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Youths, Digital Media, and the 'New' Knowledge Economy in Africa: Perspectives of Global City Policymakers in Tanzania

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Abstract

This study addresses the conceptualisation of civic public communication as an important component of the paradigm of the 'knowledge economy' and examines the way the government of Tanzania manages this emerging knowledge in digital policymaking. The study has a focus on policy experts' understanding of globalisation and digital engagement among youths who are interacting with smartphone communication in the global digital city, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Specifically, the study addresses policy experts' understanding of digital social practices of youths in their interaction through smartphone communication in Dar es Salaam, and the implications of this understanding in policy decision practices for managing the knowledge economy for the city's economic development. The study employs semi-structured interviews with policy experts in Dar es Salaam who are policy decision-makers at different levels of government in Tanzania. Findings reveal that policy experts in the globalised digital city, Dar es Salaam, perceive policymaking from the traditional perspectives of financial and business activities. They also reveal that policy experts understand the globalised digital sphere as a hub for promoting political leaders and governance activities in Dar es Salaam, which therefore impacts policymaking perceptions. The study concludes that policy experts in the study area have limited knowledge of civic public communication as an emerging opportunity for societal development in the globalised digital city. The deterritorialised space and denationalised digital sphere, as drawn from Sassen's theoretical perspectives on globalisation and digitisation, are emerging as the contemporary policymaking opportunities for societal development in the digital age. The study recommends that an inclusive policymaking approach between citizens and the government be developed among policy experts in Dar es Salaam for the city's economic development in the emerging digital era. Such a decentralised approach to reaching policy decisions furthers the debate on digital-era policymaking practices in developing regions for societal development.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

- this thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Arts except where reference is made in the text;

- due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used;

- the thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution; and

- this thesis is less than 100,000 words in length exclusive of tables, bibliographies, and appendices.

Josephine Philip Churk

July 2020

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Introduction

The relation between communication and development in today's digital era calls for governments in developing regions to adopt new approaches to policymaking. As the growth of digital communication in developing regions reached a penetration rate of 45.3% in 2018 (ITU, 2018), rethinking policy frameworks for creating an inclusive civic public sphere for not only economic but societal development is crucial. While many governments focus mainly on economic growth, it is overlooked that digital communication builds capacity for citizens to interact and engage with governments in decision-making practices and enables the new dimension of civic public communication not only in national contexts but in a globalized digital sphere.

Despite these opportunities, African countries have not adequately utilised these digital opportunities for societal development. However, some countries are beginning to develop specific policy parameters to harness digital communication mainly for economic development. While some countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Ghana, and Morocco envision digital communication as a driver of national economies, which is reflected in national policies (ITU, 2017), other African countries regard digital communication as a political tool, specifically in times of political crisis. Internet shutdowns as a measure to silence protests take place across African countries. A recent study (Nanfuka, 2019) Nanfuka (2019) notes that since 2015, about 22 African countries have witnessed internet shutdown (Nanfuka, 2019, p. 1). Since the beginning of 2019, seven African countries, namely the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Benin, Chad, and Gabon, have already experienced digital communication disruptions in different forms (Nanfuka, 2019, p. 1). For example, CIPESA (2019, p. 3) reports that “Gabon experienced a total, government-ordered internet

shutdown after a handful of soldiers stormed the national radio station and, in a live broadcast, urged citizens to overthrow a sickly president who has been out of the country recuperating from an October 2018 stroke." The report also highlights that the government of Democratic Republic of Congo interrupted social media on 31 December 2018 due to a political election crisis. Sudan also experienced the blockage of social media platforms on the mobile network for over a month from 20 December 2018 after advocating the resignation of President Omar al-Bashir, who ruled for more than three decades (CIPESA, 2019, p. 3). In addition to that, citizens in Chad experienced social media disruption following protests against president Idris Deby, who has ruled the country for 29 years and changed the constitution to enable the extension of his presidential rule until 2028 (CIPESA, 2019, p. 3). In another incident, the government of Zimbabwe disrupted access to the internet following a protest against a fuel price increase of 150% (CIPESA, 2019, p. 3). Such occurrences of digital shutdown across regions of Africa, mostly on political grounds and governance forms, reflect the perceptions of digital policy practice in the region. The growing trend of internet shutdown not only impacts citizens' rights to communicate through new media, but also hinders the functioning of a civic public communication in these countries. The conceptual approach to civic public communication is based on notions of civic deliberation by Habermas (1989), the dimensions of the network state by Castells (2009) and digital citizenship by Volkmer (2014). For example, Habermas conceptualises public sphere as a physical space where individual citizens come together to form a public and freely discuss social life and politics to influence government decisions (Habermas, 1989). This understanding triggers the formation of public opinions, especially in Western democratic societies to foster participatory democracy. Manuel Castells (2009, p.125) argues that "the construction of the new public sphere in the network society proceeds by building protocols of communication between different communication processes" (Castells 2009, 125). This gives an implication that network technology through

new media is powerful to transform public sphere as it simplifies the process of communication although such transformation requires an analytical framework. As argued from these authors, public deliberation is a core component of a funcitoning society which requires aproaches to identify public discussions, shared decision-making practices, and public engagement in government decisions in developing contries. However, as communication today stretches across continents, linking citizens from developed but also developing regions, the Habermas concept of public sphere is criticised since new media, such as social media, offer a new transnational public space of reflective interdependence (Volkmer, 2014) and citizens of almost all societies engage in political discourse through digital interaction. This approach suggests new conceptual attention which also needs to include the implications on societies in developing regions. As Enghel (2015) argues, conceptions of globalization have never fully reached the debate of the digital transition in developing regions.

In order to assess the complexity of digital policy practice in African countries, this study has a focus on the perception of policy experts regarding processes of digital policymaking. This is a case study conducted in the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The study aims is to address the conceptualisation of civic public communication as an important component of the paradigm of the ‘knowledge economy’. The dimension of the 'knowledge economy' is often reduced to specific sectors of economical issues and does not include the increasing dimensions for civic interaction. In order to asssess how policymakers in Tanzania perceive this paradigm and how they see its link to digital civic interaction a new approach is required to understand the digital space as a transnational public space.

This thesis examines how policymakers in Tanzania understand the paradigm of the knowledge economy in specific national and local terms and how they address these issues in their digital

policymaking practice. This study investigates this perception and practice specifically in the context of young citizens who are increasingly digital literate and engage in all types of political 'public' interaction. However, scholarly literature rarely has a focus on this specific age cohort.

This thesis will close this gap and specifically investigate two research questions (1) how policy experts understand digital social practices of youths in their interaction through smartphone communication in Dar es Salaam? And 2) what are the implications of digital interactions through smartphone communication in affecting policy decision practices for managing the knowledge economy in Dar es Salaam? The new opportunties for development that arise from the fact that developing countries are now fully embedded in a globalised digital sphere are rarely addressed in contexts of policy parameter of development. In a recent study, Sam (2019, p. 1) notes that "the introduction of mobile phones into the local governance systems in Sierra Leone results in the emergence of new formations of participatory public discussion and radical alterations in local political processes." This practice implies that a focus on the public sphere is just emerging as a critical dimension in policy practices. For instance, Chatterji (2018) argues that to enable economic growth in India requires the possibility of using digital communication for participatory governance, rather than mainly considering this sphere for municipal service delivery through a traditional top-down approach.

Furthermore, it is essential to understand that without including citizens, societal development cannot take shape if governments mainly rely on economic growth and digital access. In a discussion regarding new ways of defining smart cities, Albino, Berardi, and Dangelico (2015, p. 18) emphasise that "descriptions of smart cities now include qualities of people and communities as well as ICTs." I argue that policymakers in African countries need to

incorporate citizen engagement in governance decision practices through the digital network as a much-needed approach to societal, and economic, development in today digital era.

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter highlights the current approaches to development communication in developing regions, and Africa in particular. Traditional theories for understanding development communication in developing regions, such as modernisation theory, dependency theory, and post-colonial media in Africa, are critically assessed in this chapter. The chapter emphasises the need to revise these traditional conceptual parameters of development communication as developing countries are today increasingly embedded in a globalised digital sphere and new approaches are required.

Chapter two situates the conceptual overview of the research gap and suggests focussing on cities in developing countries as digital cities. Conceptions of globalised cities are used to suggest perceiving the city in developing countries as a digital hub. This chapter builds to some degree on Sassen's (2006) conceptualisation of the networked city space. In particular, her dimensions of "territory," "authority," and "right" are addressed, and her approach to the "territorial" dimension guides the critical understanding of development communication in developing regions. I critically discuss the relations between the global and local network for conceptualising the city as a "hub," a "node" that is a "denationalised" and "deterritorialised" digital sphere for economic development from Sassen's perspective.

Chapter three outlines Tanzania and the city of Dar es Salaam as the basis of this study. The chapter first provides an overview of the history and media background of the country from non-digital times to the digital era. In addition, the chapter offers insight into the structures of

digital connectivity in the city. It provides an overview of digital policy approaches and the current media regulations.

Chapter four consists of a detailed description of the methodological approach employed in conducting this case study. The chapter justifies the qualitative research method applied to collect and interpret the data, the sampling process, and the specific conceptual categories that were the basis for the interview questionnaire. The interviews aim to assess the subjective perceptions of government policy experts regarding their day-to-day practice, and the way in which they understand the digital sphere. The larger methodological framework is informed by Berger and Luckmann's (1966) conception of the construction of social reality, which is understood in this study as the construction of professional reality.

Chapters five and six present the findings. Chapter five presents the understanding of policy experts' perceptions of globalisation in digital policymaking. The chapter focuses on the dimension of civic engagement and notions of citizenship in digital policy decision practices. Chapter six identifies the understanding of the global digital city as a policymaking approach in Dar es Salaam, and emphasises the role of a global digital city for participatory decision-making.

Chapter seven outlines the interpretations regarding policy experts' perceptions of digital policymaking in Dar es Salaam. It offers a discussion on global cities emerging as "digital hubs" for development. The main argument of this chapter focuses on the idea that global and local networks offer a new space for the government and citizens to interact in digital policy decisions for the city's role in societal development and economic growth. The conceptual understanding of the city as a "hub" or a "node," as well as "denationalization" and

“deterritorialization” processes of the global sphere resulting from the digital network (Sassen, 2006) are further developed. These key conceptual dimensions form the basis for understanding the public sphere in Dar es Salaam as a “node” for digital policy practices.

The final chapter provides a summary of the thesis. It states the contribution of the theory of globalisation and digitisation in understanding the contemporary notion of development and digital policymaking practices, and concludes by suggesting inclusive policymaking processes as a new approach to development in the globalised digital era. The chapter closes by offering specific recommendations for further studies.

1. Assessing transnational communication in the traditional context of 'development' in African regions

Discussions regarding the understanding of communication and development requires to consider the concept of 'public sphere' by revisiting longstanding scholarly debates rooted from Habermas' conceptualisation. While Habermas (1989) regards public sphere as a physical space (coffee shop, pubs, saloons, etc.) where individuals gather for public discussions and conversation in a way that promotes democracy; however, Schudson (1997:307) debated that "conversation provides no magic solution to problems of democracy." Yet, it is important to fully assess how digital interaction enables new types of civic deliberation. The era of digital communication trigers more discussions regarding the term 'public' being either a public space, public sphere, virtual space, and virtual sphere reflecting transformation from the Habermas' notion. For example, Papacharissi (2002:11) views public sphere in four categories "as public space the internet provides yet another forum for political deliberation. As public sphere, the internet could facilitate discussion that promotes a democratic exchange of ideas and opinions. As a virtual space enhances discussion; a virtual sphere enhances democracy." However, these conceptualisations provide similar understanding of a common space for public communication, whether online or physical. These terms are different but offer similar functions based on the transformation of the public sphere. These debates need to be adopted in conceptions of societal development in developing regions

Recent debates indicate that there has been a shift in assessing development in the globalised digital era, given the significant growth of the internet and digital media across developing regions such as Africa. The new type of public sphere and citizenship emerging in these regions has been pointed out recently in the East African region. For example, Srinivasan, Diepeveen,

and Karekwaivanane (2019, p. 3) argue that "in Africa, digital media are providing scholars with a reason and opportunity for revisiting the question, and the analytical lens, of publics with new vigour and less normative baggage," indicating a need for new debates on ways to address societal development in developing regions in the digital age. Most recently, social media platforms have extended the understanding of the public sphere in Kenya and Zimbabwe as Bosch, Admire, & Ncube (2020, p.349) argue that "in the African context, the growth of the mobile Internet has resulted in the rise of social media platforms, most notably Facebook and Twitter. These social networking sites are used for a range of purposes, from personal connectivity, to various citizenship practices, including political debate and activism." This implies that digital media in regions of Africa now offer a new public sphere as a space for civic public communication that foster decision making practices for societal development. However, there is lack of understanding of this new sphere in African context, which requires a new framework.

Such a rethinking of conventional concepts is needed as developing countries are today increasingly engaging with digital communication, and current estimates show that 45.3% of individuals in developing countries out of 51.2% of the total world internet-connected population in 2018 (ITU, 2018) were digitally connected compared to 14.5% out of 23.1% in 2008 (ITU, 2018). However, there is variation across these regions. For example, across Asian regions, the digital growth rate is extremely high; recent statistics show that 47% of the population were connected to the internet in 2018 (ITU, 2018), up from 16.2% in 2008 (ITU, 2018). This growth reflects the increased digitisation for societal development across Asia. The ITU (2018) reports that 24.4% of the population in African developing countries was connected to the internet in 2018. Despite this increase, there is a need to catch up with other developing regions. The growth rates also reflect an increased pace of digital transformation in the region

compared to the past few years. New ‘hubs’ are emerging, such as Kenya, where 17.8% of the country’s population was using the internet in 2017 (ITU, 2018) compared to only 4.4% in 2007 (ITU, 2018). Also, 21.8% of individuals in Rwanda, and 23.7% individuals in Uganda were using the internet in 2017, compared to 2.1% and 3.7% respectively in 2007 (ITU, 2018). With such increased internet connectivity in regions of Africa, it is important to maximise the benefits of digital communication in these regions. As digital communication is increasingly understood as a driver of development, the adoption of digital connectivity is one of the key factors for societal changes. For example, Poushter (2016) argues that the use of the internet is closely related to the growth of a country, although there is a variation of growth across countries based on the rate of internet adoption. In some African developing regions, digital connectivity opens the door for two-way communication between citizens and the government (Pade-khene, 2018), while in other African countries it speeds up the digital economy in terms of marketing, productivity, and reduced production costs (Oladimeji & Folayan, 2018). However, despite these massive transformations in terms of social, political, and economic development, the academic debate in media and communication is still paradigmatically related to notions of ‘development communication,’ a concept that emerged in the 1970s to tackle societal development by communicative means.

Traditional conceptions of 'development'

The different conceptual approaches to ‘development’ offer a great diversity of perspectives of its meaning. For example, societal ‘development’ is understood in three dimensions: as a “vision or description of a desirable society”; as a “historical process” that entails “social changes that take place over a certain period”; but also relates to “action” and deliberation as “efforts to change things for the better” (Thomas, 2000, p. 777). In contrast to this three-dimensional definition, Bellu (2011, p. 2) considers development in more general terms:

“as an event constituting a new stage in a changing situation,” implying a more advanced stage in the process of development. This explication helps conceptualise development in terms of societal improvement in the general situation; however, it disregards the individual dimensions that contribute to a changing situation. Similarly, Lewis (2005) conceives development as “social change,” which implies transformation in various aspects of the life of human beings, including the spread of media and communication technology. Rather than viewing development as a one-dimensional process of the nation-state or its institutions, this definition attributes the transformation of human life to many factors by understanding development as a collective effort. Other scholars have defined development from the political dimension of “durable shifts of governing authority” (Orren & Skowronek, 2006, p. 754). Although Thomas (2011, p. 279) questions a “durable shift” in political development, he agrees with Orren and Skowronek’s definition of development as needing to be understood in terms of “significant and entrenched political change and how that change necessarily interacts with the prior political landscape in temporal terms.” However, reports by policymakers and Think Tanks, such as the Tanzania Human Development Report, understand development as “human development,” and focus on “important aspects of human wellbeing including rights to health and education, and free participation in economic, social, and political activities” (THDR, 2015). The focus is less on the economy and more on individual wellbeing, as well as on creating a sustainable environment for individuals to actively participate in the development process. The specific focus is on the inclusion of citizens in development activities, such as decision-making practices, that might be potentially understood as leading to the growth of a nation (Oluseye & Gabriel, 2017). The specific role of communication in the development process has been addressed since the 1970s, when major changes in communication media emerged and transformed the way media is produced and distributed across nations. Developing countries debated the role of communication within national (postcolonial)

contexts through the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and the MacBride report (UNESCO, 1980). This heated debate aimed to reclaim the balance of what was described as the one-way flow of news and information from the Global North to the Global South which, at the time, was widely regarded as being an imbalanced global communication flow (UNESCO, 1980). It was argued that developing nations' primary concern was to establish influence on media systems of the Global South, a process that was labelled "media imperialism" (Schiller, 2006). This concern was mainly directed to transnational corporations, based in the superpower nations, such as the US. Such superpower nations entirely controlled media technologies and built content capacity, such as international distribution chains for news, music, and movies. The domination of superpower nations in media flows that existed in those days was the main contributing factor limiting news (counter) flows from the Global South (Buchanan, 2015).

Globalisation as a new focus of development communication

The term globalisation simply refers to the "increasing interdependence of citizens and nations across the world" (Ishiyama, 2005); however, this term has been defined from different perspectives of sociological, political, economical, cultural, and technological. According to Giddens (1990, p.64), globalisation is 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. This understanding mainly implies interconnectedness. Moreover, Marfleet & Kiely (2005, p.3) understand globalisation as "time and space compression" while linking with the development of communication technology. This thesis is grounded on the technological understanding of globalisation in terms of digital globalisation implying interconnectivity and social practices which are now converging with digitisation. Digital networks connect things, people and places translating what it means to be global. This study

closely links conceptions of development of communication to debates of globalised digital spheres and to societal development in regions of Africa.

However, as has been argued, development communication approaches are rarely related to debates of globalisation (Enghel, 2015). This gap is important because not only are debates of globalisation not addressed conceptually, but also, globalisation processes as practiced by developing countries have never been an issue in Western regions and Western globalisation debates. Digital technologies are addressed in globalised communication studies, but mainly in terms of structural developments. For example, according to Boas, Dunning, and Bussell (2005, p. 97), development in terms of digital communication can be understood as being dependent on certain key variables, such as:

> the extent to which these technologies foster within-country linkages among different sectors and socioeconomic classes; the degree to which new technological applications may be customized or transformed to advance local development; and the outcome of political contests between organized interests that are promoting different ways of organizing and governing the global digital economy.

These are key issues that are not addressed in globalisation and development communication. Since the 1970s, Western scholars dominated debates regarding communication development in the Global South. For example, Willems (2014, p. 417) offers that the understanding of development communication "largely emerges from the West which can then be universally applied to explain media and communication in the "non-West." However, based on new dimensions of social media and smartphone communication, scholars from African regions have begun to address the specific digital communication practices in developing countries. For example, communication scholars from African countries have addressed issues related to these new dynamics and challenges, but also about the different meanings of "communication"

in the cultural (regional/local) contexts of the various African regions. This debate is also much needed from a Western perspective, as Western scholars, too, are concerned that traditional approaches are limited in their analytical scope. As Willems (2014, p. 415) notes, the "call was a response to an increasingly globalized world that warranted a more diverse and inclusive study of media globally." African scholars increasingly argue that the traditions of Western approaches still inform the way digital media are perceived in scholarly debates relating to African regions. For example, Ngomba (2012, p. 165) argues that it is time to "de-Westernise" the debate altogether. Other scholars emphasise the need to deploy Western approaches to, instead, produce concepts that relate more to the African context (Agbobli & Fusaro, 2015) to be able to specifically link communication and development and identify specific areas for societal development. Mamba and Isabirye (2015, p. 135) point out that there is a "lack of a clear framework to guide the understanding of information, communication and development in developing regions," in which Africa is included. Similarly, Enghel (2015) proposes the urgent need to analyse communication development in the context of globalisation. Overall, these debates call for a new framework that will provide the parameters for a critical understanding of how the often-proclaimed "digital revolution" is influencing societal development in African regions (Mabweazara, 2015; Willems, 2014), and will – furthermore and often overlooked – assess African development in the era of digital globalisation. In an effort to reject not only a Western approach to digital communication, but the conceptualisation of communicative spheres along Western models, some African scholars, such as Ngomba (2012), propose the dimension of "Ubuntu," which reflects the model of communication in many African cultures, relating to communicative spheres as spheres of "loyalty" and human dignity. "Ubuntuism" is valuing other cultures, values, and belief systems which translate what is "African" and "human" – according to which media in Africa should operate (Christians, 2004) – to reflect the African situation. Despite these various attempts to overcome conceptual

obstacles, Obonyo (2011, p. 8) asserts that "Ubuntuism has one face, but Africa has many faces," while on the other hand, Mabweazara argues that a somewhat uniform approach should be adopted across African regions, considering disparities in language, levels of development, colonial background, and culture (Mabweazara, 2015), which again challenges the "Ubuntu" approach.

Approaches to development communication - from the African region

More recently, scholars in the African region suggest engaging seriously in communication and development studies to identify specific impacts on societal development. For example, in a study conducted in Africa, Srinivasan et al. (2019, p. 2) argue that:

> The impetus comes from digital transformations occurring across the continent that are in urgent need of fresh thinking and different understanding. Networked citizens' discussions take place on WhatsApp about the performance of newly devolved county governments in Kenya. Charismatic figures are developing strong follower-ships through gossip websites and online tabloids in Rwanda. Surreptitious election campaigning and far-reaching debate unfold through Facebook pages in Zimbabwe and Zanzibar. There is an efflorescence of #hashtag commentary, satire, and the rise of a Twitterati. The cacophony of shared voices made possible by the continent's rapid growth in mobile and internet connectivity at first seems beguiling.

However, while new approaches are produced in contexts of digital transformation in Africa, old approaches to development are still influential. Regarding this latest debate in the scholarship of communication, there is a specific need for further exploration, and for conceptualizing locally specific approaches to guide the understanding of communication development in regions of Africa in the era of digitalisation in relation to globalisation. This relation is often overlooked. Understanding new thinking in development communication, will

enable a new conceptual lens for the assessment of crucial communicative practices, no longer in the context of ‘developing’ regions, but of communication in African regions that needs to be understood in the context of civil world society. This study aims to relate to these new challenges. The study has a focus on African cities where digital transformation is at pace in these regions. These are new approaches that are currently needed to shed light on development across African global digital cities. African cities are emerging as digital ‘hub’, ‘node’, ‘denationalised’ and ‘deterritorialised’ space due to increased globalised digital communication (Sassen, 2006). It is this approach which helps to understand development in digital cities and Sassen’s theory of globalisation and digitisation in conceptualising cities (Sassen, 2006) need to be adopted in debates of emerging digital cities in the African region. Especially Sassens' dimensions of “territory”, “authority”, and “rights” are relevant as they allow to critically address global digital cities and societal development in regions of Africa.

These conceptual debates are needed, (1) given the increase in access to such a globalised digital space, but also (2) given the disparity of digital cultures across the African continent. As the paradigm of the ‘digital’ divide is a key focus of scholarly debates regarding digital practices in the African context, it is essential to identify the specific nuances of digital access to provide a more detailed basis for the conceptual discussion.

1.1 ‘Mapping’ African digital spheres

The unprecedented pace of digital technology in the world stimulates the African region to experience digital development too, which is key to offer significant opportunities for societal development. However, to build fundamental benefits of digitisation, African digital sheres require attention in many areas, including policy responses.

Digital disparity

The fast-paced process of digitalizing African regions is impressive and requires attention to local diversity. While the global internet penetration rate grew from 8% in 2001 to 51.2% in 2018 (ITU, 2018), this penetration is globally uneven. In developing regions, internet penetration stands at 45.3% (ITU, 2018), while Africa shows aa penetration rate of 24.4% (ITU, 2018). This is low in comparison with other developing regions such as Southeast Asia, which stands at 47% (ITU, 2018). However, the internet penetration rate differs among regions of Africa, based on the economic status of 'low-income,' 'middle-income,' and 'high-income' regions. In the West African region, low-income countries such as Ghana and Nigeria show penetration rates of 37.9% and 27.7% respectively, while in North Africa, 45% of Egypt's population is 'connected' compared to only 21.8% in Libya (ITU, 2018). While Africa 'as such' is regarded as a developing region, it is important to comprehend that South Africa is its most developed country, and the only region that has an advanced media infrastructure in comparison to Sub-Saharan and other regions of Africa. The advanced media infrastructure in South Africa reveals a high percentage of internet users: 56.2% in 2017 compared to 23.7% in Uganda and 21.8% in Rwanda, which are categorised as middle- and low-income countries, respectively (ITU, 2018). However, many regions of Sub-Saharan Africa show the lowest internet connection rates in comparison with other regions, such as North and West Africa, and even with the rest of the world (ITU, 2018). For example, while the global internet penetration rate is estimated at 51.2% in 2018 (ITU, 2018), the Sub-Saharan Africa internet penetration rate via smartphones stood at 36% in 2018 (GSMA, 2019). Such minimal penetration implies the need for the Sub-Saharan region to double the internet adoption speed to catch up with the world internet growth rate. However, the low internet penetration in Sub-Saharan Africa is linked to poor communication infrastructure in the region. With this in mind, many

international organisations have directed their efforts towards supporting internet connection in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Digital divide

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the World Bank (WB) have continued to play a crucial role in providing technical and financial support for improving communication infrastructure in low-income countries. It is argued in a report from the World Bank (2016, p. 2) that "for digital technologies to benefit everyone everywhere requires closing the remaining digital divide, especially in internet access." Given the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) targets to "increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least developed countries by 2020" (UN, 2016, p. 25), ITU has to undertake this role to ensure that every nation has a chance to maximise digital opportunities (ITU, 2017a). The current agenda of ITU is to ensure that no one is left behind in digital inclusion by 2020 (ITU, 2017a); however, ITU alone cannot fulfil this role. Since ITU, WB, and other international agencies are working together to improve the world communication status, I regard their roles as crucial in ensuring global equality in terms of internet connection, especially in low-income countries.

Policy frameworks

International inter-governmental organisations such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), together with communication scholars, are now debating policy frameworks for increasing digital inclusion in developing regions. For example, a report by the World Bank (2016) argues that the improvement of digital communication requires a strong foundation of regulatory policies that will allow operators to provide internet service more effectively. This calls for global cooperation among

governments, private institutions, and international organisations to work together in building the policy framework that will enable internet access in developing regions.

Further, in promoting internet connection in Africa, some scholars, such as Gutman, Sy, and Chattopadhyay (2015, p. 4), argue that "better maintenance of existing infrastructure, institutional reform of utilities and service providers, administrative and regulatory reform, and improved subsidy policies and practices" are crucial. This context implies that African governments' commitment to deregulation of communication services and privatisation policy is crucial in narrowing the gap of the existing digital divide. Since a "majority of the world's people remain largely untouched by the digital revolution" (World Bank, 2016, p. 6), specifically in regions of Sub-Saharan Africa, the governments' commitments and engagement with private sectors is argued to promote internet connection. This means that countries with low internet connection, such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa, need to reduce barriers to internet access and create options models for private investors (i.e., telecommunications providers) by regulating communication policies that will attract investments, including investments in rural areas (World Bank, 2016a). Investing in the internet can be further linked to addressing the "digital disparity" that exists between urban and rural areas in Africa, where the latter suffers most in terms of poor communication infrastructure (Deen-swarray, 2016). Therefore, this current debate on countries' political engagement in enhancing digital connection remains both crucial and enlightening for enabling policy formulations that will allow investments in the internet connection and communication sector in general. However, conceptual frameworks assessing these new spaces are rare.

When assessing these processes of digital penetration rates, though, it is surprising that societal development through digital communication is rarely addressed and, if so, it is mainly

discussed in the context of ‘education,’ ‘health,’ and ‘literacy,’ and rarely in contexts of new dimensions of civic communication.

1.2 From digital technology to digital literacy

If communication in developing regions is related to societal development, education and digital literacy are regarded as the key strands (which indirectly builds on earlier debates of the ‘digital divide’). A focus on citizens’, or any political communication is still regarded as ‘irrelevant.’ The promotion of digital literacy is also one of the key issues discussed in policy frameworks, such as by the World Bank (World Bank, 2016a). In this sense, as Deen-swarray (2016) asserts, digital literacy is necessary for defining internet accessibility, and accessibility is seen as a driver of development. These approaches are based on the fact that a majority of citizens in developing regions are illiterate (UNESCO-UIS, 2015), which prevents their ability to adapt to and use digital technology. In consequence, “digital inclusion” is considered the key driver for internet connection in Africa (Deen-swarray, 2016). Thus, the debates focus on the need for a complementary education policy framework that will promote technology learning in schools at all levels, and therefore enhance digital literacy (World Bank, 2016a). In this context, the curriculum in primary and secondary schools provides the prerequisite for training students for professional careers by improving their digital skills. The need for reforming current education policy requires a shift in educational approaches (Muriuki, 2016) away from skill-based digital training to prepare students for jobs. Education reform will also require some changes in training teachers, which will likely have cost implications. However, there is a possibility of achieving this policy framework since the current ITU agenda aims to support ‘capacity’ building regarding information and communication technology (ICT) in developing regions (ITU, 2017a). Deen-swarray (2016, p. 43) proposes that, for full digital

inclusion, “policymakers should ensure that citizens acquire e-skills” that will foster their effective interaction with digital technology, although this depends on the reformation of the education policy framework. A report from the World Bank (2016) highlights that digital literacy requires participatory policymaking, which will help to develop appropriate education policy in a way that reflects learning environments in specific developing regions. This policy framework has inspired discussions regarding the way the international organisations, civil society, and governments of developing regions such as Africa can work together to improve education policy and digital literacy for digital inclusion. While the earlier discussion of development communication identified that globalisation was not seen as an issue in developing countries, the discussion then shifted to ideas of digital ‘divide’ and digital ‘literacy,’ both regarded as crucial to the discussion of development communication. The discussion then turned to the concept of digital ‘inclusion’ within contexts of digital globalisation, which also includes African citizens.

1.3 Towards a conceptual turn from non-digital to a globalised digital era

Such a debate requires a new conceptual approach to the understanding of the ‘link’ between communication and development in developing countries in the broader context of globalised digitalisation. The broadening of digital development debates needs to be seen in a globalised context, as digital communication no longer limits communicative ‘capacity building’ to the boundedness of a country. The context of ‘transnationalization’ through social media is emerging in developing countries. There is a shift in approach for the deliberative system through which the formal concept of civic public communication links to digital media where platforms for discussions are emerging across countries. Digital communication extends beyond national borders via social media, for example, and targets users across continents.

While Christensen (2013) notes that the "transnationalization" of digital media took dimensions of citizenship and identity for granted, I view transnational communication as an interactive process, less restricted to institutional frameworks, and therefore significant for building inclusive decision-making practices in collectively addressing global issues. In developing countries, transnational communication influences media policies. For instance, in Uganda, Gagliardone (2016) emphasises that transnational communication, including social media, extends the discussion to a level where multiple dimensions such as culture and politics are addressed together in a specific way which, as I argue, is crucial for addressing global concerns in a local context for societal development.

Nevertheless, reviewing debates that address "transnationalisation" reveals that views of transnationalization, in African countries for example, are still conceptually related to the traditional paradigms of what used to be understood as the processes of "modernisation." Even so, it is important to assess globalised spheres in developing regions not only in light of globalisation theories, ranging from the "world system" (Wallerstein, 2011) to "glocalisation" (Robertson, 1992) and "risk society" (Beck, 2009), a model that understands the "cosmopolitanization" of all societies. These concepts are not discussed in African contexts to identify an approach in context of digital spheres within a globally stretched and networked and 'cosmopolitanised' communication space. These debates have never reached the area of development, and are also not addressed when the role of digital communication and social media, specifically in developing countries, is discussed (Endong, 2018).

Digital sphere engagement in regions of Africa

Such an opening up of these debates is needed as digital media constitute a new political dimension across the African regions as citizens are able engage and raise their "voice" beyond

national boundaries and even beyond the continent (Bunce et al., 2016). However this situation, which widens the power of communication – a process suggested by policymakers such as the World Bank (2007, p. 63) – is not fully adopted by communication research where the focus remains on the conceptual traditions of development communication. The World Bank notes that "internet communication has opened the door to more horizontal communication that cannot be controlled by the government" (World Bank, 2007, p. 63). The implications of social media for political processes have been evident in the so-called Arab spring uprisings in North Africa in 2011, where social media played an important role in mobilising democratic movements for social change. Eltantawy and Wiest (2011, p. 1207) assert that:

> Social media technologies have been used especially in organizing and implementing collective activities, promoting a sense of community and collective identity among marginalized group members, creating less-confined political spaces, establishing connections with other social movements, and publicizing causes to gain support from the global community.

This role is similar to the use of Twitter in Nigeria, West Africa, which allows the instant spread of opinions. As Chiluwa and Adegoke (2013, p. 82) argue, tweets are used in Nigeria to express citizens' revolutionary feelings and expressions regarding, for example, the "Boko Haram" uprising in the country. While social media in North and West Africa shows significant influence on democracy, a similar trend is noted in East Africa where, as Rensburg (2012) argues, social media in Kenya and Zambia are used to communicate politics and democracy, which consequently influences political decision-making processes. It is further argued to widen political interaction among citizens (World Bank, 2016a), a phenomenon that can be linked to the strengthening of democracy that might contribute towards the development of civic public communication in Africa. In this study, "civic public communication" entails public discussions, shared decision-making practices, public engagement in government

decisions, and public deliberation. All these together form a way of conceptualising development in the era of digital globalisation.

However, this is not the case in all parts of East Africa. For example, a study that focused on the role of the internet in influencing political behaviour in Tanzania revealed that "the internet negatively influenced individuals' perception of the fairness of both the election and the subsequent recount" (Bailard, 2012, p. 331). Although social media in many regions of North and East Africa have enabled democratic communication and the distribution of 'voice' across transnational digital connectivity, studies show that the use of social media in South Africa has undergone a further step of linking digital communication with government practices for increasing efficiency. For example, Mutula and Mostert (2010, p. 39) write that "e-government aims at simplifying bureaucratic procedures; enhancing efficiency and transparency; improving information; and increasing the level of citizen empowerment," which can be linked to openness as a new way of civic public communication resulting from digitalisation. This new use of communication in regions of Africa can be related to development, as the World Bank (2016, p. 28) highlights:

> Social media platforms have been credited with facilitating economically beneficial interactions, channelling users' behaviour in ways that are consistent with development, providing a platform for information and dissemination during natural disasters and emergencies, and encouraging political mobilization and social change.

However, digital communication by itself cannot achieve social change; thus, for the new dimension of communication to be effective, the policy environment needs to be created to facilitate accountability and social change. The World Bank (2006) suggests sound ICT policies to enhance growth and change. While people's ability to use digital technology for social change is still questionable, scholars call for the online educational and information

services that enable effective utilisation of media technology (Banda, Mudhai, & Tettey, 2009; Gerhard, 2010; Held, 2010; McFarland, Jurafsky, & Rawlings, 2013; Sevastik, 2013).

It is often argued that the ability of digital communication to provide more access to information and enhance civic knowledge (Opeibi, 2016) has the capacity to increase the development of the digital economy in the African regions. However, this opportunity only targets urban centres while, as Choung and Manamela (2018) highlight, communication infrastructures in some rural regions remain underdeveloped. Thus, confronting the diverse communication infrastructure challenges across African countries is necessary to tackle not only the macrostructure of the digital divide, but also the microstructure; that is, not technology, but practices. Also, as the current discussion of development communication shifts to citizens' inclusiveness (World Bank, 2016), there is a crucial opportunity to achieve societal development in the digital era. However, this struggle emerged a decade ago. For example, a report by the World Bank (2007, p. 230) notes that "...communication can contribute to the effective reduction of poverty and offer better opportunities for the inclusion of marginalised groups and isolated populations in the policy development and decision-making process." This context implies that the inclusion of disadvantaged groups makes for a more participatory poverty reduction process by providing a chance for everyone to participate in achieving social change. This can be linked to sustainable development in regions of Africa. As the World Bank (2016, p. 2) notes, "the digital revolution has brought immediate private benefits – easier communication and information, greater convenience," thus creating more meaningful ways for individual communication to achieve social change. While the World Bank report realises the benefit of inclusiveness in digital communication for achieving social change, it is important to emphasise that it provides more freedom of communication and new dimensions to meet specific individual needs, such as the creation of public platforms for sharing information. This practice can be regarded as a more suitable dimension for assessing the

ability of communication to provide a unique participatory opportunity not only in developing countries, but to enhance the civil society across the African region in the digital era.

Conceptualising development by addressing individual civic public communication practices is so far rarely addressed in contexts of development debates or debates of communication research in the African context. Despite the penetration of smartphones and other kinds of digital communication such as the internet in local practices for social change, there are considerable gaps in the conceptualisation of digital media in developing regions. It is a debate that only recently emerged and included African scholars. For example, Mabweazara (2015) is one of the few authors who note the increasing importance of addressing the positioning of the "self" within the global digital ecology. However, the debates about such an ecology are rare, and furthermore continue to be informed by traditional paradigms such as modernisation, dependency theory, and Western approaches. As Enghel (2015) argues, globalisation theory is not fully conceptually embedded in the debates of communication for social change.

When conceptualising this gap, it is useful to revisit these earlier debates to address the conception of transnational space. Whereas over the past decades, Western world regions have engaged in debates of globalisation to identify the new types of social structures and civic dimensions, such as those of 'cosmopolitanism' (Beck, 2009; Held, 2010), these debates have not been extended to the African regions. Instead, 'transnationalisation' is still viewed through traditional paradigms that aimed to assess internationalisation in developing regions. These paradigms have provided not only the underlying concepts for the Western aims of internationalisation of 'ideologies' and practices, but also reflect a universal approach to developing regions. The old notion of communication development needs to be revisited since new dimensions implemented through digital communication for development are not fully

captured through these traditional approaches. For example, there is a lack of local voice in the traditional notions of communication development; therefore, a debate that emerged only recently among African scholars seems to be relevant in the discussion of communication development. There is a need to address development, not in the old frame of communication development, but rather in terms of local context and local voice. Since traditional notions of development still exist in some countries in developing regions – despite African scholars' critique of the traditional approach – it is crucial to address development in terms of civic engagement within a local practice, however, embedded in a digital world society. This debate has created a gap in today's discourse, where digital access enables new types of "embeddedness" and "reflective interdependence" for African citizens in a global public sphere (Volkmer, 2014) as a dimension of civic capacity building.

