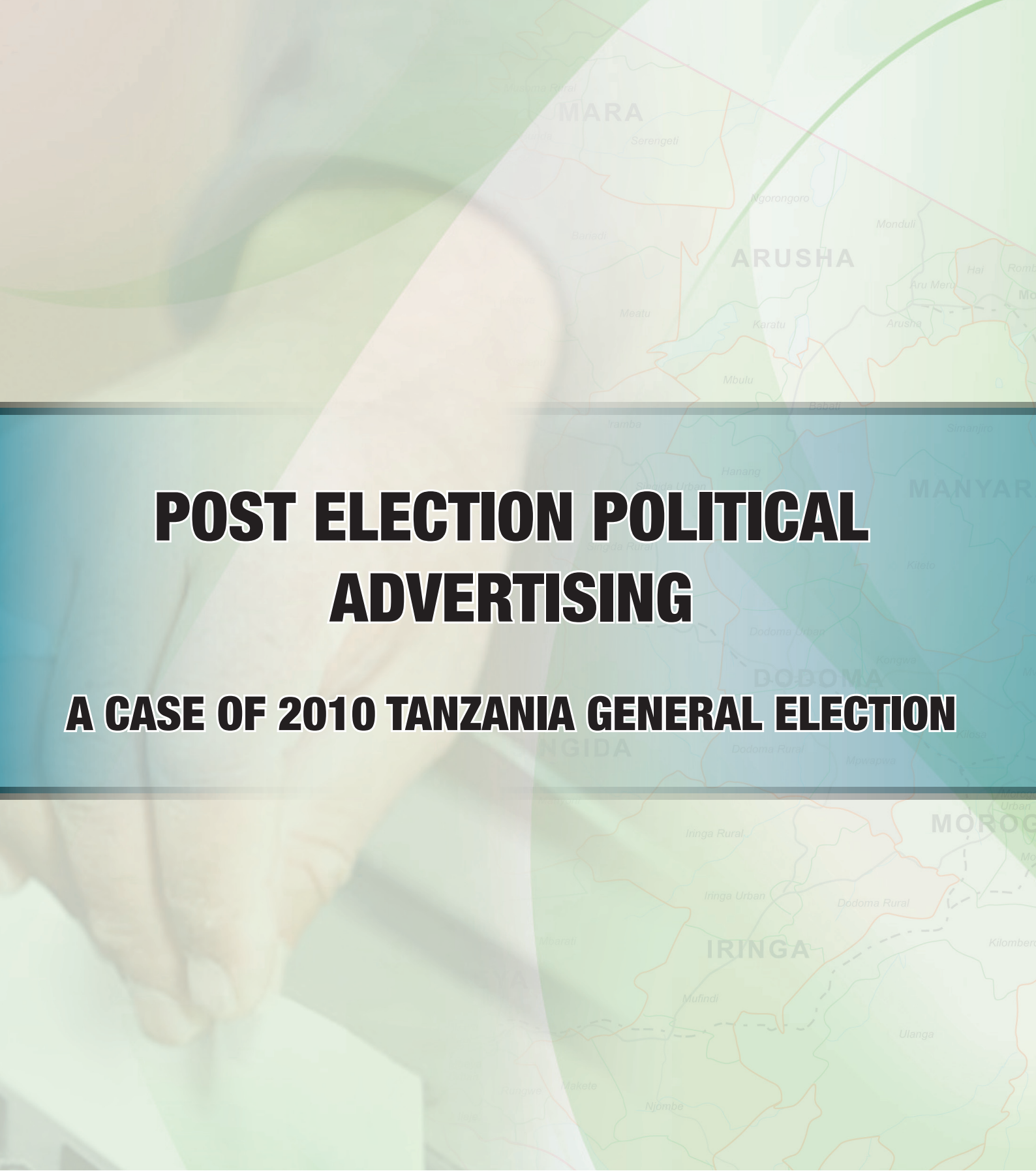

POST ELECTION POLITICAL ADVERTISING

A CASE OF 2010 TANZANIA GENERAL ELECTION

Sikika

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Executive Summary

Tanzania held a general election on the 31st of October 2010 that saw the citizens voting in the president, parliamentarians and civic leaders. This is a report of research done by Sikika to gather information about amount of public money spent on congratulatory adverts.

