Media against AIDS

- A qualitative study of Tanzanian journalists’ views about the sexual reproductive health information in the Femina HIP Magazine

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Abstract
Tanzania is one of the countries in the world with the highest rates of HIV-infection. Since there is no cure, not even life prolonging drugs available for Tanzanians, HIV-prevention must focus on making people change behaviour; that is practice safer sex. This study explores how Tanzanian media workers approach the issues of HIV/AIDS and sexuality. I have gathered information from interviews with media workers at radio, television and daily papers. The result shows that mass media frequently report about the epidemic and media workers think that they have an impact.

However, this study shows that there are several crucial flaws in the HIV-information conveyed by Tanzanian mainstream media. For instance, I argue that mass media are too distanced from their audience. The information about AIDS derives mostly from political statements, workshops and statistics. It is very rare that media institutions approach “the man in the street” and ask him about his opinion about this topic that by all means concerns all Tanzanians.

Also, there seems to be very little reflection among media workers how the information is perceived on grass root levels. Most of them take for granted that their audience understand the media messages. I would not be too so sure. There is a widespread habit of adjusting language until it becomes politically correct. Many words that I believe would be helpful when reporting about HIV/AIDS and sexuality are taboo. There are few visions how mass media can be used to transform traditional values and for instance speak more open about sexuality.

The youth magazine Femina represents a different approach to sexual reproductive health communication in Tanzania. The magazine uses straight talk about sexuality and has become increasingly popular among young people. Femina has been a reference point during my interviews with media workers. They approve of the somewhat bold magazine as long as the information do not fall into the hands of people that will be offended or harmed by the message, primarily children and old people.

I argue that linguistic taboos are one of the big obstacles for a successful HIV-communication in Tanzania. How can mass media empower people, especially youths, to negotiate safer sex if the words related to sexuality are forbidden or too vague to be fully understood? Official Swahili has a limited vocabulary related to sexuality and slang words used by young people have difficulties to find their way into the media houses. In this aspect I believe that Femina has an important task to do. In their contacts with young people they can identify new words related to sexuality. By putting them on print, the magazine has a chance to gradually make them accepted and consequently enrich Swahili in a field where the vocabulary is lacking behind the devastating HIV-epidemic.
Abbreviations
AIDS Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
AMREF African Medical and Research Foundation
CCM Chama Cha Mapinuzi
DTV Dar es Salaam Television
HIP Health Information Project
HIV Human Immunity Deficiency Virus
ITV Independent Television
MISA Media Institute of Southern Africa
NGO Non Governmental Organization
PLWA Person living with AIDS
Sida Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
STD Sexually Transmitted Disease
TACKAIDS Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TANU Tanganyika National Party Union
TAMWA Tanzanian Media Women Association
TVT Tanzania Television
WAMATA - Walio Katika Mapam-Mbano na AIDS Tanzania (People in the fight against AIDS in Tanzania)
1. INTRODUCTION

On the 4th of November 2001 the Sunday Observer in Tanzania publishes an article with the following headline: "Ten years drop in life expectancy by 2010". The dramatic decline is a direct effect of the human catastrophe that keeps a firm grip of Tanzania, the HIV/AIDS epidemic. According to the Sunday Observer article, life expectancy will drop from 56 to 46/47 years within the next few years. The most vulnerable group are young people, they account for nearly 60 per cent of all newly infected. The width of these figures is almost impossible to grasp, both in terms of personal tragedies and economical loss for the society as a whole. Yet, the story does not render more than a small space in a column on the front page. Why?

A universal law of journalism is to give priority to news; the unexpected, dramatic events that could shock or at least amaze the audience. There is no such element about HIV/AIDS. Not any more. The epidemic has been known for more than 20 years. The rates of infected are growing continuously but there are no news about it. Therefore we see articles covering the epidemic more by duty than will.

Reporting about AIDS is not only a challenge because it is old stuff. The fact that it is a sexually transmitted disease makes it an issue of morality, prejudices, shame and taboo. And when reporting about the epidemic, mass media have to approach some of the most private fields of society, sexuality. As a practising journalist I am interested in learning more about Tanzanian mass media’s role in the HIV-prevention and how journalists reflect upon making the most private public.

This is the final paper on a master education in Communication for Development at the University of Malmö in Sweden. A scholarship from Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) enabled me to conduct the field study as a Minor Field Study during the autumn of 2001.

1.1 Problem Formulation
The purpose of this study is to see how media workers approach the issue of HIV/AIDS and sexuality. What is their opinion about media’s impact on HIV-prevention? Do they report openly about HIV/AIDS and sexuality? Are there any particular taboos that they have to take into account? What influence them in their job? Is it their own values, pressure from employers, other superiors or even the whole society?

A reference in the discussion has been the Tanzanian youth magazine called Femina HIP (Health Information Project), at the moment funded by Sida. By using straight talk about sexuality it has an ambition to provide youths with tools to avoid unwanted pregnancies and STDs (Sexually Transmitted Disease) like HIV. Besides, Femina wants to nourish the sexual political debate in

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1 HIV (Human Immuno Deficieny Virus) affects the human immune system. The white blood cells that normally defeat viruses or bacteria fail to do so. White blood cells are continuously destroyed and the immune system collapse. The body cannot defeat infections any more and at this stage AIDS (Acquired Immuno Deficieny Syndrome) appear. It is not a disease in itself but syndromes of different diseases, for instance tuberculosis and pneumonia.
the country and serve as a model for other media in their reporting about HIV. How is that liberal approach to a taboo subject like sexuality regarded by other media workers? Do they find the reporting in the magazine inspiring for their own professional work or is it an abuse to the Tanzanian culture?

1.2 Method
Despite intense scientific research the cure against AIDS is still out of reach. In the Western world that deficiency has somewhat been compensated by drugs that prolong life for HIV-infected. This is not the case in Tanzania. The drugs are far too expensive and hence, the only way to save people from dying is to make them change their behavior, meaning practice safer sex.

That is not an easy task and as far as I am concerned an absolute prerequisite for succeeding is that people break the silence around sexuality. I identified Tanzanian mass media as a gatekeeper in the process of raising awareness among the public, possibly by challenging traditional taboos of not speaking in public about sexually related issues. Thematical interviews would answer my questions, but I understood that the collection of data could be problematic.

At a first and relatively brief meeting I would touch upon issues that people tend to regard as private matters. First of all, the respondents´ attitudes to their own professional job and the risk that they would feel criticized by being questioned about their working methods. Secondly, their opinions about verbalizing sexually related issues. As a journalist I am used to conduct interviews. However, even in my own familiar culture, it is difficult to talk openly about sexuality. Now, I was about to discuss the issue in detail with people, different to me in terms of cultural background, and quite often also religion, age and gender.

The barriers seemed high. I assumed that I would either get rejected after the first few questions or get a unison response. "Yes, we do inform people about HIV, and yes we are open about AIDS and sexuality." To avoid a situation where my respondents would feel that they had to defend their own professional work or reveal things of personal character, I chose to let them comment on the Femina magazine. By asking them to reflect upon HIV-reporting made by someone else, I would keep away from personal prestige, but still get a good picture of their attitude to HIV and sexuality. Two different issues of Femina were current during the autumn of 2001. At each interview the respondent got a chance to look at one or both of these samples (see appendix).

The method used is qualitative focusing on the situation of Tanzanian mainland. 18 media workers were interviewed. They are all working at major media houses in Dar es Salaam. The study contains three different parameters:


2. **Hierarchical level**, chief editors and junior reporters.


Nine different media houses within radio, TV and daily papers are represented (see appendix).
They have been selected to get a variety between privately and state or governmental run media institutions. At each place two interviews have been conducted, one with a news editor and one with a junior reporter, alternatively with a journalist specialized on health issues. The purpose of interviewing people at different hierarchical levels has been to see if power structures within a media house refrain journalists from reporting according to their own values.

The ambition to get a balance between men and women was not easily achieved. When asking for the person in charge of the newsroom I was often directed to a man. Only two out of nine editors interviewed are female. Regarding the lower hierarchical level, junior reporters or reporters specialized on health issues, five out of nine respondents are women (see appendix).

A question guide has been followed during the interviews (see appendix). The questions were divided into two themes.

1. The general opinion on how to tackle HIV/AIDS, primarily the attitude towards taboos.

2. Their opinion about Femina as a vehicle for health communication.

The interviews have all taken place at the respondents’ offices. All but two interviews have been recorded and transcribed. Where quotation marks are used the quotation is an exact blue print from the original interview. Some times a whole dialogue is quoted. The respondent is referred to as R. I is the abbreviation for interviewer. If the name of the respondent is not written out in fluent text, it is put in brackets after the quotation. A few times, the respondents expressed opinions that may be taken as criticism against employer or the government. In order not to put the respondents in any trouble I have let them remain anonymous in those few cases.

My study ran parallel with a broader evaluation of how Femina is perceived by some key groups in society. Three Tanzanian research assistants were employed by the Femina HIP project to conduct interviews with teachers, health providers, religious leaders and parents. I have gathered similar information within my study and the Femina HIP team will get access to my results. I have also had access to the Femina office in Dar es Salaam, their newspapers and telephone. However, Femina was not my employer. Responsible for the design of the study is myself with support from my supervisor at the University of Malmö in Sweden. I have had the final decision which media house to include in the study. Also, I have informed my respondents that I do not depend on the Femina HIP. I have encouraged the respondents to express their opinions, irrespectively if it has been in favor of the Femina project or not.

Another eight interviews have been conducted with key persons; either working for institutions or NGOs related to media, HIV or youth issues. They provide a deeper understanding of Tanzanian mass media and are frequently quoted. Some 50 articles collected from English speaking newspapers between September and November 2001 have also been useful to extend the understanding for media in Tanzania.

1.3 Theories
As mentioned above HIV-prevention presupposes some kind of behavior change, and that is a key element in Communication for Development – a cross-scientific field that deal with methods
to improve material, social or health related life conditions, in the non-Western world. I will give a more extensive background to the different paradigms in chapter 4. Let me just start with a brief and somewhat simplified presentation of the three leading paradigms here:

**Modernity** – makes a clear distinction between modern and traditional society. A central idea is that non-Western societies must become more like the industrial countries, follow their path towards development in order to break free of poverty and social distress.

**Dependency** – is a counter reaction against modernity, claiming that non-Western societies run a high risk to get even more dependent and underdeveloped by copying the progress of the West.

**Multiplicity** – claims there is no universal way to development. “Every society must define development for itself and find its own strategy” (Servaes 1999:6).

Since the 1980s the multiplicity paradigm has been dominated in Communication for Development theories, but I think that neither modernity nor dependency should be completely rejected. Personally, I have gained a special interest for modernity. Its description of the oppositions between tradition and modern may be simplistic; also modernity has a tendency to overestimate the impact of mass media in the transformation of modern society. Still, the tension between traditional and modern fascinates me. I want to explore where between these two poles Tanzanian mass media stand. Do they enjoy the privilege, described by modernization paradigm, of being a progressive force in society, able to create change for the better?

I think that the question very well can be answered by looking closer at HIV/AIDS reporting. As mentioned in the introduction, I believe that an honest attempt to combat the epidemic must be reflected in openness around sexuality. However, most traditional Tanzanian societies say that sexually related issues should not be dealt with in public. Therefore, it is not unlikely that there is a conflict Tanzanian journalists’ ambition to provide people with useful health information and pressure from society based on cultural norms.

Femina, and its liberal attitude to sexuality, is an example of a magazine that challenges traditional norms. Using Femina as a reference point will hopefully reveal where Tanzanian journalists stand in the process of reshaping and redefining the culture in relation to traditional and modern values.

Also, the respondents’ opinions about language use, the vocabulary around sexually related issues, will be a clue to understand their approach to the subject. In the theoretical section I will give a brief description of socio linguistics that deals with the relation between society and language.

**1.4 Limitations**

The collection of data was made during two months. Tanzanian mass media is highly centralized and most media houses are located in the commercial capital, Dar es Salaam. The limited time made it necessary to conduct all interviews there. However, interviewing a few journalists situated in other districts of the country would possibly have revealed interesting contrasts between urban and rural conditions.
All interviews were conducted in English. Normally it is an extra obstacle in the communication process to use a foreign language. Especially when a lot of attention, as in this study, is paid to language and the very deliberate choices of words journalists make when they report about HIV/AIDS and sexuality. In their professional writing most of the respondents used Swahili and when they explained linguistic differences they inevitably came up with Swahili words and phrases. After some time I understood some of the most commonly used expressions, but purely technically. The feelings for the fine but important nuances between different words passed me by.

For a long time my inability to understand Swahili made me frustrated. However, when I scrutinized my research material, I realize that the very fact that we had to use English, a meta language for both my respondents and me turned into an advantage. For reasons that we will see later, I would never have got the same straightforward answers as I did, if the interviews were conducted in their own mother tongue.

2. THE TANZANIAN CONTEXT

Tanzania is situated in Southeast Africa, just below the equator with a long coastal line along the Indian Ocean. It is a vast country more than double the size of Sweden. Apart from the mainland there is an archipelago with Zanzibar and Pemba as the most important islands. The population is estimated to 36 million people, belonging to 130 different ethnical groups (Länder i fickformat 2001). Most of them are indigenous but there are also large communities of Arabs, Indians and Europeans.

Dar es Salaam is the commercial capital of Tanzania. It has grown dramatically during the last decades. The population was estimated to 2 million people in 1997. The government tried to break the urbanization trend to coastal areas in 1974 by making inland Dodoma, the capital of the country. The effort was made in vain. Dar es Salaam remains the center of both economical and political life while the capital Dodoma is seldom heard of and only 200,000 people reside there.