1.3.1 The 'modernisation' paradigm

Historically, media in developing regions such as Africa emerged during the colonial era; as such, it tended to favour colonial purposes, including influencing people's minds for exploitation. For example, Mosime (2015, p. 45) regards colonial media as "authoritative," implying little attention was paid to media and development of developing regions, other than for the purposes of colonial powers and later, for those of the emerged superpower nations. The authoritative approach of colonial media failed to respond significantly to the development context of developing countries as it mainly mirrored the colonial ideology within which citizens' views were irrelevant (Taha, 2016), an approach that later influenced the conceptual guidelines of media as tools for democratisation after colonial rule. Furthermore, while the colonisation phase weakened media development in developing regions due to what is termed the top-down approach (Taha, 2016), following colonial rule, the US and the Soviet Union,

who emerged as superpower nations, continue to influence and control media ideology around the globe, something that again continues to weaken communication development in developing regions.

Following the end of the colonisation phase of developing regions and the rise of the superpower nations after the Second World War, the link between communication and development was considered crucial. Based on the political influence of powerful nations such as the US and Soviet Union, Western scholars began to address communication development in developing regions through the lens of the modernisation process. Under the modernisation process, development was understood in terms of adopting Western knowledge, such as ideas and plans for development practices of developing regions. In Egypt, North Africa for example, Lerner (1958) argues that media development, such as that of radio, was mainly used to transform "traditional" society into new behaviour that would contribute towards societal development, however it contributed to the spreading of Western values. This understanding can be linked to the spread of media into different regions of Africa to facilitate the change of behaviour among local communities. West and Fair (1993, p. 91) argue that "the mass media's role in the national development process, then, was to act as innovators and mobilizers of transformation, changing old habits and fostering new ethics." However, transforming old habits via mass media is uncertain because of the low media coverage in regions of Africa. Relating to West Africa, authors like Alhassan (2004) argues that media development was used as a measure to determine a modernised society, such as in Ghana. Nevertheless, under the traditional approach, a modernised society is viewed from a Western perspective.

Critiques to modernisation paradigm

While, on the one hand, Western scholars regarded media development as crucial for inspiring traditional societal change, the modernisation process is, on the other hand, criticised by scholars from the region as ignoring the cultural values of African societies. Nyamnjoh (2006, p. 2) argues that there was "little or no attention to the indigenous knowledge." Such an approach to modernisation eliminates local "voice" and the traditions of the community in achieving development. In the modernisation paradigm, it is assumed that local knowledge and practices are not contributing to societal development. Further, as Mlambo (2006, p. 166) argues, "indigenous knowledge systems were dismissed out of hand, while all efforts were made to promote and privilege Western ideas and knowledge in the name of modernisation or Westernisation." These are processes that related to the weakness of the modernisation approach. Following such criticism of the modernisation process, the meaning of "being modern" is closely associated with "Westernisation," which Nyamnjoh (2006, p. 2) prescribes as "Western exploitation," which challenges development perspectives in the Global South. Similarly, Mlambo (2006, p. 166) argues that "intellectual imperialism reinforced Western dominance" such as Africans' self-perception and way of thinking which was predominantly moulded by Western perspectives. This perception is also observed by Matunhu (2011, p. 67), who thinks that development considering modernisation theory is "abandoning traditional values in favour of that of the coloniser and that development of Africa should come after deculturalization." However, African regions would have achieved the development even without such a deculturalization process, through incorporating the traditional knowledge in the development process. The modernisation process overlooks the implications on the recipient community (Wasserman, 2011). To determine what constitutes social development in the view of modernity change behaviour were core (Agbobli & Fusaro, 2015).

Despite debates of such a traditional approach in transforming developing societies, scholars also recognise the contribution of Western values to societal development. For example, Lerner (1958, p. 47) further supports that, “the change of local attitudes towards Western values is still important since Western society can still provide the most developed model of societal change,” which I can link with championing development policy frameworks that are crucial for achieving any social development goal. While Lerner (1958, p. 48) puts forward that “shaping behaviour and conditions is rational when in turn there is a reward,” I view that this idea can be linked to the abandonment of traditional values, which has little or no positive contribution to societal development.

In terms of communication for development, it was first argued that radio propaganda creates a sphere for engagement with Western models of democracy. Following the increased use of media, US scholars expressed doubt regarding the role of media for growth of developing countries in Africa in particular, with Rogers (1976, p. 22) asserting that “the US extended the authoritative relationship through the advertisement of commercial products.” I link US media domination to their status as the most politically and economically powerful nation across the globe. While Rogers argues about radio propaganda for Western products, on the other hand, this same media has also argued that it is crucial in arranging marketing and transportation of raw materials from rural areas of African regions. West and Fair (1993, p. 97) observe that “they use radio as a community bulletin board, broadcasting messages back and forth to individuals in remote areas, arranging for exchanges of goods, and coordinating transportation between settlements.” The domination of Western markets in developing nations can be linked to illiteracy and low levels of education among local communities in African regions which limits the ability of the local community to have productive input into media and development in Africa.

Since the "traditional ways" of the economy in Africa were assumed to not contribute to economic development, media development was considered the best approach in "modernising the traditional society" (McPhail, 2009, p. 8). From this view, communication development was long associated with a new form of colonisation and "imperialism" (Schiller, 1972). Identifying a weakness of the traditional paradigm, McPhail (2009, p. 51) asserts that "communication development is criticised for promoting capitalism," and therefore failed to produce the predicted social and economic changes. Matunhu (2011) argues that the theory is only appropriate in explaining the development of developed nations, which in my opinion explains the weakness of the modernisation approach to development. Also, Ngomba (2012, p. 165) considers the modernisation process as an "irrelevant approach to African development," concluding that it proved inappropriate in understanding development in Africa. Therefore, it is within the context of this conscientisation that the weakness of modernisation theory becomes evident, opening the gate towards other theories of contextualising the development of Africa in the view of communication development.

1.3.2 The 'dependency' paradigm

The so-called 'dependency' theory emerged in the 1970s as a new framework for analysing development communication (Wallerstein, 2011; West & Fair, 1993). Dependency is built on the idea of media exploitation, which is linked to economic domination. It is analysed from the role of media in economic and cultural dependency (Straubhaar, 1991). A dependency situation relates to the established global media policies which allow the Global North to exercise power and control of the Global South. The media policy established by governments of powerful nations such as the US is therefore argued to have created unequal communication dependency between Western countries and developing regions such as Africa. As McPhail (2009) notes,

the central argument of the dependency theory is that governments of Western countries that have the power to set up global communication terms work closely with their Transnational Corporations (TNCs), which assist in exercising communication control of developing nations. However, TNCs would not have been able to exercise control alone; thus, their dominance can be linked to their relationship with governments of African countries and other poor nations. There is an existing "structural relationship […between] the media companies' dependence on and ties with government" of Western countries (Herman & Chomsky, 2006, p. 265). Nevertheless, TNCs and Western governments took advantage of the inability of African leaders to understand the intention behind media policies, therefore using media as a tool for looking at new markets and selling Western advertisements. The existence of collaboration among governments in African regions and TNCs can be attributed to either willingness, enforcement, or the importation of Western media programmes, especially from America. I argue that this enhances the spread of Americanisation in Africa, although it would have been possible for African governments not to accept media policies that impact their traditional culture, incurring Americanisation. It is thought that TNCs are concerned with transferring media consumption to developing countries such as those in Africa, and Schiller (2006, p. 304) argues that "American films, TV programmes, music, news, entertainment, theme parks, and shopping malls set the standard for worldwide export and imitation." The influence of media contents such as advertisements can be linked to the domination of Western culture in many developing regions since it has a higher chance of capturing the minds of observers. Although Durham and Kellner (2006) note that some liberal media scholars are concerned with the individual interpretation of meaning of media information, I argue that audiences differ in preferences. As such, if there was a choice, then Africa might have preferred media products other than Western ones.

Since television media messages brought to developing countries from Western regions have been seen to 'Westernise' people's way of life (Schiller, 2006), I would suggest that the proliferation of Western television media pressurises the adoption of Westernisation in terms of products and culture, and transforms local practices. The commodification of media content such as music, movies, and news further relate the marketing strategy aimed towards consumers in developing countries, and Africa in particular. Scholars such as Agbobli and Fusaro (2015) and Esipisu and Kariithi (2007) note that it contributes to international rather than national development, a situation that only intensifies economic and media dependency on Western countries, further impeding Africa's media autonomy. This situation is further influenced by media policy that is based on the market interest of the US. Umeogu and Ifeoma (2012, p. 224) believe in the "power of the media to reach a mass audience with information for awareness or attitudinal change implying that it has a role to play with regards to cultural dependency." I argue that the Westernisation of African culture via media is enormous.

That said, the acceptance of Western media programmes in Africa was unavoidable. Obonyo (2011) notes that the media sector in many regions of Africa had experienced inadequate finance to advocate for local media programmes. African countries had little control of the inflow of information which, as Imoh (2013, p. 15) argues, was a "manipulative" and "authoritative" flow of communication from the Global North to the Global South that only served to sustain dependency, rather than a collaborative relationship. Daramola and Oyinade (2015, p. 35) argue that:

> African countries are depending on western media to put the contents of their programming in perspectives for them as foreign media contents continue to placate their programmes and the need to create their own programmes from their own culture to represent their values and needs of their society seem to be forgotten.

Dependency on Western media information is seen as a threat to the African media sector as it undermines the autonomy of local media, linking to the commodification of Western media content.

The heated debate among communication scholars during the 1970s and 1980s advocated for the equal media sphere in the world (Gerbner, 1993). Despite the grounded policy of the free flow of media such as television programmes, news, music, and entertainment, certain scholars (Gerbner, 1993; Straubhaar, 1991) argue that such a flow of information was only coming from a few Western countries. It is further argued that, since the US emerged as a superpower nation, its media interest "exploited" (Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1993) media in the Global South, as well as in other parts of the Global North (Nordenstreng & Schiller, 1993). Media imperialism refers to the domination of advertisements and importation of Western products in Africa that contribute more to the US economy rather than the local economy. In more recent debates, scholars have regarded media imperialism as deliberately intended by Western countries, such as the US, to invest in poor nations (Nyamnjoh, 2006); a process which I argue only increases the flow of Western products, and in turn the Westernisation of, and spread of Western cultural ideology to African regions, which impacts African culture. This ideology can further be linked to the power of TNCs and the political support from the US government towards the expansion of the market in poor nations (McPhail, 2009). Such an imbalanced power relationship results in a lack of media autonomy and a lowering of sustainable economic capacity in developing countries.

For example, Ojo (2012) argues that the transfer of media information from the Global North to the Global South produces less autonomy and therefore increases the chance of misrepresentation of information to the Global South. Furthermore, Wa'Njogu (2011, p. 77)

argues that the "African image in the Western media is created through metaphors which are largely negative in terms of primitive and crisis and even more exaggerated." This created image can be linked to the African media's lack of control in the Global North to correct this image, while Western media has the power to exploit and mould the image of the African continent. As Asante (2013, p. 64) argues: "Africa does not make herself a victim; she is victimised by her inherent weakness of media outlets, philosophy, and control." The concern that the West-controlled media in Africa is obvious and critical in understanding cultural and economic dependency in the regions of Africa. It is argued that the history of media development in African regions was built upon dominant Western ideology regarding low media literacy on the continent (Asante, 2013; Mlambo, 2006); therefore, Western media took advantage of being a model by telling Africa's media how to organise and report information. However, I regard this as an undermining of the ability of Africa's media to deal with their media situation, since the local environment and available resources could have saved the media purpose in anyhow.

Cultural imperialism and media policy intervention

When addressing this unbalanced media operation, scholars have advocated the need for policy intervention for protecting domestic media and "cultural imperialism." Schiller (2006, p. 309) argues that "the struggle against cultural imperialism [is] more necessary than ever if the general system of domination is to be overcome," which relates to the critiques of media imperialism. It was within the context of "harmonisation" between privileged and deprived that the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) intervened in the debate on media "imperialism," since it is the organisation in charge of protecting domestic culture and media systems. It was against this background that the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, popularly known as the MacBride Commission or

report, worked to hear the voices of many from both the Global North and South in order to set up a resolution of media issues, particularly those stemming from the North (UNESCO, 1980). As communication scholars were concerned about media inequality, the MacBride report specifically assessed inequality in media operations internationally, and therefore proposed the elimination of media imbalance between the Global North and South. What has come to be known from *Many Voices One World*, as the report is titled, is the domination of the media content by the powerful nations and the one-way flow of information. The report disagrees with the idea of a homogenised world society just for the commercial interests of a few countries such as the US (UNESCO, 1980). Despite the criticism from the great media powers such as the US, the UNESCO was able to stand by the report, a situation that I consider has caused the "voice" regarding media in the Global South to be heard. The report's criticism from the West (Ojo, 2012) can be linked to the fear of losing the economic benefits that result from the neoliberal commodification of media content. Relating to the concern that the US might lose its hegemonic transnational communication power, the US rejected the MacBride report and decided to withdraw from UNESCO (Raube-Wilson, 1986). The withdrawal of the US from UNESCO therefore weakened "the political and financial resources of UNESCO" (Asante, 2013, p. 69).

Nevertheless, after the MacBride report criticism levelled by the US, it has been argued that the debate "on world information and communication" has not produced "much positive change in Western media coverage of Africa" (Ojo, 2012, p. 1). This situation can be ascribed to the political weakness of UNESCO versus the US. Similarly, while further UNESCO endeavours towards global progress, such as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), focus on achieving improvements in areas such as poverty, hunger, diseases, gender, and environment (UN, 2016; UNDP, 2015), the MDGs and

SDGs do not focus on critical media issues such as media policies. This situation might endanger media operation mainly in the South. However, to achieve social progress, there is a continued need for UNESCO to promote the protection of domestic media against the domination of superpower nations such as the US.

1.3.3 Postcolonial communication and the emerging of national identity

Subsequent to the modernisation and dependency paradigms that have guided academic debates about the internationalisation of African media for decades, there was a shift in the debate to incorporate more current popular culture practices. Louw (2011, p. 32) describes "hybridisation" as relating to the "increase of popular culture and popular media in Africa regions." Hybridisation can be linked to the cultural imperialism experienced in the early postcolonial African media during the 1990s, as Louw (2011, p. 32) further argues that "…people in places like Africa are experiencing a form of cultural change that encodes significant Americanisation and Semi-Americanisation (cultural hybrid)." This phenomenon requires a critical understanding of the existing media structure, which facilitates the global communication flow in Africa's regions during postcolonial media. As Aseka (2009, p. 88) argues, "a proper understanding of the media must be within the basic institutional structures and relationships within which they operate." Understanding this will help to contextualise the operation of Western media in Africa, and how media and communication can be connected to the building of African identity. Western media structure enables a strong media system in a soft power, which I argue enhances the dominance of Western culture. Louw (2011, p. 34) emphasises that:

> American recognized the importance of media networks as 'soft power' agent, geared to promoting the diffusion of an American zeitgeist, and those values, lifestyles and

> consumption patterns that complement 'development,' i.e. the Westernization (or semi-Westernization) required to underpin the expansion of global trade.

This media network can be linked to the establishment of new "flows" of content into world regions after colonisation, and the fact that the communication structure of America is now the "communication empire around the world" (Asekun-Olarinmoye, Esiri, Ogungbamigbe, & Balofin, 2014). This can be further linked to the promotion of the American identity and distortion of the African one. The structure of postcolonial media, in terms of making media content and practices happen in developing regions after colonialism, is also related to Western media organisations such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), modelled after the BBC; the commercial news media, such as Cable News Network (CNN), Reuters, Agence France-Presse, United Press International, and the Associated Press, and also – beyond the Western spectrum – Al-Jazeera, based in Doha, Qatar, which uses satellite television to deliver news all over the world (Asante, 2013). These media platforms are freely accessible; their content broadcasts within 24 hours to anyone with access to a television in most countries in developing regions. In Uganda, for example, Kalyango (2011, p. 160) argues that "CNN is available to anyone who owns a television set in Uganda; however, there is a complaint regarding lack of positive news coverage." He further added that most news produced by CNN was broadly covering Uganda's civil wars and interstate conflicts despite the existence of other positive issues for reporting. Similarly, Asekun-Olarinmoye et al. (2014) argue that the global media empires' global, simultaneous publication of news in several languages increases the spread of news among media worldwide. However, current digitisation has enabled great media empires to improve audience's access to news through mobile applications downloaded from smartphones. For example, Constantinides (2015) notes that the BBC News Android app enables news consumers to stay informed at any time, which emphasises the increasing importance of the smartphone in

reading news. I argue that this process, while situated in digital spheres, closely relates to the traditional free flow of news and information from Global North to Global South, which has implications for African identity.

Media and national identity

In these contexts, considering the conceptualisation of national identity as important in postcolonial regions, further debates about hybridisation have emerged. As Bhabha (1994, p. 49) argues:

> Identity occurs at the point at which something exceeds the frame of the image, it eludes the eye, evacuates the self as a site of identity and autonomy and most importantly leaves a resistant trace, a stain of the subject, a sign of resistance.

Western media are argued to assign new meaning to the developing regions based on specific interest. In his attempt to describe this, Bhabha (1990, p. 3) notes that "there is a tendency to read the nation… as the incipient or emergent expression of the national-popular sentiment preserved in a radical memory." He further asserts that "they assign new meanings and different directions to the process of historical change" (Bhabha, 1990:3). The representation of national identity reflects the traditional paradigms of modernisation and dependency in analysing traditional societies in developing regions such as Africa. Relevant conceptualisation of national identity is also considered by Bhabha (1994, p. 6), who observes that "postcolonial critique bears witness to those countries and communities – in the North and the South, urban and rural – constituted otherwise than modernity." As Asante (2013, p. 66) asserts:

> The falsification of Africa occurs through the distortion of news events, the untrue statements about Africa are repeated as fact, when biased interpretations are interwoven into news reports, and through the use of pejoratives whether as metaphor or as stereotypes.

Such distortions, however, occurred due to the non-interactive nature of media existing at that time.

Furthermore, there is an expansion of postcolonial media that has allowed media in Africa to be more independent. In this sense, there are three ways in which postcolonial media in regions of Africa can be described, which are argued to mirror a new independent media and national identity; these include the setting up of public service media, the privatisation of homegrown media, and the establishment of community media.

Public service media

Since the 1990s, postcolonial African regions have moved towards the liberalisation of public services. This is also argued to facilitate the privatisation of the media sector, such as radio and television, as well as homegrown media. The set-up of the Public Service Broadcast (PSB) media in some regions of Africa primarily aimed to give voice to voiceless communities through balancing the idea of state-owned media, which, being controlled by the government, are argued to be more authoritative. Communication scholars such as Teer-Tomaselli (2004, p. 31) argues that public broadcasting services aim to "advocate for the public, private, and community," meaning less or no government interference, and media that is genuinely representative of the country. Thus, the idea of PSB in regions of Africa creates more independent and open broadcasting for many voices, therefore serving the majority public to which other media pays little or no attention. For example, South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), established in 1936 and reconstituted in the early 1990s, is the only public service broadcaster in Africa to serve the majority of South Africans (Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 1994). The establishment of PSB in South Africa reflects the strengthening of peace and the creation of a more independent media that relates to a true narration of the South Africans to the world. However, with its colonial background and the former apartheid policy

in South Africa, I argue that the transformed PSB creates a closer relationship between the government and citizens.

Media privatisation

It is often argued that privatisation, in general, reduces the government's media control that had existed in African regions for a long time. For example, Konan and Assche (2004) argue that for several decades since the privatisation of the media sector, African regions have shown less monopoly of media from central governments. Scholars have linked the increase of private sector participation in media to the reduction of government media control. Ariye (2010, p. 419) asserts that "since the deregulation of the media sector in West Africa for example, it is argued that private sector participation in the broadcast industry in Nigeria is significant as much as hitherto government monopoly has ceased," suggesting the creation of a more democratic media in Africa. As argued, in Tunisia, North Africa, the government abolished the state monopoly of the communication sector in 2001 to allow significant benefits from private broadcasters towards achieving social change (Konan & Assche, 2004). In Egypt, Sakr (2001) notes the growing pressure of media privatisation in the country. However, privatisation of the media sector can be linked to the countries' achievement of social change. Motives behind privatisation are mainly economic, such as developing effective competition (Esipisu & Kariithi, 2007); nevertheless, we should also consider different types of privatisation. For example, the privatisation of local media to engage citizens and provide a 'real' image of Africa can be linked to greater understanding of the regions. Ariye (2010, p. 419) further observes this when he argues that "privatisation provides healthy competition between private and public media sections," which equates with giving local people a voice for a true reflection of African identity.

On the other hand, however, during the 1990s, competition in media privatisation grew, which gave rise to direct-to-home satellite televisions in Africa. For example, as Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1994) argue, Sub-Saharan African satellite television platforms, such as South Africa-based Multichoice DSTV, received more positive attention. In their view, the growth of satellite television reduced the cost and distance of transmission, opened new markets, and further addressed the question of limitless availability. In Nigeria, satellite television is argued to be reliable, provide multiple channel options for viewers, and guarantee up-to-date information (Ariye, 2010), which demonstrates improvements in quality and increased media competition. These media improvements enabled by satellite television in West and South Africa is also argued to have happened in Egypt, North Africa, where Sakr (2001) asserts that satellite television has made multiple channel views possible, often overcoming the political agenda of the nation state-run media. Even though satellite television can be linked to the commercialisation of media content and Western media propaganda for political and economic interests, it is claimed to be more strategic and to introduce a new broadcasting system, therefore encouraging international broadcasting in Africa (Rotheray, 2010). In this sense, it could be argued that satellite broadcasting contributes to the destruction of African identity as Asekun-Olarinmoye et al. (2014, p. 78) assert that "Global TV news channels carry mostly negative stories about Africa."

Community media

Furthermore, community media emerged in Africa during postcolonial communication as a movement for seeking greater freedom against government-controlled media in many regions of Africa (e.g., Wanyeki, 2000). Community media aims to focus on the interest of a local community, and it is important that we do not marginalise the community in favour of the media (Opubor, 2000, p. 12).

The postcolonial media efforts in regions of Africa advocate that radio and television should promote the needs of the community rather than the needs of the funders or private companies. Community communication as an important hub of civic interaction can be viewed as a system of effective communication among people who share common values and beliefs, and who communicate by reflecting specific needs. In this sense, the idea of community media that emerged in certain regions of Africa during postcolonialism can be linked to maintaining African value and identity, which for a long time was destroyed by the Western media. Examples of community media in Eastern Africa include the Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET), which addresses issues such as reproductive health, civic education, and constitutional change, and uses Swahili as a local language to empower the local community and build a sense of community media ownership; and the Uganda Media Women's Association, which is mainly used to promote gender issues and development in Uganda (Wanyeki, 2000). In Liberia, West Africa, the Talking Drum Studio is the only community media in the country, which commits its resources to further establishing community media. The role of community media remains unquestionable in many regions since it is argued to contribute to the understanding of media policy and policy deregulations in Sub-Saharan Africa media (Okon, 2014). This can be linked to promoting policies that preserve culture in regions of Africa. The need for community media in many regions of Africa is connected with the creation of voice to those who are voiceless, and as Karikari (2000, p. 51) argues, "there is a demand for community in making its messages, voice to itself and to the larger world in which the existing media cannot or are not disposed to accommodate this different voice." With this grounding, the existing media structure, which is argued to serve more commercial purposes, does not accommodate the voice of the local community, and therefore serves little in reflecting the true African identity. In this context, it is obvious that during postcolonial communication,

African regions were strongly motivated to create their image against that which had been created by Western media and traditional communication paradigms.

However, despite these enduring Western views about African identity in postcolonial societies, today there is the opportunity for citizens to produce their own stories through digital forums such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, and YouTube, and thus to produce and disseminate local perspectives. These digital media produce a space where individuals promote their own identity to the world, unlike in traditional media, where Western media creates the African identity. For example, Ogidi (2015, p. 116) notes that "the social media user determines what kind of information is disseminated on social media, which implies that the values, ideologies and beliefs of the network users determine the type of information they store on social media," which relates to the role of digital media in creating self-identity. Also, Bunce, Franks, and Paterson (2016) relate the growth of digital media in Africa to promote the local image, which leads to the possibility of reducing the reach of news from the West. These discussions about new media and African identity are crucial to current understandings of communication development in the region.

1.4 Towards a diversity of globalised digital landscapes across African regions

Following the enhanced globalised communication sphere of the 21st century, most African regions have "leapfrogged" to digital communication (Yonazi, Kelly, Colin, & Halewood, 2012). This digital transformation has increased global interconnectedness within and among regions (Crenshaw & Robison, 2006), including Africa, which creates social connection and a boundless, global society. The growth of the internet in Africa is argued to bring about the emergence of the online community (Banda et al., 2009). The internet facilitates more efficient

communication through performing multiple functions. Bailard (2012, p. 332) observes that "individuals can utilize this single technology for myriad activities, from watching their favourite TV show to reading a blog, to paying their phone bill, to video chatting with friends overseas, often simultaneously," which can be linked to an increase in interconnectedness. With regard to such roles of internet communication and the use of social media as a "channel for communication and information exchange" (World Bank, 2016, p. 149), within Africa, for example, social media such as Facebook create a new dimension to social structures (Iwilade, 2015).

However, there are slight differences in the practice of social media interaction across the African continent. In Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania in East Africa, social media is used to communicate information such as indigenous values. Owiny, Mehta, and Maretzki (2014, p. 234) note that "social media is important in creating, managing, preserving, and sharing of traditional knowledge and skills in order to preserve traditional African values." However, this does not prevent people from sharing other kinds of information. The sharing of information enabled by social networks and practised on the African continent is also observed away from the continent, with social media considered to be crucial for African immigrants, especially students who study abroad, to communicate easily with their social networks in their home countries.

Social media and the internet also seem to play a crucial role for African migrants as expatriates, enabling them to participate in the political debates of their home countries, a process that "brings the imagined communities of 'home' to their new locales at the same time as they project themselves onto the realities of the places they have left behind" (Tettey, 2009, p. 143), but, from another perspective, also reflects the breaking down of the boundaries of

communities across nations. Further, digital communication helps to bridge the hemisphere of interaction, facilitating increased interaction with citizens on other continents. For example, Rautenbach and Black-Hughes (2012) observe that video conferencing, group email, and Facebook help to link students and staff in African Universities with other universities in developed countries. This enacts the idea of a "global village," where space and distance is compressed among staff and students and distant learning processes are simplified across borders. With such contextualisation of communication, social media take on similar roles of interconnectedness among users both in Africa and other continents, increasing specific, new, and connected dimensions of globalisation in regions of Africa, despite reducing face-to-face interaction (Bradley & Ii, 2014).

However, in a report by the UNDP (2015), digital globalisation is seen as creating economic and social implications for people's lives. As digital communication, such as via internet applications Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Skype, and Viber, is growing fast in Africa, there is a need to understand how such a digitally connected dimension of global communication contributes to the development of society and individual citizens. Ikpe and Idiong (2011, p. 213) assert that the "new telecommunications environment has created a system of interconnectedness that is becoming, at least for the well-to-do sections of the society, a dominant day-to-day reality," which might be linked to the globalisation of people's everyday activities.

It is unquestionable that, on the one hand, digitally enhanced "interactive globalisation" paradigms have not fully been embedded in digital communication in the development debate. This situation is not surprising since, as Agbobli and Fusaro (2015) note, development communication has long been ignored in discussions of globalisation as well.

The call for a new approach

Since communication development continues to be measured against traditional Western paradigms, there is now increasing discussion of the irrelevance of these traditional theoretical frameworks in assessing communication in Africa. Despite the fact that communication researchers continue to be informed by existing theories (Mabweazara, 2015), African scholars argue that Western theories have "not only led to the domination of the African continent by the West but also to its marginalisation in the world in terms of economic development and Africa's capacity to participate fully in the global knowledge community" (Mlambo, 2006, p. 161). Scholars propose the need to deploy Western theories, which Ngomba (2012, p. 166) calls "de-Westernisation," and adopt one that fits better in the African situation. This is required to build a deep understanding of the link between communication and development in Africa in the era of globalisation and the digital communication revolution (Mabweazara, 2015).

This argument implies the lack of a meaningful approach for demonstrating communication advancement and social change in Africa, and calls for an approach that is more relevant to the African situation. However, there is concern that African regions have different sociocultural disparities, such as language, colonial experiences, infrastructure, and politics, and thus cannot be universally applied with the same theory (Obonyo, 2011). However, this does not validate the continuous use of the existing traditional framework, which has already revealed its weaknesses, especially in the current world of globalisation and digital revolution. The argument about continuous use and modification of the existing theory, as put by Ngomba (2012, p. 166), that African scholars should "select useful existing Western theories and their critical utilisation in research, in a way that offers contextually relevant extensions of such theories," might even make the analysis more complicated due to increased globalisation in African regions.

It is further observed that the world economy is increasingly practised digitally, with no limits to national borders. As Sassen (2006, p. 143) notes, “today’s global economy is constituted through an increasingly institutionalized space for operations that is both electronic and territorial, and simultaneously supra, inter, and subnational, thereby evincing multiple types of territorial insertions,” which can be linked to interconnectedness in regions of Africa. Thus, Enghel (2015) stresses the need to understand this current global communication development through interconnectedness and social changes.

It is against this background that this study intends to develop a new conceptual framework that addresses the patterns of “digitally” connected globalised spheres in developing nations, through a case study approach of the major city of Tanzania: Dar es Salaam. Such a local approach will allow building a new understanding of the relationship between current digital global communication development and social change in Africa in the context of globalisation.

To understand civic public communication as a new conceptual framework for addressing development, assessing transnational communication and mainly the traditional approaches to communication development through the globalised digital landscapes across regions of Africa become necessary. Chapter two of this thesis will address the conceptualisation of global cities and their role towards building digital “hubs” “node” “denationalised” and “deterritorialised” space, through assemblage, for societal development in developing regions. Also, Sassens theory on networked cities and the dimensions of “territory” “authority” and “rights” are critically analysed.

2. Digital cities in developing regions as 'nodes' of local and global dynamics

All the United Nations member states adopted the United Nations 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development Goals. This agenda includes 17 goals, defined by the United Nations Assembly in 2015. These goals are defined to address new types of global challenges, such as inequality, climate, peace, and justice. Goal number 11 relates to the building of 'sustainable city and community' across the globe by 2030. It is estimated that the number of people who live in cities will rise to 5 billion by 2030 from 3.5 billion in 2016 (UN, 2016). This prediction requires a new focus on cities' emerging urbanisation challenges. Currently, global cities are seen as centres of economic, financial, and social development (UN, 2016); however, in the context of developing countries, cities are emerging as digital centres (overlooked in current debates).

However, the aim of the U.N. to build cities as sustainable communities should also be seen (1) in terms of enabling citizens in cities to engage with each other, such as in discussions of collective civic decision-making as a process of inclusive development, and (2) as a dimension for collaboration between different stakeholders at the local, national, and international government level (UN, 2016) in decision-making practices. Thus, as cities in developing countries are increasingly "connected" to all sorts of transnational networks, it becomes important to address the new dimensions of digital civic communication and the engagement in government decision-making practices at different levels. More commitment is needed to promote sustainable, digitally inclusive cities in developing countries such as in Africa by developing free space for public participation to unlock the development potential of cities.

Not only the fact that citizens of cities in developing regions have increasing access to digital communication, but specifically the relation between global and local network spheres in cities

in developing regions, create dense dynamics as these enable citizens to engage with new types of public debate that is relevant to societal development. It is relevant to further assess the role of cities as not only economic centres for trade and 'mobility,' but also as digital hubs for a new emerging digital citizenry. While media and communication in developing regions are mainly addressed in a national context and centres around access issues, such as 'digital divide,' a specific focus on cities in developing countries is currently emerging in sociology and political science. For example, Balbo (2014) argues that cities in developing countries are emerging as the central spaces for not only economic but also for social transformation. Other authors see urban spaces as centres for new dynamics for policy innovations that address development challenges. For example, Africapolis (2018) considers the importance of urban and city spaces for inclusive policymaking practices at local, national, and international levels. While, on one hand, the space of the city is critical in extending new thinking, on the other, there is a lack of a conceptual framework for assessing these changes in cities for societal development.

Centrality of digital infrastructure in cities

The relevance of cities as digital hubs is also only rarely addressed in empirical research, which has a focus on countries 'as such.' For example, in Malaysia, the country internet penetration was 68.1% in 2016 (IWS, 2016). Furthermore, in Brunei, the national internet penetration was estimated at 71.4% in 2016 (IWS, 2016), however, the penetration rate was much higher in the capital city of Bandar Seri Begawan, which was 90% (IWS, 2016). While the national internet penetration is low based on the statistical calculation of the national average, we require an empirical focus on cities in developing regions. Such a new focus is necessary as the role of the city as a digital space becomes important not only when addressing digital growth in city

ecologies, but also when addressing the specific sites of local digital cultures. For example, Blommaert (2013, p. 10) argues that "access to the internet is a rather exclusive feature of urban life in Tanzania." The higher internet penetration in city ecologies is, in the first instance, attributed to the complicated capacity development for network infrastructures in non-urban areas of developing regions. The GSMA Intelligence (2015, p. 2) report points out that "investment in the network is based on network economics which works better in cities and suburban areas where it effectively returns the cost of network infrastructure to be reinvested." These capacities for investment cycles in city ecologies (which is not available in rural and even mid-sized city structures) has increased internet connection in cities, for example through specific infrastructures, such as "hotspots."

UNICEF (2014) highlights that cities and urban centres in developing regions have more 'hotspot' locations, enabling uninterrupted access. According to the World Bank, mobile devices such as smartphones constitute the primary source of internet connectivity in cities of developing regions (World Bank, 2016), although there is a difference in smartphone adoption among individuals depending on region, due to variations in smartphone ownership affordability. However, overall, city residents have more options for internet access and thus have a higher chance of adapting to digital culture. Not only are the penetration of Internet access or the use of prepaid mobile phones rapidly growing but, as Poushter, Bishop, and Chwe (2018) notes, social media use through smartphone communication is growing significantly in developing regions, from 38% in 2016 to 53% in 2018. I consider this development to be highly related to the increased 'smart' mobile phone and network penetration in cities. Access to social media motivates individuals to engage in new technologies. Furthermore, the use of social media via smartphones is higher in developing regions than in developed regions (Poushter et al., 2018). However, there is variation in social media adoption across developing regions. For

instance, individuals in South Asia access the internet through mobile devices such as smartphones rather than desktop computers and other fixed devices (Poushter et al., 2018), which relates to the increased social media use in the region. In the Middle East and North African regions, 68% of individuals use social media (Poushter et al., 2018), which ranks above the global social media average of 53%.

On the other hand, data shows that social media use in the Sub-Saharan Region is 42% (Poushter et al., 2018). This is below the global median rate, although urban areas such as cities boast higher social media connection due to the high concentration of users in these regions. Among social networking sites, Facebook is the most widely used social media both globally and in developing regions (Poushter et al., 2018). In African countries, Egypt is ranked at the top in Facebook use, with 35 million subscribers, which is more than half of the internet users in the country. In Senegal, out of the 60% of individuals who were using the internet in 2017, half of them were Facebook users (IWS, 2018), and Kenya had 16% Facebook users out of 85% internet users. In Asia, the city of Bangkok in Thailand is the most highly Facebook-connected city in the world; as Tarmizi (2016, p. 2) notes, "Jakarta is ranked on the 2nd place for the city with the most Facebook users with 11.6 Million, just behind Bangkok, Thailand." This connection implies a high preference for Facebook over other social media such as Twitter and YouTube, a trend that is also observed in other cities across the developing regions in Asia.

The increasing internet connectivity through mobile phones provides additional links within and beyond cities in developing regions. For example, Bunnell (2013, p. 8) argues that "cities in Southern Asia comprise of broader intercity network connectivity in cities such as Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Hong Kong and Manila." Such connectivity implies that these urban network spheres offer extensive space for connecting social practices across cities in the Asian region.

These processes indicate a need to conceptualise the ‘connected city’ as a ‘node’ within transnational digital spheres. Moreover, cities are emerging as digital development drivers. Bunnell and Das (2010) observe that prosperous cities such as Kuala Lumpur are viewed as models for high tech infrastructure. These are processes that are often perceived in terms of technological capacity building. However, this technological capacity building enables a new sphere for civic capacity building as it transforms public communication practices and opens up new potential for democratic development and civic capacity building in the city spaces of developing regions.

Conceptions of cities

For a long time, the city space has only been addressed by Western notions of ‘development’ aims, especially in the context of communication (Mabweazara, 2015). However, scholars from political science regard cities as ‘hubs’ for democracy and human rights. For example, Post (2018, p. 115) considers the governance of cities in developing regions in terms of four often intertwined approaches: “law and order,” “urban politics,” “clientelism,” and “local public goods provision.”

However, such a political framework is insufficient for examining notions of development in the current global digital era. Cities have profoundly transformed digitally, and a new framework for societal development is required. While on one hand, scholars address the city space in political conceptions, on the other hand, the dominant framework for sociological concepts of cities focuses on assessing social problems relating to urban contexts such as poverty, education, crime, race, or immigration (Castells, 2003; Sassen, 2010). For example, Castells’ conceptual work relates to urban planning, collective consumption, urban system, and

urban social movements which, as he argues, are key for understanding urban development (Castells, 2003). Sassen's perception relates to urban sociology (Sassen, 2010) to address world cities as strategic territory for social and political processes due to globalization and digitization. These frameworks consider conceptual approaches to cities through a Western lens. However, it is useful to follow Wu (2016), who argues that cities could also be viewed in terms of the autonomous sociological units. Such an approach includes new dimensions of the social life of cities; the transformation of cities in terms of digital practices and the role of these practices for development. As cities even in developing countries are today digital cities, it is crucial to assess cities beyond these sociological perspectives. It is from this perspective that there is a lack of a conceptual framework for assessing cities in developing regions, specifically in relation to globalisation and digital communication.

Four shifts required in the conception of cities

Furthermore, not only a shift towards the conception of digital cities is required, but an additional shift towards digital citizens in cities and urban regions in developing countries, and to the city in developing regions as a communicative space. Furthermore, policy innovation is necessary for city governments to address the potential for building civic communication capacity as a new component of societal development. It is surprising that, over only the past few years, the city has become a focus of development debates, and Balbo (2014, p. 270) calls for a new research agenda:

> Until a thorough reappraisal is carried out concerning ways the 'city of developing countries' has been looked at since it made its début in scholarly research and policy action, policymakers, international organisations and planners will not be able to comprehend the new order created by globalisation, nor to correctly understand the demands this progression creates and the best responses possible.

New approaches for digital policy in cities of developing countries are needed for a better utilisation of city space in policy innovation. While approaches either focus on technological capacity building or address developing societies in Western perspectives, new strategies are required for addressing societal development with urban development issues in the centre. Debates of new institutional frameworks, such as highlighting digital policy as capacity building processes for cities, constitute new – so far, widely overlooked - dimensions of societal development, social and economic growth.