After the results were published, various private and public organizations and institutions began to publish congratulatory messages through the media. Most media organizations, both print and broadcasting smiled their way to the bank as they were competing for the adverts.

Government departments, ministries, parastatals and various governmental boards were not left out as the heads of these organizations and their workers published adverts congratulating the winners who in most cases were to become their bosses.

Though this is a widespread practice, it does not come cheaply as these adverts cost a fortune. The fact that some of the advertisements were big and in full color while others were broadcast on television and radio, and that most of these departments are funded by the government and use the taxpayer's money, means that a lot of money was gobbled.

Most prominent media organizations ran promotions where they had discounts ranging from 20 percent to 25 percent for those who paid upfront for the congratulatory adverts. Newspapers such as The Guardian and The Daily News, just to mention two, ran adverts on the promotion throughout the period of the study, highlighting the percentage discounts given for upfront payments.

The research revealed that from 8th November to 8th December[1], **Tsh 175, 639,750** was spent on 217 adverts. The analysis shows that, National Development Corporation (NDC), President's office (Programme to Formalize the Property and Business of the Poor in Tanzania) (MKURATIBA), and the Parastatal Pension Fund(PPF) were found to be the highest advertisers spending Ths 10,185,900, Tsh 9,574,300 and Tsh 8,356,700 respectively.

The Presidential candidates in both Zanzibar and the mainland got the highest number of adverts while Tanzania Standards Newspapers Ltd received not only the highest number of adverts, but also pocketed the bulk of the money spent on the adverts (Tsh 88, 430,900).

Considering that we have several problems affecting the health sector which include maternal mortality, shortage of health staff and inadequate medicines and medical supplies, the **Tsh 175,639,750** that was spent on adverts could buy 828 delivery beds or 1254 delivery kits since one delivery bed costs Tsh 200, 000 and one delivery kit costs Tsh 140, 000 according to Medical Store Department product catalogue (2010/11).

The research concludes by describing roles and responsibilities CSOs, Media, MPs and Citizens should play in making sure that public funds are spent properly for the citizens' wellbeing.

1 8th of November 2010 is when the adverts started pouring in the newspapers since all the election results had been announced and the president sworn into office on the 6th of November, 2010. The research ended on the 8th of December, 2010 because the nation and government ministries had diverted their focus to the Independence Day which was held the following day

1. Introduction

The coming in of the mass media marked a turning point for humanity as it defeated constrains of distance and time in the field of communication. The ability of the media to reach many people at the same time, spreading the same message, made them a powerful tool that was quickly manipulated by politicians to consolidate power.

This has seen the media being used as one of the important apparatus in disseminating propaganda and other political messages by politicians. And, it is common that when elections are held anywhere in the world, the media become one of the cornerstones in campaigns. But, besides campaigns, in a bid to reach out to many people at once, the media has also en-cooperated political advertising2 where politicians not only sell their political party ideologies but also send congratulatory messages to winning candidates.

Sikika, as a non-governmental organization, has been advocating for quality health service delivery through effective use of public resources. And, in achieving that, the organization has been looking for aspects hindering service delivery and provision such as wasteful allocation of public funds. In that sense the organization conducted a research to assess how much public money has been spent in congratulatory adverts.

Thus, the objective of this research is to unearth the effects of political adverts, specifically congratulatory messages, published in various newspapers during Tanzania's October 31, 2010 General Election, on public funds.

2. Methodology

Quantitative research techniques were used to determine how many advertisements were published in various newspapers before the information was compiled in tables.

Thirteen registered newspapers (three weekly and 10 daily newspapers) all mainstream covered, were picked and used during the research, of which three were broadsheets while the rest were tabloids.

The newspapers covered during the study were 'The Guardian, The Daily news, Business Times, Rai, Nipashe, Tanzania Daima, Majira, Mwananchi, Kulikoni, Thisday, Habari leo, Mtanzania and The Citizen'.

The selection of those 13 newspapers was based on: Popularity (they are the most widely read newspapers), ownership (they include both private and state ownership) and language (English and Swahili).

2 Advertising whose central focus is the marketing of ideas, attitudes, and concerns about public issues, including political concepts and political candidates (Barron's Educational Series, Inc 2000)

After selection, the researcher perused through the newspapers identifying and noting adverts placed by government departments, ministries and parastatal organizations. The adverts were categorized, using Excel, according to date published, name of the newspaper, size of the advert, colour of the advert and candidate congratulated, and this was done as they came.