Tanzania is a multi-lingual community. Most people still consider their tribal language to be their first. Swahili is the Lingua Franca, that unifies all Tanzanians, and then there is English.
2.1 A historical background

East Africa is believed to be the cradle of human species. Some of the oldest findings of human beings, a 1.8 million-year-old ape like skull was found in the Olduvai Gorge of northern Tanzania in the late 1950s (Lonely Planet 1999). In 700 AC Arabs from the Oman Empire started a colonialization in the region. During the encounters between the new comers and African Bantu people, the Swahili language developed. In the 16th century, the Portuguese arrived. They established commercial stations along the coast, but it would take 300 years before the true European colonialization began. A decisive moment in the history of Tanzania and many other African countries, is the Congo conference held in Berlin in 1884. The European super powers of that time had gathered to "divide" Africa between them. Germany was allocated a region in the south East Africa that became known as German East Africa. During the First World War, Germany lost its colony and German East Africa became Tanganyika under British administration.

The colonialization lead to a fast modernization process of the region, former self-providing communities became incorporated of the cash-economy, western education was introduced and children sent to school, new roads and railways connected different parts of the country where people had lived in isolation for centuries. Despite some improvements, the colonizers restricted the life conditions of the blacks. For instance, they were not free to vote in general elections. After the Second World War strong movements in favor of independence appeared all over Africa. TANU (Tanganyika National Party Union), founded in 1954, was the first national party. Its leader Julius K Nyerere called "Mwalimu" (the teacher) gained heavy support from the people. After some years of resistance the British administration agreed on arranging general elections. TANU got 70 per cent of the votes and finally in 1961, after 76 years of colonial rule, Tanganyika got its political independence. Three years later Zanzibar was incorporated in the union and the country was re-named Tanzania.

2.2 Independence without democracy

One of the aims of TANU was to establish a democratic nation. However, less than two years after independence the government abolished the multi-party system with the pretext that one party working for the whole nation is a better foundation for democracy than many parties, all representing different sectors of society. The newly elected president, Julius Nyerere, had a vision of creating socialism built on African traditions. The key words were "Ujamaa na Kujitegemea" (= Socialism and Self Reliance). The idea was to extend the strong solidarity that exists in African families to enclose the whole society. The corner stone of the socialist state was the agricultural farmer co-operations, ujamaa villages.

They should act as self-providing communities, and every member of a village should work for the good of the whole society (Sturmer M 1998).

In the beginning ujamaa socialism improved life conditions. People had access to education and health services. Julius Nyerere initiated several educational campaigns to increase the literacy rates and gained a reputation around the world as a progressive leader. Countries in the West, including Sweden, supported the socialist development of Tanzania. However, by the end of the 1970s, the flaws of the new systems were obvious. The production of the ujamaa villages was
held back due to bureaucracy, the farmers did not feel encouraged to produce more than necessary and corruption in the country worsened. Several other factors lead to a dramatic decline of the national economy. Tanzania had been involved in a costly war against Uganda; there was a worldwide recession and the fall of coffee prize led to an urgent crisis of the national economy. In the 1980s Tanzania was known for its inefficiency and became one of the countries in the world most dependent on foreign aid. Tanzania is still heavily dependent on aid; the biggest donors are Germany and Scandinavian countries. In 2000, Sida contributed with 500 millions Swedish crowns, approximately 500,000 US Dollars (Länder i fickformat).

Julius Nyerere resigned voluntarily in 1985. The new government had a considerably more liberal attitude to market economy. A lot of private enterprises were established, still the economical situation worsened and people began to question that only one party should have full control over the state apparatus. The ruling party, CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi), that had succeeded TANU in the 1970s, opposed the reformation, but the pressure on the government was too hard.

2.3 A country in transformation
The first free election was held in 1995, the second in 2000. None of the new parties have managed to mobilize enough force to challenge the ruling party. CCM won both elections under the leadership of Benjamin Mkapa, the last one with 72 per cent (Länder i fickformat). During his reign the democratization process continues. The country follows the path towards market economy, two thirds of state owned enterprises has been sold out and there is an outspoken ambition to fight corruption (Sida 2001).

Despite some positive signs, Tanzania is still one of the poorest countries in the world. More than half of the population lives in poverty. Many people, even educated journalists, are forced to have more than one job to make both ends meet. An inefficient state apparatus hinders a dynamic growth and the traditional hierarchical power structures dominated by men have been difficult to challenge (Sida 2001).

One of the worst structural problems is educational system. In 1987 more than 90 per cent of the population could read and write, but the economical decline struck hard against education and ten years later the literacy rate had fallen to 70 per cent. Many parents cannot afford to send their children to school and in the mid 1990s no more than 40 per cent of the children attended first and secondary school. Only 5 per cent of all pupils continue to study in high school.

Tanzania is still an agricultural society. 80 to 90 percent of the working force is a farmer. The main products of exports are coffee, cotton, tobacco and species, but industry is poorly developed. In 1996 it covered only six per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) (Länder i fickformat). A growing source of income is tourism. In 2000, around 600,000 people visited the country (Macha A 2001). Nearly one third of the country is reserved for national parks; Serengeti, Ngorongoro Crater and Kilimanjaro are the main attractions. Zanzibar is a popular resort for sunbathing and diving.

Tanzanian mainland is considered to be politically stable. No tribe consists of more than ten per cent of the total population (Länder i fickformat) and has therefore not been big enough to
dominate over others. There is a general tolerance of different religions. 40 per cent of the population are Christians, 30 per cent Muslims. The rest of the population belongs to traditional religions.

Tanzania is one of the countries in the world most diversified in language, 131 different languages are spoken (Dahl 2000). People still speak their tribal language, but Swahili, a mix of Bantu, Arabic, Hindi, English and Portuguese, is the official language. Swahili was used as a Lingua Franca before independence and it played an important role in the fight for independence. After 1961 it has been used as unifying factor for the post-colonial state.

2.4 AIDS in Tanzania
AIDS was first diagnosed among homosexual men in the United States in 1981. Two years later it appeared in Tanzania, the first three cases were diagnosed in the Kagera region. The total number of PLWA (people living with AIDS) in the world is estimated to 40 million. 28 million of them are found in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2001). Already in 2000, 18.8 million people had died of AIDS (UNAIDS 2000). The situation in Tanzania is severe; in the year 2000 11,673 new cases of AIDS were reported from Tanzanian mainland. However, statistics of AIDS cases give an extremely vague idea of reality. Only one out of five AIDS cases is estimated to be reported. It means that some 60,000 people may have been infected in that single year (Ministry of Health 2001).

Authorities try to strengthen the voluntary counseling and HIV testing (VCT). The service is provided around the country, but only 3,338 did a test by their own initiative in 2000. Up to 80 per cent of these people were infected. The high figures do not give a fair picture of the HIV-rates of the whole population, but rather implies the general unwillingness to learn about you HIV-status. Those who go for a voluntary check-up do so because of very strong suspicion of being infected (Ministry of Health 2001).

AIDS affects men and women equally, but as elsewhere in Africa, Tanzanian women tend to get the infection at an earlier age, 25-29 years while most men acquire HIV at the age of 30-34 years. With an approximate incubation period of ten years, it is believed that most of them have acquired HIV in their late adolescence.

The many AIDS cases are not only a personal tragedy, but also a serious burden to the society. Most people affected are between 20-49 years old. They are in their most productive years. They drop out of work and leave orphans behind. AIDS patients fill nearly 50 percent of hospital beds in adult medical wards (Rosensvård C and Rådö G 1999).

2.5 Sexuality and taboos
In contrast to Western World where intravenous drug users and homosexuals are high-risk groups, the main source of HIV infection in Africa is through heterosexual contacts. An overwhelming majority, 77 per cent, got infected during heterosexual intercourses and most of them, 42 per cent, are married (Ministry of Health 2001). Surveys show that there is a high awareness of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. 97 per cent of women and 99 per cent of men say that they know about the disease, and many people claim that they have changed their sexual behavior. But the level of education is low; unemployment, poverty and economic distress contribute to the
rapid spread of the disease (Hope 1999). There is no sign of any weakness in the epidemic and only a minority of youths uses condoms to prevent HIV infection (Rosensvärd C and Rådö G 1999).

A study from neighboring Kenya shows that 40 per cent of the boys and 55 per cent of the girls thought that HIV might be able to pass through a condom (UNAIDS 2000) and it is likely that the situation is similar in Tanzania. Clearly, many Tanzanians are suspicious of condoms. When bringing up the pros and cons of condoms for instance, you are likely to hear about the "the pili pili experiment". The story tells that if you put the spice in the condom, it will pass through the rubber. "If the spice pass through, why should not also the HIV-virus do so?", people argued. Another argument for not having protected sex is that there is no proof that condoms have managed to curb the epidemic. The widespread misconceptions about the efficiency of condoms illustrates a serious problem with sexual and reproductive health education in Tanzania. Young people get too little information and the messages they get are often in conflict with each other.

Traditionally, the villages provided their young ones with information on sexual matters. In modern terms you could say that every tribe had a defined standardization for what young boys and girls should know about their sexuality and reproductive health. There were special initiation rites, called Jando and Unyago. Especially important was the education for girls. Before her first menstruation she was given a *somo*. It was a woman, a distant relative of the family, who gave advice to the young woman during her whole fertile period.

The modernization process has dramatically changed the conditions for informing young people about sexuality. I would say that the sexual reproductive health information has been squeezed between two systems, the traditional and the modern. With modern society and especially the introduction of a European school system, the *somo* tradition has become obsolete. Modern education has not managed to provide the youths with equal education about their sexuality. Still, some traditional values are still very much alive. Parents must not talk openly about sexuality with their children. Premarital sexual activity is discouraged and there is a widespread denial that young people engage themselves in sex before marriage. Still, statistics show that there is a high degree of sexual involvement among the young ones. 61 percent of boys and 35 percent of girls aged 14 in Dar es Salaam are sexually active (Fuglesang 1997).

Research done on sexual reproductive health information in Tanzania show that adults do not know how to handle the changing times. Tumbo-Masabo Zubeida has studied the situation for Tanzanian adolescence girls in a historical perspective. He claims that parents no longer "have the mechanism to regulate and control young. The teenagers, therefore, face a paradoxical situation of prohibition, silence and confusion from the adult world. Contrary to what happened in the past, the public discourse on sexuality is largely silenced and relationships are hidden"(Liljeström 1994:156).

The situation is serious since the need for sexual reproductive health education is more urgent than ever before. Youths are the ones most affected by HIV and young girls the most vulnerable group of all. They are economically weak and are easily attracted to elder men who by fear of HIV look for younger girls as they are regarded as clean and pure (Fuglesang 1997). The girls are given money and clothes in exchange for sex and these contacts between girls and men are called the sugar daddy phenomenon (Baylies and Bujra 2000).
Also in more stable relations women are seldom in a position to control their sexuality. A study from Kenya explores how sexual activity is initiated and negotiated in stable marital relationships. The report shows that there is very little discussion about responsibility and fidelity. One problem apart from women’s lower social and economic status is the communication process itself. "Because sexual behaviour is primarily a non-verbal, couples were not used to talking about it, therefore it was difficult to negotiate. This is exacerbated by the limitations of vocabulary: the medical vocabulary emphasizes the clinical aspect while the alternative vocabulary tends to be crude and abusive" (Balmer 1995). In Chapter 6, Findings and Observation, I will come back to the lack of words regarding sexuality and how it may affect the HIV-communication.

The tension between tradition and modern life style is well illustrated by Mr Ssebuyoya, a manager of WAMATA, an NGO specialized on education and counselling about AIDS issues. I meet him at his office in one of the suburbs of Dar es Salaam. "You see," says Mr Ssebuyoya pointing with his hand towards a bookshelf behind his table “I have condoms here in my office that I can give to teenagers who come here. But if my own daughter would be in that group, I would ask someone else to do it. Parents don’t like to talk to their kids about these issues.”

Mr Ssebuyoya is a well-educated man and engaged in the efforts to raise awareness about AIDS. Still, he cannot challenge tradition and educate his own children about sexuality. He accepts the situation, although he says that he has understood that youths would like to get information about sexuality from their own parents. "They want to learn from them, not their friends, because parents will tell them what is good”.

2.6 The official policy of AIDS

The fact that it is a taboo to verbalize sexually related issues in public lay obstacle to the HIV/AIDS prevention in many countries. Tanzania has followed the same stages in their approach to the epidemic as many other African countries. During most of the 1980s the gravity of the situation was completely denied. The second phase, in the early 1990s lead to a break of the silence. The HIV-prevention in Tanzania focused on so called high-risk groups like commercial sex workers and truck drivers. The consequence has been that people who do not belong to these particular groups have felt safe.

Today, the government admits the seriousness of the situation and that the epidemic strikes against all segments of society. A landmark, which finally broke the silence, was President Benjamin Mkapa’s millennium speech where he stated “We must openly declare war on this killer disease. Let us not feel shy to talk about it and look for means to solve the problem” (UNAIDS).

The government has recently established TACKAIDS (Tanzania Commission for AIDS). The purpose is to work strategically with HIV-prevention and involve several sectors of society. In November 2001 the first national policy on HIV/AIDS was launched. In there, the HIV pandemic is described as “catastrophic.” It is put on print that AIDS during the last two decades has "spread relentlessly affecting people in all walks of life”. The policy mentions a huge number of
measures that have to be taken. People need to get more education, HIV-testing must be encourage, taboo and social stigma defeated. Every one has to take responsibility and one of the groups especially mentioned is media. They “shall play a leading role in educating the public on HIV/AIDS” (National Policy 2001).