Today, governments of many developing countries understand development through the lens of technologies to enable digital communication, and are establishing approaches to tackle national and subnational challenges. For example, Kamalipour and Peimani (2015) posit that the process of global and local network connection in Asian countries is structured through the inequalities of power and resources, in which the process of societal transformation is hierarchically structured and pioneered centrally rather than simultaneously. However, most challenges regarding the conceptualisation of the nation in the digital network are comparable in most of the developing nations. The concept of technological digital 'structure' is a key explanatory tool for understanding that within a digital sphere, the 'local' is incorporated in globalised network connectivity. However, this specific 'dialectical' dimension is rarely included in debates of civic communication as a capacity building sphere for development and, thus, requires some attention.

Not only does a globalised digital sphere no longer relate to boundaries, as Bunnell (2013, p. 8) observes, but a rethinking of national frameworks for addressing such a local and global network space is required. Such a perspective is increasingly important for developing countries. However, what is overlooked in these debates is that the reorganisation of the state

framework, mainly in cities, requires new institutional processes and policies to enable the merging of local and global digital spaces. For example, Hanna (2014, p. 2) suggests that "realising the transformational potential of the ICT revolution can, therefore, require redesigning or building new networks of institutions, the transformation of regulatory frameworks and governance, new skills and competencies, and even radical changes to ideas and culture." The institutional rearrangement may include policy frameworks at national or international levels to allow societal development. Further, Ahamer and Mayer (2014) consider the pioneering of institutional changes for societal development. However, governments need to be proactive in building these institutional frameworks, realizing that large cities in developing regions are also globalised digital cities with new relations between global and local networks that are core for economic development but, specifically, for civic communication and a new type of public engagement in an urban society.

Despite the rapid changes in global and local communicative spheres in cities, such as those in developing regions, most approaches for assessing societal development in these regions stems from the traditional perceptions of development, which relates back to colonial views of urban development. For example, Balbo (2014) highlights that since colonial times, common changes have occurred in urban societies, thus proposing a new way of thinking about urban regions, such as institutional reorganisation and policy capacity building. It is crucial that digital policy frameworks emerging in digital cities in developing regions exploit digital opportunities for citizens.

2.1 Conceptualising digital cities

Only a few debates address the concept of the city in terms of digitisation and technological growth, and mainly in the Western context. Some authors address the technology centrality of cities for all sorts of city life. Ishida (2002) sees the city as being digital to refer to the integration of digital technology into city activities such as business, parking space, and transport. Other scholars conceptualise the digital city in terms of citywide space that is linked to information infrastructure emerging as the driver of economy (Ding, Lin, & Sheng, 2005). This understanding implies the spread of IT technology in cities to spearhead the switch of economy, especially from industrial to an information dominated economy. However, a digital city is also conceptualised as a "smart city," a "social city," or in a view that understands the "city as interface." For example, Waal (2014) explains the philosophy behind the idea of the "smart city," viewing it in terms of basic elements such as a well-organised city, with good infrastructure, and beautiful and impressive buildings that are highly connected to the internet and digital technology. However, he argued that a smart city is more service oriented, as it shifts the relationship between culture and place by reflecting technological growth. Other scholars, such as Kitchin (2014, p. 2), view the 'smart city' as one that demonstrates "the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) to stimulate economic development and, on the other, the extensive embedding of software-enabled technologies into the fabric of cities to augment urban management." Additionally, Kitchin (2015) regards the "smart city" as a "digital" or "wired city" implying an inclusive city with access to technology. However, there is currently a new concept of the "smart city." Glasmeier and Christopherson (2015) understand the "smart city" as a place that is transformed by the multi-dimensional applications of technologies in which the micro-electronic and computer sectors drive the urban economy. Additionally, network growth in cities that allows social connectivity has given rise to another

perception of a city. Waal (2014) presents the view of the "social city" as one that focuses attention on social life by the effective use of digital media to connect people in the city who have similar interests. In viewing the city in terms of network connectivity, he proposes "city as interface," which defines a new public sphere in the urban society resulting from the growth of digital media. All these city studies translate the adoption of internet connectivity into various cities' practices.

Traditionally, scholarly debates in the West have highlighted the role of digital technology not only in terms of space-making, but of "place"-making. Saunders, Rutkowski, and Vogel (2011) argue that digital technology enables placemaking by creating mediation and virtual world. Offline social events are effectively organised online where digital phenomena create a meetup point (Polson, 2015). I argue that mediation of place through technology is a modern digital practice in 'city societies' – especially in developing regions – as it provides the best option for geographically distant families and friends, allowing participants to imagine the real world in the online world. Cities are regarded as pioneers in adopting new digital changes that will further spread towards non-urban regions. For example, "leaders in many cities in China made efforts to establish a comprehensive high-speed broadband network, promote e-government and e-commerce, and create an environment for innovation in information technology" (Ma, Chung, & Thorson, 2005, p. 29). Such efforts imply that city governments in developing regions also have the chance to react positively towards globalisation and digitisation of various social practices.

However, digital connectivity in cities creates a transformation in the foundation of the structure of nation states due to increased globalisation. Such increased network connectivity also has implications for the formation of new types of public communication in developing

countries. Specifically, processes that are associated with the formation of transnational public communication and deliberation relate to city space in developing regions. These processes reveal dichotomies of supra- and sub-national public spheres that emerge in digital cities of developing countries in a similar way as in Western world regions. Volkmer (2003, p. 14) argues that "the national public sphere is transformed by a new dialectical relationship between supra- and sub-national political contexts," which is an emerging node for civic capacity building taking shape in cities in developing countries, yet these processes are rarely addressed in conceptual debates or empirical studies. These processes constitute new, complex transnational public/civic network spaces in the digital city, not only as a communicative space, but also as a new space for deliberation. For example, Mustapha (2012, p. 39) proposes (in a Western context) that "the promotion of deliberative democracy built on an understanding of multiple and competing public spheres becomes necessary." Such a space for political engagement, which is crucial for societal development, especially in digital cities, is not well captured in developing regions. Often overlooked, it is a digital city space allowing connections within cities and with other world regions in various social practices, such as civic engagement practices for economic development. However, 'nodes' in cities enable the formation of a new organisational structure. It is important to understand the dimension of the 'node' and the implications of the new structures of digital globalisation in developing world regions in order to realise its implications for the economic development of cities.

2.2 The city as a complex digital 'hub'

There are three processes in developing regions that contribute to the digital ecology of the city. The first is investment in technologies, especially mobile telecommunication companies, which are critical for operating and extending communication networks across the regions for

promoting rapid development in the new era. Mobile networks are vital to enhancing internet access and digital development for communication, especially in cities. The second is the emerging middle class in cities, who drive the technological development. This group promotes technological revolution by delivering basic technological development inputs through technology innovation. As a result, the new technology for societal development is enabled. Wiedenhofer (2013, p. 283) supports that "…innovation, science and technology must be considered as key enabling and driving factors for competitive and knowledge-based economies." Thus, supporting innovative measures for science and technology is critical for understanding digital development, especially in cities that are emerging as 'digital hubs' for various digital functionalities across the city space. The third process relates to investment in network infrastructures in cities, in contrast to non-city regions to promote digitalisation. Studies by the Think Tank GSMA Intelligence (2015) consider that investment in network infrastructure closely relates to the capability of returning the investment cost, which is relatively viable in urban as opposed to rural areas in developing regions. This, in turn, impacts network access and digital growth in city regions.

Based on these developments, it needs to be acknowledged that especially cities in developing regions are not only national digital hubs but are located within globalized networks. As Bunnell (2013, p. 4) posits, "cities form a new part of transnational network connectivity in a global scope rather than being merely regional in scope." The digital activities in cities increase the territorial flow of information, goods, and services globally, therefore enhancing the growth and participation of cities in the digital network (Bunnell, 2013; Sassen, 2002; UNCTAD, 2018). I further argue that cities are becoming a central place for digital practices between the national territory and the global spaces in developing regions, and it is this angle that requires further conceptualization and research.

Global digital communication accelerates the adoption of digital social practices in cities, especially in developing countries, which therefore improves human activities in these regions (Jorgenson & Vu, 2016). For example, today many cities in developing regions are becoming more globalised as they embed network connections in activities, ranging from individual, professional, and business practices to improvements of public services. This makes cities both more connected and more exposed to "the world." Simone (2013, p. 248) argues that, in the case of developing countries such as Indonesia and the major city Jakarta, "the movement of people, energy, water, traffic, services, goods, and information through the city is increasingly shaped and regulated by network connectivity." Such networked movement implies that cities are key to controlling digital functions. Simone (2013) also argues that Jakarta links economic activities, such as banks and marketing services, to the network system regionally, nationally, and globally. Such an immediate connectivity represents the possibility for a city to engage in globalized digital economic transactions with other regions outside the city territory.

However, while the economic benefits of digital networked interaction in cities of developing countries is addressed at least by some scholars (see above), the role of cities as digital hubs for other practices, such as digital governance and civic interaction, is rarely addressed in academic debates. Baud, Scott, Pfeffer, Sydenstricker-Neto, and Denis (2014) argue that network connection enables a significant transformation of urban governance in cities such as in India, Brazil, Peru, and South Africa since digitisation is integrated into urban planning for efficiency and effectiveness. However, the city also enables what I describe as new "linking" practices, which are first established in a city of a developing region and then spread to other regions of a country, and transnationally. As Bunnell (2013) argues, city network connectivity in Southeast Asia has increased the transnational urban connections among cities across the region, which allows cities to be viewed as global rather than merely regional. Bunnell (2013,

p. 27) observes that “flows of people, money and ideas extending from cities in Southeast Asia to cities beyond that region, and even trans-continentally, arguably imply that areal framings melt into network geographies which are global in scope.”

As Dick (2005, p. 272) observes, “flows of people, goods, money and information reveal that modern Southeast Asia is a network of cities, a subset of broader networks of cities.” He further examined the role of Asian cities from network connection perspectives when re-imagining Southeast Asia without national boundaries. He argued that the “main cities and their hinterlands’ enable “trans-national interactions in the movement of people, goods, money and information” (Dick, 2005, p. 251). It implies that many cities in the Asian regions may be considered as global cities, rather than only regional or national sites, which may significantly impact global cities’ economic, political, and social lives. For example, Bunnell (2013) views cities as the most significant economic sites. This is attributed to the growth of digital functions, network connection, and people’s engagement in the digital system. Dick (2005, p. 14) argues that “the management and servicing of much of the global economic system take place in a growing network of global cities and cities that might best be described as having global city functions.” Thus, the city can be viewed as a hub in terms of the network connection roles it plays in social and economic lives. However, Graham (2008) regards the increased digital functions of cities as drivers of new links between developed and developing countries, such as building strong online connections among governments and non-government sectors. Such global and local network relations offer a potential space for transcontinental collaborations among these governments for societal development.

Digital connectivity has resulted in the destabilisation of the territorial domain of city spaces (Dovey, 2010); however, it is also necessary for facilitating city development. The established

national laws and policies are currently disrupted by global network connections, such as networks in cities, and there is a need to challenge the global network in the national territorial system. Graham (2002) considers that digitisation now enables the extension of powers and control beyond regional, national, and international territories, into the global space, which causes national territorial frameworks to melt away. There is a perception that "the global network has taken for granted the national system through extension and bound of national territory" (Bunnell, 2013, p. 8), which can be linked to the process of deterritorialisation. A new focus on examining how cities in developing regions are embedded in global digital connectivity is required, especially in terms of organisational governance structure and the implications of this for the city's social practices for economic development.

2.3 Conceptualising social practices in cities in developing regions

Network penetration relates to the number of internet and mobile communication users in each population. In developing countries, mobile companies continue to expand network penetration by improving network infrastructure that enhances the scope of internet access in these regions. Poushter et al. (2018) note the increase in internet use in developing countries via mobile devices over the past few years, which is key for the adoption of digital social practices in the new era. It is important to conceptualise social practices since the conceptualisation varies among scholars. For example, Esfeld (2003) argues – in broad terms – that social practices closely relate to the broader scope of social norms, which describe community rules, commitments, and preferences that coordinate and bound practices. I argue, however, that social norms and values that guide social practices vary among societies. For example, distinctions need to be made in terms of what social practices entail. However, some authors feel that 'social' and 'practices' are similar concepts. For example, Reckwitz (2002, p. 250)

conceives that "a practice is social, as it is a 'type' of behaving and understanding that appears at different locales and at different points of time and is carried out by different body/minds." This understanding implies that social practices entail human action and practices. Other scholars, such as Kirsch (2014) and Rouse (2007), regard social practices as social interaction. For example, their perception of social practices relates specifically to an act of social engagement. This study regards social practices in terms of social interaction within cities, which implies civic and economic actions and preferences among two or more people that involve digital engagement in a local or global community.

However, social practices at large, as well as social interaction, are embedded in digital globalisation. Digital social practices are especially happening in cities in African regions, where network connectivity is significant. It is important to understand that digital social practices across cities reflect new societal practices in the digital era. Network connectivity transforms traditional norms of social practices to new digital practices, thus "…increases the number of social activities and interactions taking place online" (Lingel, 2017, p. 1). In the digital era, for example, traditional dissemination of information encounters new experience as Lingel (2017, p. 3) notes that "one facet of traditional funeral practices that has been fundamentally altered by technological change involves disseminating news of someone's passing." Such an instantaneous practice of disseminating information implies that the digital sphere offers a space for engagement and interaction despite time and space. As the new communicative sphere is emerging through new media, it is important to reflect how this space transforms new norms of social practices for societal development in cities. Such transformation is also important for developing new norms, such as citizens' engagement in the digital sphere in African cities for economic development.

While the transformation of social practices is addressed in scholarly research, the transformation of social practices of developing countries through digital globalisation is rarely addressed. As indicated earlier, studies address healthcare, education, etc., but not the transformation that is taking shape in urban centres of developing countries. Processes that are establishing new forms of societal practices, such as social engagement, action, and interaction, are increasingly performed digitally, which I regard as a more interactive way of social practice than non-digital practices, since instant and inclusive communicative spheres are enabled.

Digital economic and financial practices

Cities in developing countries are emerging as hubs for all sorts of social practices and interactions, ranging from cultural norms to economic activities and political practices. The increased network connection in cities is changing societal interaction. For instance, cities, including African cities, are said to be the space where most of the online global transactions take place (Sassen, 2000). I argue that city networks can be linked to changes in individual economic practices in the cities. Sassen's perception of world cities identify the new dimension of cities in developing regions that constitute world cities, as they are digitally connected to numerous globalised spheres, ranging from financial connections through money transfers and banks, to economic spheres of new trade systems, to public civic spheres of interaction.

However, most studies address developing countries and cities in developing countries in the perspective of economic and financial capacity building. For example, network connectivity is transforming traditional ways of doing business in Africa into electronic spheres, which can be considered as the most advanced business practices. Also, it has changed the traditional social practices of selling and buying, thus enabling individuals who reside in cities to engage in new practices such as e-trade, which is an easier and more convenient method of trading. Mwangi

and Kuria (2011) argue that internet connection in the city of Nairobi can now provide potential information such as images, location, price comparison, and other important descriptions to individuals who want to rent a house or buy a property using GIS software. Considering that this saves time for both seller and buyer, I propose that it improves individual business practices within the city. These changes further relate to network connectivity in cities, which transforms the economy into modern practices. It is noted that online shopping in Lagos is mostly adopted by individuals who do not see the necessity of visiting the stores physically (Abiodun, 2013). This can be regarded as a more convenient, as well as a more private way of shopping. However, unlike in the developed nations, where "new users buy online almost from the day they get connected" (Castells & Cardoso, 2006, p. 310), online shopping practices are still not very popular in cities in developing regions such as Africa due to inadequate regulatory frameworks such as cybercrime law to protect online customers (Abiodun, 2013; Heeks, 2002). Such practices imply that, when African cities are enabled with a regulatory framework that protects online customers, there is a possibility of a high increase in online business practices. However, this can relate to the dynamics of national territory frameworks in terms of digital social practices.

On the other hand, network connectivity in the city of Cairo has enabled the digitisation of marketing practices such as e-commerce to grow very rapidly. For example, practices such as online car booking in Cairo is argued to be enhanced by the city network connection (Barnickel, Dib, & Bansal, 2016). Unlike the traditional practices of physically visiting public transport centres, internet communication has enabled city commuters to improve their practices for moving from point to point more efficiently using the online car booking service. The city network both saves time, by providing secure communication among customers and service providers, and connects the city with nearby regions such as Bahrain, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and

the United Arab Emirates. It further enables its link with other regions of the world, and therefore makes Cairo city more globally connected. This link relates to the view of the city network as a connection point to the outside territorial boundary and the modernisation of Africa's social practices in cities.

Regarding the fact that "global cities are strategic sites for the management of the global economy and the production of the most advanced services and financial operations" (Sassen, 2000, p. 21), internet penetration in African cities has further enabled firms to adopt e-marketing to improve their practices and performance. The city of Lagos is argued to be not far behind in adapting to digital marketing practices as a response to city network connectivity. Asikhia (2009, p. 245) asserts that "e-marketing is gradually gaining prominence as a tool for competition in Nigeria." This practice implies that city network connectivity can enable businesses in Lagos and other cities to expand their markets far beyond the border. As is argued, the city network has made the economy in cities to be practised more digitally, and able to operate beyond national territories. Sassen (1991) considers that when global communication grows, the firms also expand their markets and global operation. This practice can be viewed as the electronification of cities' economic practices enabled by the city network. The city of Accra, in Ghana, has proven its e-marketing service across the border as Simmons (2016, p. 2) argues that, "e-marketing supports customers both in Ghana and diaspora to transact business without border." The cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Louis, and Kigali are also recorded to have significantly adopted digital practices such as e-marketing. Thus, it can be considered that the more cities are connected to the network, the more they transform their economic practices and increase their operation in cyberspace, which contributes to the melting away of the existing national territorial structure.

City networks have also enabled internet banking practices, in terms of the impact of network connection for African banks located in cities. Internet banking is a system where a bank connects with its customers and offers banking services via online network communication (Sunday, 2014). Taking advantage of improved network infrastructure in cities such as Johannesburg and Kampala, banks are heavily investing in the internet as a way to improve service delivery (Molapo, 2008; Musiime & Ramadhan, 2011).

Thus, the city can be viewed as an active centre for digital practice. For instance, Felix, Rebecca, and Igbinoba (2015) argue that internet banking in Lagos performs better than traditional methods of banking, and provides the most current information. This practice can be regarded as a new transformation enabled by city network connection, via which customers can access up-to-date bank information and control their bank accounts at any time, provided there is internet connection. This illustrates a new way of dealing with banking services even beyond territorial boundaries. Further, internet banking has enabled customers to perform online banking services such as making payments or money transfers, viewing statements, or downloading their transaction history in a convenient way, regardless of place and time (Felix et al., 2015). I regard this as a great revolution in the banking systems of cities in Africa. Today, the use of e-payments and Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia is considered a common electronic service in the city (Sherferahu & Gezu, 2016). I consider, however, that the inter-territorial network connection enhances dynamics in the structure of the existing national territory.

In the city of Kigali in Rwanda, for example, digital economic practices such as mobile money is common and convenient as it offers deposit, withdrawal, and transfer services with minimal cost (Argent, Hanson, & Gomez, 2013). This implies that the network connection in cities

improves transaction practices for an affordable price despite the distance and location. Similarly, Mbiti and Weil (2011) describe the explosive growth of mobile banking in Nairobi, where a large proportion of the city's population receives money through mobile money transfer, commonly known as M-PESA. Another mobile banking service – similar to M-PESA – m-money is preferred in Addis Ababa (Sherferahu & Gezu, 2016). Since an individual can receive a money transfer from any part of the world using mobile money, I argue that network connection in cities is an essential aspect of transforming economic practices and therefore linking cities across and outside national territories.

However, the operation of city activities beyond the national territory relates to the denationalisation of the government territorial structure. Considering that Africa receives huge money transfers from outside national territories (Mohapatra & Ratha, 2011), Western Union money transfer enables territorial links, therefore connecting people in African cities, such as Nairobi, Johannesburg, Lagos, and Kampala, with other cities in the world where the transfer is made (Ersek, 2013). Thus, city networks can be regarded as strategic centres for digital economic practices that connect individual wellbeing, civic, and economic practices across national territories. Western Union enables consumers around the globe to access services through various means, such as banks, mobile phones, or the internet, contributing to the digitisation of business practices. And city networks connect individuals who reside outside the city territory. For example, cities like Accra and Addis Ababa receive annual remittances from the African diaspora through Western Union money transfers (Mohapatra & Ratha, 2011). City networks serve as agencies through which economic dimensions are internationally communicated, regardless of the national territory. Similarly, Barnickel et al. (2016, p. 25) indicate that "digital can have a significant impact on the economy and society." This notion highlights that the space of the city is key to societal development, since individuals in the city

are digitally communicating widely. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the city as a centre in which the digital economy is established.

Since the internationalisation of national economies takes place in most cities through digitisation, cities are the pioneers through which traditional national economic practices are transformed. This enables the economy to be communicated in a digitally networked system, which I view as a practice that deformalises the existing national territorial domain. However, to understand its implications for the economic development in cities, it is important to understand how the dynamics in the territorial domain are created through these digital practices that are currently happening in Africa cities.

2.4 Sassen's conceptualisation of globalisation and digital assemblages

As a new conceptual approach is required to conceptualise the city in developing regions in the context of trans-nationalisation, Sassen's theory provides a clear grounding from which to understand where the city is 'breaking up' and where it requires a re-constitutionalisation through a focus on new dimensions of "territory," "authority," and "rights." In analysing contemporary globalisation in the digital context and its implications for a city's economic development, it is useful to refer to the sociological conceptions of the city, as addressed by Sassen's theory of globalisation and a conceptualisation of "digital assemblages."

Sassen (2000, p. 2) asserts that "activities, firms, markets, and physical infrastructure is concentrated in cities, thus allows us to see the actual role played by cities in a global economy." This suggests that cities are global economic 'hubs' where digital economic practices take place. Similarly, Castells and Cardoso (2006, p. 8) regard network connectivity

as a new practice in the economy termed “network economy.” Sassen argues that some of the key domains of transformation are conceptions of “territory,” “authority,” and “rights” (Sassen, 2006). These domains reveal power dynamics and begin to form a new structure of states in the context of globalisation that supersede the traditional state organisation. Sassen’s perception of the power domains of “authority,” “territory,” and “rights,” reformulated in the context of globalised implications, could serve as a blueprint to assess the diverse formations of ‘digital assemblage’ in the city space.

Sassen argues that these key domains have always been discussed in “national terms”; however, with the growth of global communication networks and increase in digitisation in the past two decades, we now see the breaking up of these traditional perceptions (Sassen, 2006, p. 143) in many nations. Particularly in developing nations this argument is relevant. These dynamics of ‘digital assemblage’ inform societal practice, embedded in networked systems of global nodes in cities.

Sassen’s work on globalised city ecologies is based on a larger theory of reassessing dimensions of “rights” relating to the transformation of national law due to new globalised processes. For example, she posits that national governments have transformed the government structure, laws, and policies to allow global firms to gain legal power and function within nation states. This transformation implies that the operations of states in terms of rights reflects the global scale, which Sassen regards as “denationalization” (Sassen, 2006, p. 2). However, in the African context, this happened mainly during the colonial time and early after independence where countries were in early stages of national development plans. In her earlier work, Sassen (2005, p. 32) posits that “global processes are at least partly embedded in national territories, such a focus introduces new variables in current conceptions about economic globalization and

the shrinking regulatory role of the state." This indicates the need for new conceptions of economic development in the digital era, especially in terms of understanding the public sphere. For example, she highlights the rise of global regulators and organisations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), which she understands as new actors interacting with cities as global nodes. Regarding the global city and digital network, Sassen (2005, p. 29) highlights that:

> the growth of global markets for finance and specialized services, the need for transnational servicing networks due to sharp increases in international investment, the reduced role of the government in the regulation of international economic activity, and the corresponding ascendance of other institutional arenas—notably global markets and corporate headquarters—all point to the existence of a series of transnational networks of cities.

This theorisation reflects global cities as nodes for various digital functionalities, mostly business and economic activities, result from the globalised digital network. Therefore, it is important to analyse the importance of such transnational space in global cities as 'nodes' for economic development in specific ways, such as civic public communication.

Denationalisation processes

Sassen's theory claims that "in the current global connectivity in various practices, it has become common for national governments to enact rules originated from private actors without collaboration among governments" (Sassen, 2006, p. 203), which she regards as problematic for democratic participation in the nation state government. I argue that it fragments the whole state's procedures in terms of participatory decision-making. Sassen posits that privatisation is the denationalization of state (Sassen, 2006, p. 228), which weakens the legislative and authoritative capacity of the state. She further claims, the "possibility" of the "internet to

override national jurisdiction" (Sassen, 2006, p. 330), thus eliminating the meaning of the existing state law system. All these are relating to the "disassembling" and "reassembling" of the state law system, which implies that the rights in the nation be de-assembled and become denationalised.

Concerning the domain of "authority," Sassen's theory proposes that "to some extent, nation states are producing the necessary instrumentalities that enable new forms of authority" (Sassen, 2006, p. 233). While she considers network connectivity as crucial for the new form of authority, she is concerned about its effectiveness, because "the increase of global networks and digitisation of economic and political activities raise the question of the effectiveness of the current framings of state authority and democratic participation" (Sassen, 2006, p. 328). This view relates to the denationalisation of the state authority. She argues that global network connectivity has enabled transformations in the framing of the state authority: from the old formal national hierarchy to new ones which are not formalised. In this sense, the old formal practices of state authority become "destabilized" (Sassen, 2006, p. 326). However, Hoffmann and Zumbansen (2008) argue that Sassen did not consider how the old national hierarchy got assembled into different formation across time. Nevertheless, it is important to realize that, despite the focus on earlier decades when understanding current development practices, the focus on the role of global network in destabilisation of formal national hierarchy to create new understanding is key when conceptualizing developing societies in the current global digital age. This perception can be linked to the redefinition of the state's function and emergence of new structures enabled by the growth of global nodes, particularly in cities. The theory claims that nation states have increasingly engaged in corporate privatisation regimes, which are highly concentrated in cities (Sassen, 2006, p. 69-70), thus, network infrastructures are progressively transformed from public to privately owned. However, the effectiveness of this

new transformation in state authority is still debatable, as it raises questions about the impact of state regulatory capacity and its potential capability to undermine the authority of the nation states (Sassen, 2006, p. 334-335). In this sense, the theory posits that network connectivity raises questions about its ability to exclude the state authority in its global operation in activities such as deregulation. It considers two situations that can explain the state authority in deregulation practice; one is that the internet is regarded as a "decentralized space" in which no external authority can be structured, and the second is that the "internet is closely linked to legal and political" issues (Sassen, 2006, p. 330). Sassen claims that these situations enable the internet to override nation states' regulations.

The most dominant domain, which forms the focus of this study, is the "territorial" domain, although I argue that all three domains highlighted in Sassen's approach – "territory," "authority," and "rights" – are interlinked, and the specific linkage has different implications for the nation's growth. Sassen's theory considers the relation between state territory and the digital network in the sense that "…digital technology eliminates territory and function outside national jurisdiction, autonomous from state authority and hence potentially subversive of state authority" (Sassen, 2006, p. 325). This notion implies the possibility of digital activities to override national laws or policies while allowing global regulations to take over, which also can be linked to a city's organisation structure. This view implies that digital globalisation controls state authority. Some scholars, however, argue that states maintain their position and control globalisation. For example, Sørensen (2004) argues that globalisation offers a transformation away from governance in the context of national government towards multilevel governance at overlapping national, local and international levels. This implies that globalisation enables a new level of governance that challenges democracy of sovereign states with the expense of promoting globalisation especially in cities of the developing regions such

as Africa. Also, Sassen argues that, if the digital space is assumed to be global, and not national, then there is the possibility that global policies and regulations, rather than national ones, could dominate digitisation. Such a notion implies that globalisation works beyond the national authority in a higher level that is complex for nation states to manage. The theory proposes that "the fact a network is global does not mean that it all has to happen at the global level; however, the network's globality can function as a political support and resource for the localities that constitute that network" (Sassen, 2006, p. 339), which is similar to a city's network practices. This gives an implication that digital network, which is mainly global, functions as a key element to transform local practices despite of the time and space.

Cities as spaces of 'assemblages'

The concept of assemblages implies a mix of relations within a territorial context through the sphere of a global network (Dewsbury, 2011). Anderson and McFarlane (2011, p. 124) add that assemblage is heterogeneous, meaning that it also includes "human and non-human elements; organic and inorganic; and technical and natural." Farias and Bender (2010) explain assemblages in cities through a focus on a heterogenous "network," "space" and "practices," which signifies the moving away from narrow urban perspectives that mainly address domains such as "space," "culture," "politics," and "economy," in which, as they argue, the network space causes the overlapping of these domains. In terms of power and structure, Anderson and McFarlane (2011) emphasise that assemblage is defined by plurality rather than centrality. Although a number of scholars perceive assemblage from a heterogeneous perspective (Dewsbury, 2011; Farias & Bender, 2010; Li, 2007), the theoretical debate on assemblage also focuses on homogeneous aspects of the network space. For example, Wise (2013) notes that assemblage as a whole is a process of "organising," "arranging," and "fitting" together identity

and claims in a territory within a networked sphere; however, I view that individual perceptions in the public sphere are not homogeneous and that their differences are key to societal development. Similarly, Bueger (2014) considers assemblage directly and holistically, referring to the sense of sameness. However, Ballantyne (2007) contends that assemblage cannot be put together homogeneously simply because network connectivity generates a new identity. This study positions the notion of assemblage from the perspective of heterogeneity, which is explicitly applied in the local city, Dar es Salaam. Baker and McGuirk (2017) support that assemblage can be applied in different contexts, such as urban development, industrial production, and public participation – which is particularly relevant to this study. I concur that the concept of "assemblage" can be adopted differently, and argue that there is no one correct way to adopt the concept. Kamalipour and Peimani (2015) note that assemblage thinking is likely to contribute to understanding the complexities of contemporary cities in the globalised network. Assemblage thinking, for this study, is employed to understand the processes of 'deterritorialisation', 'denationalisation', 'node', and 'hub' in the global digital context. These conceptual processes are critical for understanding notions of development and policy approaches necessary for conceptualising development in the digital city of Dar es Salaam.

Through assemblages, Sassen's theory considers the "possibility of cities and global digital networks to emerge as nodes in transboundary politics as a result of complex institutional development" (Sassen, 2006, p. 340). For example, "actors such as private institutions are increasingly emerging as subject to international laws and actors in international relations" (Sassen, 2006, p. 340). She argues that such "transformation of the component of the international relationships and the destabilization of the older hierarchy is producing a new type of territories" (Sassen, 2006, p. 346). This transformation can be linked to the deterritorialising of globally connected cities and transboundary processes, which Sassen

regards as the domain of politics. Thus, understanding this emerging territorial space in cities from global nodes, that surpass traditional territories, has implications for economic development in cities.

Sassen's work is grounded in the analysis of new complex formations of "assemblages," the disassembling of the three important power domains of societies – "territory," "authority," and "rights" – in explaining globalisation processes in the digitisation context. Sassen relates these to the national and the global, in which cities can be regarded as merging points that create global nodes. The theory represents the idea that "territory," "authority," and "rights" were historically formed by the modern nation-state for the purpose of national development, however, state practices have undergone changes such as digitisation and become denationalised due to the increased global nodes in cities. However, Hoffmann and Zumbansen (2008) argue that Sassen did not consider the historical analysis of the formation of 'territory', 'authority', and 'rights' as building blocks for denationalisation. I argue, despite that history is powerful for a particular formation, globalisation entails complex processes for nation-states to unpack systems of 'territory,' 'authority,' and 'rights.' This partial "disassembling," as put forward by Sassen, "denaturalize[s] what has often unwittingly become naturalized – the national constitution of territory, authority, and rights" (Sassen, 2006, p. 6). The theory uses the notions of "assembling" and "disassembling" to analyse the relationship between these elements with the global and the nation states, which will also be applied in this study to analyse the territorial dynamics of global nodes in cities and its implications for the civic development in African cities.

Some scholars have identified the need to assess the territorial dynamics in terms of public sphere for civic development in the new era. For instance, Srinivasan et al. (2019, p. 3) note the need to:

> "reflect on how communications and media have been important threads within the longstanding study of authority and political mobilisation, diversities in social organisation and ideas of citizenship, limits and possibilities of state control, and global historical relations between Africa and the world, to see that the disruptive effects of digital transformations across the continent require serious attention."

Addressing the public sphere for civic development is important for the economic development of cities in the African region.

Regarding the internet as a private entity even when operating in the sphere of nation states, Sassen claims that it "undermines the capacity of the states in terms of policy making and regulatory framework" (Sassen, 2006, p. 329), which may impact the development of states. However, this raises the question of the "autonomy" of nation states in the digital assemblages where nation states are regarded to be less autonomous in the practice of the digital assemblages (Sassen, 2006, p. 325). I argue that a state's autonomy is key to societal development. Sassen's theory revises the notion of "territory" in contexts of "global digital assemblages" (Sassen, 2006, p. 326). Such a perception opens a new dimension of nation states to engage with digital assemblages, for example through digital policies that relate to global digital infrastructures, yet, are implemented inside national territory. Sassen specifically argues that the growing world digitisation has been caused by national deregulation of various forms of digital globalisation. This includes deregulation of governments' regulators while allowing international regulators to override nation-states. She regards technology as a crucial element in the facilitation of political engagement rising from the digital network. She posits that

“technologies are only one factor that facilitates political engagement on the part of ‘actors’ arising out of or constituted as digital networks: typically, these are not formal political actors” (Sassen, 2006, p. 326). While in the dynamic of the territorial domain the city is no longer conceived as national but transnational, Sassen proposes that this space “is enormously important to develop forms of participatory politics that de-centre and sometimes transcend national political life, and to learn how to practice democracy across borders” (Sassen, 2006, p. 308). Such a view implies that transnational communication in digital cities promotes different types of political power and political debate in the country, which is key for economic development. Here the role of transnational space in civic engagement emerges as key. As the territorial domain is extended across the world through digital communication, specifically in digital cities, the notion of “post-national citizenship” also arises (Sassen, 2006, p. 308). Such a view relates to deterritorialization of nation states boundary by digital network. This notion is crucial for citizens across nations in addressing issues of global concerns for societal development. In stressing the role of cities in transboundary networks, she further puts forward that “we also can engage in democratic practices that cross borders and engage the global from within the national and through national institutional channels” (Sassen, 2006, p. 308), which stresses the need for institutional reorganisation, such as of policy decision practices, in the digital era.

Within globalisation studies, Sassen’s theory is the most cogent conceptual framework that enables the understanding of globalisation in the digital context and the formation of world cities. She paves the way for understanding cities in terms of cross-border communication and how digital cities can be approached. The theory uses the term “transboundary activities” to explain dynamics in the territorial domain, and how these dynamics can be re-constitutionalised by nation states. Sassen considers global cities as significant for dynamics in institutional

frameworks, as she points out that the "global city has emerged as a strategic site for innovations and transformations in multiple institutional domains, including the elements of a new political economy" (Sassen, 2006, p. 69-70). Sassen considers cities as an assembly point; however, Hoffmann and Zumbansen (2008) criticise Sassen for ignoring the nation and the global as the same assemblage of territory, authority, and rights. However, Sassen regards cities as 'global' cities where most deceiceive roles take place which reveals that she has taken on board the assemblage of global within local. The view that the global city is emerging as a strategic site for innovation is key in assessing how the space of the city plays a vital role as a policy innovation site for nation states. Therefore, Sassen's theory relates to this study since it provides the framework that guides understanding of the dimension of 'nodes' as a strategic aim to build the economy of cities in Africa, and a framework for assessing the territorial dynamic that can be approached for societal development. It enables the researcher to assess the current dynamics in the territorial domain among the global city and the local city, and further guides the response to the question of whether the increased digital connectivity in cities affects national economies positively or less positively.

Sassen regards this dynamic as "assemblage," and this study will specifically apply "assemblages" as a conceptual focus when assessing the digital city. This assemblage is the dynamic that is now transforming the state, and there is a need to conceptualise this, given our lack of understanding of what is happening in between the structures of the nations and globalisation.

The concept of the "assemblage" can be applied to understand the notion of emerging network connectivity, and helps to illuminate the globalised structure of network spatiality in cities. Thus, an understanding of assemblage in the global network-connected cities will help to avoid

the national territorial trap in the global structure and allow the new potentialities to emerge as built-in to Sassen's theory. This study identifies the emerging civic knowledge economy gained by youths through digital smartphone interaction, and the way the government of Tanzania manages such emerging knowledge in the context of digital policymaking.

Specifically, this study responds to two key questions: (1) what is the policy experts' understanding of digital social practices of youths in their interactions through smartphone communication in Dar es Salaam? And (2) what are the implications of digital interactions through smartphone communication in affecting policy decision practices for managing the knowledge economy in Dar es Salaam?

This chapter outlined the conceptual framework for understanding global cities as a "hub" for societal development in developing regions. Drawn from the Sassen's theory (2006), dimensions of "territory", "authority", and "rights" are critically discussed to conceptualise the networked city space for understanding communication and development. The following chapter introduces Dar es Salaam, Tanzania as a study area and presents the current state of new media regulation in the country.

3. Tanzania: a digital country

Africa is the fastest growing region in terms of digital connectivity. For instance, according to ITU (2018), internet connectivity has grown in this region from 6.5% in 2010 to 24.4% in 2018, reflecting unprecedented internet growth. At the same time, Dar es Salaam is emerging as the fastest growing city in Africa, moving towards becoming a megacity (Willeboordse, 2018), implying emerging digital opportunities in the city. Both development parameters, in terms of digital connectivity, are critical to the consideration of digital policymaking in the current globalised digital era, in which cities in developing regions are regarded as crucial areas for understanding digital policy innovations. As new thinking regarding institutional reorganisation in global cities is emerging as the basic development approach in the current era (Balbo, 2014), Dar es Salaam is pertinent to our understanding of this kind of digital space in terms of digital policy innovation for a city's economic development.

Tanzania, in East Africa, is regarded as a low-income country by the World Bank. This definition relies upon economic metrics, relating an annual GDP of 7.2 in 2017 (ADB, 2018). It borders Kenya and Uganda to the north; Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the west; Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique to the south; and the Indian Ocean to the east. This location implies not an isolated country, but one that is surrounded by different kinds of internationalisation. The country's population was 44.9 million in 2012 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013), while the land area covers 947,300 km^2.