3. Hypothesis

The assumption is that the ministries, departments and parastatal organizations have spent a lot of money unnecessarily through publishing congratulatory messages via the mass media, also promoting the problem of unnecessary expenditure as the money did not benefit the public, given the perennial public budget deficit and high levels of poverty among the majority of Tanzanians.

4. Limitations

The research did not cover radio and television adverts which may have cost more. This is because of our inability to monitor the electronic media.

5. Findings and Discussions

The research indicates that from the 8th November to 8th December 2010, a total of 217 congratulatory adverts were published in the newspapers and they gulped Tsh 175, 639,750. The adverts were placed by many different organizations and institutions, which include government departments, ministries, parastatals and other government related institutions.

5.1. Who Was Congratulated?

As the table below indicates, the bulk of the adverts, according to the research, were put in place to congratulate the winning presidential candidates both in Zanzibar and mainland and most of them started pouring in after the swearing in ceremony held on the 6th of November 2010. A total of 132 adverts were published exclusively congratulating presidents alone at a cost of Tsh 108,239,300 while a total of Tsh 25,350,500 was spent on 32 adverts congratulating both the President and Prime Minister. Six adverts were published congratulating the President, Prime Minister and Ministers at a cost of Tsh 4,863,000

Table 1: Cost Allocation by Candidate

Candidate	No. of adverts	Cost (Tsh)	%
President	132	108,239,300	62%
President & Prime Minister	32	25,350,500	17%
Prime Minister	19	14,595,950	8%
Speaker	12	6,867,950	3%
Ministers	9	7,296,850	4%
President, Prime Minister & Ministers	6	4,863,000	2%
Prime Minister & Ministers	5	5,565,700	3%
Prime Minister & Speaker	2	2,860,500	1%
Total	**217**	**175,639,750**	**100.00%**

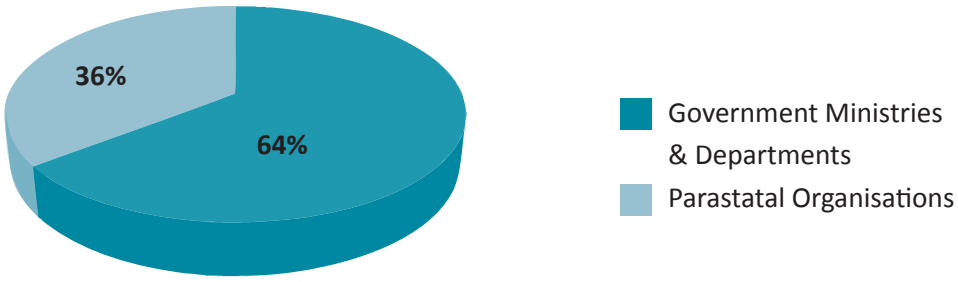
Source: 13 Newspaper reviews by Sikika, 2010

The research also revealed that 19 adverts were published congratulating the Prime Minister costing Tsh 14,595,950 while Tsh 7,296,850 was paid for 9 congratulating ministers. Another category is that of adverts published congratulating the Prime Minister and the Speaker which were two at a cost of Tsh 2, 860,500. When it comes to those exclusively congratulating the Speaker of Parliament there were 12 adverts costing Tsh 6,867,950, and Tsh 5,565,700 was used for five adverts published congratulating the Prime Minister and Ministers.

5.2. Who wrote the Cheques?

A closer analysis uncovered that, the advertisements proved to have devoured taxpayers' money as these organizations are directly funded by the government. The research revealed that National Development Corporation (NDC) was the highest spender as it paid Tsh 10,185,900 with eight adverts while President›s Office (MKURATIBA) was next on the list as it spent Tsh 9,574,300 with a record 16 adverts. Parastatal Pension Fund was next on the list as it paid Tsh 8,356,700 for 12 adverts just but to mention a few. (**See Annex**)

Figure 1: Amount spent per category



As the chart[3] indicates, out of Tsh 175, 639,750, a total of Tsh 113, 259,350 was spent by ministries and government departments from 145 adverts. Tsh 62, 380,400 was spent by parastatal organizations from 72 adverts.

