." A few days later, Mwarobe realized that her little daughter, aged 5, had been sexually abused several times previously by her biological father, Mwarobe's husband. Mwarobe says that she has reported the matter to the Village Executive Officer and the Village Chairperson several times but to no avail. She further says that both leaders were men. She says she decided to return to her parents' place in a nearby village since she could no longer tolerate the ever-increasing violence she had been suffering at the hands of her husband. She says that as she was about to go to her parent's place her husband burnt her chest with a hot kettle. "That day he beat me up and forced me to lie on the bed. He poured some oil on my chest and placed a very hot kettle on it. The kettle stuck onto my skin. It was very painful," she says sadly. "I finally left the house for my parents' home," she tells the journalist.

She further says that, although she had run to her parents' home, her husband looked for her. "One day, he came and took the little girl away on his bicycle. I tried to run after them, but I was unsuccessful as he rode the bicycle very fast. However, I followed them, not afraid of what he might do to me, for I knew the girl was not safe. When I arrived at his house, we had a fight," she says. She goes on with her story. "*Huwa nalibaka litoto lako*" (I usually rape your ugly child), her husband told her this during the fight. She says that she and the girl had sustained serious injuries as she struggled to rescue her and that that is why they came to Tabora Hospital. "What should be done to him?" the journalist asks at the end of the interview. "He should be compelled to take care of the children... He should be jailed for 30 years," she says angrily.

Mwarobe's story, traumatic as it is, is becoming a common narration in many communities in Tanzania. Mwarobe's case represents both the causes and outcomes of multifaceted issues that result in violence. Violence is the use of physical force or apparent threats of such force intended to physically harm a person or group (McAlister, 2000:6). Violence can be individual, interpersonal and sometimes institutional. It is institutional when one group dominates another group. Men's domination over women for centuries, which reduces them to second-class citizens, is an example of such violence.

Violence takes many forms – psychological, mental, emotional (insults, humiliation or verbal threats), physical (hitting, slapping, kicking, pushing, shoving someone), sexual (a man forcing his female partner to have sex with him, ridiculing her body or her sexual performance, or a man using blackmail or psychological pressure to make his female partner have sex with him) (Maman et al., 2001:4). One of the common forms of sexual violence is sextortion (sex corruption). Sextortion is defined as:

> ... a conduct which is not only sexually abusive, but also incorporates the element of corruption. The sexual component need not be sexual intercourse or even physical touching. It could be any form of unwanted sexual activity, such as exposing private body parts, posing for sexual photographs, participating in phone sex, or submitting to an inappropriate touching (Tanzania Women Judges' Association, n.d.:6).

Violence can also be symbolic (the use or portrayal of fictitious or real violent images which intends to cause discomfort or make "the other" feel violated). It may also take a different form in relation to sex, age, race and class. Therefore, violence has complex features and it is multifaceted. Violence against women, also referred to as Gender-Based Violence (GBV), is common in Tanzania as well as in many other countries in the world (Betron, 2008; IASC, 2005; ICGLR, 2011; Instituto Promundo, 2002; Mascarenhas, 2007; McAlister, 2000; Mukwege & Nangini, 2009; United Republic of Tanzania, 2011; United Nations, 1993). The 2013 global survey shows that 35% of women in the world have experienced violence, either physical or sexual (UN Women, 2014).

Data from the Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) shows that 39% of women in Tanzania have experienced physical violence (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011:269). Although the percentage of physical violence is high, it would be much higher if all forms of violence were included in the survey. Despite the prominence of VAW in Tanzania, women who have undergone this vice have remained silent on their plight. (Betron, 2008:15; United Republic of Tanzania, 2011:267).

Although this chapter focuses on VAW, the term GBV will also be used because it has been used in some of the studies cited in this chapter. The Convention on Elimination of ALL Forms of Discrimination against Women views violence against women as:

> ... a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men (United Nations, 1993).

Mwarobe's story portrays a classical case of violence against women because the violence has been done categorically to a woman, who has been attacked physically, sexually, emotionally and psychologically because of her presumed, inferior status. It is rare for a man such as Mwarobe's husband to do what he did to her to his fellow men. Mwarobe's experience can also be regarded as GBV. IASC (2005:7) defines gender-based violence as "an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females." Both Mwarobe and her daughter are abused and molested by the masculine power embodied in the male figure.

The objective of this chapter is to investigate and illuminate how and why violence is persistent in Tanzania, in spite of the various efforts made to fight it. Reviewing other studies on the subject matter, this chapter focuses on the mainstream media in Tanzania, particularly on television advertisements. The analysis is done on the content of selected corporate companies' advertisements and the meaning constructed by the images presented as well as on its link to violence against women. The chapter seeks to answer the following questions: why does violence against women persist at the local, national and international levels? What needs to be done to minimize or end it? Why has it taken Tanzania too long to declare zero tolerance to violence against women, in spite of the fact it is a signatory to the 2011 Kampala Declaration of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence?

2. Methodology

The study employed a qualitative approach. Preliminary data was collected through desk research whereby related laws, policies, research reports and others were reviewed. During the fieldwork, five interviews were conducted (three with women and two with men). Six focus group discussions (FGDs) were also held (two with women, another two with men, and yet another two with both women and men). Apart from sex, the choice of the respondents considered their age and marital status. These were considered in the selection of the respondents so as to balance the views and to make sure the voices of various people (youth, middle aged people, senior citizens, and married and unmarried people) were or are heard.

To obtain an overview of the content of TV advertisements, I used three TV advertisements which had been run several times on TV stations from the end of 2013 to early 2014, when this study was underway. Similar versions of the advertisements were available online. I selected advertisements which share some qualities on how man-masculinity is presented compared to woman-femininity, that is, those advertisements which strategically portrayed men as victors and women as losers. These advertisements were screened in every FGD.

The study also analyzed materials which had been recorded or broadcast. The FGDs and the interviews were conducted in Dar es Salaam as various kinds of data on the subject from the local level were obtained from the current research reports.

3. Violence, images and imitation

It is important to start with the argument that violence is not a random act. It takes place in specific circumstances and settings. However, violent acts occur more frequently in some settings than in others. Around the world they are more likely to be carried out by men than by women. In the public sphere, men are highly likely to be perpetrators of violence and women victims. In the private sphere, at home and other private places, men are highly likely to be aggressors and women victims (Instituto Promundo, 2002:13).