3. MASS MEDIA IN TANZANIA

The democratization process and the introduction of a market economy (see chapter 2) have dramatically changed the media scene of Tanzania. Less than ten years ago the supply of media was limited to a few newspapers and one radio station. On mainland Tanzania there was no television available at all. Today there are literally hundreds of publications in the streets of Dar es Salaam and radio stations broadcast in Swahili and English. When switching on television you can watch a handful national television stations and with cable television numerous international stations like CNN and BBC.

Tanzania has the highest media growth rate in Southern Africa (Media Council 2001). However, the mushrooming of new media institutions does not automatically walk hand in hand with improved conditions for independent journalism. I would say that the media of today are very much colored by the past and I will give a brief description the media history of Tanzania.

3.1 Media - a mouthpiece for the government

The missionaries first introduced print media. The very first publication Msimulizi (The Storyteller) was published on Zanzibar in 1888 by the Anglican Universities’ Mission to Central Africa. Both the German and later the British colonizers introduced their own newspapers. In most African colonies, media laws of the motherlands were implemented in the colonies.

Martin Sturmer, who has written a book about the development of Tanzanian mass media, describes how the information sector was monopolized and used as the mouthpiece for the colonial government to rule and education people. "Fundamental human rights, such as freedom of expression or political participation, were neither granted "natives"" (Sturmer 1994:9).

With the establishment of the party TANU, there was an increasing demand for publications that reported, not only about matters of interest for the colonials, but about the aims of the nationalist movement. Party chairman, Julius Nyerere himself, edited a news bulletin. Soon, the oppositional mass media became an important ingredient in the striving for independence. The post-colonial state did not inherit a free press. Quite in line with the British administration, the new government would not allow free flow of information. Media was recognized as tools for the legitimating of power. Media should play an active role in the building of the postcolonial nation. Only a few months before independence, Julius Nyerere declared that media must obey national interest.

Too often the only voices to be heard in "opposition" are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to criticize - in order to deflect the government from its responsibilities to the people by creating problems of law and order. /.../ The government must deal firmly and promptly with the trouble-makers. The country cannot afford, during these vital years of its life, to treat such people with the same degree of tolerance, which may be safely allowed in a long established democracy (Sturmer 1996:107).
Freedom of press was no ambition in Tanzania or elsewhere in the newly independent states of Africa. Sturmer remarks that a general opinion among the new African leaders was that "uncontrolled journalism would endanger the national integration by creating a climate of discontent and disunity" (Sturmer 1996:12). Successively, the post-colonial government created a number of media laws to control the flow of information.

3.2 "Ujamaa journalism"
During the years following independence, there were only a few newspapers circulating on the Tanzanian market. All faced problems with distribution to areas outside the capital. Sales figures were also confined due to limited literacy rates. With broadcasting, information could reach the whole nation, regardless of level of education or and geographical location. And radio that had first been established by the British administration was recognized as the most powerful medium. To make sure that radio would not fall in the hands of people who did not share the opinion of the government, the radio was nationalized in 1965. It was controlled by the Ministry of Information Service and up till this day, the director is still appointed by the president.

The efforts to gain control over Tanzanian mass media continued, in 1970 Julius Nyerere decided to nationalize the privately owned English speaking "The Standard". On the day of the take-over, the president wrote on the front page of the paper what has been called "President’s Charter": "In a country committed to building socialism, it is also impossible for such an influential medium to be left indefinitely in the control of non-socialist, capitalist owners." From now on the Standard should encourage a "high standard of socialist discussion" (Sturmer 1996:123). The so called "ujamaa journalism" would color media till the 1990s.

The only television station in the republic was Television Zanzibar, founded in the early 1970s. The reason for refusing to introduce television on the mainland was ideological. The self-reliance policy meant that Tanzania should value its own culture and not be influenced and dependent on imports from the West. Besides, television would be a luxury only for the rich. It would divide the country between the have and the have-nots and widen the gap between urban a rural (Media Council). The President did not only reject to introduce television but even banned importation of TV-sets by law in 1974 (Sturmer 1996:192).

During many years Tanzanians faced a situation where the media supply consisted of one radio channel, controlled by the government, and two daily newspapers, The Daily News and Uhuru. They were in the hands of the government and the ruling CCM-party, respectively.

3.3 The privatization of media
In the 1980s, the government loosened its strict control over media. After 1992, when the multiparty system was introduced, there has been a boom in the media industry. Every new publication has to be registered by the government, but not even the Department of Information (MAELEZO) knows how many publications there are. However, in 1999 the number of bigger mainstream dailies had increased from two to eleven (Chachage and Mvungi 2001).

In many aspects, the former dominant newspapers, Uhuru and the Daily News have been over run by privately owned newspapers. The headoffice of the Daily News, located in central Dar es
Salaam, is a worn out place where journalists are left with antique typewriters to do their job. When walking into the newsroom of The Guardian Limited, that edits several newspapers, you are struck by the difference. The private enterprise is run from a newly built house in the outskirts of the city. It is a big modern media complex with office landscape and computers. The better working conditions that some of the new comers on the Tanzanian media scene provide, attract many journalists from the old dominant papers. One of the respondents was paid for times more when changing to a private employer.

Radio Tanzania that used to enjoy a monopoly on broadcasting got its first private competitor in 1994, Radio One, shortly followed by the catholic channel, Radio Tumaini. Today there are 18 private radio stations in Tanzania (Media Council 2001). The first private television company, Coastal Television Network (CTN) emerged at the same time as private radio. In the same year Independent Television (ITV) and Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) were founded. The government started its own television station, Tanzania Television (TVT) in 1999.

The rise in media quantity is beyond doubt, but the quality is generally questioned. Side by side with mainstream daily newspapers dealing with news, sports and entertainment, sex and scandal tabloids are mushrooming. The fast expansion within media industry has also led to a lack of trained journalists. In 1989 there were about 700 trained journalists in the country. In 2000 it is estimated that ten times more people work as journalists (Chachage 2001). Many of them have no training; consequently they lack skills to achieve professional journalism. There has been a great increase of journalist training institution. Tanzania School of Journalism is the dominant, run by the government. Churches, NGOs, international donors and private enterprises sponsor others. Sida plans to include journalist training in the future development co-operation and have had a survey done on the supply of training institution. "Many of them exist under harsh economic conditions and most of them lack the equipment and facilities they need for qualitative training" (Romare and Nkya 2001).

Regarding media consumption in Tanzania, radio remains the most powerful medium. A recent survey of 1200 media consumers showed that 67 per cent have a radio in their homes. Only 26 per cent own a television set (Chachage 2001). The consumption of print media is still confined by illiteracy. Nearly 30 percent of all adults cannot read. The cost of a daily paper is 100 to 400 Tanzanian shillings (between 1 and 5 Swedish Crowns). But economical hardships make a cost on this level a burden for many families.

3.4 Legal obstacles for an independent journalism
Despite a promising democratization process, and the government’s liberal attitude to private media enterprises, there are still some media laws that confine an independent news reporting. The Secretary General of the NGO Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in Tanzania, Jim Mdoe, calls the current media laws obnoxious, undemocratic and even unconstitutional. Article 18 in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania guarantees freedom of expression and press freedom, but there are several laws that stand in direct conflict with the constitution.

The National Security Act was introduced in 1970. It confines the free flow of information.
With the pretext that journalists must not reveal information on Tanzanian defense and security, the government can refuse to hand out information. No legal pressure can be put on a minister who does not provide you with information.

**The Newspaper Act** 1976 - unlike other new enterprises, newspapers must not only register as a company, but also turn to the Ministry of Information for allowance. The ministry can refuse to register the paper. The law also enables the president or Minister of Information to arbitrarily ban or prohibit newspapers that are considered damage to the nation.

**Broadcasting Services Act** 1993 - empowers the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission to give license for broadcasting but also ban journalists. The Minister responsible for information and broadcasting has “wide powers of control over the electronic media” (Media Council 2001). Besides, only the governmental institutions are allowed to broadcast nationwide. Private ether media are forbidden to cover more than 25 per cent of Tanzania. According to MISA, it does not really happen that the current government ban critical newspapers, but much of the hardest critique disappear before it reaches the public.

There are times when a good story on corruption done by a reporter, but the publisher says it won’t serve any purpose. So he doesn’t publish it, because he does not want to step on the government’s toes. The story dies a literal death. It is mostly self-censorships. And you should remember that the biggest advertiser in this country is the government and public cooperation. If you don’t get those you are finished. Even in the so called free, business houses, some of them won’t give you ads if you don’t write good things about them. There are a lot of self-censorships, caused by economic factors (Mdoe J).

Free and critical journalism is also hindered by the fact that Tanzanian media workers do not have the right to protect their sources of information. According to the law, journalists can be imprisoned if they refuse to reveal their sources of information. The government is currently working on a new policy. Independent stakeholders like MISA are part of that process. Mr. Mdoe thinks that it is not enough to change the media acts. The constitution of Tanzania has to be changed to include freedom of information Act. That would give inhabitants access to information, he says.

**3.5 A critical discussion about HIV-reporting**

There are studies that show that mass media, primarily newspapers and radio, are the most significant sources of information about HIV/AIDS (Hope 1999). And the overall goal with the continuous reporting on the epidemic is, of course, that information will lead to behavior change.

When reading English speaking newspapers in Tanzania it is obvious that numerous articles deal with HIV/AIDS and the importance of breaking the silence around sexuality. The president is quoted when he talks about the need to help young people protect themselves. Teachers and parents who refuse to talk to their children about sexuality are criticized. Girls are repeatedly described as an especially vulnerable group. The Guardian writes: "Traditionally women are not supposed to be outspoken about sexual matters, much less to negotiate safer sexual practices." In The Daily News there is a headline stating "Dar girls ready to stop promiscuity" The article reveals that no less than 7,500 secondary school girls in Dar es Salaam will "take an oath" in front of the First Lady, Mama Anna Mkapa, promising to abstain from promiscuity.
The articles are flawless but technical. None provide the reader with practical example how the silence around sexuality can be broken. No "ordinary" citizens, young boys and girls of flesh and blood, appear in the articles, with one exception. It is a 24-year old woman, Sofia Salum infected by HIV who reveals her life story and how she copes with the disease (The Guardian 2001). The information in the articles all seem to derive from seminars at NGOs, politician may have made a statement or authorities compiled new statistics.

Skye Hugues and Ikanyeng S, sociologists at the University of Botswana, have analyzed African HIV/AIDS reporting in print media. Despite the fact that people have been bombarded with information about the dangers, they claim that messages have not been particular effective in persuading people to change behavior. The focus on statistics confuses rather than informs the audience. "The public does not experience the sense of shock such figures are intended to induce, precisely because they are abstractions." HIV reporting is too rational, forgetting that having sex is a "social act". Also, information has to be more targeted and priority should be given to find "public testament by HIV-infected persons" (Hope K R 1999:117).

When addressing Tanzanian NGO:s, engaged in media- or AIDS related issues, with question about HIV-reporting in Tanzanian mass media, you come across similar opinions. A general opinion among them is that HIV-reporting in Tanzania has increased dramatically in newspapers, radio and television during the last years. Nowadays, there are articles about HIV every day. Still, Mrs. Pili Mtambalike, program officer of Media Council, is not pleased.

HIV/AIDS was and still is seen in terms of statistics, in terms of number of people who have died, who are infected. We have not really been able to engage the public in a debate which is deeper, which is more, which would give them some power over their lives./.../ We want to know people are surviving, how can I survive? What is available? People want to hear stories of hope, stories of survivors to be able to live beyond the disease.

Media’s inability to reach the heart of the matter, empower people is also stressed by Mrs Ananilea Nkya, the general of TAMWA.

There are a lot of taboos not mentioned in the media, because we are just saying “Oh, AIDS kills! Stick to one partner!” Those kinds of messages that have no longer impact. /.../If we want to actually reduce the impact of HIV, negative impact of HIV/AIDS we need to talk on issues that people do not talk a lot about, a lot of these issues are related to sexuality, power relations./.../ How many women today who are married can say no to sex to their husbands. Do they have the power?

The information officer of the newly established TACKAIDS, Leila Sheik, says that the reporting is better than it used to be, but there is no clear line in the HIV reporting. It is still very fragmented and conflicting messages is a big problem. For example, a newspaper can have an editorial about the importance of abstain from sex. In the same paper, even on the same page, you can read an ad where somebody claims to have the cure against AIDS. “That is very confusing,
especially young people regard media as an authority”.

HIV-infected are a vulnerable group in society. They are constantly discriminated, even media are to blame for the stigmatisation, Leila Sheik says. "Media organs are not serious on the issue of HIV", she says. Tabloids and daily papers think more of selling copies. HIV reporting has to go beyond today’s sensationalism and start to picture HIV-positives as ordinary people.

We need to give AIDS a face and a name. People still think that HIV is something that happens to other people, not me, that the infected are cheap and dirty. We have to show that also intelligent, influential, public figures, even like me, can get the virus. I would like media to show an alternative lifestyle. It should not be fashionable and all right to have a lot of sex partners but to stick to one partner, to practice monogamy (Sheik L).

The secretary general of MISA, Mr. Jim Mdoe, says there is no independent research on HIV/AIDS and besides the reporting is too much focused on urban areas.

Has anybody gone say for instance to Kagera region where HIV was and I believe still is very rampant to interview orphans and widows. /.../ everything is written in Dar es Salaam.