3 Source: 13 Newspaper reviews by Sikika, 2010.

5.3. Categories of Newspapers and Adverts

The research indicates that of the 217 adverts, 121 were published in broadsheets4 while 96 were published in tabloids.5

Of the adverts that came out in broadsheets, 86 were quarter page adverts of which 56 were in full color while 30 were in black and white. Still under broadsheets, 35 half page adverts were published with 28 of them in full color while seven were in black and white.

When it comes to tabloids, the research revealed that 24 quarter page adverts were published of which 12 were in full color while 12 were in black and white. The same tabloids also published 67 half page adverts of which 36 were in full color while 31 were in black and white. Also, unlike broadsheets, the research discovered that some tabloids had full page adverts which were five in number, four in full colour and only one in black and white.

5.4. Average Cost of Adverts

The study also brought to light that full colour half page adverts in tabloids cost an average of Tsh 1, 375,000 while black and white of the same size cost an average of Tsh 775, 000. When it comes to quarter page adverts in tabloids, full colour advert costs an average of Tsh 750, 000 with the black and white costing an average of Tsh 450, 000.

In broadsheets, a half page full colour advert costs an average of Tsh 1, 430,250 while black and white costs Tsh 807, 900. A quarter page advert costs an average of Tsh 703, 550 for full colour and Tsh 412, 700 for black and white.

5.5. Who Received How Much?

The table below indicates, Tanzania Standards Newspapers Ltd received most of the money through the advertisements i.e. Tsh 88,430,900 followed by IPP media solutions which received a total of Tsh 31,575,600 and Mwananchi Communications which received a total of Tsh 31,350,000 Business Times Limited received a total of Tsh 13,816,250 and New Habari Ltd received a total of Tsh 10,075,500 while Free media Ltd received Tsh 1,512,000

4 Broadsheet is the largest of the various newspaper formats and is characterized by long vertical pages (typically 22 inches 559 millimeters or more). (Wikipedia/ the free encyclopedia).

5 Tabloids are newspapers with comparatively small pages, although there is no standard for the precise dimensions of a tabloid. (Wikipedia/ the free encyclopedia).

Table 1: Cost Allocation by Media Houses

Newspaper Outlet	No/ of Adverts	Amt received (Tsh)
Tanzania Standard(newspapers) Ltd	112	87,310,400
IPP Media Solutions Ltd	36	31,575,600
Mwananchi Communications Ltd	33	31,350,000
Business Times Ltd	20	13,816,250
New Habari Ltd	13	10,075,500
Free media Ltd	3	1,512,000
Total	**217**	**175,639,750**

Source: Reviewed Newspapers by Sikika, 2010

6. Problems in Health Sector and How the Adverts' Money Could Solve Them

The money could be used for developmental issues in areas such as health and education. For example, the health sector is crippled by countless problems that include severe shortages of medical staff (50%)[6].

The reported figures, in 2010, show that there was a dire shortage of staff in all public cadres. Table 3 below depicts the country-wide Human Resource for Health (HRH) situation before the districts requested for more health workers the year 2010. It also shows that the districts need more clinical officers, nurses, and medical attendants.

Table 2: Human Resources for Health Situation

Cadre	HRH Stock 2009	HRH equirement	HRH Gap in 2009	
			Absolute	Percent
Medical Doctors	115	306	191	62%
Assistant Medical Officers	533	1073	540	50%
Clinical Officers	3260	7492	4232	56%
Nursing Officers	1606	2967	1361	46%
Health Officers	720	1863	1143	61%
Nurses	4788	11696	6908	59%
Medical Technicians	72	314	242	77%
Physiotherapists	20	203	183	90%
Radiographer	55	204	149	73%
Laboratory Technicians	257	940	683	73%
Dentists	119	361	242	67%
Pharmacists	92	318	226	71%
Medical Attendants	6855	9089	2234	25%
Health Secretaries	90	189	99	52%
Mortuary Attendants	89	372	283	76%
Total	**18671**	**37387**	**18716**	**50%**

Source: Sikika (2010)

6 Sikika's Human Resources for Health Tracking Survey October 2010

Another problem crippling the health sector in Tanzania is maternal mortality. According to Health Sector Performance Profile Report 2010, a total of 454 out of 100,000 women are dying during delivery. This is caused by several problems including inadequate equipment, long distances to health facilities, and shortage of Human Resources for Health.