Tanzania is rich in natural resources such as minerals, water, wildlife, mountains, and fertile land, however, it is claimed to be underutilised in transforming the standard of living to the majority of citizens (Pailler, Naidoo, Burgess, Freeman, & Fisher, 2015). The economy of

Tanzania is driven by agriculture, with a long-time government commitment to improve the agricultural sector's production capacity (Yanda et al., 2015). Agriculture practices reflect a vast rural culture across the region. Currently, sectors that supplement the agricultural economy are tourism, in terms of national parks and beaches; mining, of gold, Tanzanite, and diamonds; and industry sectors, such as construction, transport, oil, and gas. Ports and airports mainly facilitate trading activities across the border. The Swahili language is the primary national language in Tanzania, and other East African countries as well; however, there are more than a hundred other local languages spoken among regions in Tanzania. The English language is widely used for academic and business purposes, which reflects the earlier influence of British colonial rule.

Currently, Tanzania is formed by 26 mainland regions and the five regions of Zanzibar Island, making for a total of 31 administrative regions. However, the number of regions may change, since regions continue to occasionally be divided by government for administrative purposes. Dar es Salaam is the largest city in Tanzania, with an estimated population of 4.36 million in 2012, which is 10% of the total population. This is followed by Mwanza city, with 2.77 million people and the city of Mbeya which accounts for 2.7 million people (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Geographically, the country is classified into zones. The Coastal zone includes Tanga, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and Pwani. The Northern Highland zone comprises Arusha and Kilimanjaro, where the Kilimanjaro Mountain, the highest mountain in Africa, is located. The Lake zone regions are Tabora, Shinyanga, Kigoma, Kagera, Mwanza, and Mara. The Central zone regions include Dodoma and Singida. The Southern Highlands zone includes the cities of Iringa, Mbeya, and the region of Rukwa, while the Southern zone comprises Lindi, Mtwara, and Ruvuma. The country's regions experience high levels of migration, especially from rural to urban areas, which both increases urban populations as well

as the growth of cities across regions (Yanda et al., 2015). Also, there is wide regional variation in terms of growth, and only seven Tanzanian regions have reached the level of city. These include Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Zanzibar, Arusha, Mbeya, Tanga, and Dodoma. The official and legislative capital city of Tanzania is Dodoma; nevertheless, for a long time, Dar es Salaam has served the purpose of a capital city, leaving Dodoma to serve as a political city only. However, from 2016, under the new president, the government officially shifted its capital city to Dodoma, while Dar es Salaam remains a business city.

Historically, the name of 'Tanzania' derives from two countries, namely Tanganyika and Zanzibar. This relates the regional internationalisation wherein countries merge to fulfil political and economic purposes. Tanganyika was a German colony from 1850, and from 1919, a British colony, until its political independence in December 1961. Zanzibar was an Arab colony until the Zanzibar revolution in 1964. This history reflects an international influence that still has relevance today in areas such as international relations, law and policy decisions, the education system, and political administration. These countries united in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania under agreement between the first president of Tanganyika, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and the first president of Zanzibar, Abeid Karume, who together signed an act of union to bring their countries together as one nation.

Tanzania is a presidential democratic republic in which the government is closely linked to the union of these two states. The executive leader in Tanzania is the president who serves in both states, while the president of Zanzibar serves as the vice-president of both states. Both are elected by direct popular vote for 5-year terms (Ebele, 2016). However, while this government structure remains a constitutional issue, which impacts the power and authority of the union (Ebele, 2016), the direct popular vote implies people's representations and democracy in

governing the people. Although each state has the constitutional right to elect its president, vice president, and members of parliament, the media in both states are responsible for monitoring and reporting campaign and election processes. Following the general election in 2015, Ebele (2016) reports that youths were at the forefront of reporting and discussing election matters via social media. Such uses of social media, such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram, for political interaction between politicians and voters represents a dynamic, and increasingly interactive media sphere of political activities in Tanzania. Under the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), the president of the union appoints the prime minister of Tanzania, however, they should be drawn from members of the parliament. The country was a one-party state from independence in 1961 until 1995, when the country adopted a multiparty system, although the ruling party "Chama cha Mapinduzi" (CCM) – a Swahili name that translates to 'revolutionary party' – has dominated the politics of Tanzania for more than 50 years. Dagne (2011) points out that the ruling party, CCM, is sometimes accused of undermining expectations of opposition parties, especially by denying rally permits and facilitating party member detentions during election periods. Despite the variety of political parties, the leading parties are the Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), followed by the Civic United Front (CUF) (Dagne, 2011).

Tanzania is a relatively large country compared with bordering East African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and the Republic of Burundi. Regionally, these countries are beginning to develop a joint perspective through the establishment of the East African Federation. Tanzania is already politically and economically united with five East African sovereign states – Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, the Republic of Burundi, and South Sudan – which form the Federation of East African Community (EAC), although the newly formed Federation is still in transition to accomplish its planned objectives. Other issues for this new organisation

include the establishment of a customs union, a Common Market, a Monetary Union, and a Political Federation, all of which aim to achieve an economically competitive and politically stable East Africa (Sezibera, 2009). This integration implies that Tanzania is not an isolated country, but rather a regionally integrated country in which notions of internationalisation are reflected. In an effort to encourage movement among member countries, citizens can move freely across territories using the East Africa e-passport launched in 2016, with Tanzania following suit in January 2018 (Christabel, 2018). In building the most economically successful country, Tanzania is also regionally integrated with the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), which comprises 15 member countries located in the southern part of Africa. SADC is objectively committed to reducing poverty among member countries through the improvement of economic development and ensuring peace and security (Magakwe, 2013), relating to the internationalisation of economic development activities. Although Saurombe (2009) observes the variation between the objectives of member states and objectives for SADC integration, I argue that regional integration can be viewed as a first step towards the achievement of a rational response towards common economic and political challenges in African countries. It also relates to the networks of internationalisation of economic development among African countries.

3.1 Tanzania in networks of communicative internationalisation

3.1.1 Internationalisation in spheres of linear media – five phases of transborder communication

It is important to realise that until about 1885, communication was not related to electronic media, but to traditional media. For example, a horn-blow or bell-rings in villages and towns were commonly used to create public attention before information was announced. Tanzania's

internationalisation commenced with colonialisation processes. Although local newspapers existed, colonialisation introduced professionally run newspapers in Tanzania in the 19th century. To understand the internationalisation of media in Tanzania, it is essential to review five phases of communicative internationalisation, as these are the background of today's perception of digital internationalisation.

(1) German colonial internationalisation

The first phase of communicative internationalisation was the establishment of German colonial media from 1885 to 1919 to serve the interests of colonial rule and perpetuate colonial influence. Media publications in Tanzania were mostly produced in German to target the German colony. Not only the exclusion of other segments of society are relevant in this early phase of colonial internationalisation, but also the Western/European bias of these publications. German newspapers were printed more frequently, for example twice a week (Sturmer, 2008), than earlier local newspapers, which were printed only once a month (Sturmer, 2008). The frequent publication and the professional design contributed to the spread of German language and political perspectives, marking the colonial beginning of the country's media network internationalisation. Using a foreign language in published media in Tanzania began to dominate the civic sphere, and mainly served the interest of the German colonial administration. Media internationalisation during this phase also emerged via telegraphs and telephone lines, used by the German postal services. These also operated across borders in Kenya and Uganda, and between Europe and "the colony" via new infrastructures of telegraph lines. These phases of hegemonic structures of German colonial communication links are essential for the understanding of communicative internationalisation in Tanzania.

(2) Colonialisation by the British Empire

The second phase of communicative internationalisation commenced with the colonialisation by the British Empire and the introduction of empirical media types in 1919, which were in place until 1961. During German colonial rule from 1885 to 1919, British media were mainly used for the support of colonial administration, particularly in the spread of propaganda, aiming for strong support of local citizens for the British colony in Tanzania, but also in other East African countries. While German colonial media had internationalised its language in Tanzania, during this second colonial phase, news publications were mainly produced in English (Sturmer, 2008), that is, another foreign language. However, this practice marks communicative internationalisation through the English language in the country. English has on one hand forced citizens to communicate in the language of the colonising government but, on the other, has enabled citizens to communicate across the world. The newspaper editorial and reporting structure, as Rioba (2008) argued, followed the British model; newspaper editorial boards were led by a managing board of directors with few African representatives. This structure reveals another network of communicative internationalisation, the structural and editorial domination of Western powers in Tanzania.

Apart from the internationalisation of media via the administration of newspapers during the colonial time, internationalisation also extends beyond the media context in terms of its impact on culture, a transformation of the values of food preferences, and of lifestyle choices, such as dressing styles, which began to be aligned under British influence and were considered as 'modern.' However, it is crucial to highlight here that the process of internationalisation also develops 'cultural memory,' meaning that Western countries have left their cultural identity 'footprints' in their former colonies. These are still passed on from generation to generation today, and constitute cultural narratives, still relevant – yet, overlooked in research, for example

– in today's sphere of digital communication. Some authors, such as Muntsant (2018, p. 220), reflect these processes in the dimension of digital proximity, and suggest that in the digital era, "individuals continue to seek cultural proximity in the media so that global content coexists with content closest to citizens." Muntsant argues that the "internet era" creates a space to respond to unpacked issues stemming from earlier phases of internationalisation. However, in the Tanzanian context, earlier phases of traditional media internationalisation constitute non-interactive media, which is irrelevant to bringing citizens closer to government practices for societal development, especially in the current digital era. During these two media phases, that is, German and British colonial rule, the operation of media in Tanzania was mainly undemocratic.

(3) Between colonial and national communicative internationalisation

Following from German and British media, a shift towards local and early forms of national media evolved. Local entrepreneurs set up newspapers that used local languages, facilitating the emergence of a third, nationalist media phase in the country. Sturmer (2008, p. 1) argues that the "nationalist media was established to agitate for self-governance and respect for human rights." During this phase, diverse types of local media emerged first, for example, Swahili weekly newspapers such as *Habari za Leo Baragumu* and *Mwafrika.* Such media was believed to be a turning point towards independence and self-reliance (Rioba, 2008; Sturmer, 2008). While colonial media produced a first dimension of internationalisation, this phase had a focus on local/national communication and the production of a public sphere among local citizens.

(4) Post-independence, a focus on national communication in contexts of international infrastructures

Post-independence in 1961 constituted a fourth phase which was a reaction to earlier phases of colonial communicative internationalisation. This post-independence turned towards a full

focus that aimed to foster socialism and self-reliance for the country's development. In this phase, the media industry grew more rapidly, since both private and independent media continued to increase.

Following colonial regimes, newspapers 'as such,' which still exist today, were regarded as the oldest media, followed by radio broadcasting media. In the 1960s, when most African countries gained independence, governments followed their colonial broadcasting system. This is a form of media internationalisation in terms of structural institutional settings and perpetuating colonial legacies. For example, West African countries such as Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Niger followed the French broadcasting system, while East African countries, including Tanzania, followed the British broadcasting model (Beckett & Kyrke-Smith, 2007). This emphasises the dominance of the 'Western' understanding of media in the African continent as a kind of media internationalisation network during the postcolonial era. Unlike many African countries that established radio broadcasting earlier – such as South Africa in 1924, Kenya in 1927, Zimbabwe in 1933, and Congo in 1935 – Tanzania was introduced to radio broadcasting relatively late (Rioba, 2008). The first broadcasting radio in Tanzania was the Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), established immediately after independence in 1961 (Rioba, 2008). However, during the early phase of independence, the role of media was defined by the government. The government aimed to utilise media for propaganda purposes. Due to its oral character, radio was the dominant medium for public broadcasting, meeting the needs of the illiterate majority of citizens. Schumann (2013) notes that radio reached around 85% of the Tanzanian population in both rural and urban areas.

In addition to this national media structure, based on colonial broadcasting infrastructures, a new type of internationalisation emerged with the introduction of the BBC's radio (shortwave) broadcasting services in 1957 in Mombasa, Kenya, which was using the Swahili language and,

slightly later, moved to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The new programme, "AMKA na BBC," meaning "wake up with the BBC," was led by a local director in Tanzania. Further international radio broadcasting, such as the *Voice of America* and Germany's *Deutsche Welle*, were also linked to various local radio stations. Such international broadcasting services across countries emerged as a new network of media internationalisation, spreading the Western broadcasting model – specifically from Britain, America, and Germany – in Tanzania.

Satellites and communicative internationalisation in the age of television in Tanzania emerged in the late 20th century with the further implementation of television technology and the set-up of television stations. Independent Television (ITV) was the first television broadcaster in the country, and began airing in 1994 as a private broadcasting firm. Six years later, this was followed by the public television broadcaster (Schumann, 2013). The first public television station was introduced in Zanzibar in 1974, but it took more than two decades to reach mainland Tanzania, which had been relying on a satellite television network (Smeltzer 1998). This reliance reflects a process of media internationalisation wherein programmes from the US were aired in Tanzania, thus influencing, or "Americanising" citizens' lifestyles. Zanzibar was able to introduce television media earlier than Tanganyika due to its small territorial size, making it relatively easy to set up television network infrastructure. On the other hand, the government of the region of Tanganyika was reluctant to introduce television broadcasting because of the high operational cost. Television was mainly used to convey information and to educate. Today, television is most common in urban areas (Schumann, 2013).

Media internationalisation emerged specifically with the growth of media technology, allowing media content to reach viewers directly in their homes through satellite television networks. Straubhaar (2007, p. 80) stresses the role of television in internationalisation when considering:

> Global television is a complex system operating in different layers. One set of layers is cultural and geographic: global, transnational, cultural-linguistic spaces, geocultural regions, nations, global metropolises, states/provinces, and localities. Another set is functional … finance, technology, ideology, people/ migration, and ideology.

These two layers of globalisation operate differently, but are related. Unlike the second layer of internationalisation, which relates to people's engagement with technology, the first layer of culture and geography plays a crucial role in understanding the process of internationalisation during the establishment of television media in Tanzania. Murthy (2010) notes that satellite television heavily borrows broadcasting content from foreign broadcasters, rather than relying on local content. This situation has had implications for cultural change among communities. This also relates to the dimension of media internationalisation wherein media content from television programmes influence people's lives both socially and culturally, illustrating notions of "cultural imperialism." In 2012, Tanzania emerged as the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to switch television signals from analogue to digital (Schumann, 2013). The digital transition changed the formerly free-to-air television programmes into paid content, which impacts television viewers who cannot afford the cost. However, the digital switchover has motivated a number of media investors in the country (Schumann, 2013). This has been crucial for the growth of competitive media in Tanzania and the turning point for the new phase of media internationalisation.

Although these four phases of communicative internationalisation of the media environment can be distinguished, some of them should be understood as layers reaching only specific audiences. For example, while the coverage of media such as television and newspapers in rural areas remains minimal due to poor media infrastructure, radio broadcasting, being fairly widespread in most parts of the country, remains the number one source of media for most

citizens. That said, few radio stations have full national coverage. Beckett and Kyrke-Smith (2007) argue that radio in most African countries is still effective and wide-reaching in rural areas where television coverage is low. On the other hand, Murthy (2010) closely relates access to television in Tanzania with individual and family income and access to electricity. Thus, urban citizens, who typically have a higher income than rural citizens, and who have improved power infrastructure, usually own a television set (59% in 2010), in comparison to 14% in 2010 for the rural population with television media access (Murthy, 2010). At the same time, access to newspapers is reserved for citizens who are literate, mostly reaching the parts of the country with the road infrastructure adequate for circulation. Such accessibility implies that the potential of full media coverage in Tanzania is only accessible by a minority (30%) of the urban population, while the majority (70%) who live in rural areas (Schumann, 2013) are not fully included. Despite the substantial number of newspapers in the country, popular newspapers include *Nipashe* "inform me," *Majira* "seasons," *The Guardian*, and *The Citizen* – all private newspapers – and the state-run *Habari Leo*, meaning "today's news," and the *Daily News*. However, media infrastructures continue to improve, moving towards achieving the three leading roles of media: inform, educate, and entertain.

3.1.2 The traditional national media governance

For more than three decades, the government of Tanzania monopolised traditional media in terms of news content until the introduction of the multiparty system in 1992. At this point, private media such as privately owned newspapers, radio broadcasters, and television stations were introduced throughout Tanzania. This multiparty phase is regarded as crucial for the liberation of the country's media sector, which led to an increase in private media. The rapid growth of private media has reduced the dominance of state-run media somewhat, thus offering

relative freedom of the press (Moehler & Singh, 2011). However, it should be noted that the government continues to monitor, and issue warnings to, private media from time to time. It is important to highlight here that, under sovereign law, national governments are obliged to regulate media, since elements of media and communication are viewed as crucial to the national communication space. However, world governments differ in their regulation of media, and while some governments are strict in their control of the media space, others are not. Beckett and Kyrke-Smith (2007, p. 21) state that "most governments are committed in principle to provide the political will and establish the regulatory and enabling environment which allows media the freedom and 'space' to speak and act freely." The state primarily controls media in Tanzania, however, its constitution is designed to protect freedom of expression.

Article 18 of the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT, 1977) provides that:

> (1) Without prejudice to expression the laws of the land, every person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and to seek, receive and impart or disseminate information and ideas through any media regardless of national frontiers, and also has the right of freedom from interference with his communications.
>
> (2) Every citizen has the right to be informed at all times of various events in the country and the world at large which are important to the lives and activities of the people and also of issues of importance to the society.

Such a section implies that the government respects the freedom of the press; however, it does not entertain "freedom without limits," for the state also regulates press activities. For example, the Newspaper Act of 1976 (Act No. 3/1976) gives power to the President to prohibit any publication from being imported or printed when it is found to jeopardise national interest. In addition to that, it gives power to the Minister for Information to prohibit publication of a

newspaper. Printing, selling, and distribution of such prohibited publications will be regarded as an offence. Further, the Act gives media organisations the licence to print (UTR, 1976). The state also governs broadcasting services, based on the Broadcasting Services Act. (Act. No. 6/1993). The Act enabled the establishment of the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission which, under section 6(1), is responsible for issuing broadcasting licenses, as well as regulating and supervising broadcasting activities in the country (URT, 1993). It is under this section that the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) was established in 1995. Coming into effect in 1997, the MCT is responsible for enhancing the ethical standards for journalism and reporting media. Furthermore, under the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Act (Act No. 12/2003), the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA) was established. The TCRA is a quasi-independent government body with the mandate to provide regulatory services to the communications and broadcasting sectors in Tanzania. The body was established primarily for regulating electronic communication and postal services, as well as for managing the frequency spectrum in the country. Thus, joining forces with other government bodies such as the MCT and TCRA, as well as stable government media laws, the state plays a significant role in traditional media governance in Tanzania.

3.2 The fifth phase of internationalisation: from a national media environment towards an ecology of globalised digital connectivity and the formation of cities as digital 'hubs'

Digital media constitutes a new phase of internationalisation, in which citizens can create and share their stories in digital contexts such as social media, like Google and YouTube. Although, relating to India, Goel (2018) views this digital phase, in terms of the US-led domination of Facebook and Google, as a new phase of colonisation revealing the return of the earlier phase of colonisation. In supporting this context, Couldry and Mejias (2019, p. 337) note that, "just

as historical colonialism over the long-run provided the essential preconditions for the emergence of industrial capitalism, so over time, we can expect that data colonialism will provide the preconditions for a new stage of capitalism that as yet we can barely imagine, but for which the appropriation of human life through data will be central." This precondition brings an alert regarding the digital sphere. Thus, contextualising the space of digital communication is critical for understanding societal development in the globalised digital ecology. For example, understanding this new phase of internationalisation is crucial in addressing the city of Dar es Salaam as a global digital hub in which social media enables citizens to interact, tell their stories, and produce content, helping them to enact citizenship more actively than in the past. By addressing the long-term concerns of media imperialism, in which Western media dominated developing regions, the internationalisation of media in the digital era can play a decisive role in liberating citizens. It is important to highlight here that digital communication is emerging as a new phenomenon, helping individuals to acquire new status. As Muntsant (2018) argues, in terms of media content, the internet brings media closer to citizens. But the internet phenomenon presents a different layer of internationalisation in African cities than what is seen in Western countries. And today, citizens in African cities engage in all sorts of globalisation and internationalisation to influence national development using internet media.

Citizens in Tanzania, like in many other African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and South Africa, are increasingly digitally connected. As recent statistics estimate, more than 23 million people in Tanzania had access to the internet at the end of 2017 (TCRA, 2018). A majority (82%) of those who have internet access use their smart devices, such as smartphones. A report by the Tanzanian Telecommunication Regulatory Authority (TCRA) indicated that internet penetration reached 45% in 2017, up from 17% in 2012 (TCRA, 2018). This figure

can be regarded as unprecedented internet penetration in a developing country of just over 50 million people.

The increase in internet penetration can be attributed to the substantial decline in the cost of data, offered by the seven large transnational and national telecom companies, including *Vodacom Tanzania*, *Tigo Tanzania*, *Airtel Tanzania*, and *Halotel*. They collectively serve more than 23 million mobile phone and internet subscribers. Other telecom companies in the country are *Zantel*, *Tanzania Telecommunication Company* (TTCL), and *Smart*. These companies operate across the country; however, they differ in terms of coverage. Statistical data shows that *Vodacom Tanzania* is the largest mobile operator in the country with 32% of subscribers, followed by *Tigo* with 28%, *Airtel* with 27%, *Halotel* with 9%, *Zantel* with 3%, *TTCL* with 1%, and *Smart* with 0.3%, as of March 2018 (TCRA, 2018). Among the seven telecom companies, only TTCL is government-owned. Thus, digital growth in Tanzania is mostly attributable to private telecom companies. In 2009, the government established the National ICT Broadband Backbone (TICTBB) project, which extends internet connection from Dar es Salaam to all other regions of the country, and spreads connectivity to other neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zambia (CIPESA, 2015b). Although TICTBB aims to "install national fibre optic broadband connectivity that will enable to get fast, reliable and affordable internet connection in the country" (Sedoyeka and Sicilima, 2016, p. 62). The project has yet to reach its goals.

Despite government interest in further developing broadband connectivity, private international companies remain as the general providers of the internet in Tanzania. Furthermore, fibre optic broadband coverage is still not well-developed, only reaching the major towns and urban areas of mainland Tanzania. This implies that fibre optic broadband connectivity only contributes minimally to overall internet access in the country. The

concentration of private telecom operators in Tanzania offer competitive internet "bundle" packages, thus helping to lower data prices. For example, the three leading competitive telecom companies, *Vodacom Tanzania*, *Airtel*, and *Tigo*, reduced the price for internet access, enabling an increased demand for internet subscriptions (RIA, 2017).

The speed of internet services has kept increasing in Tanzania from the 2nd generation (2G) to 4th generation (4G). Currently, even considering that there is low internet penetration in the country, the demand for the 3rd generation (3G) and 4G is rapidly increasing, due to the high demand for data among users (BMI, 2018). This situation can be attributed to the high concentration of telecom investors in the country's most profitable business locations, such as cities and urban areas. Some telecom companies, such as *Vodacom Tanzania*, *Tigo*, and *TTCL*, have launched high-speed 4G coverage across cities to allow fast downloads, and thus enable Tanzanians to operate smoothly in the digital age (Ferrao, 2017). The 4G internet speed service in Tanzania is projected to reach 80.7% in the year 2020 (BMI, 2018), which is important for accelerating the country into the digital age in the near future. However, despite the efforts to improve the speed of internet service in the country, the speed of the internet among users will continue to vary, based on the adopted generation of internet.

Due to the international competition of telecommunication providers and the increasing role of smartphones as internet access points, Tanzania has witnessed an increase in the number of mobile phone users. The mobile penetration rate in Tanzania reached 39 million in 2017, up from 27 million in 2012, that is, from 61% to 78% (TCRA, 2018). This penetration can be regarded as a mobile-centred development accelerated by access to cheaper smart devices, such as smartphones, tablets, and laptops, among others. Ferrao (2017) argues that, through smartphones, customers' data services are increasingly accessible, making it easier for them to

connect to the internet. Statistics show that smartphone penetration in Tanzania was 11% in 2016 (Poushter, 2016); however, high penetration is observed in cities and urban areas. Furthermore, with a high proportion – 70% of the population – of youths in Tanzania, young people remain majority users of smartphone and digital communication and, thus, spearhead digitisation, especially in cities such as Dar es Salaam, which accounts for 10% of the country's total population (Awiti, 2016). This growth implies that youths in Dar es Salaam make up the dominant proportion of smartphone users. As is argued, youths in Africa are increasingly using the internet to engage in digital lifestyles, such as making new online friends and online dating (Kalyango & Adukumi, 2013). Furthermore, Sedoyeka (2016, p. 93) argues that, "being connected to the internet is currently becoming a key requirement for global citizens, especially for those who reside in cities and urban areas." This understanding implies that youths in Dar es Salaam embody the spirit for global citizenship more than other citizens in the country, which is significant in the modern governance system. All the above developments have attracted more subscribers to internet services, which digitally connect citizens both within Tanzania, and between Tanzania and the rest of the world. Despite the fact that the "internet has transformed access to information, opportunities for expression, and many aspects of government and business for people around the world" (UNESCO, 2018, p. 2), it is essential to understand the global network connectivity in Dar es Salaam in order to understand its implications for economic development.

3.3 Cities as privileged digital hubs

Access to the internet in Tanzania varies according to geographical location. For example, RIA (2017) revealed that the internet gap is more significant between rural and urban areas of the country. This internet access gap can be explained by the fact that most telecom operators in

the country target urban markets, thus leaving approximately 86% of the rural population unconnected to the internet, compared with 44.6% of the urban population (RIA, 2017). Thus, the unconnected rural population is almost double that of the unconnected urban population.

In the Tanzanian situation, access to electricity is critical to internet connection; compared to the urban population, most of the rural population have limited access to electricity. The current statistical data shows that 36% of the total Tanzanian population has access to electricity. However, a closer look reveals that 74% of the Tanzanian population is living in rural areas, and of this, only 20% have access to electricity (IBRD, 2017). Such data reveals a significant gap, and a situation that poses a major challenge, both in itself and in terms of internet access. Much of the country's population is expected to remain unconnected to the internet until access to electric power lines in rural areas has improved. However, despite huge gaps, the digital infrastructure is becoming a crucial factor in economic capacity building. Byanyuma et al. (2018) argue that a considerable gap also exists in terms of the reach of telecommunications. For example, telecom companies provide digital connectivity mainly to urban areas, which make up less than 20% of the country's total population.

Despite such less internet connectivity, citizens in rural Tanzania are yet to recognise the potential of the internet for societal development. For example, in a study conducted in rural Tanzania regarding information needs and information-seeking behaviour, Lwoga and Chigona (2017) reveal that the internet is found to not be an essential pattern for seeking information, while interpersonal communication and radio are seen as more crucial sources of information for people in rural areas. This context implies little motivation for internet use in these regions, which can be linked to digital information illiteracy. It also suggests that opportunities for using the internet for civic engagement are still irrelevant in such areas, which in turn reveals a gap

in the digital hub for policy innovations between rural and urban areas for societal development. Besides, rural citizens fail to benefit from opportunities offered by the internet due to the utilisation problem. Byanyuma et al. (2018, p. 75) argue that "on one hand, broadband connectivity in rural areas is mostly for government and a few private organisations, leaving the majority unconnected hence making the digital divide more pronounced in those areas." This means that internet opportunities are less utilised by the targeted rural population. Furthermore, they add that "on the other hand, mobile network operators are proud to announce that they have covered all areas including the remote ones and competition has brought airtime charges down including broadband services in some areas" (Byanyuma et al. 2018, p. 75). These practices reveal a gap in the framework for strategising the utilisation of internet services among rural citizens, which therefore problematises digital opportunities for societal development in rural areas.

Other factors also contribute to low internet access in rural areas, such as lack of affordability of internet bundles (Sadoyeka, 2016; RIA, 2017). By considering the cost of data in the country, the low internet penetration in rural areas implies that, due to the high poverty rate, the internet remains unaffordable. Of those 12.6% and 55.4% internet users in rural and urban areas, respectively, 4.8% and 28.9% engage in social media networks (RIA, 2017). This reflects a significant variation of internet usage and social media engagement in both geographical locations. Byanyuma et al. (2018) note that the Universal Communication Service Access Fund was established and funded by the annual revenue from telecom operators in the country to run broadband projects across the country to boost access to ICT in rural areas.

Despite this gap, the fact that urban and city dwellers in Tanzania are becoming drivers of digitisation requires a new focus of communication research. While citizens in rural areas

suffer from issues with internet connectivity and broadband, citizens in urban areas and cities in Tanzania are highly privileged with internet connectivity. As indicated above, mobile network operators widely serve internet connectivity in urban areas, in which the broadband network is mostly covered by 3G and 4G (Sedoyeka, 2016). For instance, RIA (2017) notes that out of the 30% of Tanzanians who are using the internet, 53.4% are urban citizens that connect through smartphone devices. In this sense, cities specifically in Tanzania emerge as crucial locations of connectivity and "globalised hubs" of an otherwise developing country.

It is essential to understand the potential of cities in Tanzania for societal development. Balbo (2014) suggests that cities in developing regions are emerging as focal points for economic development, specifically in terms of policy innovation. However, these cities require conceptual understanding – in terms of institutional rearrangements in the globalised digital context – to achieve such societal development. For example, on the one hand, Dar es Salaam is projected to emerge as a megacity in 2035 (Willeboordse, 2018), which reveals its potential to contribute to economic development in terms of civic public communication. On the other hand, development strategies in cities in developing regions still rely on dated paradigms that have their origins in colonial historical perspectives, such as poverty, health, income, education services, and greater individual freedom (Balbo, 2014). This reveals an obstacle for achieving societal development in the digital era, in that a distinct approach for addressing cities for economic development in the current era is irrelevant among policy decision-makers in Tanzania. Therefore, given that Tanzanian cities and urban areas are digitally connected in comparison to rural regions, they provide relevant sites for addressing the role of the city as a digital hub that can enable civic capacity building for economic development in the globalised digital sphere.

3.4 Dar es Salaam as a digital city

3.4.1 Growth of social media use in the city

Following the progressive increase of internet access in Tanzania, the number of social media users is growing, particularly in urban regions, and cities such as Dar es Salaam. This increase can be attributed to improved internet infrastructure and the high population of the city. Facebook is the most popular social media site in Dar es Salaam (Pfeiffer, Kleeb, Mbelwa, & Ahorlu, 2014), but other popular social media platforms include Twitter, YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, LinkedIn, and blogs (Masele and Magova, 2017, p. 37). Also, local social media platforms are currently gaining popularity, and include *Jamii Forum*, which is a Swahili name translating to 'Community Forum,' in addition to numerous blogs, such as Millard Ayo blog, Michuzi blog, and Mpekuzi blog, addressing mixed content such as political and social issues. Other social media sites are run by newspaper sites such as *Daily News*, *Global Publishers*, *The Citizen*, and *This Day* (CIPESA, 2015). Sites that offer discussion forums, such as Jamii Forum and Mwanahalisi, are the most popular local social media platforms for users to openly discuss political ideas without fear. It is important to highlight here that the growth of social media in Tanzania and specifically in cities, such as Dar es Salaam, has significantly increased digital social interaction regarding news and information among citizens.

As in the Tanzanian context, social media use is high among urban residents, this growth of social media has mostly impacted ways of interacting in the city of Dar es Salaam. Sedoyeka (2016) observes that the internet is in fact becoming a key aspect of daily life. Internet usage provides a key platform for digital social interactions among citizens, and for creating a public network space specifically for engaging in social, economic, and political activities both locally and globally. Eikenberry (2012) argues that digital social media interaction has expanded

opportunities for citizens, increasing their access to new knowledge and information. Although social media is said to provide less privacy than traditional communication (Senthil Kumar, Saravanakumar, & Deepa, 2016), it offers a quick and convenient means of communication. Before the internet in Tanzania, it was necessary to physically deliver information, which took up a great deal of time. However, in the modern iteration of the digital world, social media platforms have become an easy way to contact and interact with individuals, as well as institutions. Today, traditional interactions within local communities of Dar e Salaam are replaced by the newer, digital form of communication. In Dar es Salaam, for example, social media interaction is becoming increasingly common among city dwellers due to improved access to the internet, thus transforming consumption of traditional media. For example, Eliamani (2016) notes that news and information are consumed, reported, and shared through Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, etc. Mobile devices such as smartphones have become common and essential tools for social media interaction, which has simplified engagement in the public sphere. Personal internet use, through email, chat, and social media networks, is regarded as most common (Sedoyeka, 2016). Mariki (2013) also argues that internet use is vital for professional development, such as distance learning, which is frequently used by citizens in Dar es Salaam. Internet use is also high in the academic context, especially in the institutions located in urban areas. Kira and Mahumbwe (2015) note the internet's usefulness for students and teachers, allowing them to search for teaching and learning materials, thus contributing to the quality of the learning environment. In addition to that, the internet is seen as a satisfactory means of facilitating communication in the academic context, both among individuals and groups, through social media chats and email exchange (Sedoyeka, 2016). Furthermore, Kalyango and Adukumi (2013) consider social media interaction as a modern form of communication that has reduced the time and distance required to seek knowledge and information.

Despite the argued capacity of social media platforms to shape opinions and perceptions of shared information (Happer & Philo, 2013), I argue that this communicative capacity has improved the online participation of communities and intensified the civic digital life in Dar es Salaam. However, to further exploit the use of digital smartphone communication for civic public communication in Dar es Salaam, this dimension needs to be further developed among citizens. Studies of the role of social media for political engagement in neighbouring cities, such as Nairobi, propose that "the boundless nature of social media provides unlimited space to voice opinions, positions and political agenda to an expansive audience and helps in mainstreaming peripheral issues and problems" (Kamau 2016, p. 115). Such use implies the need for a free public communication platform for civic engagement, the infrastructure for which is yet to exist in Dar es Salaam. Also, in Uganda, Stiftung (2016, p. 64) notes that "social media has made news spread even quicker, thus encouraging free speech and expression without fear of censorship." In that sense, social media use across cities in the East African region translates to a growing tool, emerging critical space for civic public communication. A recent study shows that, in Kenya and Zimbabwe, "social networking sites are used for a range of purposes, from personal connectivity, to various citizenship practices, including political debate and activism" (Bosch et al., 2020), a space which can also be specifically reflected in the Tanzanian context for civic public communication.

As citizens in Dar es Salaam continue to engage in social media, this represents a more significant opportunity to develop and utilise digital space for civic public communication, which is vital for societal development in the current globalised digital sphere.

3.4.2 The shift to digital economic practices in Dar es Salaam

Digital technology and internet access have primarily transformed economic and financial services in Dar es Salaam. Mobile money platforms, such as M-Pesa, Tigo Pesa, Airtel Money, and Halopesa, are gathering pace. Given the lack of enough banking institutions in Tanzania, particularly in the rural areas, the platforms have emerged as significant financial service providers. In comparison to other developing regions, Tanzania is among the top countries in terms of mobile money use, where M-Pesa is leading with 43% in the total market share (TCRA, 2018). Other mobile money market shares include Tigo-Pesa with 36%, Airtel Money with 17%, Halopesa with 3%, Ezy-Pesa with 1%, and TTCL with 0.04% (TCRA, 2018). Mobile money has emerged as an alternative to traditional banking. Economides and Jeziorski (2017) indicate that having a mobile phone number in Tanzania implies having a mobile money account, which, like a bank account, performs many functions. The statistical data shows that out of the 63% of Tanzanians who have mobile phone numbers – a requirement for the opening of a mobile money account – 56% have opened mobile accounts (InterMedia, 2013). This means that most of the population, especially in cities and some rural areas where the network connection is strong, have embraced mobile money services in their daily financial transactions. Individuals can use mobile money services for the storage or transfer of money across one mobile network operator to another and across bank accounts, with minimal transfer fees. In Tanzania, this can be regarded as a simplified way of handling financial transactions that disregards time and distance. To allow for online payments, I argue that cash payments in the country are being gradually phased out, which is a necessary transition in the globalised digitally connected world. Economides and Jeziorski (2017) argue that mobile money services are effective in reducing the need to walk with cash, thus minimising the risk of crime, especially in urban locations where the incidence of financial crime is relatively high. As

digitisation is increasing in cities such as Dar es Salaam, international mobile money transfer, in which individuals send and receive money across borders, is also growing. For example, international money transfer services, such as Western Union, Moneytis, TerraPay, and WorldRemit, are conveniently linked to mobile money, enabling money transfer across borders. Mobile money payments, which can be seen as a new form of payment in Tanzania, minimise various challenges presented by carrying cash to access daily social services.

In 2017, the government launched an electronic ticketing system for minibuses, which are called *daladala* commuters in Dar es Salaam. Payment of the electronic ticket is linked to mobile money, and can thus be regarded as enabling the further digitisation of the transport service in Dar es Salaam. For city commuters who can afford the relatively expensive Dar es Salaam Rapid Transport (DART) buses, the government launched a smart card system for fare collection across the Dar es Salaam Central Business District (CBD) in 2016. This transformed the existing inconvenience of commuting with the busy city bus system (Nachilongo, 2017). Further, the introduction of Uber, which connects city commuters with a reliable ride in a few minutes using a smartphone application, has started to take hold in the city. In *The Citizen* news, Lamtey (2017) highlighted that Uber is doing reasonably well in Dar es Salaam, where payments are linked to cash or mobile money services. The Uber service is projected to further spread to other Tanzanian metropolises. I argue that the increasingly digital lifestyle in Dar es Salaam can be accelerated by the growth of network connectivity and internet use in the city.

Mobile money service is also vital for digital bill payment in Tanzania. Wilson and Mbamba (2017) argue that Tanzania is currently at the frontline of reaping the benefits of mobile payments by enabling users to perform mobile functions such as paying bills across almost all sectors. For example, Krolikowski (2014) notes that, given the high population in Dar es

Salaam, mobile money services enable water sector billing and payment processes. Also, Wilson and Mbamba (2017) indicate that customers in Dar es Salaam now purchase electric power units using digital platforms. Digitisation in utility bill payments helps to improve billing inquiry and billing reminders to customers. This can be regarded as effective service delivery in terms of speed, ease of use, as well as its ability to save time. Despite the varying effectiveness of service delivery in different sectors, digital payment services can be regarded as a shift in service delivery in the city.

Like many other cities in Africa, Dar es Salaam is also not far from adopting online shopping. Currently, there are emerging companies, such as Jumia, Zudua, Sokko, and Kupatana, that offer gateways to online shopping destinations, with items ranging from clothes, shoes, and accessories, to electronics and vehicles. Payments for online shopping are also linked to mobile money services such as M-Pesa, Tigo-Pesa, Airtel Money, and Halo-Pesa, allowing customers to buy or sell online from anywhere in Dar es Salaam, given mobile network accessibility. Social media networks also offer platforms to buy or sell used products online, which can be regarded as a new digital lifestyle in Dar es Salaam. Mobile payments in Dar es Salaam serve multiple payment functions; thus, they significantly contribute to digital city practices.