I use Mwarobe's story to argue that despite the considerable efforts to combat VAW, little has been achieved. There are a number of unprecedented reported cases and unreported ones. In most cases, the woman figure is still seen as an object – subject to abuse and harassment. In spite of the fact that several initiatives have been undertaken to improve and uplift the female figure, women are still regarded as a subordinate group. The media play a vital role in negatively stereotyping the female figure. As Ford (2008:15) rightly puts it,

"Gender stereotyping in advertising generally refers to social roles of women; they are usually homemakers, sex objects, or dependent and insignificant adornments of men."

"There is no doubt advertising plays a definitive role in shaping some behaviors in some individuals," argues El-daly (2011:24). It is believed that television advertisements can be used to seduce members of society and shape their views on certain products (North & Kotze, 2001:95; Priya, 2010:152; Sharma, Singh & Agarwal, 2014:28–29). This is due to the fact that such advertisements use popular characters to act in the reconstructed stories mostly based on people's real lives. In the process of designing TV advertisements, journalists blend fictional stories with marketing and promotion messages.

Apart from providing information, advertisements enable people to immerse themselves in an imaginary world for a short period of time. Among the key strategies used are repetition, positioning and image creation (El-daly, 2011:34). By combining entertainment with instruction, journalists make the learning process more enjoyable. Due to their magnificent impact, TV advertisements are expensive in terms of production and airtime. Because the images that are screened directly or indirectly portray VAW and because they are run repeatedly for months, they model the Tanzanian society's attitude towards violence.

Advertising of any nature aims at making people purchase goods or services. In the process, advertising influences both the "structure of language" and the "modality of lifestyle" (El-daly, 2011:26). El-daly (2011:34) further argues that "[i]t is more accurate to say advertising produces images that reinforce lifestyle model." According to Bandura's social learning theory, there is a relationship between communication and behaviour change. Human behaviour tends to change when people identify with someone they like and admire. People will therefore strive to imitate that person (Bandura, 1971:5; Population Communication International, 2000:4). What is presented in the media (e.g. on television), even though sometimes it is in the form of drama and it is fictitious, may be copied or imitated by the audience. As El-daly points out:

> However, even though people mindlessly absorb the messages promulgated constantly by advertisements and although these may have some subliminal effects on behavior, we accept media images, by and large, only if they suit our already established preferences El-daly (2011:34).

For many years, psychologists have been debating whether watching violence on television or films has detrimental effects on children. Most psychologists believe that watching violence on drama can sometimes lead to increased aggressiveness in children (Bandura, 1973; McAlister, 2000). According to Cotte and Ritchie (2005:24), "...advertising may evoke both positive and negative emotions when seeking to persuade." McAlister (2000:26) demonstrates how film and television have played a part in fueling the use of firearms by an individual or many people. The use of firearms leads to armed conflicts.

This analysis shows that if a certain image is constantly portrayed, it tends to influence and later model people's behaviour to suit the need of the perpetrator. Even though seen as a proactive approach to communicating messages about violence, an advertisement, because of its infotainment and edutainment (information and education content fused with entertainment), can have a backlash in that some members of the target audience may

identify with the character(s) that signify negative values. This backlash is also known as Archie Bunker effect (Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974).

The incorporation of "admirable" characters in television advertisements is purposeful. The main purpose is to intervene and engage with the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of members of the audience on a specific issue. This approach is used in corporate companies' advertisements and in health and education campaigns as well as in other socio-political campaigns. The combination of information/education and entertainment (infotainment/ edutainment) has its roots in storytelling, which is one of Africa's traditional theatre forms. El-daly notes that:

> Advertising has progressed beyond the use of simple techniques for announcing the availability of products or services. It has ventured into the domain of persuasion, and its rhetorical categories have become omnipresent in contemporary social discourse. Because of the growing effectiveness of its persuasion techniques, advertising has become entrenched into social discourse by virtue of its wide spread diffusion throughout society (El-daly, 2011:25).

While Bandura discusses how TV and other types of mass media influence their audience, Horton and Wohl (1956) show how the audience influences the mass media.

> In television, especially, the image which is presented makes available nuances of appearance and gesture to which ordinary social perception is attentive and to which interaction is cued. Sometimes the 'actor' – whether he is playing himself or performing in a fictional role – is seen engaged with others; but often he faces the spectator, uses the mode of direct address, talks as if he were conversing personally and privately. The audience, for its part, responds with something more than mere running observation; it is, as it were, subtly insinuated into the program's action and internal social relationships and, by dint of this kind of staging, is ambiguously transformed into a group which observes and participates in the show by turns. The more the performer seems to adjust his performance to the supposed response of the audience, the more the audience tends to make the response anticipated. This simulacrum of conversational give and take may be called para-social interaction (Horton & Wohl, 1956:215).

This means that in para-social interaction the audience tends to identify with characters on, say, TV and relate them to their daily encounters in such a way that, for some members of the audience, the characters become real living characters. In such a situation, the line between fiction and non-fiction is blurred.

So when looking at things from a gender perspective, we need to interrogate the manifestation in such things of the power relations between men and women and the haves and the have-nots and their ability to access, own and control resources and opportunities. These power relations have been created through cognitive processes. The images and the power relations may have some impact on the less powerful groups than on the powerful ones. For example, if some images are consciously or unconsciously created to subordinate the female figure to the male figure, the poor to the wealthy and the minority to the majority, this will, in most cases, cause clashes and later violence.

Violence against women and men is mostly perpetrated by patriarchy, which Ehrenreich defines as:

> ... the intimate power of men over women, a power which is historically exercised within the family by the male as breadwinner, property owner, or armed defender of women and children. This is the traditional meaning of patriarchy; the rule of the father, including the rule of older men over younger men and of fathers over daughters as well as husbands over wives (Ehrenreich, 1995:14).