The planning manager at WAMATA, Mr. Ssebuyoya, complains about lack of education and the danger of being misquoted.

Media is full of stigma. Journalists look at people with HIV as someone who has brought that upon himself, but I would say it is often bad luck. So far journalists have not been able to write positively, create sympathy for those infected.

A lot of HIV-information in mass media derives from AIDS-related NGOs like WAMATA. Most journalists collect the information from workshops and seminars. "Very few journalists take initiatives on their own to write feature. We invite journalist and we have to pay the papers to write about HIV/AIDS." Journalistic articles work like advertisement. You pay 30,000 shillings (350 Swedish Crowns) for a quarter of a page and 80,000 (900 Swedish Crowns) for half a page. "Then we write the articles ourselves", Mr. Ssebyoya says.

4. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
Communication for Development dates back to the 1950s when development programs in its modern form started. The overall goal with the interventions was to modernize less developed parts of the world. A model for the aid programs was the Marshall Plan that successfully had made Europe recover from the Second World War. The idea was that non-Western countries would follow the same path towards modernization (Melkote and Steeves 2001).

However, material growth could not merely be achieved by technology and economical investments. It was dependent on a change in people’s mind. Mass media were recognized as important components to reach the goal. With very little effort you could reach lots of people and once they got the information that the development projects thought they needed, it was believed that it would have a direct impact on their behavior. There was an enormous trust in media and what they could achieve.
4.1 Modernity paradigm
The idea to use media as a tool for modernization was strongly influenced by Daniel Lerner’s *The Passing of Traditional Society*, where he investigates the relation between tradition and media. David Lerner, like contemporary scholars, made a clear distinction between traditional and modern societies, where the definition of modern is based on Western values. Lerner describes the traditional way of life as fragmented. People were isolated in small communities and their physical and mental world were constrained by locale. "There is an absence of curiosity and an absence of knowledge about events that take place in distant locales" (Thompson 1995:189).

However, David Lerner was convinced that mass media together with other factors such as urbanization and literacy could make people adopt modern attitudes (Waisbord S 2001). Through press, radio and television new and distant walks of lives would be introduced to people who former only could read the world through their family and tradition. The self would be less dependent on the collective identity, but more expansive, experimental and bound to explore its own individuality. "Empathy" is a term that David Lerner used to describe the ability to image you in the place of others. "He regards this capacity as a key feature of modern social life" (Thompson 1995:189).

These ideas gained a lot of respect in the 1950s and 1960s. It was generally believed that mass media could speed up the modernization process. Media had "the potential of blowing the winds of modernization into isolated traditional communities and replacing the structure of life, values and behaviour there with ones seen in the modern Western society" (Melkote 2001:115-116).

Modernization has often been described as the key to progress and has for good reasons been criticized for its attack on local culture. "An examination of modernization discourse from the beginning reveals the goal of replacing non-Western ideological, cultural, and even language systems, with Western systems; in essence, reshaping the reality of people in the Third World” (Melkote and Steeves 2001: 92).

The paradigm has not only been criticized for being top-down, ignoring the values of local cultures, but also because of a simplistic approach to the communication process itself. The ideas build on a one-way communication with a sender and receiver. A donor transfers some kind of knowledge to recipients in the Third World. The latter are supposed to learn and adopt what is offered them, irrespectively of their unique culture and life conditions. Obviously, the reality is more complex than that.

4.2 Dependency paradigm
As a direct reaction against modernization, a new paradigm appeared in Latin America in the 1970s. It was called dependency and one of the members of the school, Dos Santos, describes it as "a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others” (Servaes 1999:34). According to the dependistas, development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin. They strongly object to the idea that the West can serve as a model for the development of the Third World.

On the contrary, the very effort to make the underdeveloped countries more like the developed
will make them even more dependent, for instance on high technology, import of goods and culture. Speaking about communication media is just one example of cultural dominance, for instance the import of TV-serials portraying the glamour of Western culture. Instead of pouring in skills, technology and Western values, the key to a successful development work, according to the Dependistas, must be found within the country. The frameworks have to be decided by locals who are familiar with the needs of people.

Dependency theories have contributed to an awakening of the complex relation between the developed and underdeveloped, the apparent risk of diminishing and even extinguishing local cultures in the name of international aid work. However, critics like Jan Servaes argue that the dependency paradigm on one crucial point make the same mistake as those representing the modernization paradigm.

Both have a linear, top-down approach to aid work with a focus on economical and technological impact (Servaes 1999:271). The success or failure of aid interventions is estimated in quantity. Modernization uses the Gross National Product (GNP) to measure the impact. For instance, Dependistas, concerned with the negative impact of aid work, count the unbalanced communication flow between the Center and the Periphery in numbers. More interestingly, Servaes argue, would be "how these unequal processes affect culture, ideology and identity of the local population in the long term" (Servaes 1999:39). But the Dependistas just as much as modernization forget to put the grass root level in the front and that "audiences are actively involved in the construction of meaning around the media they consume" (Servaes 1999:39).

4.3 Multiplicity paradigm
The weaknesses in Dependency and its inability to come up with any good solution as how to approach the problems in postcolonial reality paved the way for a new and still ruling approach, the multiplicity paradigm. Multiple in this context means that there is no single component like economical factor that can pave the way for development.

Jan Servaes describes the complexity of development:

The central idea in the multiplicity paradigm is that there is no universal development model, and that development is an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process that can differ from society to society. This implies that the development problem is a relative one and that no one nation or community can contend that it is "developed" in every respect... In other words, each society or community must attempt to delineate its own sustainable strategy to development, based on its own ecology and culture. Therefore, it should not attempt to blindly imitate programs and strategies of other countries with a totally different historical and cultural background (Servaes 1999:147-148).

Practical development work has to switch angle from "top-down" to "bottom-up". There should be more focus on the receiver. How do they get the message? That question can only been answered when you switch from one-way information to a two-way communication. Development and social change cannot be imposed from the outside. The needs have to be defined within and in harmony with local culture.

Today, multiplicity paradigm is generally accepted as the most important communication model.
Words like culture and context leads like red threads through communication strategies. Obvious as it may seem, seeing culture and local knowledge as resource is a challenge for Westerners brought up to believe they know what is right.

**4.4 Back to the modernization**

Despite the critique against modernization, Daniel Lerner came up with important observations regarding media and its impact on society. I believe that it is an unquestionable fact that "media play a crucial role in the cultural transformations associated with the rise of modern societies." These thoughts derive from the early works of Lerner (Thompson 1995:190).

Neither must we take for granted that mass media will be used in the service of modernization. If you choose to regard tradition and modernity as opponents where modernity means a decline of traditional values, mass media can choose which "side" to support. "Communication media can be used not only to challenge and undermine traditional values and beliefs, but also to extend and consolidate traditions."

It is not difficult to provide examples of the way in which media have been used effectively in the service of tradition" (Thompson 1995:195). Media can be both a carrier and a destroyer of tradition. A lot of phenomena that are considered national character have been conveyed through mass media. What is more, fundamentalists use mass media to wind back the clock and strengthen so called cultural or religious values. With the help of mass media societies can get more conservative than ever before.

The choice of supporting traditional values versus modern influences is of course a deliberate one. I will come back to that discussion when analyzing the interviews with my respondents. Let us first look closer at some communication theories influenced by the modernization paradigm.

**4.5 Diffusion of Innovations**

Everett Rogers designed the theories in the early 1960s. He wanted to understand the adoption of a new behavior and identified five different stages before an individual makes a decision to reject or adopt a new behavior: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption.

At the first stage the recipient is exposed to an innovation, let say condoms. At the next he or she will look for more information about it. At the evaluation stage, the recipient judges if condoms are applicable for his or her needs. At the next step the recipient will try it and at the final stage adopt it.

Rogers agreed with the modernization paradigm that media have a great impact. However, he did not believe that media alone could lead to behavior change. Media were important to raise awareness but interpersonal communication, face-to-face interaction, is crucial when people are in the stage to adopt or reject an innovation (Waisbord 2001).

In the mid 1970s diffusion of innovation theories were reviewed. They began to recognize that behavior is not ruled by economic factors but socio-cultural environment. The communication process was no more focused on persuasion, but recognized as a “process by which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding” (Waisbord 2001).
4.6 Social Marketing
Gradually, diffusion of innovation was not enough to design communication campaigns. There was too little focus on people’s feedback (Melkote and Steeves 2001). By adopting commercial market strategies you could make campaigns more efficient. Social marketing focuses on behaviour change. It has to be socially relevant and has frequently been used to promote pro-social things like condom use and breast-feeding. By using marketing techniques like market segmentation, market research could make adopt new behaviour. For instance “if couples of reproductive age do not want more children but do not use any contraceptives, the task of social marketing is to find out why and what information needs to be provided so they can make informed choices” (Waisbord 2001).

Even if it social marketing is built on a one-way communication and wants to persuade audience, the social marketing has to be consumer oriented and sensitive to local culture.

4.7 Entertainment-Education
Another strategy to create behaviour change is entertainment-education. It developed in Mexico in the mid 1970s with the purpose to maximize the impact of pro-social messages by combining entertainment and education. A central idea is that individuals learn a new behaviour by observing so called role models. There are good role models and bad role models. The audience is supposed to learn from mistakes made by the bad ones and adopt the behaviour of the good examples.

Entertainment-Education has so far been used in 75 countries and the pro-social messages have been spread through television soap operas, radio series, theatre, songs, cartoons and as we shall see in the case of Femina a magazine. The strategy to mix pro-social messages with entertainment is not new. The strategy builds on old tradition of story telling, what is new is the systematic research and careful balance between educational and entertaining parts.

Arvind Singhal and Everett Rogers claim that entertainment-education “directly or indirectly facilitates social change” (Melkote and Steeves 2001:146) and many entertainment-education projects have attracted a large public, the most well known example, Soul City in South Africa. In Tanzania the radio series Twende Na Wakati has also gained a worldwide reputation within the entertainment-education sector. People in favour of the strategy argue that it triggers interpersonal discussions about important issues like domestic violence and HIV/AIDS. However, “other studies have found little evidence that entertainment education strategies have resulted in such effects” (Waisbord 2001).

4.8 Sociolinguistics
The most obvious sign how journalists approach a subject like sexuality is to study their language use. The relation between language and culture is called socio linguistics. The father of the scientific field is the linguist Edward Sapir. He claimed that "vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people" (Wierzbicka 1997). By studying the words used by a people you also learn about the culture and conditions of life.

What would a close look at Swahili reveal? We know that Tanzania is a multi-lingual society and
characteristic of those are that people do not only change words depending on the speech situation, but tend to switch languages, diglossia (Dahl 2000). The local language is used in the family, Swahili for education, administration, politics and laws. English is spoken in secondary schools, higher administration and confined to well-educated people (Holmes 1992).

You could say, "Possession of two languages is not merely a matter of having tools, but actually means participating in two physical and cultural realms" (Herbert R 1992:81). Since the tribal language, Swahili and English are used for quite different situations it is likely to be reflected in the vocabulary. Swahili has been in the hands of a careful language planning in order to build the national state. "Its vocabulary was expanded to meet the demands of new contexts by borrowing freely from Arabic and English as appropriate" (Holmes 1992:114). Other aspects of life, like sexuality, have not been given priority to in the language planning. On the contrary it is hidden activity that should not be spoken openly about.

Consequently, the vocabulary related to sexuality is poor in Swahili. Mrs Pili Mtambalike at Media Council admits that there is a clear link between language and culture.

It is still a problem terminology. How do you put across words like abstention in kiswahili, the words like safe sex? /.../ There are no words for it, because the whole issue of sexuality in our culture is a very hidden thing. It is something that you culturally were discussing in very special places. It is no something you talk about in media.

4.9 Words as mental barriers

Language is not only a reflection of culture. According to Edward Sapir and his linguistic colleague, Benjamin Lee Whorf language has power of our minds, "language shapes the perception of reality as much as reality shapes language" (Wattman Frank and Treichler 1989:3).

There are many examples where the choice of vocabulary has had an impact on reality, the way we perceive things.

Dr Arvind Singhal is one of the leading international scholars on Communication for Development. He is currently writing a book on HIV/AIDS communication. One of the key issues to break social stigma, he says, is to model new realities.

Re-labeling of stigmatized group is one way to create a new reality. Black Americans have for instance gained respect and influence in society by being defined as Afro-Americans instead of niggers (Singhal A 2002).

The importance of how you label things ought to be central in the debate around HIV/AIDS and sexuality. For instance, David Lush and Barrie Gunter who have studied HIV-communication in Namibia criticize the “war” rhetoric that has been used in official HIV-prevention campaigns in the country. “If AIDS is “the enemy”, then presumably HIV+ people and their families are harboring that enemy, effectively making them traitors” (Lush and Gunter).

Other examples are the difference between an HIV-victim and an HIV-infected, or between suffering from a dirty disease or disease caused by sex. I came across the last mentioned example when interviewing Mrs. Bupamba, a youth councilor of a Life skills Project at AMREF (African
Medical and Research Foundation). She works on grass roots levels with empowering young people in their daily lives, giving them useful life skills. One key element is communication. For instance, many young girls are taught to abide and never raise their voices. Here they learn to negotiate, take command of their lives, for example say no to sex or negotiate condom use.

Mrs. Bupamba objects very strongly to the habit in Swahili to call STD "Magonjwa ya zinaa". In translation it would be infection that is illegal or dirty. Mrs. Bumpaba thinks that the labeling implies promiscuity and affects the whole attitude to the disease. "The word stigmatizes STDs so that people don’t even go to hospital, having to explain how they got it. They are ashamed of going even for treatment." Mrs. Bupamba suggests that STDs should be called "Magonjwa ya ngono", meaning infections that is caused by sex.