As the banking industry is transformed digitally through mobile banking in Dar es Salaam, the use of Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) is also expanding. Among residents in urban areas, where most ATMs are commonly located, they have become a conventional way of life. In the Tanzanian environment, specifically in Dar es Salaam, ATMs are placed in each bank building and beyond, including shopping areas, universities, hospitals, petrol stations, and markets. The key idea behind ATMs is to offer banking services beyond the bank working hours, giving individuals the opportunity to access services such as cash withdrawal and deposit, and money

transfers, as well as allowing them to check their bank balance without necessarily visiting bank institutions. Among the bank institutions in Tanzania that have installed ATM services are Cooperative Rural Development Bank (CRDB), National Bank of Commerce (NBC), National Microfinance Bank (NMB), Barclays Bank, Diamond Trust Bank (DTB), Akiba Commercial Bank (ACB), Exim Bank (EB), Equity Bank, and Standard Chartered Bank. As well as the fact that "ATMs provide great convenience to customers" (Mwetindwa, 2013, p. 1), I would add that ATMs stimulate digital financial practices among citizens in Dar es Salaam. Visa cards also allow the withdrawal of cash from ATMs in Tanzania, which is a convenient way for international travellers to access cash. Mrema (2014, p. 17) argues that "with smart card technology businessmen do not need to move with their money; however, the central bank remains responsible for keeping their money highly secured," which simplifies the accomplishment of business goals among customers. The fact that individuals may access financial services from any point in the world using ATM visa cards (Mwetindwa, 2013) means that Tanzania is part of the digitally connected and globalised world through the application of international banking services. However, while Dar es Salaam is likely to remain a hub for processes of internationalisation, such as business and financial activities, which are mostly coming from outside the country, digital media offers a space for citizens to engage with governments across countries. This is a new form of internationalisation that is necessary for societal development in the digital era.

3.4.3 The public sector as an emerging sphere of digitisation

While digital technologies are used to increase and improve financial infrastructures, other sectors are less developed, for example, the public sector and public communication, which require reconfiguration. The increase in digital communication creates various opportunities,

including engaging in digital public service delivery. For some years in Tanzania, digitisation has been highly adopted by private sectors, and considered as an essential tool for effective organisation and institutional governance. Only recently, due to further increased internet connectivity in cities, public sectors have emerged as potential users of digitisation. This process includes the establishment of an E-Governance Agency (EGA) under the Ministry of Public Service Management, which spearheads the implementation of government ICT systems for digital public service delivery (CIPESA, 2015b). The networking of government institutions can be regarded as a shift to a more collaborative modern governance system.

The adoption of digital public service delivery in Tanzania varies between government departments. For example, CIPESA (2015) notes that although ICT tools were used to collect public opinions on the proposed new constitution during the 2012 review of the national constitution, only a few responses were in fact collected due to minimal awareness among citizens on using the digital sphere for participation in government decision-making practices. Darcy et al. (2015) highlight that the Tanzanian government is in the process of adopting a digital health system to transform health care delivery by enabling access to health information, to support health care operations and health decision-making. Accessed via mobile phones, the eHealth system links patients and health centres for fast service delivery. Thus, it can be regarded as a modern form of governance for community-based care.

In 2017, the Immigration Department in Tanzania launched an online passport application to avoid the inconvenience of passport applicants having to travel (Sauwa, 2017). Since the launch of the e-passport, around 15,000 new electronic travelling passports have already been issued (Namkwahe, 2018). This rate implies quick adoption of the digital service and modern governance among citizens. Furthermore, in 2017, to cope with the current development of the

digital era, the judicial system in Tanzania began to be digitised (Ubwani, 2017), which further digitises public service delivery. The transition to e-governance in public service delivery is increasingly transforming public services as the interaction between the administrative offices and citizens is more direct, and enables coordinated governance of local government authorities and the central government in Tanzania (Jackson, Gunda, Kopoka, & Kihonge, 2015). I argue that it is important to understand these public service delivery systems as a transformative tool to follow the policy parameters suggested by the 'going digital' agenda of the OECD, and policy guidelines of other intergovernmental organisations as well. The digitisation of public service delivery can also be regarded as contributing to the transformation to a new digital lifestyle that includes citizen engagement in modern governance. Such transformations mainly happen in cities where digital practices are more common. More importantly for achieving development, the use of digitisation in governance transforms the relationship between the government and its citizens. Shaikh, Shah, and Wijekuruppu (2016) argue that the digital public service delivery system offers transparency, accountability, effectiveness, and efficiency in the governance process. Nevertheless, CIPESA (2015) observes that Tanzania lacks the legislation that will enable citizens to demand feedback from e-governance for improving public service delivery. However, the process of public service delivery digitisation in Dar es Salaam should not only be considered in relation to specific sectors, but rather, holistically. In this sense, the digitisation of public service delivery reveals a transformation in the entire public governance system, towards an adoption of technological changes commonly termed the "4th Industrial Revolution." I argue that, for modern governance to function effectively, civic public communication should be further developed to enhance citizens' participation.

3.5 Digital policy approaches

Like many other governments in the world, the government of Tanzania is regulating the current networked world to guide citizens toward better utilisation of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). As ICT accelerates development (Twaakyondo, 2011), the establishment of national policy for guiding ICT is vital for the country's development. For example, the National ICT Policy of 2003, which lasted for more than 10 years, provided a national framework for the implementation of ICT towards the achievement of national goals, transforming Tanzania into a knowledge-based society (CIPESA, 2015b). However, since the beginning of the 21st century, tremendous technological advancements have occurred; but the early National ICT Policy (NICTP) 2003 did not fully account for these newly emerging technologies. Thus, in realising the potential of ICT growth in development – specifically in the current digital world – the government revised and established the National ICT Policy (NICTP) in 2016 to reposition Tanzania in relation to these newly emerging digital opportunities, for the benefit of the nation and its citizens. Currently, the 2016 NICTP guides the establishment of all other acts and regulations relating to digital communication and ICT in Tanzania.

As citizens, specifically in Dar es Salaam, are rapidly adopting new digital lifestyles, several challenges are raised. For example, digital cyber-bullying impacts citizens in many ways, such as defamation and disrespect of personal privacy (Al-Saggaf & Islam, 2015). Also, through the internet, there is an increase in fake information and threats to individual privacy. Computer viruses, hacking, and computer attacks have put users of digital communication at risk. With such developments, the government has periodically attempted to regulate digitisation, referring to the National ICT Policy. For example, in 2015, the government introduced the

Cybercrime Act, which aimed to protect Tanzanians against cybercrimes and minimise the damage that may be caused by cyber attacks (Tanzania Cybercrime Act, 2015). Tanzania has also introduced online content regulations known as the Electronic and Postal Communication Act (EPOCA, 2017), reviewed from EPOCA, 2010. The EPOCA of 2017, officially enacted in March 2018, aims to improve online media operations in the country, and increases rights to information among citizens. The regulation makes individuals accountable for various computer offences, including what they publish online, which helps to reduce digital crimes. On 25 April 2015, the Tanzanian parliament passed the Electronic Transaction Act (ETA) 2015, which came into force on 1 September 2015. The ETA aims to provide legal recognition of electronic transactions, e-governance services, and the use of electronic signatures and ICT to collect electronic evidence. For example, the law recognises the validity of transactions in electronic form. Regulation 8(1) states that where the law requires information or transactions to be in a prescribed non-electronic form or writing, such requirement shall be met by information or a transaction entered in electronic form (URT, 2015b). Also, the regulation recognises a secure electronic signature. Section 6(1) states that where the law requires the signature of a person to be entered, that requirement shall be met by secure electronic signature (URT, 2015b). As citizens are increasingly employing ICT in their daily life, Makulilo (2016, p. 123) argues that "ETA covers the admissibility of electronic evidence in criminal and civil proceedings," which enables legal proceedings in Tanzania to evolve in step with the current growing technology. The enactment of the ETA strengthens digital practices and stimulates digital lifestyles, such as mobile money transactions, electronic banking, e-documents, e-filing, e-contracts, e-governance, and ICT systems among citizens and governments in Dar es Salaam. However, there is a concern that the law governing banking business and e-banking in Tanzania is still deficient. Studies have revealed barriers in the legal framework that supports electronic transactions. For example, Kennedy (2015, p. 26) argues that "despite having many laws

governing the banking sector, still those laws do not cover e-transactions in comparing to the situation of digital evolution in the country since all banking activities are regulated by two regulators mainly Bank of Tanzania (BOT) and TCRA." This situation confuses the regulation of decision-making regarding electronic banking activities in the country.

Despite the existing national ICT policy and government acts and regulations for managing the digitally connected world in Tanzania, every government institution is required to establish its own ICT policy. This follows from the national guidelines for making ICT-related decisions. Although the objective of institutional ICT policies is generally positive for ICT development in the country, it implies variation in the implementation of ICT policy objectives among public government institutions in Tanzania. Such variation may impact policy outcomes. Twaakyondo (2011) argues that the development of implementation strategies sector-by-sector hinders the effective delivery of the National ICT Policy objectives as stated in the document. This challenge implies the need to harmonise policy implementation strategies across regions and sectors for effective policy outputs.

3.6 Towards civic public communication

As digital communication is increasing in Dar es Salaam, it creates a specific opportunity for civic public communication among citizens. Individuals can easily share public opinions through social media accessed via smartphones. However, the government appears to be concerned about regulating citizens' digital interaction and public opinions shared through digital interaction. Civic interaction, especially on political issues, is highly monitored by the government in Tanzania using various media regulatory frameworks. For example, the established Cybercrime Act of 2015 criminalises offences relating to digital communication

including publication of false, deceptive, misleading, or inaccurate information, initiating transmission or re-transmission of unsolicited messages, the transmission of incitement messages, and other related digital crimes (Tanzania Cybercrime Act, 2015). Although the government aims to ensure accurate publication of information, in turn, it threatens citizens' freedom of expression, especially in cyberspace. A Cybercrime Act raises concerns about the perception of policymakers regarding civic public engagement. For example, human rights activists, opposition parties, and most of the public claim that the act is limiting the freedom of information and contradicts democratic values in Tanzania. For example, section 7(2)(b) finds a person guilty for receiving unauthorised information or computer data with or without the intention of accessing it. Also, the Cybercrime Act offers unfettered power for a police officer in charge to issue an order for the criminal investigation of a person who possesses such data and compels its disclosure (URT, 2015a), which connotes a violation of individual privacy. For example, during the 2015 October general elections, IT supporters from CHADEMA, the main opposition party, were arrested and their computers confiscated by police while tallying vote results (Fumbuka, 2015). The arrest of IT specialists by the government threatens citizens' freedom of engagement in civic public communication. On the other hand, through the Cybercrime Act of 2015, the government arrested the owner of the popular local social media site 'Jamii Forums' for not disclosing the personal details of members who post on the site (BBC News, 2016). The arrest of bloggers and individual social media users in Tanzania implies that digital public sphere engagement is less free than more traditional forms of engagement, since it is highly monitored and restricted by government laws. In addition to that, live parliament broadcasting, which was the primary source of civic information for citizens in Tanzania for at least 50 years, was banned in early 2016 by the government (*The Citizen*, 2016). This decision was attributed to the extremely high cost of covering live parliament sessions (*The Citizen*, 2016). Such denial of citizens' rights to be informed of what goes on in parliament

sessions goes against the freedom of information provided under the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The most recently established online media regulation (EPOCA, 2017) aims to govern social media and blogs, including online radio stations, online newspapers, online television, and websites operating in Tanzania. However, the Act introduces a fee to bloggers who might influence the free public sphere in Tanzania. For example, the Act introduces the payment of up to 900 US$ as an annual licence fee for operating online media such as online radio, online television, blogs, and websites (*The Citizen*, 2018), which restricts free internet use. However, it is reported that the fee can unlikely be met by bloggers, who are mostly youths (*The Citizen*, 2018). This situation might reduce the number of internet users. Efforts were made by bloggers to fight back against the introduction of the online media registration fee in the court of law, but were unsuccessful (Giles, 2018). Policy analysts have suggested that the registration of online media platforms goes against the prevailing spirit of open internet among citizens (CIPESA, 2017). On the other hand, the regulation of online content limits citizens' freedom of expression, as it requires online media users to comply with the removal of prohibited content whenever ordered by the court as stated in regulation 8(b) (URT, 2017). This limitation implies a danger that the removal of content may facilitate the violation of human rights. For the first time, an online protest was organised by a diasporic Tanzanian citizen in the US as a revolt against the dictatorial media regimes and the denial of free civic engagement in Tanzania. This online engagement translates citizens' motivations to use digital space to engage in civic communication. However, the political government considered the organised online protest on 26 April 2018 as illegal, and warned protestors not to engage or the police force would exercise their power (Reuters Staff, 2018). Criminalising online protest in Tanzania goes against modern governance in the digital era, thus creating implications of social

change for the country's economic development. It is reported that some local social media sites such as Jamii Forums, which was the most popular site for political information, had shut down due to strict online media laws (Ndalu, 2018). This situation poses a threat to digital public engagement among social media users and bloggers in the country. Policy briefing in Eastern and Southern Africa reported that the new online media regulation in Tanzania threatens freedom of communication in cyberspace (CIPESA, 2017).

On the other hand, digital communication hints at an open model of governance in which citizen participation in the public sphere is regarded as the key (Rebolledo, Luengo, & Bebic, 2018). Studies from other East African countries show that access to the internet and digital connectivity provides an opportunity for civic public communication. For example, in Kenya, digital communication acts as a medium through which citizens engage in the public sphere. Mitullah, Mudhai, and Mwangi (2015, p. 8) argue that "opportunities for people to air their views have grown with greater access to digital communication media, which provide diverse channels for individuals to contribute to ongoing discussions and debates, almost immediately and across spatial distance." This space is critical for building open governance for decision-making practices that are inclusive of citizens. Also, Kalyangso and Adukumi (2013) consider that digital social media platforms have aided political mobilisation during elections in African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Ivory Coast, and Ghana. This means that digital communication can play a critical role in consolidating countries' democracies. In Tanzania, however, this space is highly regulated by government. Also, during 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, the Ushahidi website was used to report the location of the violence (Mitullah et al., 2015), building more interactive governance by informing citizens and thus allowing them to take immediate action. Nevertheless, in Tanzania, there are minimal start-ups for civic engagement. In Uganda, social media is used to monitor and communicate health

services using smart devices (CIPESA, 2015a), which is considered a part of civic engagement. Regarding the political sphere in Uganda, Stiftung (2016, p. 65) notes that "social media stimulates citizen engagement with politicians who are brought closer to their potential voters through conversations on social media." In Tanzania, however, there are minimal digital frameworks for civic engagement, and the space for political participation as civic engagement, in terms of free public speech, needs to be improved. Such broad use of digital space for civic engagement across the East African region implies that digital connectivity is critical to building interactive communication, which is necessary for modern governance, particularly in the current digital era.

While studies from other East African countries have shown digital communication to contribute to more open civic communication and public engagement, this is not the case in Tanzania. The regulation of online media content prohibits individuals from publishing content that leads to "incitement," "annoyance," or "public disorder" via social media (Tanzania Cybercrime Act, 2015). However, the definition of these terms remains at the sole discretion of the government. Such a situation affects the freedom of social media users in terms of civic public communication in the country. Also, the regulation gives government officials the power to block websites, blogs, and social media whose posts are classified as "incitement" (LHRC, 2017). This translates to the violation of free speech in the country. Regulating the social media space limits citizens' inclusion in governance decision-making on matters that affect the development of the country. Citizens tend to use language games when discussing sensitive civic matters as a strategy to avoid online content regulations. This practice suggests that the cyberspace for civic public communication, which is a crucial space for inclusive decision-making between citizens and the government, is shut down. Opportunities for citizens' participation in the civic public sphere through smartphone interactions are not well explored

in Tanzania, and there is a need to further develop civic public communication in the country as an essential part of smartphone interaction in the current digital era.

It was predicted some time ago, however, that increased network connectivity would destabilise cities' territorial domains (Dovey, 2010). This idea implies that network connectivity goes beyond national and city boundaries, thus bypassing established national laws and policies. Following the increased network connections and digitisation in a city that constitutes a digital hub, Dar es Salaam, helps to understand this challenge.

This study employs Sassen's concept of world cities to contextualise globalisation and digitisation in city spaces. As Sassen (2006) argues, the established national territorial policies, acts, laws, and regulations are currently disturbed by global network connections. This is particularly the case in cities, and implies the deterritorisation of national boundaries. This practice implies that global network connectivity melts away the established policies and regulations that govern cities. Thus, as Dar es Salaam is increasingly globalised and digitised by linking across national borders, there is a need to assess the organisational structure of the city in the context of digital policymaking and its implications for the city's economic development in terms of digital civic public engagement.

Furthermore, such a perception also relates to a reconfiguration of civic public communication. As a recent study on the public sphere by Srinivasan et al. (2019, p. 3) argues, "in Africa, digital media are providing scholars with a reason and opportunity for revisiting the question, and the analytical lens, of publics with new vigour and less normative baggage," which helps to illuminate civic practices in these regions for societal development. Therefore, this study looks

at digital policymakers in Dar es Salaam and considers how civic public communication could be well developed utilised for a country's economic development.

This chapter offered the contextual background about Tanzania as a study area. It presented the country's political history and the overview of media and the current state of media regulations in the country. The chapter also justified the need to focus on city studies to build societal development in the globalised digital era. The next chapter will present the methodology adopted to examine the notion of civic public communication as an emerging contemporary development economy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

4. Methodology

This study explores the perception of the role of digital space for civic public communication and civic capacity building among policy experts. It focuses on Dar es Salaam as a case study to address the specific way in which policy experts understand the city as a 'node' and digital 'hub.' Given the unique role of cities in developing countries as centres for digital engagement, the way policy experts understand the space becomes important: (1) conceptually for understanding digital policy in developing countries, and (2) practically for development aid projects. This chapter outlines the research approach and provides detailed transparency of research procedures and justification of the chosen methods. The first section outlines the considerations when selecting Dar es Salaam as a case study, and the reason for choosing digital policy experts at different levels of the government in Dar es Salaam as key informants for this study. The second section addresses the chosen method, qualitative, semi-structured expert interviews, and the sampling of interview participants. Furthermore, the chapter also covers the research method and the data collection tool. Other issues included in the chapter are data validity and reliability, as well as confidentiality and ethical research considerations.

4.1 Case study: Dar es Salaam

This study is based on a case study conducted in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's largest city and the fastest growing city in Africa, increasing by half a million every year. According to UN predictions, it will become a megacity within the next 7 years, and reach a population of 13.4 million by 2035 (Van Mead, 2019). With such a projected population growth in the near future, Dar es Salaam requires new thinking, such as new policy frameworks and institutional re-organisation for the city's economic development, but also in terms of civic

interaction. In stressing such a need, “Informing Policies” (2019) supports that “understanding urbanisation, its drivers, dynamics and impacts, is key to designing targeted, inclusive and forward-looking policies at the local, national and continental levels.”

Dar es Salaam is a coastal city located on the Indian Ocean, and therefore has a strategic location that serves as a gateway to landlocked countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, Zambia, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Until 2016, the city was divided into three central districts: Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke; however, currently, the city is made up of five districts: Kinondoni in the north, Temeke and Ubungo in the south, Kigamboni in the east, and Ilala in the centre. For a long time, Dar es Salaam was the capital city of Tanzania until 2016 when the government officially shifted its capital city to Dodoma. Nevertheless, Dar es Salaam is the primary city for business and economic activities, and the main contributor to the growth of the nation and in terms of democratic development and civic interaction.

The technological infrastructure is more advanced in the city of Dar es Salaam than in other regions of the country, making it an increasingly globalised, as well as digital city. The city serves as the headquarters for the supply of energy, such as natural gases and hydro-electric power, to the city’s regions and across the nation. Such connectivity reflects a significant opportunity for using electronic devices that enable access to the internet. Citizens widely use road transport for commuting in the city, with the majority using public buses commonly known as ‘daladala’ and, in some areas such as CBD, the recently introduced Dar Rapid Transport (DART). However, some residents own private vehicles, which makes for high traffic congestion, especially during the peak commuting hours in the morning and evening. It is only recently that the government has expanded the city’s highway transport network, which not only connects different city areas, but also strategically deals with traffic jams. Major roads

from Dar es Salaam, such as the Morogoro, Bagamoyo, and Kilwa roads, also link the city to different parts of the country, making it easily accessible to all 30 other regions. Furthermore, the standard gauge railway project, connecting Dar es Salaam to the new capital city, Dodoma, and other regions, is currently under construction. Such an exciting railway development reflects Dar es Salaam as the fastest growing hub for social and economic development in Tanzania. Railway systems such as the Tanzania Zambia Railway (TAZARA) and the Tanzania Central Railway – currently being upgraded to the standard gauge railway – and marine networks that connect the city via the Indian Ocean also supplement the road and air transport services in the city. Such transport infrastructure expansion significantly influences citizens' mobility within and across the country and region. The Dar es Salaam Airport, commonly known as the 'Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Airport,' and the Dar es Salaam Port serve as the largest and busiest airport and port in the country, respectively. These various infrastructures strategically link the city internationally in terms of travel and cargo services.

Furthermore, the city serves as headquarters for telecommunication companies such as Vodacom, Airtel, Tigo, Halotel, and Zantel, which are crucial for mobile network and internet connectivity within and beyond Dar es Salaam. Such levels of communication service make the city the local communicative sphere in the global network, building Dar es Salaam as a growing smart city. The national fibre network cable project connects Dar es Salaam to the city of Nairobi, extending internet connectivity across areas of the city and establishing Dar es Salaam as a primary network connection point beyond the national border. Such an opportunity makes the city a home for internet connectivity and digital activities across the country, reflecting an exciting digital development. High-rise buildings such as the PPF Tower, Benjamin William Mkapa Pensions Tower, Millennium Tower, Mawasiliano Tower, and PSPF

Commercial Twin Towers, both mark the city's uniqueness, and represent features of its globalisation.

Additionally, various Information Technology (IT) institutions, including the University of Dar es Salaam College of Engineering (UDSM-COET) and the Dar es Salaam Institute of Technology (DIT), and technology research institutions such as the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) and the University of Dar es Salaam Computing Centre (UCC) are all located in the city. These institutions promote technology infrastructure across city areas and contribute to the building of a digital Dar es Salaam.

4.1.1 Dar es Salaam – a young city

I chose Dar es Salaam as a case study based on the criteria that it is (1) the biggest city in Tanzania, and (2) Africa's fastest growing city, with (3) a large youth population. Statistically, the youth population in Tanzania, defined as being 15 to 35 years of age, is a significant component of the demographic in the country, constituting about 70% of the population (Awiti, 2016). This implies that Tanzania is a youthful country. At the same time, Dar es Salaam, the biggest city, is growing as the country's commercial hub. In 2012, the city was home to about 10% of the total country population (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013), which translates to a significant population of young citizens in Dar es Salaam. As a further criterion justifying its selection as study site, (4) Dar es Salaam has a high concentration of smartphone users. According to 2012 statistical data, the Dar es Salaam population stood at 4,364,541 people (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013), making it the most populous of the country's 31 regions, in which the majority of citizens are poor. A privileged few live in mansions along the coast of the Indian Ocean; the majority live in slum houses and unplanned areas. Nevertheless, the city

government aspires to transform citizens into middle class through various development strategies, such as Tanzania Development Vision (ADB, 2018). It is estimated that by the year 2025 such a vision will be achieved (THDR, 2015). Nevertheless, Dar es Salaam is the cultural and economic hub in the country due to its high population (Kabanda & Brown, 2014). It thus provides a good case to study civic public communication as a knowledge economy emerging from digital communication in the city for the country's societal development.

Statistics also report that 34% of citizens in Dar es Salaam are smartphone users. This is a higher proportion of smartphone users than in the other 30 regions of the country. Furthermore, another criterium for selecting Dar es Salaam is that, (5) cities and urban centres have more network connections than non-urban areas; as Pfeiffer et al. (2014) note, internet access is higher in urban centres and the larger cities of Tanzania, such as Dar es Salaam. These five criteria justify the selection of Dar es Salaam for this study.

4.1.2 Digital Dar es Salaam

As highlighted earlier, digital communication is rapidly growing in Tanzania, with internet penetration up from 17% in 2012 to 45% in 2018 (TCRA, 2018), and with cities, including Dar es Salaam, showing high growth. In addition, smartphones have been identified as the primary internet access point (BMI, 2018), and youths as the main smart device users in the city. This implies increased digital communication via smartphone interaction among the high proportion of young citizens in Dar es Salaam. Similarly, Oyedemi (2014, p. 11) considers that "young people are heavy users of the internet and other forms of digital technology," which I view as crucial for accelerating social and economic changes in the current digital era. As cities in Africa are becoming smarter, digital practices are increasing. Although addressing privacy in

online engagement, for instance in Smart Cities, is still a concern (Tshiani & Tanner, 2018), the adoption of the internet in engaging with digital practices among youths is understood consistently across the world. For example, Kalyango and Adukumi (2013) consider that youths in African countries such as Ghana, South Africa, and Nigeria use the internet to experiment with new digital lifestyles, such as making new friends online and engaging in online dating with partners across the world (Oyedemi, 2014). The use of the internet among youths seamlessly connects the world globally and locally in the digital sphere. Another mutual practice of youths online is the building of social capital, for which Facebook and other social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Instagram, and Twitter are also commonly used by youths in other African countries. For instance, Clark et al. (2010) note that young people in Kenya use digital space to establish and manage their private relationships through social media platforms. Furthermore, Kalyango and Adukumi (2013) found that Facebook is the most common social media platform among African teenagers; however, there are also many other social media platforms with which youths can engage.

Digital communication has not only built a network of social capital and the capacity to build transnational networks of interaction among youths in African countries, but has also created online opportunities for civic public communication through social media platforms. For example, youths in Ghana and Nigeria use social media platforms to communicate transformatively and mobilise the public in demanding accountability and good governance from government leaders (Apeh, 2017). Further, youths in Kenya have used social media platforms as tools to share information and updates during the general presidential re-election in 2017, and even post-election (Apeh, 2017). In South Africa, the internet is highly used among youths to participate in activities like voting and advocating for good governance and accountability (Oyedemi, 2014). I argue that the digital space provides youths with

opportunities to communicate in a larger space for the country's economic development. As Awiti (2016) argues, the high proportion of youths in Tanzania can determine and shape the country's future success, since young citizens are still energetic and considered as the major working group for national development. The high proportion of youths in Tanzania implies that young citizens have an essential role to play in enhancing governance through digital communication for the country's economic development. Studies show that youths in Tanzania have positive attitudes towards political participation, and believe that they have the power to make a difference (Awiti, 2016). However, the rise of digital communication among citizens, including youths, has created a shift in the political arena, wherein the Tanzanian government has appeared to restrict freedom of digital space by regulating digital media. There is a need to understand how digital policymakers perceive the digital space for civic public communication, particularly for this critical segment of the country's population. Urgent government action is needed to enable this group to achieve a better future for the country's economy.

The emerging debates in the digital development of cities in Africa centre around smart cities, digital cities, and global cities for development. For example, the debate in Douala city, Cameroon, centres on the city's image. Pucciarelli and Vannini (2018, p. 248) argue that:

> As the spaces of the city start appearing online, the process of hybridization between the physical and the digital Douala is slowly taking place and offline and online narratives, currently rather separated, will possibly influence each other and communicate a different image of the city to global online narratives.

Such a debate is key for understanding the emerging capacity of digital development for societal development in contemporary Africa cities. As for Ghana, debates on digital development in an "African city" pivot on creating an African discourse that challenges Western cities using online media (Chávez and Cordes 2018, p. 191). This relates to the use of

the digital space as a sphere to promote African culture. Such a view implies that understanding development in the digital era requires a degree of cultural specificity. Similarly, in South Africa, Santana (2018, p. 187) argues against the perception that the internet is a "placeless" and global "place," regarding digital media as critical for networking African content. All these debates pave the way for critical thinking and broader understanding of emerging African digital cities for cities' development. However, digital policymaking is not part of these debates, and it is essential for cities' development in the digital era. Only recently did debates in digital communication shift towards civic communication (Srinivasan et al., 2019).

That said, these recent discussions focused not on cities, but instead on the general approach to development. This study, however, is different as it adopts an in-depth perspective of the smart city to assess the complexity of digital policy and the construction of the city as a space for social interaction as well as policymaking in the globalised era.

This study's aim is to address the conceptualisation of civic public communication as an important component of the paradigm of the 'knowledge economy'. It examines the way how policymakers in Tanzania understand the paradigm of the knowledge economy in specific national and local terms and how they address these issues in their digital policymaking practice. The study specifically focuses on the way how policy experts perceive digital space as a globalised digital environment that enables new opportunities, such as civic capacity building via social media and other digital communication spheres. This understanding of digital policy approaches specifically outlines perceptions towards the emerging new digital space for civic public communication so important for today's youth, who, accounting for the most significant proportion of internet use in Dar es Salaam, are developing new identities as digital citizens.

4.2 Research approach

4.2.1 Qualitative research approach

The study employs a qualitative research approach involving semi-structured interviews. Qualitative interviews are well suited to provide insight into the depth of authentic professional logic in the construction of professional reality, relating to Berger and Luckmann's work (1966) on "the construction of social reality." As I am trying to address the professional reality of policymakers, Berger and Luckmann's work provides a methodological perspective for "understanding" and "constructing" not only "social" reality and knowledge, as addressed in their work, but also of professional reality and knowledge, which allows the production of a systematic approach to assess the reality of policymakers. Social theory approaches highlight how "reality" is constructed by an individual/subject logic of everyday life. In the context of this study, the perception of professional life is a subjective approach relating to policy experts as professionals within their own professional "horizon" where processes are based on human interpretation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Moreover, Burr (2003) argues that individuals observe and understand things differently. Based on these considerations, this study identifies the perception of professional reality and has chosen the qualitative method of the interview as that which is best positioned to produce the subjective perspectives of "phenomena" and individual perceptions; thus, the study builds on multiple realities in policymaking perspectives.

In contrast to the subjective construction of social reality, other sociologists perceive society as a homogenous unit. For example, Schulz (1970), who uses the term "social world" to construct social reality, considers everyday life experiences as a "typification" of what the world is, and how people are required to act in it, since the rules of life are already set. This

situation, he consequently argues, falsifies the common sense about the exact meaning of the social reality. Based on views from sociologists regarding the construction of social reality, Durkheim (1982) argues that “social facts” in society should be regarded as “things” which mainly prove the presence of objective reality in society.

I argue that, since individuals have different subjective perceptions, it is difficult to prove social reality as objective. Moreover, Searle (1996, p. 4) proposes that social reality is a complex structure; thus, it is “weightless” and “invisible,” However, individual’s perceptions and beliefs about specific contexts can be regarded as statements of fact that make social reality meaningful. Searle further claims that social reality is relative observer-to-observer since it does not exist without human participation and is humanly created (Searle, 1996). I argue that although a society is constituted by human participants that construct social reality, still every individual has different perspectives; thus, there is no one uniform reality. These debates are essential to the sociological understanding of social reality, and offer a base from which to reconceptualise the construction of social reality. I argue that historical processes of professional reality offer a clear foundation from which to construct the reality of professional knowledge. As I am looking at the professional construction of reality and I am using the semi-structured interview method, Berger and Luckmann’s approach to the sociology of knowledge demonstrates the social constructivist position to create reality from digital policymakers as subjective.

Moreover, qualitative research deepens our understanding of the social world. Marshall (1996, p. 522) argues that “qualitative studies aim to provide illumination and understanding of complex psychosocial issues and are most useful for answering humanistic ‘why?’ and ‘how?’ questions.” As the study aims to develop an in-depth understanding of policy experts’

perceptions towards the increasingly globalised and digital Dar es Salaam, qualitative interviews were considered appropriate. The researcher's participation in the qualitative interview activities, such as probing for more detailed information by asking 'why?' and 'how?' questions, inform the study and enable the researcher to construct the reality regarding the perceptions of policymakers. For example, Atieno (2009) argues that qualitative research is the systematic inquiry into the meaning of the social setting as it attempts to study the whole social situation in order to draw conclusions. This context of qualitative research implies that, in understanding the phenomena of the social world, a researcher needs to study the way things are happening in their natural settings and then attempt to assign them true meaning. Also, Rahman (2016) considers that qualitative research offers participants the chance to provide a detailed description of their feelings, opinions, and experiences, which gives meaning to their social actions. I argue that qualitative research design provides a detailed understanding of the professional worldviews which helps to reflect upon the depth of processes of policymaking.

4.3 Research method and tools

The interview method employed by the study used semi-structured interview questionnaires as a tool to collect data from policy experts and decision-makers in government institutions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants who were experts in public policy and decision-making regarding the digital public sphere in the globalised environment of Dar es Salaam. Government policy experts were drawn from the different levels of the government in Dar es Salaam, from the local government authority at the lower government level, to the national level, which is the highest government policymaking structure.

The semi-structured interview method is characterised by guide topics developed in the form of questions which are applied in the same way to every interview; nevertheless, the sequence of asking questions varies across interviewees. A semi-structured interview questionnaire not only provides flexibility to the researcher, but also enables the researcher to maintain the thematic focus with potential options for further questions in that thematic area. All interviews were conducted in Swahili language which is the primary national language that is spoken by the majority in Tanzania. The researcher who is a native Swahili language speaker transcribed and then translated the audio recored interviews into English. Each interview had a length between 45 minutes to 1 hour and was conducted face-to-face. This is an approach which, as Knox and Burkard (2009) argue, enables lenghty responses and, thus, more in-depth insights compared to other interview approaches, such as telephone interviews. Also, Carr and Worth (2001) suggest that the face-to-face interview approach offers access to non-verbal expression among communicative parties, which enriches the meaning of spoken words. Besides this, the face-to-face interview approach allows research participants to engage effectively in the interview process and successfully maintain involvement. Interviews were scheduled between September 2018 and March 2019 and took place at a site of their choice which was in all cases the interviewee's office. This approach of interviewing not only made participants comfortable during the interviews but - in this case - it also maintained privacy of the interviewing process. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview method was necessary for this study as it offered more flexibility and gave respondents a chance to articulate underlying attitudes, having enough time available. As Denscombe (2010) argues, semi-structured interviews provide an interviewee with the opportunity to explain more about their points of interest and beliefs. Also, Robson (2011) considers that interview guide questions provide an effective and flexible method to probe for more information about the research topic and give respondents the freedom of self-expression. This also provides a chance for an interviewer to

seek thorough information from the interviewee (Denscombe, 2010). I concur that the semi-structured interview method enabled respondents to offer detailed answers regarding the study topic.

4.3.1 Interview questions

Overall, this study addresses four conceptual approaches, drawn from Saskia Sassen's theory of globalisation and digitisation, which provides a clear base for understanding globalisation and digitisation in cities. The first is the concept of node as a new space that emerges when the global and local meet in globalised network connectivity. The second is the concept of hub, which Sassen's theory suggests fosters the understanding of the relational complexity of the global network sphere in a city, Dar es Salaam, as a potential space for the city's digital functionalities for economic growth. The study also addresses the third concept of 'deterritorialisation,' in which the theories of globalisation and digitisation see the global network connectivity in cities override national boundaries, for instance, national policies. The study further adopts as a fourth concept Sassen's notion of 'denationalisation,' in which the network of the global city eliminates the city's territory and emerges as critical civic space for the city's economic development. As I am looking at the way the globalised digital Dar es Salaam is understood, the interview questions for this study were designed to explore the information of two main categories.

(1) The first category captured the policy experts' understanding regarding the emerging knowledge economy as a new space gained among youths in their interaction through smartphone communication. In this category, I wanted to work out 1) policymakers' understanding regarding the new digital space for civic public communication among youths

in the specific city 'Dar es Salaam' conceptualised as a node. Here, I regarded the new space for civic public communication as a "knowledge economy," a concept that moves away from the traditional perception of knowledge economy as a dimension of the economy. This one-dimensional view is often used in contexts of developing countries. This category also sought to understand 2) the conceptualisation of the city as a hub, that is, a linking point between the local and global network spheres. Here, I consider the city space as an enabling sphere for youth digital functionalities for the city's economic development.

(2) The second category explored the way the government is managing such an emerging space from the perspective of digital policymaking. Here I aimed to map out policymakers' perceptions towards the governing of digital Dar es Salaam as a local hub in a globalised network world. My study specifically outlines impacts on civic public communication and reveals notions of denationalisation and deterritorialisation in digital policymaking as creating potential digital space for managing a globalised digital sphere. Since developed regions realise the strength of the globalised network world for civic public communication (Rebolledo et al., 2018), and Dar es Salaam is a growing local hub in a global network sphere, there is a need to understand how policy experts in developing regions understand such strength to enable increased citizen engagement in the civic public sphere for the country's economic development.

As the study explores policymakers' understanding of the newly emerged space for civic public communication, which I regard as the new "knowledge economy" that is emerging from digital smartphone interaction among youths in Dar es Salaam, two main questions were asked. First, what is the policy experts' understanding of digital social practices of youths in their interactions through smartphone communication in Dar es Salaam? And second, what

are the implications of digital interactions through smartphone communication in affecting policy decision practices for managing the knowledge economy in Dar es Salaam? These research questions were best addressed using semi-structured interviews.

4.4 Policymakers and sampling

4.4.1 Digital policy experts

This study involves digital policy experts who are policy decision-makers in Dar es Salaam, drawn from the larger structure of policymakers in the country. As Dar es Salaam is increasingly digitised, it provides space for citizens' civic engagement in the public space, within which youths are the dominant smartphone users. However, there is a need to explore how policymakers perceive digital space for civic public communication among youths. Case study research provides in-depth experience about a single example (Denscombe, 2010). Investigating digital policy experts allows a researcher to have more detailed information. As Denscombe (2010) argues, dealing with one case offers a chance to examine in detail the complexity of a given situation. This implies that the case study approach provides authentic information regarding digital policymakers' management of the newly emerging knowledge economy in Dar es Salaam.