With increased violence against women, one has to question and challenge the subjugation of women by men. Transformative feminist theory (TFT) can be used to explain the relationship between VAW and patriarchy. According to transformative feminists, there is a direct relationship between women oppression and male domination. Since patriarchy is the cutting edge for most of the violence against women, there is a need to understand why and how patriarchy existed in the past and why and how it maintains itself for centuries. In transformative feminist theory, class, capitalism, great nations, male supremacy, discrimination, homophobia, fundamentalism and traditionalism are interlinked and they are the "host" of patriarchy (Kitunga & Mbilinyi, 2009:435).

Even though it seems to capture almost "everything", TFT as a theory and ideology developed from communities' struggles to understand patriarchy, which is the major source of violence in many societies. TFT is used to uphold feminist movements in Tanzania and globally. People use it "in the face of those who reject feminism as diversionary, secondary or of no consequence, and others who fear the backlash from men and women who uphold male supremacy and patriarchy" (Kitunga & Mbilinyi, 2009:434). TFT challenges patriarchy and neo-liberalism. It acknowledges the fact that all women are not the same and the fact that women and men within the same class or "imperialized" location may have much in common when it comes to issues of the right to sustainable livelihoods (Mbilinyi & Shechambo, 2009:95).

Furthermore, Walby (1996:24–25) identifies structures in which patriarchy operates and survives. These include relations in household work, paid work, cultural and political institutions, patriarchal states and male violence. Although all these relations are important, this chapter addresses itself to the last two relations. In a patriarchal state, Walby argues, the state takes a masculine position over its people. This means that most of the policies, laws and regulations are made in favour of the more powerful at the expense of the less powerful. While violence against women is the kind of violence that is done to women by men, state patriarchy is obviously violence against the state's citizens.

The entrenchment of neo-liberal policies in most of the developing countries like Tanzania by the World Bank and the IMF is the manifestation of patriarchy at the global level. Capitalism is global patriarchy. Land-grabbing on a grand scale is a manifestation of this kind of patriarchy. It is argued that:

> Land grabbing is part of the renewed primitive accumulation process whereby big capita is plundering natural resources for its own benefit. The other side of primitive accumulation is the systematic withdrawal of support for small scale peasant producers during the 1980s to date (sic). A key component of structural adjustment policy was to insist that the government abolish price support systems for small scale

> producers, fertilizer subsidies and other subsidy programmes, in stark contrast to massive state support provided to capitalist farmers in EU and North America (sic) (TGNP, 2013:30).

One can argue that the IMF and the World Bank engineered the land reforms of the 1990s to facilitate the implementation of neo-liberal policies. Land-grabbing, food insecurity and poor livelihoods for the majority of people in rural and urban areas result in VAW (TGNP, 2013).

Advertisements, TV coverage, image presentation and their influence on the audience influence people's behaviour and stereotypes. Patriarchy and VAW have existed for centuries because of the media and its stereotypical representation of women versus men.

> The public expects women and men to behave and look in certain ways depending on established beliefs; thus, stereotyping occurs both in the ways that advertisers construct their messages and in the ways that consumers bring their life experiences and point of view to interpreting the same message (Ford, 2008:18).

It has been observed that both men and women presenters and commentators participate in gender stereotyping in multiple ways. These include types of music selected and played and the commentary on them, abusive and demeaning comments made when "non-scripted" TV or radio programmes are on air, biased news reporting and advertisements. *Bibi Bomba*, a reality show of sorts broadcast by Clouds TV, exemplifies the humiliation and subjugation of senior women in Tanzania. On a certain programme, a woman was asked if she had ever eaten vegetables called Biology (Mtizamo Huru, 2014). Surely, the presenter knew that most women of that age could not have attended secondary school where Biology is taught.

It has also been noted that some advertisements from corporate companies portray women as weak and men as strong to promote and market their products. A female respondent said, in this regard, that:

> In real life, it is not true [that women are weak]. Women wake up very early and do domestic chores all day. Sometimes, when men return home, they just sit.... The workplace may be located very close to the man's house, but when he returns home he says he is tired. Thus, his wife does everything – fetching some water, taking care of children, etc.

Moreover, a male respondent said, "Businesspeople aim to maximize profit; so they don't care whether their advertisements contain stereotypical images." This comment slightly resonates with a comment by another male respondent who said, "People advertise their products and services. They don't intend to perpetuate gender discrimination. I don't think people who advertise services and products promote patriarchy. That's not their intention. They just focus on their businesses." Therefore, stereotypical representation of women might be done intentionally and unintentionally, intentionally as a continuous denial of the excellence, ability and power that women have and unintentionally because the person who designed the demeaning advertisement is ignorant and not creative. Thus, it is important to also analyze the performance of corporate companies to see whether there is any relationship between their so-called better performance and the marginalization of women.

4. Femininity and masculinity in TV advertisements

Cloutier (2006:4) customizes Tanzanians' understanding of the concepts of masculinity and femininity by saying that masculinity is characterized by strength, prestige and power. The lack of such characteristics is associated with being female. In most cases, the images presented in most TV advertisements in Tanzania represent both femininity and masculinity through the characters used. These characters are picked as a representative sample of personalities in a certain community. They are used to present the so-called "reality plus one" – a real thing that has been exaggerated a bit. This exaggeration makes the advertisements entertaining and amusing. Through that the representation of characters' femininity and masculinity becomes visible. Therefore, there is a need to analyze the presentation of femininity and masculinity in TV advertisements which in some cases perpetrate violence against women.

Telecommunications companies and breweries are among the main drivers of the Tanzanian economy in terms of their contributions to the GDP (Bank of Tanzania, 2013; World Bank, 2014). Both categories of companies depend on Tanzanians as their main customers and only a small fraction of their products are for export purposes. These companies develop various marketing and promotion strategies. In a single day, most radio and TV stations can play over five times advertisements of breweries and telecommunications companies. A brief appraisal of the mainstream media will show that this is indeed the case.

The purpose of the TV advertisements is to make members of the audience feel empowered and to make them strive to be like the characters they see in the advertisements. This means that if some of the advertisements paint a negative image of one type of gender in relation to the other it is highly likely that people will continue to have certain stereotypical views about the gender that is cast in a bad light. Most of the telecommunications companies and breweries operating in Tanzania are multinational. As TFT proponents argue, there is a need to challenge "corporate-led globalization, the growing power of Western government and neoliberalism ideology in Africa today" (Kitunga & Mbilinyi, 2009:435).