It explains what it is, no more no less. Value neutral words will lead to a new attitude towards phenomena that are considered to be taboo, she thinks (UNAIDS 1999).

Uncountable manuals about how to communicate safer sexual behaviour have been published. The importance of targeting messages for different groups is often stressed. UNAIDS, for instance, have compiled a special handbook for radio journalists where it says that you need information about your target audience’s knowledge, attitudes and behaviour concerning HIV/AIDS. Nothing is mentioned about the fact that different groups of society use different language and that there may be a point in adapting the vocabulary of your target group when communication important messages.

Instead, the discussion about language is confined to less than a page where the only advice regarding language use is to be "straightforward and non-judgmental" followed by a few of the most common linguistic traps. The reader is recommended to say HIV-positive or PLWA (Person living with AIDS) rather than AIDS victim or AIDS sufferer (UNAIDS 1999:26).

Another striking example of how neglected language use is in HIV/AIDS communication is a HIV/AIDS manual, designed by The National AIDS Control Program to help Tanzanian mass media improve their HIV-reporting. It is an extensive book that completely manages to avoid a discussion around vocabulary.

Mrs Bupamba thinks that there are far too many examples where mass media fail to reach the youths with important information because of the language use.

Journalists may have very educative parts at the bottom of an article but youths will never read that far if you don’t use their language. The language is friendly for adults. We have programs on television for youths. You find parents sit in front of the TV from the beginning to the end and enjoy it, but not the youths.

Mrs Bumpamba often use the term "youth friendly" and believe that journalists have something to learn from commercial advertisements. Their messages are often worth questioning, for instance, tempting youths to smoke or drink, but they use their language. And young people listen.

5. THE FEMINA MAGAZINE
Some of the NGO-representatives take Femina HIP as an example of well balanced HIV-reporting attracting youths. They would like to see more of that material in mainstream mass media.

They are using their language, using their issues which young people are interested in, fashion, sports, and arts. They are not interested in dying. They do not put stories like "if you do this you’ll die!" No, they give positive things about empowering. It is a very empowering sort of magazine./.../ Personally, when I look at Femina I think: "Oh, wow, this is it! (Mtamba like P).

Femina does a good job. It is really youth friendly. You see a lot of youths in the photos; the articles are short and the language youth friendly. Even the contents are positive about youths (Bupamba M).

5.1 The Femina HIP-project
Mrs. Leticia Nyerere launched the Femina magazine in 1997. The following year it was taken over by East African Movies Ltd. It was strictly commercial women magazine, but in November 1999 a cost-sharing venture was launched between East African Movies Ltd, East African Development Communication Foundation (EADCF) and Sida. The magazine became a Health Information Project (HIP) with a clear focus on providing the reader with sexual reproductive health information. The target group is young men and women between 15 and 30. A new edition is published every third months.

There are still strong commercial interests behind Femina and it is dependent on selling advertisements and copies of the magazine. Still, the idea is that Femina shall be spread also to those groups that cannot afford to buy a magazine of 1000 Tanzanian Shillings (11 Swedish crowns). Out of 30,000 copies, only one third is sold on the commercial market. Another third is distributed through NGOs and sold at a subsidized price some weeks after the release on the commercial market. The rest of the copies are distributed for free to secondary schools all over the country.

There have been controversies, both among media people in Tanzanian and within the donor organization Sida, as to why a national development agency should support a commercial magazine that promotes fashion, good looks, and entertainment. Critiques have been met with the argument that Femina like no other publication provides young people with sexual reproductive health information. Every cover of the magazine is decorated with the red ribbon. The ambition is to prevent risk behavior and HIV/AIDS infection, but not by publishing big, black headlines about the severe situation.

5.2 An Entertainment-Education project
Femina uses the entertainme nt-education concept, where the glossy and colorful looks of the magazine are deliberate means to make young people interested in protecting themselves from STDs. Not necessarily by abstaining from sex. The magazine accepts adolescence sexuality and says it wants to make the best of it and give young people the information they need to stay healthy.

Being educational but not boring is a difficult balance act. Journalists and professional health advisers work side by side to create an attractive mix of entertainment and education. However,
as an entertainment-education project the health information is superior to journalistic freedom. The magazine stands for so called prosocial messages. It wants to be open-minded but neutral to different phenomena of sexuality. For instance a journalist would not be free to write negatively about homosexuality. Even though the magazine has not yet brought up the subject, an anti gay attitude is not officially allowed in Femina.

Tanzanians edit the magazine with assistance primarily from the project coordinator, the Norwegian social anthropologist Minou Fuglesang. The managing editor, Jamillah Mwanjisi, who also writes the main articles of the magazine, recognizes the readers as the best source of inspiration.

We have this interactive way of working and the main bank of ideas is the young people themselves. They come up with lots of ideas through letters; focus groups discussions and some of them just drop by at the office.

Femina has a clear ambition to work with outreach activities. There are Femina school clubs, people are encourage to write to the magazine and the most sensitive articles about sexuality are pre-tested on groups of young people. They give comments on both contents and language use. Femina wants be the voice of young people, but still not offend the rest of society. "It is always very tricky" Jamillah Mwanjisi says." We have to take the stand of both the parents, the religious leaders, the government, but also the target groups, the young people themselves."

5.3 Taboos in print text
The staff wants to push boarders, both in terms of language and contents and feel that Femina are breaking new ground.

It is a new thing to talk about sex, to write about sex. So we even had discussions, we kind of argued which words to use, but kujamiiana for instance means having sex. It is just a word we were no used to using. It is a word that has been there in the Swahili dictionary for years, but because we don’t talk about sex, people did not know that the word existed (Mwanjisi J).

In accordance with the Entertainment-Education concept, Femina uses role models; Tanzanian celebrities, like artists and television profiles to convey educative messages. In the last edition of 2001 the role models were a young attractive couple, Mona and Tyson, known from television and radio. They are newly married and in a feature article they share their attitudes about relations and fidelity. There are pictures of them hugging and kissing that is not often seen in Tanzanian media. The further pages provide a mix of shorter texts, presented in small boxes and longer feature texts. Some purely entertaining parts, like a chance to get pen friends or portrait of three young singers, the unique Sisters. Others more informative like "Did you know" box about the risk of getting pregnant if a man ejaculates near the vagina.

The most challenging issue brought up in this edition is the three-page theme about "Fun Without sex" (see appendix). In both English and Swahili the magazine presents ways of having sexual relations without going the whole way. Quite in detail it is explained how mutual masturbation and oral sex work. The tone is straight and approving. However, a small box reminds the reader that abstinence is the only complete effective method of preventing STDs.
The theme of the edition is money. The reader gets advice how to make money last longer, but more serious aspects, like prostitution and the inverse of sugar daddy phenomenon, sugar-mummies. The story is told as a picture novel where a young boy gets tempted to get involved with middle aged woman (see appendix). She is rich and provides him with clothes, drinks and money. Picture novels appear in every edition of Femina. They are made up in cooperation with youths and are said to be one of the most popular ingredients in the magazine. Another part stimulating dialogue is readers’ letters, where a health councilor gives advice about relations.

People that appear in the stories and photo are young, but in this particular edition there is one exception, a three-page interview with the Prime Minister of Tanzania, Mr. Frederick Sumaye and his opinions about HIV/AIDS especially in relation to youths. He admits that the African culture forbids people to speak about sexuality is a problem. “HIV affects every one,” he says. Young people are especially vulnerable; therefore society must make sure they get the information they need. The Prime Minister says he even provides his own children with condoms.

Nowadays, condoms are not so controversial. Topics that Femina so far has not touched upon are abortions and homosexuality. Both these phenomena are illegal in Tanzania. The Femina HIP team has a defensive approach to these matters and would not campaign in favor of legalization. The objections among the public are too strong. "We would never win the battle" (Mwanjisi J).

6. FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS
Let us for a while leave Femina, the theoretical discussions and second opinions about Tanzanian media and instead address those who are really involved - the media workers themselves.

6.1 Media’s impact on HIV/AIDS reporting
A general opinion among the respondents is that they have a duty to break the silence and raise awareness about HIV. Mr. Michuzi, a reporter and photographer at the Daily News says that he has a vision of making the concept safe sex just as practiced in every day life as safe water. "We know about safe water," he says. Nobody is drinking water without boiling it. And in people mind it is there, safe sex, but they also have to practice it.

Still, reality is far from the vision. The reporting is only "half-cooked", he says. Mr Michuzi does not only complain about the limited time to do thorough research, lack of specialization among media workers, but he also criticizes journalists for only listening to the official data. "As professionals we are handicapped, how to do it, because like we are all the time spreading the fear. It does not encourage people to read, not the contents. It is more like "watch out you’ll die!"

The other respondents are considerably more optimistic and confident in media’s chances to influence people. They think that the reporting is better than it used to be, but much remains to be done. Several are frustrated because of poor working conditions. Our newsroom is small and then it has few computers, so sometimes it is very hard if you get a

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2 One reason for telling a sugar-mummy instead of a sugar daddy story is that Femina, despite its name, wants to be gender neutral. It is a magazine for both young men and women.
very good story to get a chance to go through it” says one respondent.

Regardless of media house several respondents complain about lack of time and that there is no chance to get specialized on specific issues. The School of Journalism does not have any special training about HIV/AIDS reporting and the same goes for the media houses. It is up to the reporter’s own initiative to read and learn more. A few say that they would like to take part of special courses on health institutes. Maybe go to a neighboring country to learn more about how to cover the epidemic.

Getting hold of information about HIV is not seen as a big problem. NGOs seem to be the best source of information. Some respondents claim that it is very easy to get the governmental documents that you ask for. However, some other say that there is little trust in media and governmental institutions do not collaborate. One respondent explains that it has taken a year and still there has been no reply from Ministry of Health regarding an AIDS related issue. Hierarchy puts hindrances in the way, the respondent says. People at governmental institutions do not want to be at service because they say they are not responsible.

Quite a few mention the problem to reach people, especially in rural areas. Not only are the literacy rates lower there, than in the cities, but the insufficient Tanzanian distribution system weakens the impact of print media in rural districts. Besides, the economical situation makes it impossible for many even to buy a newspaper.

Respondents’ at privately owned radio and television stations are very unhappy about the media laws that forbid them to cover more than 25 per cent of the country. Small funding is another problem. There is no money to go and depict the conditions of HIV-infected in the country side.

Only a few, primarily male editors in the 50s are fully pleased with the coverage “We cover the topic very effectively,” says Mr. Yakuti, news editor at the Daily News. According to him there are no taboos any longer and the knowledge of HIV among journalists is good. The director for Radio Uhuru, Mr. Juneja, believes that his station is recognized as "a fosterer in the fight against AIDS". He says that the radio station gives priority to news related to AIDS. There are jingles warning for the dangers of AIDS, but when confronted with the importance of speaking openly about adolescent sexuality he says no.

Mr. Juneja thinks that it is up to the parents to inform their children in these matters. He does not agree that parents avoid the subjects because of traditional taboos. "No, it is not true. Every parent speaks about morality to their children, almost every time the parent meets the child." A more common opinion is that journalists think that youths lack knowledge. Therefore it is especially important to provide this group with reliable information. The question is just how to do it?
6.2 HIV-reporting in practice
A striking majority thinks that it is important to propagate for condom use, at least so in words. "Before, it was so difficult to use a word condom, but right now you can mention it anywhere", says Mr. Bawazir, news reporter at Radio Uhuru. "I know that the people never stop with sex. We have to give them alternatives and that is to use condoms" says the acting chief director of DTV, Mr. Peter Shadrack. Though, the respondents working for different television stations all hint that demonstration of how a condom should be used is difficult to approve of. That kind of knowledge is better given in more secluded places, like at NGOs.

Some religious leaders within the Tanzanian Catholic church have banned condoms, and the only strong objections against propagating condom use is found at Radio Tomaini, run by the Catholic Church. The female editor there, Mrs. Rose Mdami, argues that refusing to inform about condoms means telling youths to change their behavior. She does not regard condoms as any solution to the HIV-epidemic.

If you tell somebody that there is a condom, automatically he or she is going to know that there is something, which is going to protect me against HIV/AIDS. And until now we have no statistics, which has showed that condoms have helped this number of people not to get affected by HIV. As a result the numbers are coming up, the numbers are growing bigger and bigger.

Condom use is of course just one part of HIV-prevention. Things become more complicated when putting words on phenomena related to sexuality.

6.3 Linguistic taboos
Mrs. Mwasa, a 30-year-old reporter at the Swahili daily, Majira, explains how difficult it can be to verbalize sexually related issues in the newspaper.

R: It is very difficult to write a detailed article about sexuality so that young people can read and understand about sexuality. So most young people do, do the wrong way. There are some people who believe that if you do sex while standing up you cannot get pregnant.
I: You say it is difficult to write, how do you do it then?
R: What is true is a problem, to write what is true. ... Because the parents will come to the office and say why are you teaching our children these things? It is taboo. There is a problem of culture and religion. It is not allowed.
I: Does it mean that you cannot write?
R: You can write, not detailed, not detailed article.