4.4.2 Understanding the levels of policymakers

Policymakers are experts at both the local and national level who have the knowledge, experience, and authority in negotiating and making policy decisions. Given the focus on Dar es Salaam in this study, the aim was to include city policymakers who work at different levels of the city council of Dar es Salaam. Following a broad definition of policy as "a statement of guiding principles and goals in addressing a certain issue" (Mattee, 2007, p. 5), I view the

processes through which these policies are reached, at different levels of institutional government, as key for countries' economic development, especially in the digital era. Studies of public policymaking practices in developing countries show that this process is mainly understood as a two-dimensional phenomenon. For example, in India, Chopra (2011, p. 89) understands the policymaking process in terms of "how the state pursues policymaking as a strategy for governing its population, and in turn, how the state itself gets reconstituted in the making of policy." This context is critical in understanding the policymaking process for societal development in terms of multiple stakeholders, rather than from the sole perspective of the state. It is important to consider here that the gap between the government and citizens in the policymaking process needs to be reduced, especially in the current globalised digital era. However, issues that are currently discussed in the arena of policymaking processes include policymakers' access to information that is relevant to the key policy issue. For example, in a study conducted in East Africa, Paul et al. (2015, p. 3) propose that "an 'evidence-based policymaking' approach is needed to be able to be adaptive to the context," revealing that the policymaking process requires "appropriate information," and not only "more information." However, the context of relevant information can be addressed conveniently in the globalised digital sphere where communication development emerges as more interactive. Similarly, Nisbett and Barnett (2017) recognise the importance of credible data in framing public policy, not only in terms of the policymaking process, but also in effective decision-making practices and implementation, for example, of digital policy in the current era. The inclusive policymaking framework is crucial for societal development in the digital sphere. Although the policymaking process in developing regions encounters challenges in determining, coordinating, and implementing public policy (Nisbett & Barnett, 2017), the growing digital communicative sphere across these regions is relevant to addressing the

policymaking frameworks. Thus, understanding interactions between citizens and the government in the policymaking process remains crucial in the global era.

Unlike the emerging approach in developing regions, which focuses on reducing the gap between the government and citizens, Tanzania addresses policymaking in the frame of a different dichotomy. Following the government structure in Tanzania, overall responsibility is assigned to the central government agencies (Mattee, 2007), although in making sense of the process, the responsibility for policy ideas should originate from the public interest to enable citizens to hold the government accountable for their actions. In a study conducted in Tanzania, Linde (2014) views policymaking as a complex process in various developing regions' governments through which, following the neoliberal agenda, many public policies, including digital policy, originate from the central government system without the involvement of citizens. Likewise, Fischer and Strandberg-Larsen (2016) observe that public policy agenda-setting in Tanzania is hampered by donors, which relates the minimal government power in influencing the policy process. Given such an approach to policymaking in the country, Linde (2014, p. 2) further proposes that "more responsive policy interventions that safeguard an inclusive development discourse and the establishment of a national deliberative arrangement targeting consummate participation of sufficiently empowered individuals would be of great value for any forthcoming development endeavours." Such an inclusive policy approach in developing regions such as Tanzania is critical in understanding communication development in the digital era. At the same time, Fischer and Strandberg-Larsen (2016, p. 362) argue that:

> The key for progressing in effective policy-making is to foster working relationships that facilitate and emphasize meaningful policy dialogue, with the aim of setting agendas in consensus, utilizing the best available evidentiary support, and understanding fully how power dynamics affect not only the process but also the outcomes.

While on one hand, scholars in Tanzania call for participatory dialogue in the approach to policymaking, on the other hand, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania gives the President the power to make decisions regarding the state's policies. This demonstrates the power of the nation state policy structure in influencing the policy process. The policy formulation process in Tanzania involves government officials and takes place at two levels – namely the state, or national level, and the local government level, in which the policymaking approach is bottom-up. However, it is essential to understand the country's digital policymaking framework to contextualise important policy approaches to be taken by experts for societal development.

National policymakers

At the state, or national level, policymakers from higher government authorities engage in the formulation of sector policies, sub-sector policies, and cross-cutting policies. Sector and sub-sector policies are those that belong to a specific ministry. Cross-cutting policies refer to general policies that belong to no specific sector, however, whose objectives are intended to be implemented by several specific sectors (Mattee, 2007). Cross-cutting policies may include the formulation of the 'Tanzania National Development Vision, 2025,' larger economic policies, and long-term national development strategies (Mattee, 2007).

The President's Office, Vice President's Office, and the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Development are responsible for providing a guide to other sectors' policy frameworks. The relevant ministry spearheads sector and sub-sector policies; and are legally responsible to keep track of their implementations and outcomes. Policymaking in Tanzania is a bottom-up process. For instance, at the national level, policymaking is regarded as a hierarchical process involving the parliament, cabinet, inter-ministerial technical committee, cabinet secretariat,

and the task force, who together assist the President in the whole process of policy decision-making guided by the President's Office. Usually, the task force is constituted by experts and is mainly comprised of staff from the relevant ministry in collaboration with key government stakeholders, who may be drawn from various implementation bodies, including Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The Department of Policy and Planning Division is responsible for the coordination and preparation of policy framework and policy statements. Ideally, best practice for the policy formulation process includes a collaborative range of participants. Chopra (2011, p. 91) sees the policy process as "an outcome of rational choices between institutions, or multiple streams of actors and processes, or as the interaction of advocacy coalitions." These processes reveal that the government is the key actor in the policy formulation process. The current policy study reveals that developing countries are shaped to collaborate with global actors including bilateral and multilateral donor agencies to provide technical assistance and policy support in these regions (Fischer & Strandberg-Larsen, 2016). However, this sort of collaborative policy network speaks to an emerging transnational policy process. This is essential for societal development in the globalised digital sphere, and needs to be developed in developing regions.

In Tanzania, the policy formulation process includes key stakeholders such as government public institutions, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), private and public sectors, citizens, and media for the publication of policy information, beginning with the initial stages of policy formulation. The expert team is responsible for connecting policymakers and implementers for the smooth implementation of the formulated policy (Mattee, 2007). The expert team is also obliged to solicit and confirm views from key stakeholders before submitting the final copy to the government. Presentations and workshops are considered to be key for the expert team to fill their role. Despite the fact that participation should be comprehensive, not all key

stakeholders engage in the policymaking process from beginning to end (Lemke & Harris-wai, 2015; Mattee, 2007). However, at the national and international level, in the context of formulating policy frameworks for digital communication, it is crucial to involve as many key stakeholders as possible, especially in the current globalised world where diverse policy input is needed.

In practice, the government mobilises stakeholders and chooses with whom to engage and at what stage. Mattee (2007) relates this process to the dominant bureaucratic practice of policymaking politics, which may create a loophole for one individual political leader to dominate the policymaking process. However, this practice is not new in the fragile democratic developing countries (Khalid, Mushtaq, & Naveed, 2016). In addressing loopholes in public policymaking in developing regions, Khalid, Mushtaq, and Naveed (2016, p. 373) suggest that "the way forward for positive policy outcomes has been detailed by highlighting the concept of citizen participation and focusing on four focal areas of process, quality, structure and politics required for practising and implementing policies in theory and practice." Since policy outcomes have implications for all areas of societal development, the policymaking process in the digital era needs to be as collaborative as possible and needs to be multi-stakeholder.

However, in Tanzania, the policy drafting process works in such a way that after the relevant ministry has finalised the policy document, the Secretariat of the Cabinet takes over by engaging in in-depth discussion of the policy document. Moving up the hierarchy of policymaking in the country, the Secretariat of the Cabinet is the next category in the policy process. Afterwards, the policy document "is forwarded to the Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee (IMTC), which comprises permanent secretaries from all government ministries" (Mattee, 2007, p. 7). The IMTC ensures that the policy document does not overlap with other,

currently operational, sector policies. Following the IMTC's recommendations, the policy document is submitted to the cabinet for discussion and unanimous decision. Once the cabinet has approved the policy paper, it will then be presented to the parliament as a bill for approval. However, the relevant parliamentary committee will be considered first for detailed review and recommendations. The parliament may advise the government when this is necessary, although the cabinet may or may not decide to refer to parliamentary decisions. The parliament debates will determine the decision to approve or reject the bill. Once the parliament rejects the bill, the relevant parliamentary committee will review the rejected bill for making improvements,and may collect views from relevant individuals or organisations. On the other hand, once the parliament passes a bill, it will be submitted to the President for approval and then to the judiciary for interpretations (Mattee, 2007). The implementation of a policy document will immediately start once regulations are in place.

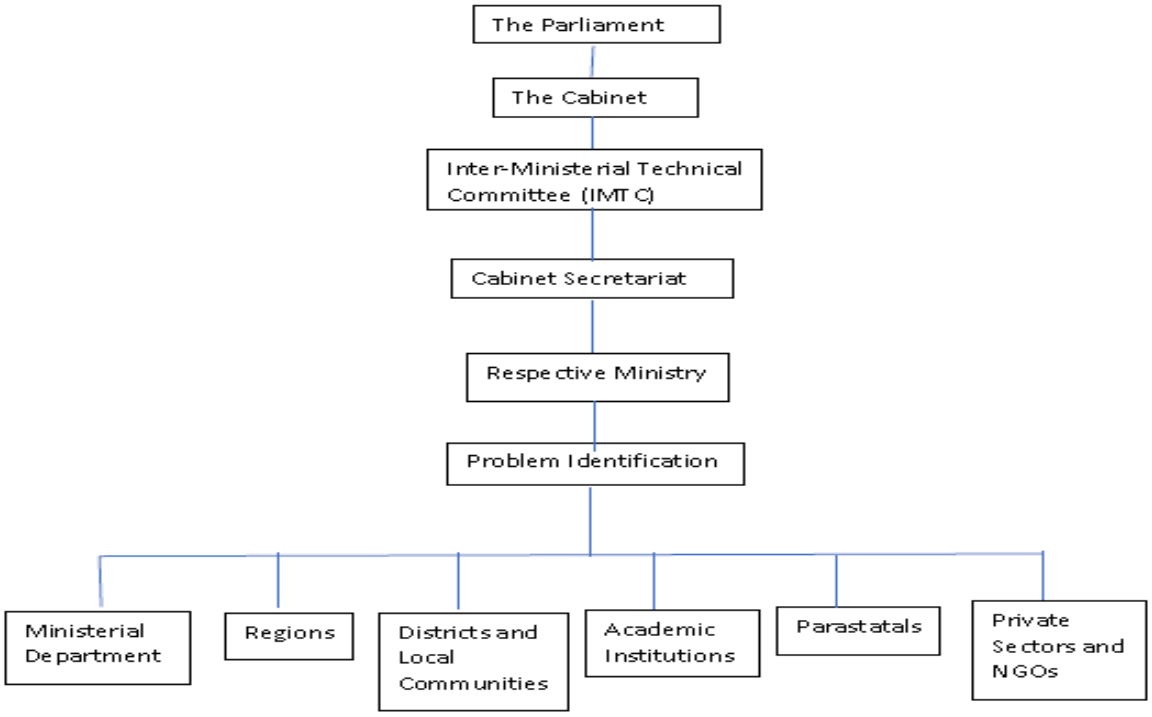

Illustration 1: **The formal process for policy formulation at the national level in Tanzania**

Source: CORDS Report, October 2007

Local government policymakers

The second level of digital policymaking in Tanzania is embedded in local government. This involves decision-makers at the lower level of government authority, such as local government officials at all local levels, ranging from the Village, District, to larger Municipal Councils. The local government makes a policy decision following the government's decision to decentralise some of its functions into the lower level under the Local Government Act (No. 7/1982), Local Government Urban Authority Act (No. 8/1982), and Regional Administration Act (No. 4/1997), which offer powers to Region, Municipal, District, and Village authorities to formulate policies that are legally recognised as by-laws (URT, 1982, 1997). These by-laws are necessary for facilitating government functions at the local government level, such as revenue collection from licenses and fees, property tax, land rent, and service levies or charges, among others in the context of local government administration (Mattee, 2007).

With well-established systems and guidelines, the Prime Minister's Office – Regional and Local Government (PMO–RALG) – is legally empowered to manage the Local Government Authorities (LGAs). Policies and by-laws at the local government level are necessary to operationalise the day-to-day decision-making processes at different levels of the local government. However, Regions and the LGAs have the right to take part in policymaking at the national level once recognised by the relevant sector policy as among the key institutions (Mattee, 2007).

4.4.3 The local digital policy actors in the globalised network sphere

As addressed throughout this thesis, I regard Tanzania as a local space, yet situated within a dense globalised network that needs to be managed for the country's future economic and civic

development. Such a new spatial territory is regulated and developed by digital policymakers at the national and the local government levels. For example, the Ministry of Works, Transport and Communication, and specifically the Communication Department, oversee all matters regarding national digital policies, for instance, the National ICT Policy, 2016; the Media Service Act (No. 15/2016); the Access to Information Act (No. 9/ 2016); the Electronic and Postal Communication Act, 2017; the Tanzania Cybercrime Act, 2015; and the Electronic Transaction Act, 2015. However, the Ministry is working closely with other key government bodies to receive technical advice toward digital policy formulations. For example, the Ministry works very closely with the Tanzanian Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA), an independent government body established in 2003 to regulate matters relating to digital communication in the country. Another key government stakeholder is the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), which is responsible for coordinating and promoting research and technology development in the country. COSTECH is also a chief government advisor in all matters regarding science and technology development, as well as its application in the country's development practices. The advisory responsibilities of COSTECH include digital policymaking for managing digitisation in the country. The Ministry also works with the e-Governance Agency (EGA), which spearheads the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in public service delivery, although this agency is attached to the President's Office Public Service Management (PO-PSM). The EGA in Tanzania is working to bring government operations increasingly online, a task which reveals its potentiality in engaging in digital policymaking at the higher national level. At the same time, these key government stakeholders are responsible for the formulation and review of related sectoral digital Acts and Regulations.

Policymaking at the Ministry of Works, Transport and Communication is the highest level of the structure in digital policymaking in Tanzania. However, there are other, lower levels that are essential to digital policymaking in the country. Nevertheless, it should be noted that digital policymaking is a new policy experience in Tanzania, and most digital policies are formulated at the higher level of government. So far, only the ICT Policy, at the institutional level, has been widely developed by the lower levels of the policymaking structure. For example, Local Government Authorities such as Municipal Councils and City Councils, both at the city level, have the power to formulate internal ICT policies for their individual institutions under the Local Government Act (No. 7/1982) and Local Government Urban Authority Act (No. 8/1982), which give local governments power to formulate policies. However, formulated internal ICT policies fall under the guidelines of the National ICT Policy (NICTP), 2016. In promoting the implementation of the objectives of the NICTP, 2016, every public institution is responsible for establishing its ICT policy to guide its day-to-day digital functions, that nevertheless should align with the NICTP, 2016. Since the formulation of digital policy in Tanzania is a new practice that has emerged as a response towards increased digitisation in the country, digital policies have been formulated at the national level. Thus, the government considers public service officials in government institutions, including Heads of Departments (HODs) and Directors, as key stakeholders and important digital policy and decision-makers in Tanzania. In this case, it is important to explore the perceptions of city policy experts in Dar es Salaam towards the opportunities for digital civic public communication and the way it can be well developed in the city.

4.4.4 Selection of participants

This qualitative expert study involves establishing an in-depth understanding of policymakers in Dar es Salaam. Following that, the study aims to understand policy experts' perceptions of the newly emerging digital space for civic public communication in Dar es Salaam. To undertake this, the study identified participants who were potentially rich in information regarding policymaking, and who had a good understanding of the study topic regardless of their gender or professional background. The study involved respondents who had lengthy work experience ranging between 6 and 30 years in government policy and decision-making practice. As the study uses qualitative interviews, the appropriate interview sampling size is argued to be "the one that adequately answers research questions" (Marshall, 1996, p. 523); thus, a sample of 30 policy experts of government institutions, 25 males and 5 females, were included.

Policy experts were identified from government agencies at different levels of government in Dar es Salaam, ranging from the local to national level. Atkinson and Flint (2001) consider that, when the study is conducted qualitatively, the snowball sampling method, which falls under the non-probability sampling technique, offers the practical advantage of facilitating the recruitment process by linking the initial sample with other relevant participants who initially were not known by the researcher. This strategy helps to reach key study informants more efficiently, particularly in samples that are difficult to find. In this study, the recruitment of policymakers was conducted using a snowball method whereby the identification of one expert enabled the identification of other experts who were relevant for the study. Initially, policy experts were identified purposefully based on their job position or title. Following the snowball method, more relevant participants were identified. Denscombe (2010) argues that the sample

size in qualitative studies is obtained through a cumulative approach where the researcher continues to add more samples in the research until there is no new information captured from respondents. This strategy implies that the sample size continues to grow until the researcher obtains the information needed. I obtained a total of n=30 qualitative interviews.

(1) In the first instance, the researcher, who is familiar with the study area, purposefully identified the first policy experts for the study based on their title or work position in government agencies such as Municipal Councils (Ilala, Temeke, and Kinondoni) and Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC). From this process, the researcher identified a total of 11 policy experts while 19 policy experts were recommended by participants using the snowball approach. The three Municipal Councils were identified due to their long-term experience in public service delivery, as opposed to Kigamboni and Ubungo, which are newly established Municipal Councils as of 2016. (2) After that, the researcher identified other participants through the recommendation of policy experts. These included government agencies such as the E-governance Agency (EGA); Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRA); Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH); Ministry of Works, Transport and Communication; Prime Minister's Office Local Government Authority (PMO-LGA); Prime Minister's Office Public Service Management (PMO-PSM); and the World Bank Tanzania (WB), which is a non-government organisation. The WB was recommended by some participants because it acts as a key stakeholder in supporting youth innovation related to digital technology in the city of Dar es Salaam. Policy experts were necessary for this study since they manage the crucial decisions that enable current digital practices at the local and national levels.

Qualitative data analysis

Data collected from interviews were transcribed by the researcher straight after completing the interview process. Transcriptions were first coded; in this process each interview was given a specic code for identifications. Then the researcher read all transcripts and identified emerging themes based on two research objectives drawn from nine semi-structured interview questions. For example, four themes emerged whereas two were from the first research objective are such as city as a 'hub' for digital functionalities and city as a 'node' for civic public communication. From objective two, two other themes revealed, such as perception of the city as a 'deterritorialised' and 'denationalised' digital sphere. The researcher then labelled relevant sections from each of the nine categories which fall under four similar themes which are 'hub', 'node', 'deterritorialization' and 'denationalisation'. Lastly, the researcher created a hierarchy among the categories to show which one is more important than the other. All individual quotes under one theme were placed together. After this stage, the write up process started, in terms of presentation of findings, whereas the interpretation of quoted transcripts reflected patterns and ideas in the interviews to allow the discussion of the interpreted findings.

4.5 Qualitative data validity and reliability

There have been many debates regarding the validity and reliability of qualitative research studies, as opposed to traditional, quantitative research. The scientific approach understands the world as measurable. Building the truth in quantitative research relies on an emphasis on measurements and the establishment of the relationship between variables. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) regard that the world is made up of observable and measurable facts, although this is only applicable to the scientific approach. Also, Schwandt (1998) argues that quantitative

research involves generating and testing hypotheses, although the notion of statistical measurements and numbers always proves unsuccessful in qualitative research paradigms (Golafshani, 2003). I argue that ways of measuring facts in quantitative research may not apply to qualitative research since understanding the truth in qualitative studies needs systematic data gathering and careful interpretation of data.

While the scientific approach trusts the measurability of the physical world, the naturalistic scholars understand that there are different, non-numerical ways to establish the truth about phenomena in the social setting. Crocker and James (1986) use the notion of "measurement" to understand the social world, which does not necessarily need to involve numbers. Likewise, Anselm and Juliet (1990, p. 17) consider qualitative research as "any research that produces findings not arrived at employing statistical procedures or other means of quantification." I argue that not every finding can be arrived at by statistical applications; thus, establishing qualitative facts mainly depends on the researcher's efforts to systematically and carefully engage in the research. Generally, from the naturalistic perspective, the notion of validity and reliability lies with the researcher as an individual, rather than instruments of measurement applied in quantitative research (Golafshani, 2003). This debate about validity and reliability in qualitative and quantitative researches helps a researcher to establish a clear theoretical base in achieving the truth in their inquiry. As this study is grounded in the naturalistic perspectives that seek to understand the truth from the social phenomena of policymaking, there is a need to unpack how the truth is established from policy experts' interviews.

4.5.1 Validity

Validity refers to the extent to which an instrument measures the specific concept the researcher intends to measure (Creswell, 2014). It helps to assess an issue from different angles and thus improve the rationality of the gathered information. In contrast to traditional research, where validity is assessed after the completion of the study, qualitative study requires that a researcher unpack the research processes involved to assess validity. In this qualitative study, validity is achieved in the following ways.

First is the methodological coherence, where the study is grounded in the social theory of the construction of reality, in which social reality is regarded as subjective according to participants' views. Also, the study uses the qualitative method, which includes semi-structured interviews guided by the list of topics for interviews; therefore, it helps the researcher to maintain the flow and track of the discussion. Conducting a systematic qualitative study is necessary for building the trustworthiness of the study. Furthermore, the use of face-to-face interviews helps to validate the data by acquiring first-hand information; as Denscombe (2010, p. 17) suggests, "a researcher might sense if he/she is given false information."

Second, the use of snowball sampling technique is effective in identifying participants who relate to the study but are difficult to access; therefore, it offers the valid information gained from the similarly targeted key informants. However, this method is susceptible to sampling bias as Tyrer and Heyman (2016, p.58) argue as in snowball sampling, a "major bias may result because a balanced cross-section of the population is not identified". In my view, the proper selection of initial participants allows to include participants with strong background regarding the study topic and is specifically relevant to expert interviews.

Third, the careful formulation of questions and pre-testing of research tools such as semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to understand whether research questions answer study objectives. Kimberlin and Winterstein (2008) argue that pre-testing of the research instrument minimises the creation of errors; therefore, pre-testing gives a chance to modify research questions at the early stages of the data collection.

Fourth, the engagement of the researcher in all stages of the research offers the validity of the study. To ensure that the meaning is not lost during the translation of interviews data from Swahili language to English or the transcriptions of audio recorded interviews data interpretation was explicitly done by the researcher who is a native speaker of Swahili language which is the national language in the study area. In addition, translations were crosschecked by a faculty member in a University from the linguistic department to ensure that the translation is correctly done.

4.5.2 Reliability

Reliability is the extent to which similar findings will be found again over time on repeated trials under a similar methodology. As is argued, "the more times the findings of a study can be replicated, the more stable or reliable a phenomena ought to be" (Merriam, 1995, p. 55). In qualitative study, reliability is built into the whole process of inquiry, rather than relying on evaluation after its completion. Scholars argue that:

> Reliability is based on consistency and care in the application of research practices, which are reflected in the visibility of research practices, analysis, and conclusions, reflected in an open account that remains mindful of the partiality and limits of the research findings (Cypress, 2017, p. 256).

In building reliability for this study, policy experts, who are key informants, were carefully selected through a snowball sampling technique to achieve the research objectives. Further, the semi-structured interview was carefully selected as an interview measuring instrument, based on the advantages it offers over other instruments, such as enabling the researcher to ask 'Why?' and 'How?' questions. This, in turn, helps to develop confidence about the instrument of measurement. Furthermore, as the study is built on the theoretical and conceptual approaches linked to fieldwork research practices, it provides a meaningful ground for the researcher to develop new concepts that can be tested again on similar theoretical grounds. The use of theoretical grounds in the qualitative research helps build consistency in repeated trials of similar research, which would lead toward the repeated achievement of the same results.

4.6 Confidentiality and ethical research considerations

Since this research involved human participants, it has undergone the required human ethical research assessments and been approved by the University of Melbourne, ethics approval code: 1750078. In addition, it has followed all necessary ethical procedures for researching in Tanzania as a field study area. A research permit was obtained from the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), which is a government organ responsible for coordinating the research activities of researchers from outside the country, including study abroad students who wish to research the country. I started my fieldwork by establishing initial contact with policy experts in various departments in the three Municipal Councils in Dar es Salaam – Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke – as a first step to gain entry to the field area. The initial contact went together with sending plain language statements and setting up interview appointments. In addition to the sent plain language statements, I explained the aim of the research and rights to participate in the interview before the start of every interview.

Participants were encouraged to participate freely, and allowed to withdraw their participation at any time should they so wish; however, they were encouraged to be honest in their responses. The researcher ensured respect for the participants, and protected participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the gathered data. After the researcher had obtained consent from the participants, all interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder to transform data into digital forms. Both digital and non-digital data were collected. Data was collected in digital recording formats (i.e., digital audio) and stored on a hard drive and encrypted with a strong password for storage and analysis purposes. Non-digital data, such as consent forms, interview guide questions, and other data generated from the field notes, reports, policies, acts, regulations, and literature review, was stored securely in a locked trunk in the researcher's home country office before being transferred to the University of Melbourne. These non-digital data help to build broad understanding of, the topic under inestigations and, respondent's views and concerns both of which were useful to build meaning during data interpretations.

To protect the identification of data, under no circumstances will participants' identities be disclosed. Initially, the study planned to collect the policy experts' names only for the matter of obtaining written consent. However, policy experts were not comfortable signing the consent form, and thus agreed to participate in the research study just by saying 'yes.' Since participants were uncomfortable engaging in politically related research, I convinced participants by elaborating the purpose of the study as academic only, and not otherwise; and that the study has no connection with political interests. Only a few experts who agreed to sign their consent were given the consent form to write and sign their names. This method of consent prevents linking participants and the recorded data obtained.

This chapter offered a detailed description on the methodology used, such as the justification for the case, the sampling process, and the analysis. The following chapter presents first outcomes and specifically identifies how interviewed policy experts in Dar es Salaam perceeive globalisation and digital policy practices.

5. The perception of globalisation in digital policy practices

Digital communication policy constitutes a new dimension of policy worldwide. Only a decade ago, digital policy was not seen to relate to societal development in developing countries, but mainly focussed on the "digital divide," and international (e.g., policies by UNESCO, ITU) and national policies addressed processes of "inclusion."

However, policy debates are currently changing. In 2017, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU, 2017) compared the "maturity" of digital policy approaches across four different models worldwide by identifying four different generations of the regulation, from the lowest to the most advanced levels. These include 1) regulated public monopolies with a "command and control" approach, 2) basic reforms with partial liberalisation and privatisation across layers, 3) enabling investment, innovation and access – dual focus on stimulating competition in service and content delivery, and consumer protection, and 4) an integrated regulation led by economic and social policy goals as the advanced stage of addressing digital policy (ITU, 2017b). While most developed countries, for example, Australia, US, Canada, Germany, France, Brazil, Peru, and Argentina, have reached a point of "integration" and "collaboration" of digital policy regulations into other policy sectors and have thus reached the advanced stage of digital policy (ITU, 2017), according to this ITU assessment, developing countries and regions either show "command and control" policy regulations or an "open market and privatisation" policy approach (ITU, 2017b). According to the ITU's comparative structure, only a few developing countries are characterised as "advanced" in their digital policy approaches. Among these are five countries on the African continent: Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Ghana, and Morocco (ITU, 2017b), three of which are located in the East African region. In recent years, these countries have produced new strategic approaches to digital policy that aim

to foster economic development. The government in Kenya has a focus on attracting investors in technology start-up funds for boosting digital innovations in the country (Jackson, 2019). Uganda has passed the Uganda Digital Vision 2040, which clearly defines the country's strategic framework of digital development and implementation approach to achieve the Vision (Stephen, 2019). The remainder of the African countries, including Tanzania, are ranked at a lower level of digital policy regulation.

It is crucial, however, to fully understand the digital policy approaches of countries at this lower end of the spectrum. While a few studies, specifically addressing digital development in Kenya and Uganda, exist studies of African developing countries are rare. In one contemporary example of digital development comparison, Ayele (2019) reports that Ethiopia is reviewing its 15-year-old ICT policy as a step towards digitising its economy to keep pace with the globalised era. While Tanzania is ahead of such a stage, Ethiopia's revisiting of its existing ICT policy reflects a developing country's motives to move towards a citizen engagement approach to development in the digital era. Another example is Rwanda that, too, has begun to move towards digital policy revision by "establishing a regime of an internationally coordinated technology policy, necessary for achieving the economies-of-scale and maintaining focus on marginalised communities" (Maitland, 2018, p. 69). This practice implies that Rwanda is beginning to foresee an inclusive policymaking approach as a driver of its economy. These developing countries' actions toward addressing digital policy reflect high motivations for achieving inclusive digital economic development.

However, most digital policies in developing countries are beginning to focus on economic development. While economic processes are crucial for societal development, civic capacity building in the context of globalised digital spheres is equally important. This study aims to fill

this gap by assessing digital policy processes in relation to new formations of civic public engagement in Tanzania as a country in the East African region, where there are mixed degrees of digital policy regulation in place.

This case study illuminates the practices of policy makers in Tanzania and the city of Dar es Salaam. It identifies the subjective perception of policy practice of 30 policymakers in Dar es Salaam. The results of 30 semi-structured interviews allow insight into five dimensions:

(1) the perception of globalisation, which is needed to fully understand the focus of policymaking in the globalised digital sphere;

(2) the perception of youth's digital opportunities to gain knowledge; this is an important dimension as it helps to reveal the policy experts' understanding of development perspectives in the globalised digital era;

(3) the understanding of the sort of knowledge gained through digital smartphone interactions, which is key in addressing the new perspective of civic public communication as a crucial element for inclusive societal development in the digital era;

(4) the understanding of citizens' engagement in civic activities, as this is key to understanding the way citizens are included in government decision-making practices for addressing civic digital capacity building; and

(5) notions of citizenship, which allow the further identification of the collaborative network sphere in terms of digital policymaking practices for addressing notions of global citizenship and digital citizenship that are currently emerging as crucial aspects of development.

In addressing these dimensions, the study's aim is to understand the subjective reality of policymaking perceptions. The study employs Berger & Luckmann's construction of social reality to understand the perceptions of policy experts in terms of digital policymaking (see

chapter 4, Methodology). It is quite interesting to see that policy experts' responses address policymaking practices mainly in economic terms and government practices; however, the notion of citizenship is also addressed, albeit in very abstract terms.

When the 30 policymakers involved in this study were asked to describe what they perceive as the advantages of globalisation processes for Dar es Salaam, all respondents highlighted that globalisation is very important; however, most of them specifically emphasised that the globalisation of economic and business issues is becoming a vital aspect of digital practices. Most of the 30 interviewed experts see globalisation as a driver of the national economy and financial services, enabling connection to transnational developments, for example, business opportunities. As a city policy expert in Dar es Salaam noted:

> In Dar es Salaam with globalisation, it may be easy to conduct economic or business activities in a more convenient and simplified same way as it happens in China or other parts of the world. Businesspeople in Dar es Salaam mostly benefit from globalised digital communication where they communicate outside Dar es Salaam for business purposes such as press order, make payments etc. People in Dar es Salaam benefits from access to information by winning the marketing strategies. (Interview No. 13, p. 1&2)

The perception of globalised digital connectivity mainly relates to national business practices within and across the national border. This implies that the policymaking perception focuses on crossborder business practices which relate to the understanding of development mainly through the lens of business economy. However, individual perceptions of globalisation in these broader economic terms differed among respondents. For example, some policy experts understood the benefits of economic globalisation mainly in terms of the opportunity it creates for financial transactions through mobile money banking services:

> …The globalised sphere has increased access to the banking system through mobile phones. For Tanzania we have few bank institutions; thus, access to banking services was challenging, and it requires some movement to reach to the bank institution. For big cities like Dar es Salaam where there are high population and traffic jams, globalisation has reduced movement to bank institutions. There are increased mobile banking and online banking services where you can perform a transaction at anytime and anywhere you want through Mpesa, Tigo Pesa, Airtel Money etc. provided there are network and internet coverage. (Interview No. 26, p. 2)

The respondent mainly perceives the advantage of digital globalisation in terms of access to banking services across the city. Furthermore, their focus of globalisation is based on convenient business practices in terms of easy purchasing. Such economic and financial perspectives of globalisation relate to the traditional notion of national development in a developing country, mainly relating to economic development.

5.1 Perceptions of globalisation in Dar es Salaam: five dimensions

As digital globalisation is increasingly taking place in the city of Dar es Salaam, the perception of globalisation and digital communication among policy makers is key for understanding the city's development. The number of citizens who are connected to digital communication and the internet makes the city's strategic point for various digital activities necessary for economic development. While digital networks continue to grow in Dar es Salaam, youths emerge as the prominent users of digital communication in the city compared to other groups of users, such as adults. Based on this, youths have the potential to use the digital sphere to contribute to contemporary development perspectives in the city, thus, it is important to understand how policy experts perceive the digital public space as crucial for the city's development. This imposes a necessity to address the perception of policy makers in Dar es Salaam regarding the

opportunities enabled by globalisation and digital communication for the city's economic development.

Dimension one: globalisation for local governance capacity building

Despite an emphasis on economic globalisation processes, policy experts also feel that globalisation and digital communication are crucial for governance processes as the first dimension of globalisation. When they were asked about the implications for their day-to-day practices from a global perspective, most respondents expressed that digital communication offers new dimensions of quality, such as efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, and accountability of government services. They specifically understand digital communication in the context of the daily performance of everyday office work, which they understand as a vital sphere of governance capacity building. A policy expert in the local government illustrated this point:

> For me, I think the globalised sphere has increased transparency, efficiency, and accountability in the workplace such as Municipalities in Dar es Salaam. For example, currently, when paying government taxes, you need to mention just your name to retrieve all your information regarding your particulars; tax payment history etc. With globalisation, government services are becoming so much improved, a situation which facilitates easy service delivery for the achievement of development. For citizens in Dar es Salaam, the globalised sphere has enabled them to access public services so easily, on time without delay, fast and cost-effectiveness, something which I can regard as credibility to municipalities and the government in general. If today, you visit various hospitals here in Dar es Salaam you will find that sections and departments are digitally interlinked in such a way that it facilitates service provision and reduces queues and other inconveniences among users. (Interview No. 7, p. 1&2)

It is interesting to note that this understanding of globalisation mainly focuses on the improved delivery of 'public service' – governance – meaning establishing and improving the relations between government sectors and from the government to citizens. They highlight effective "time saving" in administrative processes through the increased use of digital communication among public servants and citizens across the different local municipalities. While on the one hand, policy experts perceive governance in Dar es Salaam in terms of the quality of public service delivery, on the other hand, there is a perception of governance that is based on the simplification of public administration, as illustrated by a respondent:

> For my understanding, globalisation in Tanzania has enabled the adoption to e-governance which has simplified delivery of public service in the local government. Globalisation has enabled the world to be like a village, for example, in Tanzania since 2011; we have succeeded to connect all 185 local authorities which have simplified the connection between the Ministry to any local authority or among local authority themselves at any time. This connectivity implies that all information from the local government authority can reach at the ministry in a short period. All systems such as revenue collection system, human resource management system, etc. are interlinked together which has simplified official work and decision-making practices. Before globalisation it was a must to travel from a local government authority to the Ministry to seek information or clarification which had a cost implication in terms of time, money, and risk of accidents but now the work is highly simplified, and the cost is highly reduced. (Interview No. 25, p. 1&2)

Such an understanding of globalisation for the logistical purposes of connecting the government across the country, in terms of e-governance, might be conceived as a first step in the process for digital development of the country. They regard favouring public service delivery as a major advantage of digital globalisation as they highlight key benefits on simplification of work, easy access to official information, and cost reduction. However, their

perception of globalisation in governance is one-sided, focusing more on public service delivery than on citizens' participation in public service decision-making processes.

Dimension two: globalisation as an enabler of societal processes

The second dimension of perceptions of globalisation is the new scope of news sources. Respondents perceive digital access to news and information as essential aspects of the globalised digital city of Dar es Salaam. Most respondents argue that globalised digital communication has improved instant access to news through search platforms, social media sites, and YouTube channels, which are emerging as major news sources for citizens. For example, a policy expert in the local government noted:

> The biggest advantage of globalisation in Dar es Salaam is access to information where citizens can currently access information at any time, and at any place. There is no need to wait for the television news in the evening as we used to, and I think newspapers market has dropped down to a large extent. Citizens are no longer purchasing newspapers; instead, they opt for online news. Currently, there are lots of blogs owned by individuals, online televisions such as Ayo television, Kinondoni TV, and everyone has turned to be a journalist in a way that news is available every time through many channels where the smartphone has facilitated access to all this information. Most public institutions opened blogs, web page, Facebook page, Twitter, YouTube, etc. Even here in the ICT department, we go field daily to collect information for our daily news. (Interview No. 9, p. 1&2)

The respondent perception is based on valueing access to instant news via digital forms. This new context of digital access to news reflects a move away from traditional media consumption characterised by television, radio, and newspapers, to the more participatory format of digital media. This transition is particularly remarkable in urban and city areas, such as Dar es Salaam, where traditional media are common. Their perception also implies the extension of news

sources especially using new media. Access to digital news implies citizens' opportunities to share opinions online. And the opportunity for citizens' interaction with digital news is reflected among citizens in Dar es Salaam who access the internet via smartphones. While some policy experts regard instant access to news through digital means as crucial for the reception of up-to-date information, others consider access to information as a powerful tool for economic development. This is often given more weight in societal development, however, civic capacity building, which is a crucial dimension of economic development in the digital era, remains unexplored. Policymakers see societal development as a key dimension of economic development, as illustrated by a policy expert in the Municipal Council of Dar es Salaam:

> The globalised sphere has so many advantages in Dar es Salaam; for example, it has simplified the access to information. If you may have so many resources such as money without access to information, it is useless. For example, if you could have information about where to buy a piece of land, this would be advantageous for you and your family too. Currently, information is available in various sources like institution websites, YouTube, Google etc. and lucky enough most of us we have smartphones to access all this information. Through a smartphone, you will know the price, the size, location, payments mode, important deadlines, requirements, and much other information. You only need to have access to the internet. (Interview No. 11, p. 1)

Respondents feel that digital communication offers a convenient space for accessing information that can improve social life. They have a sense that access to information is one step to societal development with limited knowledge of the opportunity offered by new media to interact more with the information. Again, their understanding of information that is vital for societal development is limited to economic information, such as information relating to the purchase of land, including payments, important deadlines, and location. For societal

development, there must be interactive access to news and information among content providers and information users. There is a limited understanding among respondents of civic public communication as an essential component of societal development in the digital era. Interviewees require more awareness of the globalised sphere as a new space where citizens' access to civic information and engagement in public communication are emerging as key for societal development.

Additionally, respondents perceive an advantage of globalisation, from the perspective of social media interactions and all sorts of digital platforms, as improving communication. Policy experts mainly regard general access to digital platforms, such as social media platforms and portals, as important means of communication and societal development in terms of social engagement. That said, they have minimal awareness of processes of digital civic participation as a crucial component of societal development. Among policy experts, there are varied perceptions regarding globalisation's potential to achieve communication improvements. Mainly at the local level, some conceive communication improvements in terms of digital social communication, via social media, as a new domain to link society to social issues. A policy expert illustrated this:

> I think the globalised sphere, contribute so much to the city grew concerning social communication to bring people closer in the social issues. For example, in the place where I am living, we have established the WhatsApp group for all neighbours near my home where we share challenges of our area and discuss ways of resolving altogether. (Interview No. 10, p. 1)

Access to platforms among citizens translates to a widening social communication space and digital engagement in matters for societal development, such as social engagements and interaction in social issues. However, respondents seem not to be aware of the opportunity

presented by digital platforms to engage in public debate for societal development. They are more concerned on using new media space for social engagement than civic public communication. Some respondents regard digital portals as crucial aspects of globalised communication that save time and enable better mobility within the city, as illustrated here:

> If you refer to the nature of Dar es Salaam regarding high population and traffic jams, there is a great challenge of moving from point to point. For example, if you want to move from Posta to Oyster-bay, you cannot walk because it is a bit far. However, when you decide to use transport, it may take 3 to 4 hours, and if you do go and return it means you would have to consume your whole day for the movement without doing work. However, if you decide to use digital communication there is no need for such a movement, you may make a call or use an email, or portal to share a document which would be received instantly. So, in Dar es Salaam, globalisation has helped us to resolve the challenge of movements within the city. (Interview No. 15, p. 1&2)

Policy experts' perceptions regarding improved communication are mainly articulated in relation to the 'convenience' enabled by the connectivity of social interaction and governance practices. This perception is constrained by the role of policy experts that mainly focus on delivery of public services. However, such a perception of globalisation in the digital era relates mainly to local processes and does not involve all dimensions of globalised interaction. This includes civic public communication, which could be the main driver of societal developmental debates.