To show the content of corporate companies' TV advertisements, I analyze three advertisements from different corporate companies.

1. Tanzania Breweries: Safari Lager *Bia ya Mabingwa* (*Champion Beer for Male Champions)*, 60 seconds.

In this advertisement, five men offload Safari Lager crates on a mini lorry. Huge Safari Lager logos are painted on the lorry and the wall around the "beer store". Then, a male commentator (one of the five men) walks on the street, saying, "There are different kinds of champions; some are brave and others are strong." After that, a police speedboat carrying four men appears on the screen. It goes very fast past a huge sailing ship. Then, the male commentator opens a fridge containing bottles of Safari Lager, saying, "A champion is trustworthy and respected."

Shortly afterwards, a shot from the beer factory appears on the screen. In the shot, a man showcases a beer in a test-tube and says, "[A champion] manages time well, is patient and skilled." Back in the bar, the commentator says, "A champion is respected on account of [his] success." Then, a man climbs to the very top of a tall telecommunications antenna. "He doesn't run away from challenges and he supports his society" is heard. When the man

reaches the top of the antenna, a group of women appears on the screen, looks up at him, claps, cheers and congratulates him on his success.

Back in the bar, the commentator says, "A champion is someone to emulate." Then, men playing darts in the bar are shown. One of them hits the bull's eye. Then, "Welcome to the world of champions where champions entertain themselves with champions' beer" is heard. At the same time, men play snooker and one of them wins. The winner shakes hands with the other male player, displaying their hand muscles. A woman stands somewhere in the same bar, holding a tray in her hand.

The commentator is now holding four bottles of Safari lager in his hands, displaying his muscular hands. He puts the bottles on a table. The four men who were playing darts and snooker pick them up. Then, they, along with other men, cheer a man who is handing over a Safari lager champion cup to another man. The commentator says, "This beer has won six international golden awards and the most excellent beer in Africa award... Safari Lager." In the bar, they all toss. The last shot of the advertisement shows a bottle of Safari lager and a mug full of beer. Then, the following words appear on the screen, "... complete taste with more satisfaction... Drink responsibly. Not for sale to persons under 18."

The YouTube *Bia ya Mabingwa* TV advertisement is accompanied by the following caption:

> In March 2013, Safari Lager won the "No. 1 Beer in Africa" award at the Inaugural African Beer Awards event. The award reinforced its status as Tanzania's "Champion Beer for Male Champions." The company made a grand and inspirational TV advertisement to showcase moments in the lives of various Male Champions and to welcome others to the World of Champions.

The advertisement was released after the other Safari Lager TV advertisement, *John Mwanaume wa Kweli* (John is a Real Man), which also paints the prowess of men.

In most of the FGDs, two major opinions were expressed, both focusing on the representation of women and men in advertisements. There were those who believed that the representation reflected real situations and those who challenged the stereotypical representation of women and men in advertisements. A male respondent said, "If you say I'm the champion, you can't let a lady climb the antenna; she can't walk carrying a luggage ... you can't change the reality."

Another respondent argued that "[b]ravery is for men. It is not easy for a woman to climb to the top of that antenna... Very few women are capable of lifting beer crates. What I've seen is that most women are dependent on men. That's why men [as characters] are used in the advertisements." Another respondent added that:

> You know, a woman has to depend on her husband. What the husband does makes her happy. A good example of this can be found in our families. In our families, the father is the one who goes to work. When he returns home, the mother has to prepare [what the man has brought] and that makes her happy.

In the Safari Lager advertisement, men are cast in masculine pauses, with muscles and a specific focus in mind, implying that they are strong, courageous, important and wealthy, although it is well known that some men are weak, coward and poor.

The majority of those who participated in the FGDs challenged the view which puts men above others. A female respondent said, "The advertisement shows that men are the ones who work; women depend on men. I mean, it is not true that "the man" provides for the family and "the woman" is happy..." Another female respondent was not happy with the representation of women and men in the advertisement. She pointed out that, "A man is portrayed as a powerful person, while a woman as a weak person..., although women are also strong. This is an insult to us."

Blaming the media, a female respondent said, "The media continue to propagate patriarchy because they give priority to men. In the [Safari Lager] advertisement the men are smart and well dressed. They are also in good health. But the women are very weak, dressed in dirty *khangas*. Why not balance them?" And yet another (a male respondent) said, "In the advertisement, the women were not shown as people capable of being champions. There are a lot of activities women have been doing, but in this [advertisement] we didn't see any activities done by women." The respondents also mentioned places in the advertisement where women should have been used. A male respondent said, "There are so many female chemists in Tanzania. The test tube should have been held by a woman; after all, they are just acting.

The foregoing, negative portrayal of women perpetuates violence against women, as a male respondent notes:

> You find a drunkard husband, or simply a drinker. This advertisement is "being" broadcast. The husband sees his wife watching it. Then [he says], "You see, we [men] toil, [but] if we drink you complain about it." I mean, he just starts attacking her like that. He beats her. Afterwards, he goes out to drink. When he comes back, each sleeps on his or her own side of the bed.

This comment mirrors a story of how violence against women can be instigated not only by alcohol but also by advertisements which position men as the only ones who deserve better care and attention. It is also consistent with Bandura's (1973) findings that the extent to which people are exposed to violence, even if it is for intervention purposes, makes them resort to violent behaviour.

2. Airtel Tanzania: Airtel Money *Mimi ni Bingwa* (I'm the Champion), 31 seconds.

At the beginning of the advertisement, a group of men are playing football in what looks like a *bodaboda* (a motorcycle) station in Dar es Salaam. The advertisement is accompanied by background music and "I'm the champion" apparently uttered by men. A man kicks the ball on which the Airtel log is printed and the ball passes over a lake into the Old Trafford football pitch in the UK where the football match is taking place. (The place is Mwanza because rocks/stones can be seen in the advertisement). The Manchester United player, Wayne Rooney, passes the ball to a soldier statue, otherwise known as Askari Monument in Dar es Salaam.

The manipulation of the graphics shows the Askari hitting the ball with his head. The ball passes over a bus conductor's plate of chips and eggs (*chipsi-mayai*) into Old Trafford again. From Old Trafford, the ball goes to a crowd of people who are sitting at the beach and a man hits it with his head. The ball goes back to Old Trafford. Rooney kicks the ball, which goes all the way to the Kariakoo market in Dar es Salaam, where several men are waiting for it. One of them hits the ball, which passes over the market building into Old Trafford yet again. The man has scored a goal.