According to the Maternal and Child Health Journal of 2009, pregnant women walk for 7 km to get antenatal services at Tandahimba district hospital. The journal also revealed that only 36.4% of women in rural areas in Tanzania deliver their babies at health facilities, despite the fact that 80% of women in rural areas attended clinics at the early stage of their pregnancy.

Maternal mortality figures are shockingly high due to a number of problems affecting health institutions leading to poor service delivery. At Mwananyamala hospital, it was recently reported by the media (Gurdian-6 April 2010) that pregnant women are sharing beds, and there is a lot of congestion that puts new-born babies at risk of new infections.



Mums and their new-born babies, sit cramped on the floor or share beds, waiting at Mwananyamala hospital

Considering the afore-mentioned problems, which are a tip of an iceberg to the constraints affecting the health sector, the whopping figure of Tsh 175, 639,750 that was spent on adverts published in the mass media could have been put to better use. The money was enough to buy 828 delivery beds or 1254 delivery kits since one delivery bed costs Tsh 200, 000 and one delivery kit costs Tsh 140, 000 according to Medical Store Department product catalogue (2010/11).

7. Recommendations and Conclusion

The research - having indicated that the trend of publishing political advertisements especially congratulatory messages to winners of various positions through the media is an expensive adventure – came up with various recommendations.

Since these mass media adverts make use of taxpayers' money, government departments, ministries and parastatal and other government related organizations and institutions should desist from sending their congratulatory messages to winners of any election as they, in actual sense, are supposed to remain apolitical.

Sending or publishing of these messages does not in any way benefit the taxpayers; instead, the organizations, departments and institutions should focus on their mandates and engage in adventures that benefit the general public rather than misusing the money. A lot of noise has already been made about this problem with the government having promised to tackle it, while Sikika in collaboration with Policy Forum, released a brief on unnecessary expenditures, meant to remind the government to act on this problem.

Members of Parliament should serve the people diligently and should safeguard the interests of those who elected them into office. This means that they should guard against misuse of public funds, by advocating for the banning of advertisements funded by government departments and institutions meant to congratulate them after elections.

CSOs are regarded as the voice of the voiceless as they claim to represent the general public in various aspects. They, therefore, should not fold their hands while public funds are misused through such adverts. CSOs should unite forces and work together in fighting the problem for the benefit of the public

Though the media benefit a lot from these advertisements, they should play their watchdog role and put the government to book for misuse of public funds. They should rebuke the government for such a practice and advocate for laws that ban such practices. They should also educate and inform citizens on this problem.

Citizens on the other hand must make sure that they don't turn a blind eye while their money is being abused. Instead they must keep their eyes open and deal with such issues through raising them in community meetings and make noise about the problems as it deprives them a lot when it comes to service delivery.

All in all, the research indicates that political advertising, done by organizations departments and institutions that are in actual sense supposed to be apolitical chomp a lot of public funds which could be channeled into other productive adventures.

Annex: Amount spent per organization

Name of Organization	No/ of Adverts	Amt spent (Tsh)
National Development Corporation (NDC)	8	10,185,900
President's office (MKURATIBA)	16	9,574,300
Parastatal Pension Fund	12	8,356,700
Tanzania Airports Authority TAA	5	7,186,100
Tanzania Postal Bank	5	6,395,600
VETA	4	5,721,000
Local Authority Pension Funds	4	4,488,400
EWURA	4	4,099,900
Tanzania Railway Ltd	4	3,600,000
Relli Assets Holding Company (RAHCO)	3	3,386,400
Ministry of Home Affairs	2	3,195,800
Tanzania Building Agency (TBA)	2	3,055,500
Registration, Insolvency & trusteeship agency (RITA)	4	2,990,400
Arusha International Conference Centre (AICC)	4	2,929,600
Prime Min's Office (NEEC)	4	2,853,650
TANROADS	2	2,860,500
Tanzania Investment Bank	2	2,860,500
TANESCO	3	2,793,200
Tanzania Beureau of Standards (TBS)	4	2,746,900
Ocean road Cancer Institute (ORCI)	3	2,790,600
Ministry of Finance & Economic Affairs	5	2,186,200
National Institute for Med Res (NIMRI)	2	2,145,200
Mwalimu Nyerere memorial Academy	3	2,383,200
Tea Board of Tanzania	3	2,085,600
National Audit Office	3	2,085,600
Tanzania Food & Drug Authority (TFDA)	2	1,995,200
Tanzania National Reinsurance Corp (ltd)	3	1,967,100
Mamlaka ya mawasiliano (TCRA)	2	1,950,000
Mamlaka ya Hifadhi ya Ngorongoro (NCAA)	2	1,802,400
SUMATRA	3	1,800,500
Tanzania National Parks	2	1,615,800