Dimension three: globalisation and development of financial start-ups

Respondents perceive globalisation as presenting a new opportunity to access knowledge and skills as a third dimension of globalisation on top of the previously mentioned dimensions of globalisation as governance and news source. They mainly perceive the globalised sphere as

enabling individuals to learn new skills for development start-ups, applications that are useful for dealing with societal problems:

> As I have mentioned earlier, there are so many advantages of globalisation in Dar es Salaam. For example, so many challenges in society may be resolved digitally. Since individuals share experience from each other regarding how some issues are resolved digitally in other countries; there is also an opportunity to develop applications which may be solutions to those problems… if you have an idea, and you are not aware of how to go about, then globalisation and the internet are the eye-openers for you whereas anything you want is available online. What you need is to understand what information you are seeking and for what purpose. (Interview No. 8, p. 1)

Respondents mainly understand knowledge and skills in terms of developing applications that will be the solution for societal problems; however, they have a minimal understanding of developing public platforms that will enable citizens' participation in the public sphere. Interviewees understand globalisation primarily in economic terms (as noted at the beginning of this chapter), mainly focussing on societal challenges in economic terms. This implies the need to create more awareness of the potential of public communication for societal development. Respondents primarily expect globalisation to offer solutions to economic problems, but some also note processes of learning through the digital space as a factor of societal development. This implies that there is only minimal awareness of using globalisation to enable civic public participation for societal development, and that digital connectivity is mainly seen as a space to provide instruction for how to combat mostly economic societal challenges. Therefore, there is a need to develop awareness that globalisation offers interactive spaces to promote citizens' participation in the public spheres – beyond the national territory.

Dimension four: globalisation and new dimensions for government interaction

Only a minority of respondents from both the national government and Municipal Councils understand the advantages of globalisation in the context of political benefit. Their primary focus is not so much on civic public interaction, but on the opportunity to promote the work of political leaders through social media platforms. This perception reflects the notion of using social media to sustain governments, while opportunities for citizens' engagement in political communication is seen as less relevant. For example, a policy expert in a Municipal Council stated:

> I think the globalised sphere in Dar es Salaam has many advantages and has touched almost on every sector. For example, politically, various political leaders have gained popularity through digital communication such as social media, by using the available digital infrastructure to promote themselves and their work in such a way that it is easy for everyone to see what he or she are doing. (Interview No. 6, p. 1)

Digital connectivity is seen as assisting in promoting the work of political leaders, while public communication and deliberation of citizens is not seen as a key area. Their understanding of societal development relates to political globalisation in terms of using social media to expand the focus of political activities by telling citizens what is achieved in this arena. It is interesting that this perception is articulated when addressing globalised digital communication in which interactive communication with citizens on what political leaders should do is relevant via new media. It seems that respondents perceive globalisation in economic terms as a new dimension of development, while digital globalisation in political terms is seen as a digital tool to promote local and national political processes.

Dimension five: globalisation and Dar es Salaam

The last dimension of globalisation and digital social practices is seen in the global scope. The lens of "globalised Dar es Salaam" is applied in terms of broader perspectives of understanding the world as a "global village." Interviewees mainly regard the advantages of globalisation beyond national borders in the sense that learning what is happening across the world is seen as a crucial aspect for improving society practices for development. Such a view implies that when the world gets smaller, greater digital opportunities – in terms of global digital connectivity – arise. A policy expert illustrated this:

> The globalised sphere is very important, not only in Dar es Salaam but in every place. Globalisation makes the world to be like a small village which implies that what is happening in one part of the world may also happen the same or similar in other parts of the world because of easy learning from each other. (Interview No 13, p 1).

The respondents' perception of the advantage of globalisation relates to digital interconnectivity to bring the world closer and the ability to learn from nearly all parts of the world. There is a disparity in the way globalisation is perceived. For example, while on the one hand, policy experts adopt global perspectives in terms of learning through practices from various parts of the world, on the other hand, globalisation is seen as a driver of local and national economic and business policies, to meet global demand:

> …Economically, globalisation has influenced the government of Tanzania to establish business plans and economic policy which meets the global needs in a way that it helps us to engage in international business for our economic development. This view also enabled us to create economic diplomacy and good relationship among countries which is now increasing. (Interview No 6, p 2)

Such perception means that interviewees address economic terms of globalisation in different ways. While earlier in this chapter it was related that policy experts understand economic

globalisation in terms of business activities and financial transaction across the border (see p. 157), they also understand globalisation from a broader, international perspective, such as diplomatic activities. The sense of connectivity among policy experts speaks loudly to the economic benefits of globalisation addressing a "global interest," while the sense of national interest, crucial for societal development, is left behind. There is a need to understand that the globalised digital sphere empowers citizens to come together and communicate their views to achieve societal development, surpassing respondents' focus on a global economic interest. Such a new space for citizens' engagement in civic public communication is emerging as a new aspect of economic development in the digital era.

5.1.1 Challenges of globalisation

Apart from the favourable view of globalisation among respondents, it is felt that globalisation poses challenges, such as having severe implications for national productivity. This perception relates to reduced efficiency among public service administrators in Dar es Salaam, which implies that such administrators are yet to identify the potential for relating globalisation to civic capacity building. Respondents also highlighted the notion that "we failed to forecast implications of globalisation to our society," which indicates that policymakers are not adequately prepared to understand the potentials of globalisation for all tiers of national development. Social media offers an opportunity for public servants to create a public forum where the government and citizens can work collaboratively for the greater economic development outcomes.

Respondents realise the need to build their awareness of the emerging potentials for globalisation in terms of inclusive decision-making practices for societal development. One

respondent phrased this explicitly, and noted that not enough has been done to understand the implications of globalised processes on Tanzania:

> …There is a need to rethink where we have gone wrong by embracing globalisation, and the cost of managing globalisation, for now, is very high. We failed to forecast the implications of globalisation in our society. For example, currently, individuals in offices are not efficiency since they engage in social media networks all the time, thus spend much time chatting rather than working. Since our citizens are not prepared to receive digital globalization, they will keep on chatting during working hours, a situation which impacts the performance and productivity of the whole country. (Interview No. 18, p. 2)

Reviewing all responses reveals that there are nuances in respondents' perceptions of the challenges of globalisation for Dar es Salaam. Responses do not reveal larger implications but are very concrete. For example, respondents highlighted the fact that globalised digital spheres provide access to sites such as Google, thus, in their understanding, create negative implications for creative thinking. Furthermore, an increasing lack of local creativity is also associated with access to knowledge and solutions produced by "other countries" and made available on digital platforms.

> …However, globalisation has disadvantages where it has killed the innovative and creative spirits among individuals. I suppose we were required to use knowledge from the globalisation to innovate more, but we are doing vice versa. For example, students are no longer producing creative answers instead of googling from the internet, which implies reduced thinking ability among individuals. Knowledge and research accessed on the internet reflect other countries ability to create and share knowledge, but Tanzania remained to be users of digital content rather than digital knowledge producers. (Interview No. 22, p. 2)

Such understanding of the challenges posed by globalisation, for example in influencing passive communication and a decrease in creative thinking, implies that citizens are yet to be prepared to exploit opportunities offered by the globalised digital sphere. Respondents seem to feel that to achieve societal development in the current digital era, there is a need to produce new digital content. However, when asked, it seems that they mainly understand creative thinking in relation to academic contexts such as producing visionary solutions for society. It also seems that challenges, such as a lack of creativity in using globalisation to develop a new government application for citizens' participation in the public sphere, is rarely addressed. Yet, this is a major new dimension paving the development of a developing country, such as Tanzania. In this sense, it is essential for interviewees to understand that globalisation provides space for creativity, and for producing technologies and digital content, thus enabling citizens' interaction in public decision-making practices as a key path towards inclusive societal development in the current digital era.

5.2 Opportunities for globalised digital spheres

In response to the question of how digital communication is an opportunity for youths to gain knowledge, all policy experts feel that digital communication is critical, offering the opportunity, especially for youths, to gain knowledge, mainly via Google, YouTube, and other popular platforms. However, there are different perceptions regarding the kind of knowledge gained among youths through digital communication. Most of the responses emphasised that youths have unique opportunities to gain insight into business activities, as a policy expert in a Municipal Council illustrated:

> Globalisation in terms of digital communication is a very great opportunity for youths to gain so much knowledge since there is a gain of business knowledge, where you may

> Google or go to YouTube and search any business which you are interested and then learn skills for engaging into that business. There is a different kind of businesses which are available on YouTube, and youths have the chance to select those businesses which fits to their contexts. After identifying a business, digitisation enables you to promote business online may be through social media and you may access customers who will contribute to your income. (Interview No. 10, p. 2)

This reveals policy experts' understanding of digital communication in very practical terms, mainly as an opportunity for acquiring the necessary economic knowledge and skills for performing business activities to gain income. They feel that addressing income using digital communication is enough to achieve societal development. However, this is not the only dimension of economic development. Other dimensions, such as civic public communication, are important for digital societal development. While in the beginning, respondents view economic perspectives of globalisation in terms of business practices, at least across the border (see p. 157), when it comes to practical terms, they mainly perceive digital communication as enabling the learning of business skills.

However, policy experts' perceptions of gaining business skills differs. For example, some respondents believe that digital communication is an opportunity for youths to learn specifically online marketing strategies for generating income. As a policy expert in the Ministry noted:

> For those who use digital communication for potential purposes, they use it for boosting their economy, and they can be able to make millions of moneys through the knowledge they learn. For example, they may use social media for marketing their products or services. Currently, you can engage in a mobile business without the need to have a physical address because you can meet your customer online and send a product to indoor.

> If you have no idea how online marketing is done, you may learn from the marketed products shared through social media. Normally they put an image or a photo of a product or services, contact information, i.e. phone number, location, email, etc. for anyone who will be interested in your product. All payments processes are completed through online banking or mobile money services. So, the knowledge in e-commerce is highly gained during digital communication. (Interview No. 26, p. 3)

Policy experts' understanding of the opportunities presented by digital communication is mainly comprehended as the opportunities it presents for business development; knowledge of production, e-marketing, and income generation demonstrates a clear focus on the financial aspect of development. This notion relates to traditional perceptions of understanding communication and societal development (e.g., OECD, 2017) via a sole emphasis on economic growth. However, true societal development is brought forward through civic participation and deliberation in public debates. The quotation above reveals marketing strategy are favoured for economic development although they could also favour digital civic engagement for economic development. It is necessary for policy experts to understand the contribution of digital communication to these non-financial aspects of societal development, such as civic public communication, which is currently emerging as a crucial component of development. This understanding is particularly important when assessing the way citizens in Tanzania, such as in Dar es Salaam, engage in political issues on social media. However, this civic dimension of societal development is rarely addressed, as policy experts have a focus on knowledge acquisition and skills related to economic development.

Respondents also highlighted that digital communication offers increased opportunity for youths to access learning resources for academic purposes and career development through the utilisation of digital resources. This was noted by a policy expert in the Ministry:

> …Youth such as students can learn online courses through the internet. For those who want to improve their career can be able to search online the interesting course and register to learn, in the end, they will gain skills and will also receive a certificate. Also, students have access to learning materials, for example, in our times we had to order used learning materials such as textbooks or course notes from our friends for us to learn without considering that learning topics and syllabus usually change from time to time. However, now you can search online whatever you want on Google, YouTube, etc. to increase your skills and understanding. Digital communication has also opened chances for new learning platforms such as tHL app which has learning notes; question and answers for all the past secondary school national examinations, etc. Thus, students have the chance to improve learning… (Interview No. 28, p. 2&3)

Policy experts mainly recognise the opportunity for digital communication in terms of 'convenient' engagement in online courses and easy access to learning materials, which is crucial for improving the learning environment among youths. Despite the declared benefits of digital communication for educational purposes, these are reserved primarily for the few youths who engage in the academic context. It seems that respondents see the opportunity for applications for learning, such as tHL, as key to societal development, while an application for citizens' involvement in government decisions is still irrelevant. Google and YouTube channel offer a space to learn civic matters, however, policy experts are yet to see this opportunity. In the current globalised digital era, youths have opportunities to engage actively in civic public communication, such as expressing their political views and participating in political debates through social media platforms which are currently growing as important dimensions of societal development.

Respondents also perceive digital communication as an opportunity for youths to gain innovative knowledge for dealing with societal problems technologically. Their main understanding focuses on using digital content as a critical guide to problem-solving, as illustrated by a policy expert in the government agency:

> …Youth have opportunities to innovate, to develop new apps, to develop contents and post them online, to develop software, etc. All these are the opportunity for youths, and they emanate from digital communication. We had youths who developed a payment system known as MAXIMALIPO which is popularly known in Tanzania, he has opened a business company and employed so many other youths. Others have managed to develop a system of selling airtime vouchers by linking mobile money accounts system to bank accounts systems. All these innovative ideas have a background from searching online information regarding how other countries have gone further steps in solving similar social, economic problems surrounding their society. Youths have the chance to learn from others and come with their innovation since ICT can provide solutions to many problems existing in society. Those youths who are programmers they just need to be informed on the issue, and they may innovate the solution.

Respondents sees digital spheres as providing an opportunity to develop online content and software skills; however, these issues are mainly addressed in relation to mobile money transactions and payments software, and less to other possibilities, such as linking up with international peers and start-up groups across the national border. Interviewees do not seem to consider the opportunities of globalised digital spheres from a civic perspective, such as offering a space for youths to interact in a transnational spectrum. The opportunities for youths are mainly seen as producing local knowledge, using the international resources to “innovate ideas” and gain access to “online information” with

minimal understanding of how other countries "deal" with an issue. This reliance on international resources implies minimal awareness of opportunities to create self innovations for future societal development, such as training in programming skills. While policy experts observe that youths would benefit economically from utilising digital content to deal with societal problems technologically, their perception varies. For example, some understand that digital communication offers an opportunity for youths to develop digital content through blogging as noted by a policy expert below:

> …Having access to the internet itself is an opportunity and using the internet is another opportunity and an added advantage where individuals can establish their blogs, advertise their work, and get more money... (Interview No. 9, p. 3)

This perception of globalisation as offering innovative knowledge that can be exploited for economic gain implies that policy experts feel that economic gain is key in the globalised digital era. However, it is important to realise that this context relates mainly to the understanding of globalisation and development in a developing country. It is essential for policy experts to understand that globalised digital communication offers more extensive linkages for common decision-making practices between citizens and the government for societal development.

Furthermore, a minority of the 30 policy experts interviewed emphasised that youths have an opportunity to use digital communication, such as social media, to gain health knowledge, as a policy expert illustrated:

> …Youths have an opportunity to learn their health online. For example, sexual health education is highly shared through social media. It can be written stories, audio, and videos which helps a youth to monitor their health and prevent unnecessary sexual health problems... (Interview No. 28, p. 3)

In this context, communication and development in a developing country focuses more on the level of individual, rather than broader societal, development. Although sexual health knowledge is critical, there is a need to build a broader understanding of globalised digital communication and its strengths towards societal development in a developing country such as Tanzania, where youths have the opportunity to use digital communication to engage in public discussions for collective decision-making in matters of national development.

Only a few policy experts perceive digital communication from the angle of gaining political knowledge among youths. For example, one policy expert in the Municipal Council said that:

> …Youths also have an opportunity to gain knowledge regarding the governance system and the effectiveness of the ruling party in terms of fulfilling their promises. Political information such as new political appointments made by the president and the dismissed political appointments are mostly shared through an official letter released and shared through digital smartphone communication which may enable youths to understand civic matters in the country. (Interview No. 13, p. 3)

Although this policy expert's perception pivots on the convenience of digital communication for political leaders to inform citizens, this can be viewed as one side of societal development. While initially, respondents perceived globalisation and digital communication as tools for promoting the work of political leaders (see p. 166), now their view is directed towards promoting the work of the government. This clearly shows the missing linkages between the government and citizens in the digital public sphere. For a society to achieve development in the globalised digital era, there is a need to further engage citizens in the governance processes. However, as the quotation above illustrates, civic digital communication is mainly seen as an opportunity for the government to promote politicians, its policies, and approaches.

Apart from the positive gain of knowledge from digital communication, the majority of interviewees argued that youths mainly use online communication for entertainment and social contact, which, as they feel, is a "waste" of time.

> … most youths are misusing the internet and digital communication, they only use for refreshment, chatting, view other people's posts, watch movies and music, etc. they are not aware that such practices mean the waste of time, they could use the same time to learn meaningful pieces of stuff. (Interview No. 9, p. 3)

Respondents identify critical issues relating to youths' use of social media, which in their view, solely encompasses chatting, sharing posts, and watching movies and listening to music. Such an observation implies that interviewees are yet to identify the opportunities in these practices, such as linking to an international sphere through participation in debates of common global issues or enabling insight into different lifestyles for societal development. Rather than view online communication, as some interviewees note, as a "waste of time," it is important to develop an awareness that globalisation and digital communication, through social media platforms, create potential opportunities for youths to engage as young citizens in the international sphere. Policy experts also observed that youths fail to gain potential knowledge from their use of digital communication due to information illiteracy, as one policy expert from a government agency illustrated:

> On my view, I think few youths have benefited from globalisation, and most youths have not yet benefited from such an opportunity just by looking at the number of youths. The biggest challenge is the information illiteracy where despite having all the information on their fingertips, youths fail to understand where certain specific information may be accessed. There should be a certain level of understanding the 'where' about information so that you may put efforts to search for it, but if you are unaware you may not be able to search for it. In this way, most youths use the advantage of being globalised for social

> purposes than searching for other specific information which might be more helpful or that might open chances for socio-economic opportunities than just social interaction like chatting with friends and relatives in the social media networks… (Interview No. 17, p. 1&2)

The respondent's understanding of information illiteracy among youths focuses on being unable to skilfully exploit the opportunities of digital practices; however, they do not relate digital illiteracy to engagement in transnational digital public spheres. Perceptions regarding this deficient use of digital communication among youths translates to greater freedom of digital communication for personal and social interactions, rather than for engaging in civic and public communication in cyberspace and across the national border. Policy experts need to understand that implications for digital communication for societal development depend on the extent to which digital space is free for youths to grasp digital opportunities.

5.3 Three categories of knowledge

Policy experts were asked to respond to the question "What sort of knowledge is gained among youths when socially interacting through digital smartphone communications?" Most respondents feel that youths use digital smartphone communication as a tool to facilitate their "entertainment":

> In my general view, I think youths are using the smartphone to access information relating to entertainment only. It is very rare to see youths reading a book from the smartphone instead youths are interested in music artists especially following up on new songs, new fashions, relationships etc. When you find a youth is very attentive with the smartphone, will either be watching a movie, a funny and entertaining clip, sports games can be either Arsenal, Chelsea, Liverpool etc. Very few of them watch or read news from the smartphone, something very dangerous for their life and the future of our nation too.

> Smartphone has changed our youths so much regarding seriousness in work, where they like wearing headphones in most of their times in a way that they spend much more time on a smartphone than working. For me, I think entertainment is a necessary thing but not that compulsory; and maybe this is because we lack the culture of payment per working hours that is why youths do not value every moment and each hour of their life. (Interview No. 9, p. 3)

In this respondent's view, the only practice that matters for youths is "entertainment," which implies that there is limited awareness among youths of the potential for smartphone communication. While respondents expressed the view that youths use smartphone communication to gain knowledge, respondents – in specific terms – from a somewhat pessimistic perspective, mainly relate this knowledge to engage in personal entertainment, which they feel is a "waste of time" (see p. 177). Smartphones are mainly seen as platforms to facilitate the experience of entertainment content.

Respondents understand that using smartphones to read the news and spending more time at work is vital for societal development; nevertheless, this perception relates to traditional government approaches, which undermine the role of citizens in governing. They understand that working while keeping away smartphones is closely linked to societal development. However, they have minimal understanding that, on the other way, smartphone may serve as a tool for watching a political speech or access to other civic information. Such perceptions of policy experts deeply relate to their professional roles of managing public service delivery in public institutions for societal development. Interviewees are unaware, for example, of the potential for smartphone communication to link citizens with the government in matters that require collaborative decision-making for inclusive societal development. While on the one hand, policy experts understand smartphone communication among youths in terms of personal

entertainment, on the other, they also indicate its ability to transmit social knowledge through social media interactions. Their perception focuses on promoting "social moments" through social media sites. For example, one policy expert said that:

> For my view, youths are highly interested in engaging in social media networks. The youth's preliminary need for buying a smartphone is engaging in Instagram, WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, etc. Youths use social media to expose their lives to the public, i.e. what they ate, wear, where they travelled, who are their best friends, events, etc. Youths should understand that there are consequences of using social media in that way because digital memory is permanent… (Interview No. 27, p. 3)

The respondent perceives social media in terms of future "consequences" for youths, which implies that he mainly regards it as destructive, rather than presenting an opportunity. The potential for using social media sites such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram for governance processes is not yet fully visualised, however, various world governments are currently using social media platforms for governance practices, which can also be developed in Dar es Salaam. There is a need to understand that the globalised digital sphere offers a new linkage for youths to use social media platforms to learn the civic knowledge that is necessary for societal development rather than solely for personal entertainment and social knowledge.

Moreover, representing the second category of knowledge, policy experts indicated that youths use digital smartphone interaction to learn about Western lifestyles, which has implications for the national culture:

> …Youths do not see the importance of learning issues which might provide solutions to national challenges. Despite the benefits of globalisation and digital communication, there is so much information which relates to the destructions of our culture. A youth might be

> physically here in Dar es Salaam but learn and practice Americanisation. I think we have lost our culture… (Interview No 23, p 3).

Respondents understand "the nation" and globalisation as two different spheres. Cultural pessimism is expressed in the critique of digital practices, and the loss of culture caused by Americanisation, which reveals a very limited perspective on the opportunities presented by digital landscapes, not only in Dar es Salaam but also the nation and East African region. Policy experts mainly perceive smartphone interaction as a space that, while offering plenty of knowledge, has implications for national culture. While cultural perspectives on globalisation can be de-Westernised through national education frameworks, policymakers' understanding of the globalised network space is central for contextualising development in a developing country. The access to smartphone-enabled digital space, which is no longer national or local, but globalised, is a crucial aspect of a developing country's development. It thus requires further understanding by both policy experts and youths. However, it seems that interviewees mainly rely on traditional perceptions of knowledge acquisition and see societal development mainly in those contexts.

Additionally, representing a third category of knowledge, respondents note that in their interaction through digital smartphone communication, youths gain knowledge of intimate relationships. As they view, this offers "minimal contributions" to societal development:

> …The situation is worse for young adults because they gain more knowledge regarding sex and relationships and nothing more. They share romantic videos and photos exposing how they look every day or where they went for lunch or dinner or how they celebrated birthdays or other events. (Interview No. 25, p. 3)

Policy experts' perception of youths' digital smartphone interaction mainly relates to the facilitation and building of romantic relationships, which bolsters what policy experts

understand about unimportant knowledge gained through smartphone communication. This kind of smartphone interaction, in which knowledge of intimate relationships is gained, can be linked to the perspective of "the internet generation'," in which youths are increasingly more connected to friends and relationships than to government practices. As youths are increasingly globalised, there is a need to increase our understanding of the strengths of digital smartphone communication for a developing country such as Tanzania.

Also, a small number of policy experts understand the failure of youths to gain potential knowledge from digital smartphone interaction, which can be linked to neoliberal perspectives of the media. They mainly perceive that smartphone advertisements have primarily influenced the use of smartphone communication among youths, as a policy expert noted during an interview:

> …The way the smartphone is advertised may influence its use. Promoters advertise smartphone in terms of access to social media. Smartphone promotions are like WhatsApp Bure, Facebook Bure, Facebooka na Smartphone, Pata na Share Picha, Special offer on social media use etc. So, here you may get the concept regarding the point that when someone buys a smartphone is thinking about what. I can say that 'when the purpose is not known then abusing is inevitable… (Interview No. 19, p. 3)

It seems that policy experts understand the promotion of free social media use as having implications for the fulfilment of the full range of potential smartphone interactions. Respondents understand that the primary use of smartphones among youths is social interaction on Facebook and WhatsApp, which they feel does not contribute to societal development. It seems that respondents have a very limited understanding of digital opportunities for societal developments, and a clear focus on economic development, yet ignore the new spheres of youth civic engagement. This seems to suggest that there is minimal understanding of other uses of

social media for societal development; however, social media is more than just social interactions. There is an opportunity to link social media platforms with governance, creating a more interactive governance system for societal economic development. Policy experts need to understand that smartphone interactions, through social media, offer a broader opportunity for youth's engagement in the governance system. Such engagement could become a vital component of societal development in the globalised, digitally connected society.

Policy experts responded very differently to the question about the knowledge potentially gained by youths through digital smartphone interaction. While on the one hand, it is argued that youths use digital smartphone communication to access entertainment content and gain knowledge of intimate relationships, on the other hand, it is indicated that some use digital smartphone interaction to gain economic knowledge that contributes to societal development. However, in terms of knowledge gained, their perceptions also differ, and can be organised into four dimensions. For example, as a first dimension, respondents see social interaction among youths through digital smartphone communication as enabling the learning of economic and business issues as pointed earlier (page 157). One respondent noted:

> For my understanding, few youths use smartphones to engage in the business; some youths believe that when they miss a smartphone, they have missed a business. They use it to send or receive documents, process payments, perform transactions for business purposes, scan documents, create and share advertisements, etc… (Interview No. 26, p. 3&4)

This perception focuses on digital spheres as a convenient space for business activities, for example, processing transactions and posting advertisements. Such an economic understanding of globalisation implies traditional perceptions of economic development relating mainly to financial activities; however, it also implies a lack of awareness of other available digital opportunities, such as civic interactions, which are currently growing as the key practice for

societal economic development. Policy experts also understand that youths' interaction through social media helps the acquisition of job-related knowledge and professional skills:

> You know technology has its positive and negative sides. For my general view, I think those youths who wisely use smartphone communication and who have focused on the achievement of personal development, they use smartphone communication for creating their employment… (Interview No. 7, p. 3)

Understanding the use of digital smartphone communication from the perspective of business activities and access to professional skills implies that policy experts in Dar es Salaam continue to understand development in traditional economic terms, such as production and financial benefits. Policy experts need to broaden their perspectives of the economy, to encompass civic public communication as an aspect of development that is necessary for societal change in the globalised era.

Moving on from the economic development perspective, as highlighted earlier in this chapter (pp. 157) respondents also feel that digital communication enables knowledge access for university students given their easy access to learning materials through the smartphone:

> …For students, smartphone digital interaction is used for learning purposes. They download learning materials and share with their friends through social media interactions. Youths may view reading materials such as pictures, drawings, videos, audios etc. For university students, a smartphone is a critical tool for learning because it provides easy access to timetable allocation, examination rules and results, class registrations, student bylaws etc. Currently, there are digital libraries where students may access learning materials or may buy learning materials online may be from Amazon or somewhere else. (Interview No. 24, p. 3)

It is argued that digital smartphone interaction is vital for accessing and sharing academic resources, as well as facilitating learning activities through digital access to information, such as timetables, registration, examination results, and student by-laws. Interviewees mainly agree that smartphones enable students to learn more through pictures, video, and audio. And in broader terms, respondents perceive globalisation and digital communication as facilitating general engagement in online courses and access to online academic resources such as textbooks and study notes (see p. 173). This implies a degree of nuance in the understanding of globalisation in the academic context. Such perceptions imply that policy experts understand communication development more in terms of the academic sphere, with minimal awareness of how to use such a sphere for civic engagement. It is important to understand that in the globalised digital sphere, smartphone communication is more than a tool for accessing learning resources. A new digital linkage for societal interaction and public communication is emerging, wherein smartphone interaction needs to be regarded as a component of more extensive societal, rather than merely individual, engagement for development.

Health-related knowledge seems to be a third focus among policy experts, who perceive that some youths use smartphone social interaction to gain knowledge about health-related matters. They understand that digital smartphone interaction, through social media platforms, enables the easy sharing of health information, as one policy expert noted below:

> …Also, there is information relating to health which is also shared on Facebook and on other social media where everyone may gain health knowledge. As youths are currently interested in keeping their bodies healthier, there is so much learning of health issues among youths. They gain awareness on what kind of food is healthier, what food creates poison in the human body, what are causes of certain diseases, how to keep the body healthy and many other things. (Interview No. 14, p. 3)

While initially, respondents perceived globalisation for gaining sexual health knowledge (see pp. 175 & 176), they now perceive health knowledge in terms of learning about healthy diets. Despite the variation in understandings of development among policy experts in terms of health, this implies a human-centred approach that focuses only on one-sided access to content. However, this approach should be revised to allow a more inclusive, broader societal exchange with significant opportunities for critical engagement in the public sphere, such as sharing political thoughts and opinions in relation to food and the larger ecology.

A fourth dimension of perceptions of policy experts relates to the understanding that only a small number of youths are in fact particularly interested in gaining political knowledge from social interaction via digital smartphone communication. For this reason, respondents feel it is important to focus not so much on civic engagement, but rather focus on informing citizens of the progress of government activities. However, they highlight some young citizens who take up political leadership roles, as noted by a policy expert below:

> …Youths may become very successful in different areas when they use smartphone communication wisely. For example, since politicians are sharing their speeches and promote their work on social media, the youth also benefits politically. Some young guys are honourable members of the parliament who impress and motivates the youth regarding their leadership ability to the extent that it cultivates leadership spirits among youths. (Interview No. 6, p. 3)

However, reading between the lines, such views concerning the promotion of political activities are biased towards the government, and lack consideration of citizen participation in the political arena. It also communicates a different way of promoting the government. For example, earlier in this chapter, interviewees perceived the political aspect of globalisation in terms of promoting works of political leaders and government approaches (see pp. 166 & 176).

This clearly indicates that respondents understand the opportunity that globalisation presents for promoting government processes, more than the opportunity to promote citizens' interaction in the public space. Instead of youths remaining merely receivers of political and government information in the globalised digital era, policy experts need to develop the spirit of young citizens' engagement in the digital political debates through smartphone communication for better governance outcomes and societal change.

5.4 Perceptions of civic engagement in a digital city - Dar es Salaam

When answering the question of how people in Dar es Salaam use digital smartphone interaction to participate in civic activities nationally or globally, a majority of policy experts strongly feel that only a small number of citizens use smartphone interaction to engage in civic activities. For example:

> For my view, I think very few citizens use digital smartphone communication to participate in civic activities. Because most citizens still regard smartphone communications as entertainment, they do not take seriously for learning or engaging in civic matters. A mere citizen who did not go to school but own a smartphone may not be in the position to engage in civic matters because may not understand the importance of civic matters. Most of them use smartphone communications as entertainment… (Interview No. 13, p. 4)

As the quotation shows, "a mere citizen who did not go to school but own a smartphone may not be in the position to engage in civic matters because may not understand the importance of civic matters," clearly revealing a level of digital illiteracy. While digital literacy – as a gateway to fully exploit the opportunity for citizens to voice their opinions in the process of government decision-making – is seen as a key area in other African countries, such as South Africa as the citation shows, this opportunity is not envisioned as a potential way forward in Tanzania. Policy experts are not seeing the opportunity to engage citizens in public debates for economic

development in Dar es Salaam. Yet, there are nuances in perceptions concerning smartphone interactions in civic activities. The role of WhatsApp and Instagram are key to civic engagement in cities as well as in rural areas.

> …For example, through social media such as WhatsApp or Instagram, any political information or news that currently happen may be shared immediately, and most citizen in rural and urban may access such a piece of information immediately. Like recently, there was a political leader who resigned from his position as a member of the parliament, and such a piece of information spread all over the nation within just 10 minutes. Sometimes citizen uses the smartphone to learn about some important information regarding elections such as campaigns, candidate's information, registration for voting, identification of voting centres, elections procedures, party's manifestos, election manifestos etc.… (Interview No. 10, p. 4)

Such perceptions relate mainly to social media sites, such as WhatsApp and Instagram, and the way they are used to access political information, such as political campaign information. While respondents address the use of social media to different political ends in Dar es Salaam, such as to promote activities of political leaders and governance practices, as well as inspiring youth's engagement in politics (see pp. 166, 176& 186), social media is also seen as crucial to the access of political information, albeit mainly in election campaign contexts. Understanding of the globalised sphere in view of political government implementations relates to the limited awareness of the advantages of social media in governance processes, such as an open space for community participation in public matters. As the above quotation shows (Interview No, 10, p, 4), social media use is seen in cities such as Dar es Salaam, as well as rural areas, as enabling citizens beyond the city territory to engage in political decision-making practices. The specific dimension of citizens' political digital engagement that relates to the conversation between political candidates and citizens is emerging as a sphere of public engagement. Other

potential practices of civic interaction and citizen engagement need to be enabled, for example through digital literacy training, which is not currently addressed. Also, interviewees seem to perceive civic information that is accessed via digital smartphone interaction in different ways. For example, one policy expert at the local government said that:

> … For example, at the marketplaces, you may find some youths have tuned on their smartphone radio listening to the news to keep themselves aware of what is going on in the political arena. For example, how the government system is working in the country, current speeches of the government political leaders, the president's speech at the end of every month etc. However, before the shutdown of the live parliament sessions, youths were also watching live from their smartphones a situation which enabled youths to keep themselves alive regarding the current news… (Interview No. 15, p. 3&4)

In this sense, their perception of civic activities focuses mainly on a top-down approach of informing the public of the current civic news, such as political speeches. Again, this relates to the promotion of the political government, while citizen participation in political communication is left aside. So long as civic engagement in the political arena of digital communication is understood mainly in terms of promoting the government and political interests, it implies that citizens' engagement in political debates is irrelevant. Policy experts need to understand that globalised digital communication offers a convenient space for both government and citizens to interact with each other in civic activities, as well as for citizens to engage, or deliberate, with each other. In addition, an interactive, rather than top-down governance through digital communication is critical for building civic capacity to accompany the economic development process.

However, in broader terms, respondents are aware of citizens' engagement in digital spaces via smartphones, which is seen, for example, in the sharing of civic information. It is argued that

civic engagement is mainly associated with WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, which enable a new opportunity to share information in the form of documents and video clips. This new form of content sharing means that respondents do understand the benefits of social media for civic engagement:

> On my view, there is the high participation of citizens in civic activities using smartphone communication. They use smartphone communication to share policy documents to create an understanding of some policy sections. As a lawyer, I also benefit from sharing policy documents with other lawyers through platforms on WhatsApp. There is a sharing of video clips regarding the affiliation and individual citizen's love for the country. There is great sharing of information relating to democracy, human right, the current governance practices etc. through social media such as WhatsApp and Facebook… (Interview No. 1, p. 3)

However, interviewees' perspectives of civic engagement via social media relates mainly to the sharing of policy documents and human rights information, which do not meet the needs of new, digital-era citizenship norms that require the reorganisation of public life in terms of citizen participation in governance.

Such an understanding of civic engagement, in terms of promoting governance practices through social media platforms, implies minimal awareness of citizens' inclusion in public decision-making practices. Respondents seem to understand development mainly as a governmental effort, in which social media can serve the specific purpose of merely informing the public of what the government is planning. This approach is consistent with traditional governance practice. Interviewees have a minimal understanding of the emerging opportunities for civic interaction, as they mainly see the potential of smartphone communication as the sharing of content. The global shift in the 21st century requires discursive, relational

connectivity between the government and the citizenry regarding public policy decision practices as a new way of including citizens in societal development processes. While on the one hand, the 30 interviewed policy experts understand civic activities in terms of spreading government information, on the other hand, they understand civic activities in terms of promoting political leaders, as one interviewee noted:

> …Smartphone has been used as a tool to build the personality of politicians since most of them share their stuff online such as their political plans, achievements, challenges etc. Sometimes smartphones have used to destroy the personality of political leaders very quick where a single message on a social media can spread so easily and can even go across the national border in a minute… (Interview No. 6, p. 4)

This perception mainly relates to protecting images of political leaders using the public sphere. While policy experts in Dar es Salaam understand engagement in civic activities from the perspective of sharing political and government information and promoting the personality of politicians, their perception of civic activities, such as citizen participation in the political arena in Dar es Salaam, is mainly passive. There is a need for citizens to engage to a greater extent with digital civic information, such as political deliberation, instead of merely spreading political information. The globalised digital world provides space for citizens to voice their concerns to influence political decision-making practices, rather than simply receive political information.

Moreover, policy experts perceive that only a small number of citizens in Dar es Salaam participate in civic activities through discussions of the civic agenda using digital smartphone interactions. As illustrated by a policy expert below, social media platforms allow politically active citizens to conveniently engage in civic discussion:

> For my experience, majority citizens do not use the smartphone to participate in civic activities, those who engage are very few. Even those few who writes their comments on social media to argue about some discussion topics have a low level of arguments. Few citizens use smartphones to engage in social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, JamiiForum, Twitter etc. where they discuss many issues including politics, governance, the democracy of the country, how citizens benefit from the natural resources, etc. These platforms give citizens free space to chat, ask, clarify, and comment on various ongoing civic matters happening in the country. Platforms like JamiiForum and Twitter offers serious discussions, comments, and gives a chance to advise on civic matters of the country. These social media got many followers… (Interview No. 28, p. 5)

The respondent's perception rests on the view that social media offers a space for civic public communication; however, only few uses such an opportunity. This understanding reveals a gap in digital civic communication among citizens in the study area. Engagement in civic activities is seen as actively contributing to public discussion, which is essential for societal development:

> On my view, citizens are not free; they are so worried to discuss civic matters in public especially politics or the government system. Youths are not interested in discussing civic matters but adults who were supposed to say they do not and have now decided to keep quiet. On my view, the freedom to speak out is reduced, and citizens are not interested in discussing issues related to democracy or good governance… (Interview No. 18, p. 4)

Despite the respondent's view on the use of social media platforms to engage in civic discussion among a small number of citizens in Dar es Salaam, when considering this point carefully, it seems that citizens' participation in topics of civic public discussion that touch critical government issues are less discussed. As the above quotation shows, "the freedom to speak out is reduced, and citizens are not interested in discussing issues related to the

democracy or good governance," suggesting that the state political control hinders the freedom to engage in the public sphere for civic public communication among citizens. Taking this further, it also indicates that some policy experts are aware of the benefits of globalisation for participation in democracy and the promotion of citizens' views. It is important to understand that digital public sphere promotes deliberative democracy, which is key to societal development and which can be taken forward in Dar es Salaam. There is a need to build an understanding of the new ways in which democracy operates in a developing country in the digital era, where media regulations are shaped to allow public views for collaborative decision-making. For Dar es Salaam to achieve development in the globalised digital world, capacity for digital connectivity among policy experts needs to be fostered.