Football fans are cheering and images showing the inside of Old Trafford are interchanged with images showing the outside of the Kariakoo market building. Then a male commentator says, "I'm the champion. Win a ticket to go to Old Trafford and millions of shillings – send BINGWA to 15656." After that, the words "Terms and conditions apply" appear on the screen. A man kicks the ball and then the Airtel logo covers the advertisement.

With regard to this advertisement, the respondents were divided into two distinct groups. Instantly, a female respondent said, "There was no woman in the advertisement." A male respondent said, "Women have been excluded from the advertisement." Another respondent said, "The Airtel people favour men over women as if we women can't play football. Do they think we can't play it? Have they used only men in the advertisement because they think we can't play football?" This discussion plugs the gap that most corporate companies are, perhaps, not aware of. It also points to the fact that the advertisement was not tested before the decision to run it was made.

The other group consisted of those who thought that the advertisement was reasonable. A male respondent said, "In situations where strong people are needed you can't see women. Women can't be used in advertisements about championships. Even if they try to reduce the "amount" of masculinity in advertisements such as Airtel's, aspects of masculinity will be in them." The respondent speaks as if men and masculinity were the same. Masculinity is a behaviour acquired through socialization; a woman can be masculine and men can be feminine.

There was also a discussion about the activities done in the advertisement. A male respondent argued that "[m]ost *bodaboda* (motorcycle) operators are men. I have never seen a woman who operates a *bodaboda*." The interpretation of this comment is based on the fact that most people believe that there is what is called "real life". Therefore, if the life that is portrayed is real, then there is no need to change the portrayal of it and the fundamental question of why women do not operate *bodabodas* should not be asked. A female respondent said, "It is men who are champions because women do not watch football. If a woman watches football, she is told that only men deserve to watch it."

As argued earlier, the issue is not who watches football and who doesn't. Instead, we need to focus on the implications of presenting such dos and don'ts. It was also noted by a female respondent that "[i]t is patriarchy which makes men to be seen as champions ... women can play football but here [in the advertisement] they've shown men as the only people who can play football." A male respondent commented on people's attitudes towards women football players. He said, "If a woman plays [football] people will say 'she has a male figure'" Another male respondent said, "There are those who believe that women who play football become prostitutes. That is why they don't want women to play it."

Some of the respondents believe that there is nothing wrong with the advertisement because the company is doing a business. Hence it will always produce advertisements that are attractive to customers. "There is nothing wrong with that [Airtel's] advertisement because what the company does is influenced by its target audience. In business sense, they are right," said a male respondent. Doing a business is not a bad thing, but doing a business that infringes upon people's rights and tarnishes the image of a certain group of people is.

3. TiGo Tanzania: TiGoPesa *Namba ya Maajabu* (A Miraculous Number), 45 seconds.

In this advertisement, the front of a bungalow is shown. A man opens the front door; behind him stand a woman and a young girl (presumably his wife and daughter). A male commentator says, "When you know that there are people who meet all your needs, you must be happy." The woman kisses the man and the girl holds the man's hands, saying, "Dad come, let us play bye-show[1] again." Then, the man says, "OK. We will play it."

First, the man squats down, then sits down and starts playing and singing with the girl. The voices heard are of a man and a little girl. The wife/mother is sitting behind them, smiling and clapping, but not singing. Then, the father and daughter are seen leaving the house joyfully as the *148*00# sign in yellow appears on the screen. The commentator says, "If you have got a TiGo line, you can fulfill your needs using only one number. Dial *148*00#. Smile you are with TiGo."

The online YouTube advertisement is accompanied by the following slogan: "A Miraculous Number. It's our new service short code. You can enjoy all TiGo services with JUST ONE number. What you have to do is dial *148*00#".

The participants in various FGDs had different views about the advertisement. Most of them believed the man loves his family. A male respondent said, "The father shows his love for his family." Another male respondent pointed out that "[t]he father takes care of his family." Some of the respondents were of the view that such families were uncommon in Tanzania. A male respondent said, "That can never be done. You can't play with your daughter while you are getting ready to go to work." And yet another male respondent said, "In the past girls were not close to their fathers like that. This is not our culture... This is a foreign [Western] culture. But now girls are close to their fathers in our society."

In the discussion, it was further noted that, even though most of the respondents considered the man to be a responsible father, his behaviour related to his economic status.

> Most of the time people are stressed. To show love to your daughter like that you must be in a good financial position. Look at the house. If you live in a hovel and you are on your way to work (working as a bus driver) you can't stop and play with your daughter like that (a male respondent).

It was interesting to note that the opinions of the two women who participated in the FGDs were as diverse as those of the men who participated in the men's FGDs and the mixed FGDs.

[1] This is a children's game, which is played by two people by singing and clapping hands in a "set" pattern.

> The girl loves her father more than her mother and the man cares more about his daughter than about his wife... The woman is doing nothing, just clapping her hands while the girl is playing with her father. Love between them [the husband and the wife] is thawing. This causes men to engage in *michepuko* [extramarital sexual relationships] (a female respondent).

Another female respondent said, "[A man] can behave like that at the beginning [of a marriage], but later he changes, especially when you have children."

During the same discussion, another female respondent said that:

> Most children are afraid of their fathers. For example, most fathers are high-tempered; even wives are afraid of them. Most men return home drunk. So, children are not close to their fathers... Such families are rare in our society. I, too, am afraid of my father, although I am an adult. I was not brought up to be close to him.

In addition, a female respondent said that:

> You know, fathers are heads of families. In our families, there is a specific chair specially reserved for the father. Nobody sits on it even when he is not at home. It will be vacant until he's back. Patriarchy was, and still is, with us. Our children live in accordance with it. Very few of them can get rid of patriarchy. That's why I can say such families are rare, perhaps the families of the educated. But those who grew up in the countryside, they can't have such a lifestyle.