....
I: You said before that there are words that you cannot use. What words are those?
R: For instance, even the sexual parts, the secret parts.
I: The vagina?
R: Yeah, if you call the vagina secret parts, what does it mean? It is hard because we hide it every day, so it is a problem. And some people, some parents don’t tell their children.
When they are mature they don’t tell them if a boy enters his penis into a vagina you will get pregnant. They say, if you meet with a boy you’ll get pregnant. That creates confusion.
I: Can you write "if a boy enters with his penis into a vagina" Could you write that?
R: Impossible!
I: So you would say if you meet a boy you can get pregnant?
R: (Laughing)
I: So how do you do it then?
R: The problem of AIDS, you end up writing "Don’t do that! Don’t meet with the boys!"

She gives one practical example of how the writing process can be when bringing up sexuality.

R: One day I went to do research with the TAMWA group in Bagamoyo, this coast region. And we found girls who used lemon to put into the vagina to cut menstruation periods, to reduce menstruation period they use lemon. It is meant so that they can meet with boys, men. So when I do this, I wrote my article, my editor told me "No, no we cannot say it, lemon in the vagina. You have to say put lemon into the secret parts."

I: And what do you think about that?
R: Not proper, they have to know it, that they put it into the vagina.
I: Otherwise?
R: Otherwise people think different things, incorrect messages.

Mr. Josef Kulangwa is a news editor at Majira. He shares his colleague’s frustration over all the useful but hidden words.

Many people are not ready to talk about AIDS openly, even some people who are just trying to educate people are shying away from talking open how to do sex safely. You cannot speak about sexual organs openly. . . . When you beat around the bush I think the education will be difficult. There is something that is hindering us from doing a good job.

All respondents agree that language is the main taboo. Some phenomena are so hidden that there seems to be controversies as to what it is actually is called, homosexuality for instance. During an interview with Mr. Abdallah Bawazir, reporter at Radio Uhuru, he and a colleague of him could not agree on what it is actually called in Swahili. On another occasion someone claimed that there are no words for safer sex and masturbation. While others said that it is not true.” We have the words, we do. . . . You can find them in a dictionary, but you cannot speak them openly” (Kulangwa J).

Despite the fact that every one is very much aware of the constraints in language, most of the respondents do not only accept it, but also approve strongly of the habit of "beating about the bush" as some of them put it. The general opinion is that people are brought up with a certain type of language. Everybody knows what the indirect expressions for sexually related issues stand for. "Speaking the words very straight is not an African tradition, at least not in Tanzania. But we have come to understand that by using these names everybody is comfortable” (Mangénya M).

However, the following quotation is an illustrative example of how difficult it is for her to convey
sexually related issues without crossing any linguistic barriers. And even more importantly how much effort it takes to understand what the message is really about:

**I:** Is there anywhere when you feel that you want to be more open than the society allows?
**R:** (Thinking) Yeah, sometimes.
**I:** Can you give an example?
**R:** Maybe, if you wish to speak something, which is very new, maybe, introduce a new thing and you are not quite sure if there is another word you can express, it becomes harder.
**I:** Can you give an example?
**R:** (Thinking) The things, which relates to sexual intercourse. If you want to maybe to speak, maybe the sexual intercourse relates to man and woman. The whole action, how it appears. Maybe you want to explain something that appears, which will maybe cause, that may be one cause of AIDS. Maybe you want to explain (thinking) a type of intercourse, which is not prepared. I mean, what I mean, maybe a woman is not prepared for sex and then the man want to have sex with her and then he has to do it and then there is some sort of bruises maybe and then maybe that is very difficult to explain sometimes, as a course of AIDS, because in our African tradition, we don’t have these preparations maybe for AIDS. Maybe it is the people from the town who at least have the knowledge what so ever. Maybe in the village, you want to put it clear that you should do this first and then after that you could go into sexual intercourse. Maybe, things like that are very difficult.

**K:** Explain that?
**A:** Explain that you should first prepare your self, prepare and do some sort of romance.

**K:** And not go straight to the point?
**A:** Yeah, exactly.

At the end of this dialogue it becomes somewhat clear what she is trying to say, but it could have been expressed in only a few sentences. Like: It is important to make some romance, stimulate the woman’s sex. If the vagina is too dry there is an increase risk that bruises appear and bruises may lead to the transmission of HIV.

Circumscribing words to avoid cultural clashes is so common that many respondents do not even reflect upon it. Most media workers think that you can write about almost anything. A male respondent says that it is just “a matter of vocabulary, the words you are using” (Akyoo A).

Radio Tanzania has even developed their own linguistic "house style" The chief editor, Mr. Edward Kahananga, reads aloud under the chapter sexuality: "Materials relating to sex shall be presented in such a way as not to cause feelings of unpleasantness or consternation."

6.4 Cultural codes in language use

Apparently, to know the unwritten rules that define a good language you not only have to know the language itself but also the culture, or rather cultures. Mr. Clement Mshana, chief news editor at TVT explains:

Tanzania has more than a hundred and twenty ethnical communities. Each group has its own way of life, way of behaving, way of thinking on various issues,
various level of development./.../so if you are writing a story on AIDS, focus on
the region. You have to understand their life styles, their beliefs.

There seems to be an unspoken consensus what is accepted and not. Generally, there is especially
strong concern about elders and children. A very direct language about sexuality could harm
them. In the extended families, different generations consume mass media together. Therefore the
language, especially within ether media, must be adapted to a broad and diversified audience.

Vagina is proper for youth of the age 12-25, but how about a child of eight or nine
years or five years listening to the radio at that time. What do you think about that
name? I think it is going to affect him. He or she might not understand the meaning
of the word, but he or she is going to use it and it is not good, not good to pronounce
it as you walk around. And mind another problem! There is an old man sitting
somewhere listening to the radio hear such a name, word. What do you think would
be the outcome of if it? That’s why we try to use as much as possible simple words
but very understandable.... we try to have a very polite language, but we go straight
to the point. (Mdami R)

How can you go around sensitive words and still be direct? I could not help wondering if it does
not effect the perception of a message when so many key words are considered taboo. I tested my
thoughts on people from NGOs that I interviewed, but was not very encouraged by their answers.
They agree that there are many linguistic taboos, but it does not matter which words you use as
long as people understand. Calling a spade a spade is not what is important in HIV-reporting.
Everybody knows what private part stands for, so why offend people?

Mrs. Mihayo Bupamba at AMREF is one of very few that agrees that there is a problem. She
follows the HIV-reporting in media carefully and is very critical to the language journalists use to
educate people on sexuality related issues. The language is too much colored by culture.
Avoiding calling sexual organs by their right names is just one example.

Kujamiiana is like if you are ashamed of using the actual word. It is politically
correct, you think of a politician saying that but young people don’t pay
attention.

Tendo la ndoa is an act for married people.
But young people have sex before marriage so it is not true and mapenzi means
simple love. It can be love for a brother or a sister.

Mrs. Bumpaba agrees that every one will understand if you use any of these synonyms. It is
politically correct, but not encouraging to read, especially for youths that have a completely
different language. They get bored and will not listen to the message. ”It is like instead of saying
orange you say a round fruit that is yellow. But the word looses its meaning. There is too much
polishing.” She prefers a word that none of my respondents ever used during their interviews,
ngono "People don’t use it, ngono, but I think it is perfect. It means just sex, not love but sex.”

Mrs. Fatma Mwasa had to censor her language when reporting about an obscure custom of putting
lemon in the vagina. She says that parents, their culture and religion influence they way she
writes.
Although, her superior directly censored her, she does not express any criticism to him "because
of culture and regulations it is beyond his decision”.

That is a very typical answer. Junior reporters do not think that their superiors are in a position to decide what language norm is acceptable. Some say that a direct language could make the government take actions.” Maybe our boss is scared that maybe the ministry, that are controlling the papers, say that the language is not proper.” However, most regard the opinions of ordinary citizens as the main obstacle for straight talk about sexuality: ”If you start speaking openly people criticized you” (Mshanga A). ”You know the problem is maybe not the media, the problem is our people” (Juneja M).

Cecylia Mabelle has her own health program on ITV and she says that the audience are quick to criticized: ”You have to have a nice language, a local language, otherwise they’ll not listen They will complain a lot.” Consequently, she does not only watch her own language but also the vocabulary of the people that appear in her program. If someone is too open about sexuality she cuts that part out.

Censorship is so common that it seems to be done without any further reflections: ”I know who my readers are. I’ll censor myself first, then if my news editor comes and reads the article he will censor it as well” (Kabigi A). When asked if she would like to use a more straight talk she says: ”Oh, well, I don’t think the owner, my news editor and everybody would agree on that. Other respondents expressed similar resignation when asked if they would like things to be different.” Yes, if it was possible, it could be better, but the culture does not allow us (Bawazir A). ”You know, they say it is state television and you must abide to certain rules” (Mshanga A).

6.6 Femina in the Tanzanian context
Despite the fact that Femina can be seen at street vendors all over Dar es Salaam, only around half of the respondents say that they are familiar with the magazine. Lack of time is the most common explanation as to why they have not read it. Difficulties to get hold of copies and the belief that it is a woman magazine are other reasons. ”I know that there is a magazine called Femina. I never read it, but I know it is a woman magazine. It promotes women issues” (Boi L). Those respondents, who actually have read it, understand that Femina is a health-promoting magazine. They approve of the mix between education and entertainment. That is generally regarded as the most successful method to reach the audience, a light touch on serious issues. ” If it were boring material you wouldn’t read it up to the end. Since they mix it with humour it is quite good (Mshanga A).

Femina constantly brings up sexually related issues, but the respondents very rarely see any conflict with the Tanzanian traditions. On the contrary, several are pleased to see that Femina’s language use is sensitive to the culture. After having read the page in English that brings up the theme safer sex, where phenomena like masturbation and oral sex are described, Mrs. Mangénya turns to read the Swahili page and start laughing.

It is not very bad, because there they have mentioned the private parts instead of mentioning penis and vagina. Here in English they have mentioned it. But those who are reading English it is not very hard to swallow these words, penis and vagina... but in Swahili it is very, very hard.
Many respondents explained it as the most obvious thing in the world that there are different limits of tolerance depending on if you write in English or Swahili. "Our paper is a Swahili newspaper and in Swahili, I can say it is a taboo to talk about sexual organs openly, but in English I think it is very easy" (Kulangwa J).

During the interviews the atmosphere could change quickly when they were asked to translate certain words into Swahili. For instance, the radio director who was so firm in his opinion about whom should inform the young ones about sexuality, says that he would not allow the Swahili word for sexual intercourse in his channel.

R: We use the word kujamiiana. If you go by the meaning of it, it means socializing. Jami is society, kujamiiana means creating a society. Because the actual words to be use are not...
I: What would that word be?
R: I would not like to utter the word in the office (laughing) (Juneja M).

A considerably younger man show similar embarrassment when asked to express sexually related phenomena in Swahili:

R: You know it is a matter of vocabulary, the words you are using. Some words are very strong, even me I do not like to use them.
I: Like?
R: There are words like (silent thinking) Do you want me to mention the words?
I: Yes.
I: It is like saying ahhmm...(silent) (Akyoo A).

After much hesitation he finally says a Swahili expression. Just a little bit later we talk about the Femina magazine and the page Fun without sex. Now, he does not hesitate to use the English words oral sex, ejaculation, and masturbation, suck the vagina.

6.7 Femina – bold but acceptable
We know that Femina try to push some boarders in terms of sexual reproductive health information. Let us now change focus from the separate words to the contents of Femina. A quick glance through the magazine never creates any controversies among the respondents. However, when asking them to reflect upon the page "Fun without sex" (see appendix), the comments vary from hesitant approval to a complete rejection. The editor of Radio Uhuru who first gave approving comments changed immediately when he realized that the magazine promotes alternative sex like masturbation and oral sex.

This is against our traditions! All these subjects mentioned here are foreign to our culture/.../I would say European, this is European way of satisfaction./.../It is perverse, like a porno magazine!/.../We don't need any body to teach us about sexual activity./.../It is wrong to put these kind of tits bits in a magazine funded by an apparently decent aid agency/.../I would not like my article or my face appearing in a polluted paper or a magazine which has a mixture of some decent statements and perverse (Juneja M).

Very few show a complete enthusiasm over the approach Femina has to alternative was of having sex. However, most of the respondents seem to accept that Femina as a magazine targeted for young people publish this kind of information. "In a way I didn’t feel comfortable with it," says
Agatha Mshanga, specialized on health issues at TVT, after having read about oral sex and masturbation "but again talking about sexuality I think it is not very bad... They are talking about taboos, but I think time has come to put some of the taboos aside in order to fight AIDS".

Flora Wingia, the editor of Nipashe expresses similar opinions "I think if you are over 15 years old it is not bad for them. I think it is fair. That is the group that is sexually active, if they get such information I don’t think it is bad for them." Those who object to Femina are afraid that the sexual reproductive health information will fall into the wrong hands. "Mind you that this article is going to read, a child twelve years, fifteen years still in school. I think it is going to confuse his mind" (Mdami R).

Important to notice is that Tanzanian adolescence are not regarded as one single group with the same need of information. There are the urban and the rural youths. The respondents generally look upon Femina as an urban oriented middle-class publication. As such it is very well fills its purpose.

"I think that the Femina magazine is doing a great job to educate the mass about HIV and the good thing is they write it in Swahili and English as well, I am very much impressed by this" (Mshanga A). Femina is often described in words like attractive, colorful, informative, educative, and well written. "I like this magazine because young people are participating, preparing the agenda... They have issues concerning young people, sexuality, and it is open" (Mwasa F).

6.8 Objections against Femina
The main objection to the magazine is the price. Almost all respondents comment on that.

"You can have nice information, well presented, but is this person in a position to buy this magazine? How much a normal Tanzanian gets per day? If it is a concern of deciding between a bread and a magazine, within that span of 1000 shillings this person will definitely buy the bread" (Mshana C).