Name of Organization	No/ of Adverts	Amt spent (Tsh)
Bodi ya Kahawa ya Tanzania	2	1,545,200
Nat Environment Management Council (NEMC)	2	1,539,200
Tanzania Atomic Energy Commission	2	1,539,200
Business Registration & Licensing Agency (BRELA)	2	1,495,800
Ministry of lands sing & human stlements dvpment.	3	1,486,000
Small Industry development org (SIDO)	2	1,467,100
Tanzania National Business Council(TNBC)	2	1,467,100
Tanzania women's bank	1	1,460,300
Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation	1	1,450,000
Makumbusho ya Taifa la Tanzania	1	1,450,000
Kampuni ya simu Tanz (TTCL)	1	1,450,000
CAMARTEC	1	1,450,000
Institute of Accountancy Arusha	1	1,400,200
MWAUWASA	1	1,400,200
Public Procurement Reg Auth (PPRA)	2	1,400,000
Mzumbe University	2	1,390,400
COSTECH	3	1,325,400
Mfuko wa Taifa wa Bima ya Afya	2	1,300,000
Tanzania electric sup Comp ltd	1	1,250,000
Procurement & sup… (PSPTB)	2	1,191,200
Cooperative Audit & Supv Corp (COASCO)	3	1,186,200
Sugar Board of Tanzania	2	1,120,500
Wizara ya Ardhi, Nyumba na Maendeleo ya Makazi	2	1,000,000
Tanzania Tourist Board	1	975,000
Bodi ya Pareto Tanzania	1	975,000
Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Kinondoni	2	975,500
Mamlaka yauendelezaji wabonde lamto Rufiji	1	975,000
Association of Local Authority of Tanzania (ALAT)	2	963,400
Uwezesaji wa Wanyonge kuelekea uchumi wa soko	2	860,000
Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanz	1	850,000
East Africa Community	1	844,000
Fair Competition Commission (FCC)	2	825,400
Kisarawe District Council	1	820,000

Name of Organization	No/ of Adverts	Amt spent (Tsh)
Tanzania Investment Bank ltd	1	800,000
Tanzania Post Corporation	1	795,800
National Health Insurance Fund	1	795,800
Tanzania Chamber of Minerals & Energy (TCM)	1	700,000
Halmashuri ya wilaya yakisarawe	1	700,000
National board of Acc and auditors Tanzania	1	695,200
ARDHI University	1	695,200
Medical Stores Department	1	695,200
Ministry of energy & Minerals	1	695,200
Public Service Pension Fund	1	695,200
Roads Fund Board	1	695,200
State mining Corporation (STAMICO)	1	695,200
Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Ilala	1	650,000
National Museum of Tanzania	1	695,200
Tanzania Insurance Regulatory Authority	1	695,200
Tanzania Telecom Comp	1	695,200
Wizara ya Viwanda, Biashara… (TWLB)	1	650,000
Wizara ya Habari Utamaduni na Michezo	1	536,000
Halmashauri ya wilaya ya hai	1	500,000
Presidential Trust Fund	1	500,000
Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA)	1	500,000
Tanzania Union of Gvt & Health employees(TUGHE)	1	433,000
Tanzania Chamber of Commerce Ind & agri	1	430,000
National Construction Council (NCC)	1	395,400
Ministry of law & justice	1	395,400
Tanzania Civil aviation authority (TCAA)	1	395,400
Development of land registration- Zanzibar	1	395,400
Dar Institute of Technology	1	395,400
Tanzania Ind research & Development Org (TIRDO)	1	395,400
Zanzibar state trading corporation	1	395,400
Tanzania Cotton Board	1	325,500
Total	217	175,639,750

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