What conclusions can we draw from this discussion? It is evident that, regardless of the fact that some advertisements try to portray a positive image of both women and men, they cannot get rid of gender discrimination. Even when it is balanced, the audience might not be able to relate what they see in the advertisements to their daily lives because very little has changed at the family and community levels.

Generally, women in these advertisements are, to a large extent, presented in a stereotypical way, if they are included. The advertisements don't focus on them and women who appear in the advertisements are passive. During the discussions, it was noted that women could be seen in certain kinds of advertisements; there was a possibility of putting women in empowered positions. "When women are involved, they appear in cooking oil and powdered soap advertisements," lamented a female respondent. Such images portray women as weak, soft, unimportant and "disabled".

There is a tendency to glorify a male-masculine figure as observed in all three TV advertisements. The main question is why are men used as main characters in advertisements? Why are women presented as passive, subservient and unimportant people in most TV advertisements? What impact do these images have on the society where they are broadcast? Are people aware of the power relations found in them? What is the link between the masculine figure and VAW? Commenting on the advertisements, a male respondent said that:

> Those who produce these advertisements fail to understand one thing. Not every advertisement must present men only, and not everything should be done by men only. Women should also appear in advertisements. I'm not saying women do not appear in advertisements at all. They appear in advertisements that are concerned with women issues, but not in those which are about sports. It is always men who appear in the latter, although women have their own sports, netball, for example. Women are marginalized. We see only men in the advertisements. And when they [women] are placed in leadership positions, they are placed in junior positions...

This comment and the others suggest that the image of women presented in TV advertisements can influence people's attitudes towards women not only at the local level, but also at the national level.

5. Violence, patriarchy and Neo-liberalism

From the way TV advertisements portray the female figure, it is evident that sometimes this portrayal of women causes violence against women to occur. "You know if a woman is portrayed as weak or coward it is easy for a man to subjugate and beat her because he knows that she is weak and dependent on him. And a man, because he feels he's powerful, is confident that he can do anything [to a woman]," said a female respondent. This statement sums up what happened to Mwarobe. Mwarobe's husband believes that a woman is a weak person, "an object" to be abused. Portrayed as weak psychologically, socially and economically, Mwarobe is at a crossroads just as many women in the world are. Research findings also confirm this and link violence against women with mental and reproductive health, unsafe sex and HIV (Betron, 2008:2, 2012:67; Maman & Mbwambo, 2004; Shule, 2004).

Several factors are associated with men's violence against women. These include the denial of men's patriarchal benefits and women's failure to fulfill their presumed roles such as cooking, washing, taking care of children, having sex with men and other similar prescribed functions. Because men believe that being a man is better than being a woman, violence occurs in both formal (marriages) and informal (cohabitation) relationships. In this situation, most men feel betrayed when their partners fail to fulfill their socially constructed functions.

Men's socialization also causes VAW. In some cases, young boys are trained to "behave like men" and assume "self-appointed" masculine roles of being protectors of girls and providers for them. Thus, many men tend to suppress their emotions, something that results in aggressive behaviour. Some boys grow up believing that they are entitled to "own" women and "use" them as they please. In case of any resistance to such "masculine normality", women might end up being physically, psychologically, sexually and verbally abused. It should also be pointed out that many men lack adequate interpersonal communication skills which could help them express their feelings and opinions in a subtle manner.

Studies show that men who have experienced violence in their lives tend to become violent (Instituto Promundo, 2002). This means men who have witnessed violence against women in their own families or were themselves victims of violence are likely to use violence against their female partners and children. This shows clearly that the socialization of boys in society is a major factor for men to be violent. As pointed out previously, the media, particularly TV advertisements, play a role in the socialization of people.

Lack of a sustainable financial base for most women, exposure to a violent environment, poor violence management systems and pervasive poverty are some of the major causes of VAW at the local level. "Due both to inequities in access to education and to social norms of women caring for the family rather than working outside the home, many respondents cited that women tend to be economically dependent on men" (Betron, 2008:8). Our findings complement this argument and show the backlashes which face women when they try to undermine the prescribed gender roles. This happens especially when a woman (a wife) starts to gain economic power. The man doesn't feel secure.

> There are men who are uneducated. They think that if a woman is employed and earns an income she will either have a better life than him or she will be above him. If, as a woman, you decide to search for a job so that you can get some money to meet your daily needs with, your husband will look for all possible means to suppress you. He'll start controlling how you spend the money. He'll tell you, "Both of us are employed. I don't have money today". You see, as a wife, you find that you work hard but your income is very low. He stops taking care of the family because you have decided to earn some money. If he does that, the burden becomes too heavy for you. At the end of the day, you can't carry it and you decide to stop working (a female respondent).

With such loopholes, some men usually use violence when trying to re-assert their traditional male power as providers for their families. What has been noted is that patriarchy and masculine systems are intertwined, and they are so rigid that any efforts to transform them may result in abuse, disputes and violence. Both uneducated and educated men and women are victims of violence. Ntangaare points out that:

> Powerful women are also a common target [of abuse]. This extends to women with higher-education qualifications, those in politics, progressive businesswomen, nurses, secretaries and other women in formal employment. The prevalent thesis seems to be that economic independence and too much freedom and education for women corrupts their soul and makes them rebellious in the domestic sphere. It is the professional women who are castigated most strongly for domestic rebellion while nurses and secretaries are seen as especially rude and mean; the former because their profession is so exhausting and the latter because they are protecting bosses whom it is commonly believed they sleep with (Ntangaare, 2002:61).

Women with higher education who live in urban areas are less likely to experience physical violence from their partners than women without higher education who live in rural areas are. Men of the same status are less likely to commit acts of violence against their female partners (United Republic of Tanzania, 2011:252) than their counterparts. This suggests that social status, access to information and (higher) education may provide women with some protection against violent partners and with more security if they choose to leave their partners or divorce them. On the contrary, Ntangaare sees education, career and financial stability as negative values for a "woman of today", as she notes:

> Educated women are, moreover, often shown as unreasonable and unstable, particularly in their dealings with other women. If you are not openly quarrelling and destructive, they work through gossip and innuendo (sic). Women managers are accused of a 'Queen Bee Syndrome' and a woman with PhD is subject to a phrase –

> punning on those initials – 'Pull Her Down' (sic). Housewives enjoy power over servants, and servants in turn seek to undermine their mistresses by seducing their masters or discrediting wives with the neighbours (Ntangaare, 2002:61).