Also the contents, pictures and celebrities appearing in the magazine are sometimes regarded as obstacles to reach the average Tanzanian. The director of Radio Tanzania, Mr. Kahananga hints that Femina has not found the right approach for the Tanzanian context.

R: I don’t have a problem with the content; I have a problem with the population. Who are reading this? The contents might be okay, but how do they receive the contents? For example, I’ll tell you, in rural areas, when you put a picture like this (pointing at a picture in the last edition when a woman hugs a man from behind,) you are telling people not to read, Femina...
I: What does the picture say?
R: It is against African culture!
I: To be affectionate?
R: Like that. Now I am telling which audience are they focusing?
I: Do you feel that it is too Western?

R: Yes, very much so... The problem with Femina is, it is urban oriented. That is a problem, because the majority of people live in rural areas. You have urban people who are an elite... You cannot see any articles on rural life. Have you seen that? That is the problem with Femina.
When introducing topics like oral sex and masturbation he claims that Femina will be completely rejected by the rural audience.

They don’t practice masturbation in rural areas. You cannot talk about masturbation in rural areas. They will curse you... When you talk of masturbation then people will not talk to you anymore. Masturbation is for elite” (Kahananga E).

Mrs. Cecylia Mabelle agrees that it does not work to speak about alternative ways to have sex with people who live in the countryside:

“What do you think they say about this in the village? In urban areas, yes, it is fine but in villages people are not used to it. They don’t know something like that./.../Many people don’t even know about AIDS./.../ Many think it is jojo.”

Femina’s impact outside the urban environment is generally questioned. The coverage speaks to "the highest people” says Peter Shadrack, editor at DTV. His colleague at the same television station says:

You cannot identify yourself with her (referring to the cover page with a young successful woman, Kambona) She has no impact./.../A cannot learn anything from this woman, but if they would do a picture of maybe of someone affected with HIV, just a skeleton, I can be shocked. Or if you put a woman living in the villages with dress, real African. It could convince me to read it (Boi L).

You know in the rural areas they have so many problems. They do not have enough water and they live in poor conditions. At least once they find something that will help them solve their problems; I think they are more comfortable with it, rather than preaching to them about cosmetics and what ever (Mshanga A).

6.9 Incomparable to other media

Some think that Femina represents a new genre, especially the introduction of portraits where you can read about people’s lives and experiences in a positive way. The magazine gets credit for good research and nice tone. "The language, they talk direct to people” (Shadrack P).

Even if most respondents approve of Femina, many say that the magazine could not influence their own reporting. Some remark that it is impossible to compare the articles in Femina with their own because the working conditions are too different. "Our paper is a daily paper,” says Mr. Josef Kulangwa "So we always write very, very short information, but for this, they have time to do research, to talk to people and they come out with something, which is good, which is readable.”

Others say they cannot adopt the style of Femina because they are not targeted in the same way. Femina’s focus on the youth makes it possible to use a more direct language. You don’t have to take too much consideration for children and elders, as radio, TV or even daily newspapers have to do. Even the editor of Femina herself, Jamillah Mwanjisi agrees that mainstream media have to be more careful in choice of words and contents.

When you talk for instance about orgasm, having fun without sex, that means explaining the romancing in the print context. It is different, maybe newspapers
cannot do that. I understand because newspapers can be read by almost everyone, kids. But someone who buys the Femina magazine should expect that. Why they buy it? Because they want to read about it. It is kind of specialized magazine.

Cecylia Mabelle at ITV says that she has never seen Femina before but thinks that it could be of good use in her search for new angles on HIV/AIDS. "This message is good…it will help me a lot. I’ll go and look for it (meaning Femina). However, when asked how she will explain phenomena like masturbation and oral sex she says. "I will find a way and I will discuss with the doctors. I will discuss which words we can use.

Mr. Michuzi at Daily News who had very little trust in media says about Femina: "I think they are setting a trend, this is something that not many people are used to." What he likes above all is the research, affirmative tone, the way they write about people’s lives positively. He says that Femina encouraged him to take the initiative to a new full-color magazine, Kitangoma. It deals with music, but it also has educative ambitions. Artists involving themselves in the fight against AIDS get extra attention and the red ribbon is printed on the front page.

6.10 The respondent's suggestions for improvements of Femina

According to the respondents, improvements should focus on how to reach a broader and more average audience.” The best way to reach people is to reduce the price; instead of 1000 shillings it should be 500. It would be nice with a quality magazine down there, out in the suburbs" (Michuzi M). Others think that it could be worth making Femina a less luxurious magazine, then it would be cheaper to produce and you would reach more people.

A few others suggest that the information of Femina could be used in columns in mainstream papers for youth rather than expensive magazine. Some say that it is a pity that the focus is so much on celebrities and people who apparently belong to a middle class. There should be more ordinary Tanzanian.

Here there are only people who have already succeeded in life, but there are some people who are doing very good things, ordinary people, not known and maybe they can teach the people.../

You know, people don’t know these guys’ background (referring to Mona and Tyson). Maybe people think they were born like that, maybe from their parents. But if they see someone who is poor and has worked hard to be rich I think that is going to help (Bawazir A).

On the other hand, some one thought the complete opposite. There should be even more celebrities. In the Kambona edition there is a picture of a pregnant girl. One respondent thinks that Femina should not have chosen any pregnant girl, but some one who is also famous "That gives a lasting impression" (Michuzi M).

Poverty as the underlying cause of the severe AIDS epidemic was brought up in many interviews and some respondents suggest that Femina should work more on giving ideas to young people.

The reason why people can enter into risk activities is the problem of unemployment.../ Femina could give such alternatives, what young people can do instead of prostitution for instance. They can do some other things, forming
some groups. We are now prone to entrepreneurship, set up their own enterprises (Maziku P).

7. ANALYSIS
Modernization theories highlight the impact of mass media in the process of transforming traditional societies into modern. It is beyond doubt that media have a unique possibility to reach out. However, it does not necessarily mean that messages conveyed through media lead to behavior change. On the contrary, evaluations of public HIV/AIDS campaigns show that "there is little evidence to suggest that these messages have been particularly effective in persuading people to change the sexual practices that promote transmission of the virus" (Hope 1999:109). In the case of HIV/AIDS, it is clear that Tanzanian media have broken the silence, but I will argue that their impact is limited for a number of reasons.

7.1 A new form of publicness
The respondents have often taken a big circulation of a newspaper or a wide coverage of a radio- or TV-channel as a proof of their impact in HIV-prevention. That is an argument in line with the first descriptions of the modernity paradigm. In one strike you could reach uncountable numbers of people. The assumption is that, once people are reached by new and useful information they will change their behavior. Reality is more complex than that.

One weakness lies in the very nature of the mass medium, its unique capability to reach out. We take it for granted today, but it must not be forgotten that mass media represent a way to convey knowledge that was beyond anybody’s imagination just a hundred years ago.

At that time Tanzania was a traditional oral society. All communication processes, including sexual reproduction health information, took place in privacy. In fact, when bringing up issues related to sexuality, mass media serve a substitute for the old somo traditions. Issues that traditionally have been handled in small communities reach out to a broad and unidentified audience. John B Thompson calls this phenomenon "mediated publicness". Mass media have "reconstituted the boundaries between public and private life" (Thompson 1995:125). Obviously, that is a dilemma when communicating issues of private character, like HIV/AIDS and sexuality.

The respondents are very well aware of the limitation in this respect, and many of them cannot come to terms with taking part in this new mediated publicness. The editor of Radio Uhuru who says that media must not bring up sexually related issues is one example. The objections against demonstrating condoms in television are another. The audience is too broad, they argue. They reach children, youths and elders at one at the same time.

Still, no matter how diversified the audience may be, mass media should not forget that sexuality is a social act. But they do. Tanzanian media urge people to change their behavior, and as far as I am concerned they are for good reasons criticized for not reporting about the underlying factors, power structures, emotions and traditions that may explain irrational behavior. I believe that Hughes and Milia are right when they claim that "people’s reluctance to adopt safer sex practices is, in part, attributed to the divergence between the model of rationality assumed in media coverage and the every-day, or common-sense, rationality persons actually use in understanding and negotiating their sexual conduct" (Hope 1999:109).

On one occasion, Tanzanian media reported about girls who would sign contracts to abstain from
promiscuity. The article does not only raise a lot of questions regarding gender equality (are only girls responsible for the spread of HIV and other STDs?). To me, the issue of sexuality is more complex than signing a piece of paper. The article does not express any doubts as to whether the HIV-prevention method will work. What media could have contributed with is a discussion about the issue. What makes young women (and young men) involve in sexual relations? Who should answer that question if not youths themselves.

However, judging from the English dailies, it is very rare that journalists go out in the streets and talk to the people they write about. Mass media fail to bring HIV-stories down to every-day-situations, but rely on information from press conferences and official statements.

In the book, *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*, the professor in Mass Communication, Louise Bourgault, claims that mass media are part of the post-colonial elite. Media institutions distance themselves from ordinary people. The hierarchical structures of the society make them more inclined to listen to authorities than ordinary people. "Broadcasting in Black Africa has often been "narrow casting" targeting by intent or by omission chiefly at the urban sections of the populace, particularly the more educated" (Bourgault 1995:43).

I would not go so far as to claim that the journalists included in this study have a superior attitude. They express a wish to report from the countryside, but complain about a lack of funding.

It may be part of the problem, but I would say that there is also a lack of creativity. Tanzanian journalists are trapped in old manners in their reporting. I cannot see any other excuse, neither time nor money, as to why they do not address ordinary people when reporting about issues that concern the public.

7.2 Linguistic obstacles

A less plain, but as I will argue, equally important obstacle to empower people is the language use. We have seen how the respondents avoid sensitive words or use euphemism. Some do not see any problem in that, they feel free to report anything and say it is only a matter of terminologies. I do not agree. The fact that words must not "affect" has a negative meaning to me. If words are not allowed to touch people, there is also a risk that they do not engage people to read at all.

One or two respondents are extremely reflexive about the habit of "beating about the bush". The woman who reported about girls who put lemon in the vagina brings up a question that I believe all journalists should constantly ask themselves. How does the audience perceive the message?

She believes that the less clear you write the bigger the risk that the reader misunderstands the information, and consequently practice less safe sex. She feels frustrated about the habit of avoiding a straight language.

It affects the journalism negatively. Instead of writing informative and assertive articles there is a negative and forbidding tone in the reporting. Others prove not so much by their own reflections as by their answers how difficult the perception becomes by their long, vague description of
sexually related issues. The more sensitive the issue is, the more abstract becomes the words.

With a few exceptions, my respondents reflect very little upon the perception of media messages. They take for granted that the audience will understand. I have a very limited knowledge about Tanzanian culture; still I dare to claim that their assumptions are probably false. In order to have an impact on the audience, I believe that mass media have to admit the complexity in communication processes, that the people have different backgrounds that decide their chances to make sense of messages.

7.3 Censorship
Another aspect of HIV-communication in Tanzanian mass media is censorship. Media workers value the "proper" language. They are concerned with those who may be affected by "bad language" rather than with those who may be helped by it. Therefore, they deliberately censor a vocabulary that is not correlative with the social norm. I assume that much of young people’s language is filtered in the media houses. This is serious for several reasons.

First of all, youths are not a small segment of the Tanzanian society. In fact, they account for 50 per cent of the population. Secondly, they are the group that is most vulnerable to STDs. It is obvious that there is a lack of useful words for intimacy. Mass media could give youths the tool to negotiate safer sex by making the words public. Instead they deprive them from the vocabulary. I think that all media workers should ask themselves in which extent they incorporate youth’s experiences, their words and ways of speaking.

7.4 Cultural authority
At the outset, I assumed that female journalists who, by their gender, represent a vulnerable group would be more critical to HIV-reporting than men, but I was wrong. Apart from a few critical voices, it is striking how much consensus there is between men and women about the importance of protecting people from bad language.

Neither can you discern any decisive differences depending on media genre. Press, radio and television all have same approach to the issue. Regarding the third parameter, hierarchical structures, we have seen examples where journalists say that their supervisor check what is written and censor where necessary. However, among the respondents on the lower hierarchical level very few identify their superiors as the main obstacle for the coverage of sensitive issues like HIV/AIDS and sexuality.

The media laws of Tanzania lay obstacle to a free reporting, but only one or two mention that they fear being banned because of bad language. The overshadowing factor that restricts media is culture. Culture is an authority in itself.

In the UNAIDS Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS, culture is defined as "the collective consciousness of a people. It is shaped by a sense of shared history, language and psychology."

One important aspect of the Tanzanian culture is the collective identity. The individual self is "a product of the family, community and other environmental influences over which we neither have, nor want, to control" (UNAIDS).
That became obvious when asking the respondents for personal opinions, what they would like to change. They had difficulties to answer that question. Instead they referred to culture, that it is impossible to change.

One reason for the resignation may be that the government for so many years has controlled mass media, but I think that a more decisive factor is culture.

Many respondents, as part of a collective society, cannot separate their own values from culture.

It is impossible to measure what role media play in promoting the process towards modernization that despite all has taken place in Tanzania. Condom promotion is one example where media have changed their attitude. On the whole I think it is obvious that Tanzanian mass media take a conservative standpoint in the modernization process of sexual reproductive health communication. They will rather preserve than change, rather please than upset.