Another factor for men to commit acts of violence against women is their silence about fellow men's violence. This silence accelerates domestic violence because men sometimes witness violence but fail to speak about it because they are afraid of being considered powerless. The issue becomes more complicated when men are involved in resolving VAW-related conflicts as third parties because they tend to defend patriarchy. For example, the two male leaders to whom Mwarobe reported her problem several times, "did nothing" to protect her from violence.

At the national level, Tanzania has taken some steps to combat VAW. Apart from being a signatory to various declarations, Tanzania has put in place various policies, regulations and laws. However, most of the national initiatives are a result of external pressure. The initiatives include the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR I & II), the National Development Vision 2025, the Tanzania National Plan of Action for the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children (2001–2015), Women and Gender Development Policy, the National Guidelines for the Management of Gender-Based Violence, Policy Guidelines towards Response and Prevention of Gender Based Violence, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977), the Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act (SOSPA) 1998 and the Penal Code Cap. 16 R. E. 2002. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) of 2000 did not address the issue of violence in any way (see United Republic of Tanzania, 2000).

Tanzania is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol, 2003). All these and others provide for the elimination of violence against women.

Of course, these documents cite, elaborate on and address VAW and Tanzania has ratified international agreements, but the government is in a situation where attention has been shifted away from poverty reduction (PRSP and NSGPR I & II) to economic growth – the Big Results Now (BRN) thing (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013). Key sectors for the BRN include energy and natural gas, agriculture, water, education and transport and (United Republic of Tanzania, 2013).

Such a shift has a direct impact on the efforts to end VAW. The NSGRP II clearly acknowledges the link between violence and poverty (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010:18). This is due to the fact that the stress resulting from poverty among men might cause them to commit acts of violence against their female partners. Even if there are efforts to review discriminatory laws to address domestic violence (United Republic of Tanzania, 2010:92), poverty may frustrate such efforts.

Economic growth figures are rising, but "[t]he 2007 poverty estimates indicated that the economy's significant growth since 2000/01 had not translated into significant reductions in income poverty" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2012:xx). One of the major causes of such a

situation is poor implementation of the SAPs. According to TGNP (2013:5), the SAPs have raised the level of poverty in the country because most of the neo-liberal policies are not intended for improving the livelihoods of poor people, but rather focus on capital accumulation. It is firther noted that the implementation of the SAPs has increased the number of unemployed men. Hence, women are suffering more as they have to take care of their families (TGNP, 2013:6–7).

In addition, it is noted that when men allow women to support their families it is not because men are reformed, but rather it is because of the little income men earn due to economic changes (Koda & Omari, 1991:120). Increasing women's activities without transforming the perceived gender roles makes the burden heavier for women. The stress that men go through because of lacking reliable jobs and sustainable income makes men prevent women from excelling in their activities, in addition to making them commit acts of violence against women. The consequences of violence for growing economies are obvious. As Betron notes:

> GBV has significant costs for the economies of developing countries in terms of lower worker productivity and incomes and lower rates of accumulation of human and social capital and its strain on healthcare and judicial systems. Studies measuring the economic costs of GBV have not been conducted in Africa (Betron, 2008:4).

If such studies are conducted and are linked to the current economic growth, their results might show that there is a need to spearhead the struggle against VAW.

Cloutier (2006:298) argues that "[t]he Structural Adjustment Programme, focusing only on efficiency, affected the feminist struggle for social justice, equality and human rights as it shifted the costs of reproduction from the State to the household and thus increased women's burden." Most of the BRN priority areas do not respond to gender, particularly to women needs. In agriculture, for example, the emphasis is on large-scale farming and agribusiness, while it is well known that the majority of women farmers engage in small-scale farming or in the so-called "hand to mouth agriculture" (TGNP, 2013). In deciding to promote large-scale farming, the government has not taken into consideration the fact that women need to produce for domestic consumption and business. This means that most women will fail to support their families because they are not able to compete with large-scale farmers in the market.

In addition, women and poor men in places where land has been grabbed will continue to work as "cheap labourers" on large farms while earning very little income. The low income that some men receive has led them to commit acts of violence against their partners when the latter ask the former to provide for their families. "The frustration that men experience, the inability to play their traditional masculine role as income earners and providers and their inability to gain assets and move out of poverty have translated to (sic) violence against women" (TGNP, 2013:7). Strange as it may seem, men are still regarded by society as "heads" of their families, regardless of whether or not they are able to support their families.

Sextortion is still one of the challenges facing women. It is manly practised in workplaces and in other places where women go to seek support or services (TGNP, 2013). It happens to both educated and uneducated women, poor and rich, and it cuts across various age-groups. Notable efforts have been made by the judiciary and activists to address sextortion

(TGNP, 2013; Tanzania Women Judges' Association, n.d.). The secrecy surrounding issues pertaining to corruption and sex makes sextortion more complex to address.

Because of technological advancements at the global level and the weak legal frameworks at the national level, Internet-based VAW is increasing. Attacks on people in social media based on their sexual orientation are increasingly becoming a common phenomenon in the world. Hate speeches were common in popular social media and networks like Facebook before the owners of the media and networks were forced to institute new user policies. At the beginning, Facebook owners regarded cases about hate speeches directed at or about women as not important. But after the May 2013 demonstrations by activist groups in the USA led by Women, Action & Media (WAM), they admitted that it was wrong for them to deny that VAW was expressed in the form of statements, pictures and gestures on their platform (Carrol, 2013; *The New York Times*, 2013). Digital transformation signifies challenges gender and feminist movements, twenty years after Beijing, are facing, that is, changes in violence dynamics from physical beatings to economic hardships.

At the international level, conferences, meetings, workshops on VAW/GBV are organized and resolutions are adopted. Awareness about the "persistent monster" is raised from "above". Policy documents that are ratified by individual countries do not address the root causes of VAW/GBV, but rather they target the effects of VAW/GBV on women. For example, telling countries to end VAW without addressing the question of why certain kinds of violence, say, physical violence, are more prevalent in poor economies than in developed ones will not "solve the violence-against-women puzzle." Instead, it makes it more complex. There are neo-liberal policies that are based on primitive accumulation of wealth, land-grabbing and immiseration of peasant producers and various other policies that favour the rich. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are real (Pietila, 2007:3) and have increased unemployment and costs of education and health care. Land-grabbing, for example, affects both men and women. Although they are in the majority, many women in Tanzania do not own land, but rather they depend on it for livelihoods. Currently, land is sold so that people can meet their basic needs (TGNP, 2013). These local, national and international challenges have, to some extent, created and exacerbated outrage and social, political and economic frustrations that directly accelerate VAW.

Struggles to end the portrayal of women as non-existent, passive and unimportant are well documented. Market women, for example, feel secure if they can engage in business activities and get new ideas. For them, going to the market to trade is like going to school to study (Pietila, 2007). In some cases, women have to participate in *upatu* (rotational schemes) which enable poor women to collect and share money in rotation for supporting their families (Koda & Omari, 1991). More efforts to end VAW in Tanzania are made by the Women and Constitution Coalition (WCC) in the ongoing constitutional review process. The coalition, apart from advocating for a 50/50 representation of women and men in all government organs and institutions, suggests articles for inclusion in the new constitution which protect women from all forms of violence.

Campaign against VAW in TV advertisements and television in general should be instituted and monitored by regulatory bodies such as the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) so that less violence is transmitted to the audience. Advertisements should be pre-tested so as to get people's opinions on them and to correct weaknesses and stigma towards a certain kind of gender before they are broadcast.

Tanzania should review its policies, laws and structures in order to support women and other marginalized groups. The process requires political will and the commitment of the Tanzanian society. The government's involvement in the fight against VAW will do justice to VAW victims.

The government's reports such as *Beijing + 20* (United Republic of Tanzania, 2014:16) indicate that the state is still committed to eradicating VAW in the country. However, the government's commitment does not reflect what is happening in most of the corporate TV advertisements. Besides, there are no modalities in place to minimize stereotypes about women in the media, particularly in the corporate companies' advertisements.

An earlier study (Shule, 2004) showed how young men perpetrated violence against women and how violence played a key role in HIV transmission. That study recommended that, since the "compulsion" to perpetrate violence is cognitively acquired, efforts to end violence should be made by the same media that aggravates it. That means those who use television to advertise their services or commodities should be encouraged to continuously portray a balanced image of both sexes.

The school environment, especially the primary school environment where children start their journey to adulthood, should be an equal-learning-for-all kind of environment. The syllabuses and curricula should be reviewed so as to end VAW and fill the gender gap that exists in them. Programmes such as *Tuseme* (let's speak out) which use theatre to empower both girls and boys so that they can together find solutions to their problems should be mainstreamed in all the primary schools in Tanzania. The mainstreaming of the programmes should start in areas where VAW is very common.

Parents and guardians should be advised through various channels to change their mindsets regarding their children and treat both girls and boys equally. "Outdated cultural practices", especially those which give more rights to boys than to girls, should continuously be discouraged. The media and users of the media should be encouraged to present balanced images of both sexes to the public because it is from the images they present that the audience "learns" and understands gender dynamics and appreciates the potential of each and every person.

Art in particular and the creative industry in general are among the fastest growing sectors where the majority of youth earn their bread. A thorough study should be conducted so as to establish their link to the increase in acts of violence and to establish how the sector can be used to reduce poverty, which is one of the triggers of VAW.

6. Conclusion

This multi- and inter-disciplinary study combined arts, the media, communication, gender and some aspects of "the economy and politics". Various theories have been used to explain the existence of violence in the Tanzanian society and how violence is intertwined with and maintained by various social structures. This chapter has analyzed TV advertisements of select corporate companies. It has examined the patriarchal image of women and men and the advertisements' role in the modern society. It has been revealed that the magnification of the male figure as a potential customer, as someone with money, is high in the advertisements. Most images are created to attract customers, but they are not

gender sensitive. Women are portrayed as the weaker sex, therefore making them more prone to violence than they are.

The issue of image and what makes one masculine or feminine is suspect. The respondents were divided into two distinct camps. On the one hand, there are those who believe that, because in "real" life women are subjugated, the subjugation of women should also be reflected in the advertisements. On the other hand, there are those who argue against this. In scenarios where men were made to look more responsive than they really were, most of the respondents said that such a portrayal of men did not reflect reality. This calls for a proactive discussion on gender roles and their dynamics.

Since violence against women is perpetrated at the local, national and international levels, there is a need to fight it. The empowerment of both girls and boys from the primary school level to the university level should be part of the curricula. State and non-state actors such as the police, NGOs and the judiciary should combat VAW proactively at the national level. Mwarobe's case is a good starting point in providing justice to the victims of gender-based violence.

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Corporate companies' TV advertisements

Tanzania Breweries, *Bia ya Mabingwa/A Champion Beer for Male Champions* (60 seconds), published on 20th November 2013. Retrieved 1st April 2014, from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfx0zvHc-O4

Airtel Tanzania, *Mimi ni Bingwa/I'm the Champion* (31 seconds), published on 10th January 2014. Retrieved 1st April 2014, from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6FklVfb4A1E

TiGo Tanzania, *Namba ya Maajabu/ A Miracle Number* (45 seconds), published on 24th October 2013. Retrieved 1st April 2014, from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9azCovgUME

The Political Economy of Change in Tanzania: Contestations over Identity, the Constitution and Resources is a must read for all students of Tanzanian politics. This book provides the most holistic account of the direction of political change in Tanzania using a political economy approach to examine religion and gender identities, political competition, the suspended effort of constitution-making, the often violent conflicts surrounding natural resources and myriad inter-related problems preventing the state from making quality social services accessible. Nineteen leading Tanzanian scholars from the fields of Political Science, Law, Economics, Geography, Sociology, Anthropology and Fine and Performing Arts have collaborated to provide interdisciplinary insights, focusing on a turbulent phase of Tanzania's political history characterized by rising religious tensions, the growing strength and assertiveness of opposition political parties, tensions in the union between the Mainland and Zanzibar, the push for a new constitution, growing resource conflicts and increasing public dissatisfaction with corruption and lousy public services. The book paints a clear and detailed picture of the problems facing the President Magufuli's government as it charts its course to win public confidence and mobilize societal resources for national development.

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