7.5 Back to Femina

Communication strategies in the Third World have more and more come to stress the importance of bringing in socio cultural aspects. According to UNAIDS´ Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS, a prerequisite for successful campaigns on HIV is that the communication is "culturally appropriate." It is obvious that Femina challenges cultural norms when reporting about topics heavily restricted by taboos. Especially when represented in a package that looks like a magazine produced in the West. I assumed that Femina might be rejected as an abuse to the Tanzanian culture.

Undoubtedly, Femina balances on a fine line. It has an ambition to create behaviour change and introduce new ways of approaching sexuality. You could say that it is a life style magazine; both the looks and contents resemble a magazine from the West.

As such it could easily be yet another example of a communication campaign that imposes new ideas from the industrial world, telling people in less developed parts how to do the right thing. Only one respondent expresses such feelings “We don’t need any body to teach us about sexual activity” (see Chapter 6.7).

Most other respondents approve of the messages in Femina. The main reason for the acceptance is that the magazine is targeted.

I would say that Femina in this respect has adopted ideas from social marketing where you make a clear definition of which segment of society you want to reach, In Femina’s case youths between the age 15 and 30. That creates considerably more freedom in the discussion around sexuality. The strategy is not explicitly to persuade people to change their behaviour but in a positive way the magazine shows alternative life styles.

In the urban setting it seems as if Femina manages to be “cultural appropriate”. The situation in rural areas may be more problematic. Several respondents stress that the messages disseminated in Femina is contrasting to the rural way of living.

These are interesting comments, but too complex to be dealt with under a subtitle in this study. If we just focus on Femina as a vehicle for modernization, a first trigger to break sexual taboos, I
think that the magazine is on the right track.

Femina provides tools to stay healthy in sexual relations and many respondents credit them for that. Femina is not only accepted but also approved of. Young people need sexual reproduction health information. Even if many respondents feel that they cannot provide information in the same manner, it is fine that some one else does that.

7.6 A linguistic innovator?

A lot of attention in this study has been paid to language use. The respondents generally think that Femina manages to balance between the many linguistic mine fields in the Swahili language. The articles in English work somewhat differently. I will argue that the English language does more than provide an image of Femina as a modern, internationally designed magazine. The extra language adds a new cultural dimension.

Tanzanians switch languages depending on the speech situation. Swahili is the carrier of the Tanzanian culture and as such filled with emotional connotations. Swahili is part of the identity. English is a neutral communication tool. By making the interviews in English it became striking how different the speech situation looks depending on which language you use. It is obvious that the respondents have felt very free to talk about sexuality in English, but when asked to pronounce certain words in Swahili, some have felt emotionally abused. They say that English is a more open language. I think that is only half the truth.

A Swedish linguist, Lars Gunnar Andersson, has written a whole book on dirty language. He remarks that no words are dirty as such. The dirtiness lies in the consciousness of those who use and judge the language. Coloured by culture they decide what is accepted and not. In Western Europe sexual organs, the sexual act, swear words and body fluids are the fields most loaded with taboos.

Apparently, this is also the case for Tanzania, but since we do not have the same emotional bindings to a foreign language we do not regard their words as bad as the corresponding in our own mother tongue. Lars Gunnar Andersson writes: "The dirty words that we can learn through a foreign language seldom evoke the same strong feelings as the dirty words in our mother tongue" (my translation Andersson 2000:53).

It is obvious that the respondents express themselves more direct in English, words like penis and vagina is nothing but neutral clusters of letters. The corresponding words in Swahili are filled with taboos and cannot be pronounced. There are apparent problems with terminologies. Some times I came across conflicting opinions as to what sexually related phenomena are actually called. Some say there are no words, others that there are but you cannot use them. The expression for having sex is just one example. Instead of saying ngono that is the meaning of it, more or less abstract phrases are used. They say tendo la ndona, meaning the act for married people, or kujamitana, where the literarily meaning is socializing.

In this context English becomes a tool to communicate what cannot be said in Swahili. However, using English as an equal substitute does not work. Only very few per cent of Tanzanian youths know English so well that they can fully make sense of the information.
7.7 Language planning
Swahili was deliberately developed to serve the purpose of building the independent Tanzania. The American anthropologist, Carol M Eastman, has written about language planning in Africa: "When language planning is left to the politicians and guided by macro-level theorizing the vernaculars suffer" (Herbert K 1992:109).
And to me it is obvious that sexuality is a field where little attention has been paid to finding the right terminology.

Eastman continues: "One of the major problems regarding language in Africa today is to reconcile the new mixed languages of the street and the special purpose languages of business and industry with the need to make official policies with regard to language in government and education" (Herbert K 1992:98).

When it comes to finding a language somewhere in between the harsh street language and the politically correct language, I believe that Femina can make a difference. The magazine has managed to win acceptance in the Tanzanian society and could use this position to break new linguistic grounds. A prerequisite is to be open-minded to the language used by ordinary people. Femina is partly a participatory project. The magazine uses feedback groups of young people that comment on contents and language. I think that is something that Femina should continue to put a lot effort in, making the youths identify words that are useful when communication HIV-prevention.

Concluding remarks
With inspiration from modernization theories I have discussed how mass media take part in the HIV-prevention of Tanzania. I do not believe that newspapers, radio or television, not even the most well designed communication campaigns or Femina can lead to behaviour change. Not alone. Most development theories of today stress the importance of combining media interventions with interpersonal communication. “The mass media can convey information efficiently and thereby provide effective support for face-to-face communication” (UNAIDS).

I would say that the most important role of mass media is to make noise around important issues. In the case of HIV/AIDS they should continue to report about the epidemic even though it has long ago ceased to be hot stuff. Tanzanian mass media do, and I have expressed criticism against their methods.

For instance, I think that media workers distance themselves from the epidemic. The reporting is too technical and far away from the reality of most people, although I am sure that every single journalist has come close to AIDS in one way or another.

In fact some three or four people of those I have interviewed on media houses and NGOs should be HIV-positive, according to Tanzanian statistics. Just imagine if people living with the infection could use their experiences to make a more engaged reporting. A study from Namibia show that HIV-infected produced communication about the epidemic differently compared to other media workers (Lush and Gunter).
This is just one of many new angels of HIV/AIDS issue that would be interesting to look closer at in future investigations. However, my main interest regarding HIV-communication remains the language use. I have argued that Femina has a unique chance to renew the vocabulary around sexuality. They should find the value neutral words and use them. A starting point in the process of making the language more accessible and youth friendly would be to ask young people how they perceive the information about HIV/AIDS and sexuality in Tanzanian mainstream media. I recommend this as a future project on media’s role as a health communicator of HIV/AIDS
References:
Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS. UNAIDS www.unaids.org
Lush, David, Gunter Barrie. "*The Body Positive: A missing link in the HIV/AIDS communication in Namibia*."

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Newspaper articles
APPENDIX 1

NEWSPAPERS
The Daily News, governmental owned newspaper. Published daily in English
Majira - daily tabloid owned by the privately owned Business Time Ltd. Published in Swahili.
Nipashe - daily newspaper in Swahili owned by private Guardian Limited.

TELEVISION
Dar es Salaam Television (DTV) - privately owned TV-station
Independent Television (ITV) - privately owned TV station.
Television Tanzania (TVT) - state owned TV station

RADIO
Radio Tanzania - public radio station, controlled by the government.
Radio Tomaini - private radio station owned by the Catholic Church.
Radio Uhuru - privately owned but has a link to the ruling party CCM.
APPENDIX 2
QUESTION GUIDE

Theme 1

What impact do media have when it comes to informing people on sexuality and HIV/AIDS?

What taboos do you recognize when reporting about sexuality?

How do you have to take taboos into account in your own reporting, for example the language use?

How free are you to report according to your own values?

Which sources of information do you use when reporting on HIV/AIDS?

How do you renew the reporting on HIV/AIDS?

How could your own reporting on HIV/AIDS be improved?

Theme 2

Have you read the Femina magazine?

If no, why not?

If yes
How would you describe it?

What is good about it? What is bad about it?

What differences are there between your reporting and Femina’s?

Does Femina represent a new genre? If so what is new about it?

Have you been influenced by Femina in your own work?

Has Femina got an impact on other media?

How could Femina be improved?
APPENDIX 3

List of respondents

Akyoo, Adam, reporter at ITV. 2001-11-03
Bawazir, Abdallah, reporter at Radio Uhuru. 2001-11-06
Boi, Ludovic, reporter at Dar es Salaam Television (DTV). 2001-09-27
Juneja, Mohammed E. B. B - director of Radio Uhuru Limited. 2001-11-07
Kabigi, Agness, reporter at Nipasche. 2001-10-09
Kahananga, Edward, chief editor at Radio Tanzania. 2001-11-05
Kulangwa, Josef, news editor at Majira. 2001-10-03
Mabelle, Cecylia A - senior producer of a Health magazine at ITV. 2001-11-15
Mangénya, Angela, reporter at Radio Tanzania. 2001-11-05
Maziku, Pascal Josef, reporter at Radio Tomaini. 2001-10-23
Mdami, Rose, deputy director of Radio Tomaini. 2001-10-22
Michuzi, Muhidin Issa, reporter and photographer at the Daily News. 2001-10-02
Mshana, Clement S.M - chief news editor at TVT. 2001-11-02
Mshanga, Agatha A, producer of health program on TVT. 2001-10-31
Mwasa, Fatma, reporter at Majira. 2001-10-03
Shadrack, Peter S. N. - news editor at DTV. 2001-09-27
Wingia, Flora - editor of Nipashe Jumapili. 2001-10-09
Yakuti, Abdallah - news editor at the Daily News. 2001-10

Other oral sources:
Bupamba, Mihayo, life skills project officer at AMREF. 2001-11-15
Chachage, Seithy L, professor in sociology at the University of Dar es Salaam. 2001-11-13
Macha, Amant C, market manager of Tanzanian Tourist Board. 2001-11-09
Mdoe, Jim, secretary general of MISA in Tanzania. 2001-11-02
Mtambalike, Pili - programme officer at Media Council of Tanzania. 2001-09-24
Mwanjisi, Jamillah, managing editor of Femina. 2001-10-25
Nkya, Ananilea, director of TAMWA. 2001-10-08
Sheik, Leila, coordinator for information and advocacy at TACKAIDS. 2001-11-13
Singhal, Arvind, scholar in communication for development. Lecture at the University of Copenhagen. 2002-01-17
Ssebuyoya, Zacharia G - policy and planning manager at WAMATA. 2001-09-24
FEMINA
August - October 2001 TShs 1000 KShs 100 UShs 2000

return of Kambona babies!

Mapenzi? Chaguo lako
FUN WITHOUT SEX

FUN, who doesn’t need it? Some of you enjoy playing sports, dancing or just being with people you love. This could include your school or work mates, friends and relatives with whom you have something in common. But for some of you, having fun is being close to the boy/girl of your dreams. However, being intimate and having fun with the one you love, does not necessarily include having sexual intercourse. Yes, you can be in love and have fun without it. It’s possible to show love, concern, and respect for your partner without going all the way! What is important is to discuss and decide with your partner what will satisfy your sexual feelings and make you happy without tempting and pushing you to go too far. Try this out!

HAIVING FUN TOGETHER

Having hands, fondling or kissing with someone you love can be very satisfying. These gestures bring the two of you closer to each other and give you an opportunity to develop trust. This kind of intimacy is safer and can be satisfying provided both of you agree and know when to stop. Things you can do together:

- Hugging and holding each other
- Romantic and Sexy Talks
- Kissing and Petting
- Back rubs, foot rubs, and body rubs
- Listening to music and/or dancing together
- Caring, tickling, petting, fondling and rubbing each other

Don’t go all the way, you can use mutual stimulation and oral sex instead of sexual intercourse!

MUTUAL MASTURBATION

Mutual or simultaneous masturbation is another safe practice that reawakens sexual feelings and at the same time protects you from unwanted pregnancies and/or sexually transmitted diseases. You can masturbate with your hands (with or without a condom) or by rubbing your private parts against healthy, undamaged skin on your partner’s body. Simply stimulating your sexual organs (penis, clitoris) can make you reach sexual pleasure. Masturbation is a safe sex practice provided you ensure that there is no exchange of semen or vaginal fluids. Do not use products with chemicals, which might burn your skin.

ORAL SEX

Oral sex is when one person licks or sucks another person’s private parts (penis or vagina). If two people have oral sex with each other at the same time it is sometimes called a 69 because of the shape their bodies make. Oral sex can be a very intense and intimate experience. Some people enjoy giving oral sex or having it. Other people feel uncomfortable about the idea and don’t want to do it. Sometimes people feel pressured to have oral sex when they don’t want to. It is very important to be sensitive to what the other person really wants. A woman cannot get pregnant from giving oral sex to a man or by receiving it. However, you need to take some precautions when doing oral sex.

AVOID RISKS

Some sexually transmitted infections can be passed on through oral sex especially when you have sore or broken skin in your mouth.

- Keep semen and vaginal fluids out of your mouth.
- Make sure that your mouth is healthy and that you don’t have bleeding gums, cuts, or mouth sores, because the presence of blood will increase the risks.
- Hygiene is important when having oral sex. Keep your gums clean.
- Men can wear a condom while being given oral sex, which minimises the risks of spreading infections. These days flavoured condoms are available to make it all taste better!

SAFER SEX

Safer sex means enjoying sex to the fullest without exposing yourself to the risk of transmitting or acquiring sexually related infections, including HIV. Safer sex means being smart and staying alive.

*remember*

Abstinence from sexual intercourse is the only completely effective method of preventing STDs, HIV and pregnancy. If you do choose to be sexually active, practicing safer sex can REDUCE these risks.