While on the one hand, policy experts understand citizens' use of smartphones for participation in national civic activities, on the other, they perceive that some also use digital smartphone interaction to engage in global civic activities. Although globalisation is understood mainly as a sphere for economic relations (see p. 157), in terms of civic engagement, interviewees clearly emphasise the role of globalisation for civic development. For example, together with new, globalised issues that are addressed in a Tanzanian context, even issues happening in neighbouring countries are now fully embedded in public debates. As highlighted below, citizens have expanded their knowledge in such a way that they can talk about the politics or governance of other nations or famous world presidents. In this sense, citizens also feel connected to global events, which is important for becoming global citizens.

> …The world now is like a single class where everyone can learn wherever he/she is. For example, we have recently learned so much from Kenya general re-election in October 2017, which has opened our eyes regarding the good governance system especially how national election committee is supposed to work independently under the rule of law.

> Citizens have expanded their knowledge so much in a way that can talk about the politics or governance of other nations or other famous presidents in the world such as Donald Trump or Barack Obama. They can tell many things regarding these leaders like what they do; what have recently said; where they are currently; where they plan to visit; etc. All this information they access from smartphone interaction with friends and relatives or may be informed by reading other citizens comments on social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, etc.… (Interview No. 9, p. 4&5)

Policy experts reveal the sense for crossborder civic updates. For example, respondents understand civic knowledge in terms of an international spectrum that extends "across the national border." This is illuminated in settings such as significant political elections and the rule of law for governance practices, which is likely notable because of their roles as public service administrators.

However, respondents demonstrate minimal awareness that this knowledge of international developments provides an opportunity for Tanzania to improve civic interactions. Interviewees mainly link Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram to connecting with global events, which suggests limited understanding of the detailed potential of social media for interactive global communication, and the ways in which Tanzanian citizens might be embedded in such a globalised scale. Beyond providing access to global political information, globalised digital communication offers an interactive space, thus delivering citizens the opportunity to become members of the world rather than merely their nation. Policy experts in developing countries must visualise the strengths of globalised digital communication in terms of the interactive space it provides for civic and political participation at the national and global scale, for societal development.

In addition, policy experts perceive that digital smartphone interaction offers a space for citizens' engagement in global civic discussions. The use of smartphone interaction to participate in the political discussions regarding other countries takes place freely on social media platforms, as one policy expert revealed:

> …Globally citizens discuss presidential elections of other countries such as Zimbabwe regarding Mugabe stepdown; US regarding Obama and Trump comparison; Kenya regarding presidential re-election in 2017; etc. because on social media everyone talks freely without worry. Someone might start a discussion on social media and others might contribute views. Generally, the smartphone provides an opportunity to participate in civic matters through social media and individuals seems to be free on social media than when they are in the formal discussion forums… (Interview No. 29, p. 5)

While respondents believe that the freedom to discuss matters relating to national democracy and good governance practices is reduced, and that citizens are not interested in discussing these matters (see p. 192), they also reveal different perceptions regarding the freedom of political discussions in other countries on social media. There is a disparity in individual perceptions concerning the sort of global civic discussions that citizens participate in. For instance, respondents perceive participation in the global civic discussion in terms of rights and political instability of certain societies, as one policy expert noted:

> …Participation in civic matters globally is very minimal, I have seen this kind of engagement, but it is very minimal. Digital smartphone communication has simplified participation of civic matters such as voting or raising voice regarding countries which are deprived in terms of human rights, or countries with civil wars such as DRC Congo, Somalia, Eritrea, Syria etc. There is so much sharing of videos which reveal the extent of civil wars around the globe. (Interview No. 23, p. 4)

Policy experts' perceives that the citizens' freedom to participate in global political and human rights deliberation through digital smartphone interactions, implies more digital freedom to discuss global civic issues. However, such digital freedom has less direct links to the national government. It also implies that interviewees are less aware of the opportunity for citizen engagement in the free and open discussion beyond the national border as a principle of modern governance. It is important to understand that globalised digital communication offers a digital space for citizens to engage in government decision-making practices despite borders.

Also, apart from the lack of full comprehension of the opportunities for digital civic engagement, for example, through digital smartphone interaction, respondents at least addressed the need to improve civic engagement among citizens. For instance, one policy expert noted:

> …I cannot tell the extent to which citizens use the smartphone to participate in civic matters; however, I think it is in a small extent because only government can make citizens use or hinder them from participating in civic activities. The government needs to strategize on that. For example, I am not aware of any strategy made by the National Election Commission to strategise the use of the smartphone in participation to national elections, or even through a basic mobile phone. However, I can only see smartphones or mobile phones are used in paying bills, taxes, fines etc. which I can also regard as civic matters, but we need to strategise to make people talk… (Interview No. 17, p. 4)

While initially, interviewees understood that the freedom to discuss national democracy and governance is reduced in Dar es Salaam (see p. 192), they also perceive – as illustrated above – that the government is responsible for shaping citizens' participation in civic matters. Such a perception implies that they understand citizen engagement in the public sphere in Dar es Salaam as being directly linked to the power of politicians and the government. It also implies

that government decision-makers have minimal awareness of the potential of globalisation in consolidating active public interaction for the purpose of modern governance in Dar es Salaam. Government decision-makers require the understanding of regulating media in a way that will promote active citizen participation in the public sphere for collective decision-making practices. Despite the perceived need to move away from the traditional understanding of globalised communication – in terms of financial perspectives such as financial transactions, i.e., paying bills and taxes – respondents also feel that social media is crucial in times of political elections. Respondents' focus on promoting government administration thus disregards citizens' participation in the political arena.

5.5 Understanding of the notion of citizenship for digital policy practices

When policy experts were asked to respond to how digital communication is changing the notion of citizenship between the national and the global, a majority expressed that digital communication is creating greater understanding of citizenship matters, both at the national and the global level. Their key focus is the convenient use of smartphones to access social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter for creating civic awareness, as illustrated by a policy expert below:

> …Digital communication enables the citizen to read, view, discuss and challenge civic matters happening in the country and therefore their awareness may change notions regarding a civic matter. For example, through Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube, etc. there is a chance to learn so much of civic matters such as national policies, good governance, voting and election, national constitution, etc. There is a chance to discuss and make the comparison, and important arguments may also be made in a way that, it is not necessary to go to school to understand civic matters… (Interview No. 11, p. 4&5)

This perspective implies that policy experts understand the sense of civic matters in digital communication; however, where the respondent in the above citation mentions the opportunity to "discuss" and "challenge" civic matters, they are mainly referring to government settings, and not to citizen engagement in government decision-making practices. This understanding of citizenship among interviewees – mainly addressed in the perspective of institutional settings such as national policies, elections, and good governance matters – speaks to the old perspective of citizenship. Awareness of the new type of citizenship in the digital era in terms of linking the government and citizens in collective decision-making practices through social media is rarely addressed. However, policy experts differ in their perceptions of citizens' learning about citizenship matters through digital social media platforms. For instance, respondents perceive that citizens conveniently use digital communication to learn government laws and citizens' rights, as one policy expert noted:

> I believe that digital communication has increased more awareness about citizenship. For example, citizens are currently understanding their rights and the opportunity to monitor the current situation like human right practices in the country and are in the position to argue the trend of the current governance system. For example, it is unusual for citizens to learn about what a law says regarding some cases – but when shared in the social media following a certain ongoing case for example on economic sabotage – it becomes so easy to discuss and create more awareness about such a law. When someone is charged in a case like this, smartphone communication increases more awareness of country laws, remind about good citizenship and other civic matters in the country. I believe that, without digital communication, civic awareness could be shallow… (Interview No. 28, p. 5&6)

Respondents understand that social media platforms are currently emerging as crucial for the learning of civic knowledge such as human rights and public laws; however again, such civic knowledge relates more to informing the public than to engaging citizens actively in public

discussions such as public policymaking. They mainly see the benefits of social media platforms in promoting government decisions (such as policies) to the public rather than engaging the public in government decision-making practices. Interviewees have not yet seen the potential of allowing citizens to take an advisory role with government, which would amount to collective decision-making concerning public laws, rather than the mere promotion of them. While on the one hand, policy experts understand digital-era citizenship as having increased awareness of public laws and human rights, on the other hand, they understand it in terms of learning the country's constitution, as a policy expert from a Municipal Council noted during an interview:

> I think digital communication is changing the notion of citizenship between national and global because citizens are currently highly informed in such a way that it is easy to create more understanding of civic matters. For example, before digital revolutions, most of us were not familiar with the national constitution, we had no chance to read it but rather hearing from politicians when mentioning some sections during the public address. Even the colour of the constitution book cover was unknown by most of us. However, currently, with the increased globalisation and digital communication if you need the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) or other countries' constitution you can access online and read at your own time. Digital communication has increased more understanding regarding the constitution and some sections regarding civic matters in Tanzania and be comparable to other countries' constitution… (Interview No. 13, p. 5)

In the view of respondents, the use of globalised digital communication to learn about civic matters, such as the national constitution, mainly reflects the use of digital communication for understanding governance practices. There is minimal awareness on using the digital sphere to engage citizens in government decisions practices on civic matters. This reflects the one-sided notion of citizenship that lacks citizen engagement.

However, some policy experts understand that digital communication transforms ways to engage in citizenship matters. As one policy expert noted:

> …With digital communications, there is increased discussions regarding civic matters and therefore increased knowledge among citizens. There are increased discussion forums through WhatsApp, Facebook, JamiiForum, Instagram where citizens have started to establish their common stands regarding, for example, the country democracy, government system or people's rights, country's natural resources etc. Citizens are increasingly gaining knowledge on civic matters which they were not aware. (Interview No. 26, p. 5&6)

Interviewees' understanding of globalisation and digital communication are grounded in the idea that social media platforms change the way in which citizens participate in public discussions of citizenship matters. This implies that citizens use social media platforms as a lens to learn and create their sense of national development, which is currently important for societal development. However, interviewees' perceptions differ regarding what notions of citizenship are changing. For example, the majority of policy experts feel that the increasing ability of citizens to compare citizenship matters across the border is key to citizenship, as one policy expert noted:

> …digital communication has increased awareness on human right issues which are shared on WhatsApp or Facebook. You can learn constitutions of other countries and compare with yours, and you can learn the amount of tax collected in various products or services in neighbour countries and compare with your country. It is also easy to learn the tradition and culture of different people in the world and compare with yours, how other countries value and treat their citizens and diasporas etc. We can learn many civic matters which are shared through digital communication. (Interview No. 18, p. 6)

Respondents regard citizenship matters across the border mainly from the perspective of learning constitutions, rights, culture, and government taxes; however, the understanding of

global citizenship in terms of shared decision-making across the border on matters that impact global development is yet to be related. While on one hand, policy experts understand citizenship in terms of citizens' ability to make citizenship comparisons across countries, on the other, policy experts feel that digital communication has transformed the understanding of essential citizenship matters among young citizens. They mainly relate citizenship to the use of digital communication among young citizens to learn and discuss the country's history at their convenience, as one policy expert noted below:

> [Digital communication especially smartphone has increased the understanding of the country's history through social media discussions. For example, matters of the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar for me is among the basic citizenship matters which are of less interest and less known among young citizens. However, with digitisation most information is accessible online, and as youths are digitally connected have the chance to learn in their digital interaction. Digital communication offers young citizens the opportunity to learn the country's history and participate in the discussion by asking and answering questions through social media platforms.] (Interview No. 25, p. 5)

Such a perception implies that policy experts still understand citizenship from the traditional perspective. In this sense, the focus of civic engagement is perceived as creating awareness of what the government is doing, or by telling the country's history, while employing minimal effort to engage citizens in creating the country's history. However, such perceptions are influenced by the interviewees' roles as public servants, which is linked to promoting the government. The globalised digital sphere offers more than promoting institutional plans as respondents understand. There is an opportunity for citizens to engage in citizenship issues, such as civic and public participation, which directly touch the government as a new form of citizens' attachment to their government to create new history for societal development.

Respondents perceive that digital communication creates a space for citizens to learn about and participate in global citizenship matters; however, there is a variation in which citizenship matters citizens could participate. For instance, policy experts feel that the purpose of citizens' use of digital communication is to engage in global political discussions, as one policy expert noted during an interview:

> In some percentages, I conquer that digital communication is changing the notion of citizenship between the nation and the global because it creates more understanding of civic matters around the world. Currently, what is happening in other countries; for example, Zimbabwe can be known in the whole world within a minute. Therefore, if there is anything to be learned regarding civic matters it can happen immediately. If there is any misuse of political power can be revealed on the spot, and if human rights are deprived, it is easy to be shared digitally within a minute. Even the general presidential re-election in Kenya during October 2017 was highly discussed in Tanzania where some citizens even choose candidates of their interest despite that they could not vote. Digitisation offers no hiding, every practice is open, and there is a chance to relate practices among countries to realise where we go wrong or where we perform better. (Interview No. 23, p. 4&5)

However, interviewees' understanding of citizenship in terms of politics is focused on access to global information for making political comparison and engaging actively in political discussions across countries worldwide. As previously discussed, respondents observe that citizens tend to engage actively in public political discussions regarding other countries (see p. 195), which implies that the new space for global citizenship is growing in Dar es Salaam. Thus, policymakers are required to fully utilise the available globalised digital space for economic development. On the other hand, respondents feel that digital communication has changed citizenship, in terms of opening access to information on governance and leadership from government leaders across the border. Since information is accessed through YouTube

and other search engines, they mainly understand that digital communication transforms citizens' thinking on citizenship matters globally. A policy expert in a Municipal Council noted below:

> Yes, I believe that digital communication has contributed to changing the notion of citizenship since the world is now like a village. There is a chance to learn citizenship from other countries and use it as a guideline to improve or to change my thinking regarding citizenship. Individuals may Google, search YouTube, share through social media etc. For example, from digital sharing of information I may be interested with president Kagame's governance system (the president of Rwanda), and then I may use his governance system as a point of reference to define governance in my country, and it may completely change my thinking regarding the notion of governance in my country. (Interview No. 10, p. 4&5)

As the quotation shows, respondents' understanding of citizenship in the context of globalised communication is mainly based on cross-border access to governance information. This notion relates to how communities are governed through the traditional approach, which offers a minimal sense of connectedness with citizens. However, interviewees need to understand that, apart from using digital communication to learn traditional citizenship norms across the world, there is a chance to build a more participatory system of governance, which is the crucial aspect of citizenship for societal development in the digital era. Globalised digital communication is creating a new space for global citizenship to take place. Citizens across the world can engage in civic and political deliberation for a collective solution, which is also required in Dar es Salaam.

Additionally, a minority of policy experts understand that digital communication creates a space for political participation among citizens across national borders through social media platforms, as a policy expert explained during an interview:

> Digital communication is changing the notion of citizenship between national and global because it creates more understanding of civic matters. For those who were not aware of the good governance, they will hear discussion from others who discuss such a topic in social media. For example, there is one lady who resides in America (if I am not mistaking) but she is a Tanzanian who is publicising government issues for Tanzania and helps to reveal what she believes as the ineffective government system, although I can say that not all things she is publishing in the social media are correct. However, she helps to create more understanding of what is happening in the government of Tanzania although she may mislead many Tanzanians too if they always agree with her. (Interview No. 25, p. 4&5)

Such a view implies that respondents understand globalised digital communication in the sense of citizens' connectedness to the political government, despite country boundaries and geographic distances. Nevertheless, respondents seem to address the notion of global citizenship from different angles. For example, while initially they perceived citizenship in the context of globalised digital communication as necessary to influence political decision-making practices on humanitarian issues in other countries (see p. 195), now the understanding of global citizenship for active engagement at the national level is starting to receive attention. This context implies that in the globalised digital era, citizenship's attachment to national boundaries is diminishing, and new ways of creating a sense of civic attachment are emerging. This new context of citizenship needs to be developed further among policy experts in Dar es Salaam for civic public participation both at the national and global scale. It is important for policy experts to understand that globalised communication opens a new space for digital civic engagement that is essential for the achievement of development in current digital societies.

This chapter presented the analytical findings of the interviews interpretation regarding the perception of policy experts on digital globalisation for policy decisions practices. Key themes

emerged in this chapter include: perception of globalisation; opportunities for global digital spheres; sort of knowledge gained among youths; perception of civic engagement in a digital city Dar es Salaam; and perception of the notion of citizenship for digital policy practices. These themes were carefully presented and interpreted to reveal digital policymaking perceptions in the digital city of Dar es Salaam. The following chapter will extend presentation of interviews interpretations, specifically - perceptions of policy experts regarding implications of the globalised digital sphere for policy decision-making practices.

6. The understanding of Dar es Salaam as a global digital city

According to a report by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), achieving inclusiveness in the current interconnected world requires new thinking about the role of communication as a developmental approach. As digital penetration is increasing at a rapid rate on the African continent, cities are transformed into digital cities. Digital cities cannot only be regarded as technological "nodes", but also constitute new types of digital hubs for citizens, specifically in the African context where there is a need for collaborative decision-making practices between the government and citizens. The UNESCO report on "world trends in freedom of expression and media development" (2015) argues that citizens' engagement through digital communication enables the public to take part in daily government decision-making practices (UNESCO, 2015). Such interaction enables civic knowledge that is so needed in African developing countries to foster more transparent policymaking and governance. It is important for African policymakers to realise that African developing countries are no longer isolated in terms of civic interaction, but that citizens engage through social media on issues across continents. Based on civic interaction in such a globalised sphere, citizens have a chance to deliberate on policy processes and are becoming more engaged. Such an active citizenry is crucial for societal development, and reveals a challenge of the traditional concept of development, mainly based on economic developmental processes. Some developing countries, such as Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Ghana, and Morocco, are already moving towards a more inclusive policy approach involving civic interaction (ITU, 2017b).

This chapter highlights the way in which respondents perceive Dar es Salaam as a digital city, embedded in globalised networks, and how they understand civic capacity building in a local, yet globalised context. As Tanzania's largest city, Dar es Salaam, is already seen as a digital

hub within Tanzania, there is now a need to assess how policymakers perceive the global digital city for societal development to understand how they see local digital policymaking practice in the context of a global digital city.

In addressing policy perceptions in a global digital city, four main questions relating to globalisation and policymaking practices in Dar es Salaam form the key themes of this chapter: 1) As a policy expert, where do you think the globalised sphere affects the current decision-making practices? 2) How does the globalised digital sphere change the policymaking practices locally? 3) Do you think Dar es Salaam operates in a global digital policy sphere as a local or global player, and why? Moreover, 4) As a digital policy actor, what aspect of a current policy do you feel is a territorial issue for Dar es Salaam only, and why?

It seems that there are two dimensions to policy experts' approach to development; on the one hand, they have the bigger picture of development in the context of the globalised digital sphere, while on the other hand, they have a very pragmatic approach to development that encompasses processes for streamlining bureaucratic practices.

Notions of new dimensions of the benefit of globalised digital spheres

Interviewees understand that the low level of digital literacy among digital users in Dar es Salaam affects the development outcomes of a country:

> I think the current issue brought by the globalised digital sphere which needs immediate interventions in terms of the decision-making is the use of technology for the benefit. I think globalisation and digital technology has so much to benefit our country in social, economic, and political aspects. However, I have seen citizens use this technology as blinds. They do not use it in a way that will benefit them. They use technology without a

> plan or without understanding that they have something of great value on their hands. There is a need for the government to stand on how to address this issue… (Interview No. 17, p. 6)

The citation above reveals that policy experts at least broadly understand the benefits of the globalised digital sphere in terms of digital literacy for societal development. Despite identifying the need for digital literacy among citizens, the phrase "digital technology has so much to benefit our country in social, economic, and political aspects" and the suggestion that "citizens use this technology as blinds" implies that citizens in Dar es Salaam are, in the view of this respondent, not well prepared to engage in civic public deliberation for positive development outcomes, such as inclusive economic growth. Policy experts see a need for digital information literacy. Nevertheless, respondents view digital literacy differently. For instance, other interviewees noted:

> For my view I think, the growth of the internet has increased the use of digital communication; therefore, it has affected decisions regarding who should educate citizens and youths in general about the proper use of digital communication especially the use of social media networks for development. There is a big number of citizens who are not educated but engage in social media interaction which for me I think they would need some guidance, but this depends on the interest and priority of an institution. What I can see now is that educating youths depend on who or which institution is interested in doing so. For example, we (as an institution) have planned for that; however, we cannot be able to educate all citizens in our municipal since the fund might not be enough for that, and it is not sure if other Municipals have the same thinking. Thus, we need a national strategy for creating awareness regarding the proper use of social media networks. Maybe ICT education should start from the primary school to the University level to save the coming generation since as I can see how this current generation is going to be lost on social media networks. (Interview No. 13, p. 7)

This interviewee perceives that citizens mainly engage with digitisation on their own. The respondent's perception implies that the government is not well prepared to impart digital skills and competencies for societal development, which also reflects their minimal understanding of the possibility of inclusive policymaking processes in a developing country in the digital era. Also, respondents have the perception that "the current generation is going to be lost on social media networks," implying that developing digital literacy among citizens in the global digital city is seen as crucial for societal development.

6.1 Implications of the globalised digital sphere for decision-making practices

When interviewees were asked to reflect on their perceptions of where they think the globalised digital sphere affects the current decision-making practices, they did feel that globalisation has affected the decision-making practices, however, they had different perceptions regarding what decision-making practices for societal development are currently affected.

Misuse of digital information

Interviewees perceive policymaking relating to confidentiality and privacy issues in relation to the use of social media. For example, one respondent argued:

> The globalised digital sphere has brought about so many challenges in the current decision-making practices; for example, there is so much leakage of the government information. Some important documents, personal data, important letters etc. which were not supposed to be shared on the public are currently shared since there is no policy or guide to restrict such exposure to government issues. Some public servants who are not sincere have exposed so much information through emails and in social media which is currently an easy way to share documents. For example, if someone is about to be terminated from the work, he/she may see the termination letter in a digital way such as photo, or document

> shared through WhatsApp even before receiving the formal termination letter from the employer which means that there is a leakage of information. Such a leaked information may reach to individuals who were not supposed to access that information. I believe that there must be some levels of confidentiality in some official matters where digitisation has come to disturb such a formality. So, I think globalisation and digitisation is a good thing, but if not used wisely may cause so many troubles. (Interview No. 10, p. 6)

The observation that "digitisation has come to disturb such formality" implies that policy experts primarily understand digitisation as an interruption to government practices. This is the case as it offers a space for citizens to reveal confidential matters, which in turn challenges government decision-making practices. However, the view that this space is an opportunity is irrelevant. Furthermore, understandings of policymaking in the global digital city, in terms of personal data protection and confidentiality of government information for governance practices in Dar es Salaam, implies that respondents are mainly focused on protecting the government. Interviewees understand that protecting government documents and restricting the exposure of government issues to the public is crucial for achieving development in Dar es Salaam; however, rather than upholding the democratic right to privacy, this practice is intended to spread digital contents relating to the government. I link this to formations of traditional governance, wherein government processes and decisions are highly protected, and not open to the public. But there is a need to move away from traditional, representative policymaking. The demand for open governance is currently emerging to achieve development in global digital cities. Respondents need to understand that global digital cities such as Dar es Salaam require a change in the relationship between citizens and the government in policymaking practices, to enable more inclusive growth.

Regardless, interviewees understand that the globalised digital sphere raises a new concern about managing digital users in Dar es Salaam. This can be categorised into three dimensions. The first dimension stems from the misuse of the internet among public servants during working hours, as a policy expert said that:

> Controlling of internet usage and digital stuff is very difficult especially for the local government authorities. Currently, there is a high misuse of the institutional internet, for example, during working hours some staff are chatting, downloading their stuff which is the misuse of the internet resource. In dealing with this challenge, at this institution, we have blocked the access to YouTube and Google search engine until the after working hours to make staff works effectively… thus the control of digital context in terms of the policy is highly needed in Tanzania. (Interview No. 24, p. 6&7)

This respondent's perception implies that he understands policymaking in a global digital city in terms of new control mechanisms – such as the blocking of access to YouTube and Google – as a strategy to deal with the misuse of the institutional internet. I link such perception to a minimal understanding of the potential of the internet in a developing country. Interviewees feel that controlling the internet is the best solution to achieve societal development; however, this does not take into account the potential of the internet in the global digital city, such as the opening of a public platform for citizens' inclusiveness in the government decision-making processes for societal development.

The second dimension of respondents' perceptions of the misuse of digital communication is that it accelerates the spread of incitement messages and Western culture through social media. This needs to be managed, as one of the respondents said that:

> …Misuse of digital communication also includes the sharing of information for misleading the society or incitement information, learning of the Western culture which does not fit

> into our Tanzanian society, etc. …The remedy for misuse of digital communication is to create awareness to all levels of the society -from the local level to national level – to make citizens understand advantages and disadvantages, as well as opportunities found in digital communications. We do not need to restrict people to use social media, but we should create them with awareness regarding opportunities available on social media use. This effort shall promote individual citizens to subscribe in the important groups found on social media such as entrepreneurship groups, house building zone, food preparations zone etc. (Interview No. 22, p. 7&8)

This view implies the respondent's notion that controlling social media use to protect the government can achieve national development. Rather than demonstrating an understanding of using social media as an opportunity to achieve societal development in the current digital era, they understand the opportunity as limited to entrepreneurship, housing, and food preparation. This reflects minimal understanding of citizens' engagement in civic public communication as a new digital opportunity in the global digital city. There is a need to create awareness among respondents that social media platforms are currently emerging as a new opportunity for modern governance in global digital cities, which can thus also be developed in Dar es Salaam. While on the one hand, interviewees understand that the globalised digital sphere facilitates misuse of the internet among public servants and citizens, on the other hand, the third dimension of respondents' perceptions focuses on the increased exposure to unethical content, especially among youths, as a policy expert noted:

> I think, for now, digital communication provides so much information with no limits of age and boundaries, where it has increased learning of unethical stuff which contributes to destruct our traditional ethics. I can see globalisation and digital communication destructs the young generation so much and that it becomes difficult to manage or control the use of digital communication among the youth generation. We have not yet reached the point

> where we can restrict access to some information from digital communication. We need to reduce free access to all information so that the young generation could not be able to access the unethical stuff base on our local traditions. (Interview No. 4, p. 4)

The wording of "we have not yet reached the point where we can restrict access to some information" is crucial. As internet shutdown is used to silence political uprising, the comment indicates this policy expert's perception toward internet restrictions among users, which in turn impacts inclusive policymaking practices for societal development. Such a perception implies that this respondent understands policymaking in the global digital city in terms of the restriction of internet use as a government strategy to achieve societal development.

Challenges of technology use

Respondents understand the globalised digital sphere in terms of accelerating internet crimes and creating fake identities via social media:

> …For example, on social media some individuals open accounts using fake names and photos, fake posts, upload edited photos, so you might be accused of what you have not done. Those who are doing this sometimes target to distract the public image of a certain person either a politician or so for unknown reasons. It may be to distract an individual from the positive image to the public or whatever any other reason. The use of fake identity on social media is highly increasing in Tanzania, and we lack the act to protect this. The Cybercrime Act 2015 and Electronic Transaction Act 2015 are at a place, but they are not enough. There should be another law to manage the identification of devices used to publish such fake information by using an IP address and allow checking of personal devices, if you are caught then you will be accountable for that under the law. (Interview No. 28, p. 7)

This view implies respondents' understanding of the increased challenges created by fake identities in globalised digital spheres. The idea that "those who are doing this sometimes target to distract the public image of a certain person either a politician…" reflect the respondent's policymaking perception in terms of protecting political leaders' identities in the public sphere. Laws and other measures are ways to protect the national public. Respondents also raised concerns about broader internet crimes, such as the hacking of individual accounts and electronic systems, as one of the interviewees said that:

> We have started to experience the hacking of accounts and electronic systems, and we lack the security to protect digital communication. For example, in the last few days, we heard about an account for the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) hacked by unknown people who were said to be unemployed university IT students who are IT professionals. So, this shows that we have minimal control of hackers in a way that even students can hack accounts and electronic systems. The problem is that hackers may edit and spread wrong information which may lead to unnecessary conflicts among responsible officials, citizens and or the government. (Interview No. 2, p. 4)

Respondents stressed that the government could take measures to tackle this spread of misinformation and government-related crime. There is a need, however, for more understanding of the policymaking opportunities in a global digital city such as Dar es Salaam, wherein dialogue between citizens and the government through social media might contribute to the more inclusive economic growth of the nation rather than a one-sided, government-dominated decision-making practice.

Moreover, respondents understand that the globalised digital sphere disturbs institutional formalities. It is interesting to mention here that the central perception of interviewees relates to the view that the current use of electronic systems in decision-making practices is muddled

by bureaucracy, especially when necessary changes, regarding the salary or promotion of staff, are required. For example, an interesting comment from one of the interviewees is noted below:

> …I understand that the electronic computer system works step by step to provide accuracy; however, any mistake may cost benefits of an employee, and it became difficult to make decisions regarding issues like this. For example, there was a case where an employee was not promoted mistakenly for 30 years of employment, and she was about to reach her retirement age. Cases like this can only be resolved out of the computer system and by the General Secretary of the Ministry where an employee is supposed to acquire all promotion benefits and retirement benefits before it is too late. Therefore, the new system in managing staff and salary affects some decision-making practices especially in the local government level and thus takes so much time for the general secretary of the ministry to review the issue together with all the justifications to allow changes. (Interview No. 12, p. 5)

Such a bureaucratic understanding of e-governance implies that policy experts still perceive policymaking practices in terms of the old government practices, in which the government makes decisions without including citizens. They mainly feel that e-governance delays decision-making practices; nevertheless, this implies that the potential of e-governance in terms of facilitating citizens' inclusiveness in decision-making practices is yet to be visible among interviewees. There is a need for interviewees to understand the great potential of the global digital city in an open policymaking practice for the economic development of Dar es Salaam. Respondents also view e-government as a bureaucracy from the perspective of planning and budgeting for public service delivery. For instance, an interviewee said that:

> …Even the decision to promote the working staff is currently a challenge. Before the implementation of the management information system (MIS) in managing working staff, the promotion was done manually just as a matter of counting the experience in terms of years without regarding the financial position of the government. However, now with an

> electronic system for the staff management, the promotion depends on the financial position of a respective Ministry where staff are only promoted when the electronic system shows enough finance to pay the new salary… (Interview No. 5, p. 4)

Such a view implies that respondents mainly understand the potential for e-governance in terms of the performance of government officials' activities, which also reflects their understanding of policymaking in the global digital city. An understanding of e-governance that encompasses the disturbance of existing formalities in government institutions reflects a resistance to the adoption of digital technology, and minimal understanding of policy decision-making opportunities in global digital cities like Dar es Salaam. Policy experts seem to require a broader understanding of the concept of open government, which is currently emerging as a vital aspect for inclusive decision-making practices in global digital cities.

For instance, some respondents feel that a policy to govern electronic systems within public service delivery is required. One of the interviewees noted that:

> …Another challenge is that we are currently using electronic fingerprints to control the daily staff attendance; however, we have no policy for enforcement, we only use internal guidelines from the director to enforce, but this should need a new policy to manage the new practice. I think the government is not taking this aspect of the digital policy seriously since there is no well-prepared digital infrastructure in all public institutions… (Interview No. 6, p. 6)

The management of public service staff in terms of e-governance and public service delivery are important issues for some respondents. But it also suggests minimal understanding of the global digital city for policymaking practices in terms of experimenting with a new governance system as adopted elsewhere in the world. Certain interviewees' understandings of the global digital city from the perspective of e-governance is closely linked to their traditional role in

public service. Other respondents recognise the increased demand for new policy that is appropriate to the increasingly globalised digital sphere. They mainly focus on a policy for managing digital transactions involved with mobile money and bank accounts. For example, a policy expert said that:

> …Currently, there is an increase in the use of online transaction within Dar es Salaam where individuals transfer money through bank accounts and mobile money accounts. As this is increasing, there is a need to put clear in policy on ways of dealing with such digital transactions. It has happened several times that citizens are complaining about their money being deducted through banks ATM while in a real sense the transactions were incomplete. (Interview No. 16, p. 7)

Such perception implies that respondents understand policymaking in economic terms such as digital transactions, while the notion of public engagement as a current approach to policymaking is less known. Understanding a global digital city from the angle of electronic systems is linked to traditional, economic ways of understanding policymaking for societal development in the current globalised digital world. For the future of global digital cities such as Dar es Salaam, it is essential to shift policy attention to creating an open government that involves more participatory decision-making practices.

Open data governance, yet not open data for citizens

Furthermore, policy experts understand that the globalised digital sphere increases the demand for the incorporation of electronic systems in decision-making practices in Dar es Salaam. One of the respondents noted that:

> Currently, with digitisation, we need systems to link our sections and departments so that to enable us to work more effectively and efficiently. However, the municipality has established few electronic systems in a way that private sectors have already established

> many of these systems, and every section and department in private sectors are almost connected. In this way, private sectors come several times in our Municipality to request the service provider. So, this has become a challenge to us, and we fail to decide whether we should buy electronic systems from private companies which are very expensive, or we should wait for recommended government systems which take longer time as you know the government works with bureaucracy… (Interview No. 7, p. 5)

In the phrase "…government systems take longer time..." respondents reveal an urgent need to digitally link the government sections in fostering decision-making practices. However, they mainly feel that improving government systems for public service delivery is the only means to achieve societal development. Although connecting government sections and departments is essential, there is minimal awareness of citizens' inclusiveness in the public sphere for policy decision-making practices as a new potential for societal development in the current digital era. On the other hand, interviewees understand that in the globalised digital sphere, an open data system is necessary for decision-making practices, as one of the interviewees noted below:

> …I think with the current growth of digitisation, there is a need for an open data system which will help to foster the decision-making process at different levels of the government. For example, access to data regarding primary or secondary school performance or hospital data regarding the ratio between the doctor and patients is crucial for the planning and decision-making processes. Having an open data government is necessary for the country development. It happens many times that Ministries are producing many data but kept in files without use, we would like to advise the government that those data are important and should be kept open for further planning and for improving the government performance… (Interview No. 30, p. 4)

This respondent indicated that open data government is crucial for societal development; however, they have limited awareness of how this would present new opportunities for civic

public communication in the global digital city, such as, for example, adopting collaborative policy decision-making practices. They mainly feel that working with government data will be enough for Dar es Salaam to achieve development. In the global digital city, however, open government needs to encompass more than open data for policymaking to progress beyond the one-way model of government. It is essential for policy experts to understand that a global digital city such as Dar es Salaam has an opportunity to use digital communication for collaborative decision-making practices, and that the non-participatory government model must be phased out in the globalised digital era.

Data protection as an approach to safeguard civic communication

Policy experts also perceive the challenges posed by the globalised digital sphere in terms of confidentiality and information security of decision-making practices. For example, respondents understand that the globalised digital sphere raises concern for personal data protection, as one of the interviewees noted that:

> Currently, there is an increase in the use of personal information and personal data; however, there is also the increasing misuse of these data. For example, from Facebook, someone might download somebody's photo and share it in any way he/she likes, may misuses it by type the wrong information on the image of someone else and spread it on social media, or some people download photos and set them as their profile photos on social media. Or someone might take the personal information regarding – let us say – employment history or education background from the electronic system and might edit and spread the wrong information on social media, something which might disturb the image of such an individual without being considered as unethical. For example, recently we have seen examination results of some political leaders which shows that they scored division '0' in their secondary exams when schooling, which sometimes is not true. This

> practice implies that some untruthful individuals share such personal information to the public. We need a policy for personal data protection or a data protection commissioner to manage this issue because with digitisation the information spreads so fast in just a minute. (Interview No. 26, p. 7)

Respondents highlight the protection of personal digital information as one of the keys aims in policy practices; however, it seems that such protection does not necessarily reflect safeguarding citizens' engagement in civic public communication. The statement that "recently we have seen examination results of some political leaders…" clearly reflects an understanding of policymaking that is motivated by the protection of political leaders and the government system for governance purposes. Respondents also see social media interactions as presenting a challenge to government decision-making practices, rather than as a solution for societal development. Again, this presents interviewees' minimal awareness of the potential for using social media for collaborative government decision-making practices. It is crucial for respondents to view policymaking practice in terms of safeguarding civic public communication for societal development.

6.2 Policy decision practices in the globalised digital sphere

When responding to the question of how the globalised sphere changes policymaking practice in Dar es Salaam, all 30 policy experts highlighted that there is an increasing demand for new digital policy.

> Policymakers are currently triggered by lots of digital issues arising and needs the policy attention. Currently, citizens are highly engaging in digital practices while policymakers have not yet developed policies to guide these new practices. Technology is growing so fast relating to the way we manage it, so it drives policymakers to develop new policies which meet the needs of the current practices. For example, the government has currently

> established the new digital policy like the National ICT Policy, 2016, and the Cybercrime Act, 2015, which were only established to meet digital needs of the current globalisation, whereas before digitisation these policies were not thought of. (Interview No. 9, p. 6)

Respondents mainly understand the need for digital policymaking from the perspective of cyber safety. However, they are fully aware that the globalised digital sphere has changed practices on every level, even in the Municipal Councils of Dar es Salaam. This challenge, as argued, is now understood as a new reality that will inform future policy debates:

> The globalised digital sphere has changed the practices of almost every department here in our Municipality, at least each department has adopted an electronic system to perform some functions. This shift has contributed to change even of our strategic plan and even to think about the new digital policy which will accommodate the speed of transformation of these new practices. (Interview No. 5, p. 3&4)

Such a perception illuminates the way in which digital communication has deeply influenced institutional structures and practices. While on the one hand, policy experts reflect on the need for a new policy framework to govern city communication through electronic systems, on the other hand, their emphasis relates to public service delivery. At the same time, they are aware of the major challenges presented by these conventional approaches. They are considering the adoption of WhatsApp as a core platform for use in government and other public processes. The specific challenges produced using these globalised social network sites are highlighted below:

> Globalisation and digital communication have changed the way we practice our daily activities and therefore influence us to think about alternative policies which might fit into our current digital situation. I think there is a need to officialise WhatsApp to simplify our work. For example, there are other things which we can access through social media such as WhatsApp though it is not officially accepted. Some orders might come from the higher

> authority, and we may have access through WhatsApp which is of course not an official way, but it transfers information so quickly. With WhatsApp, I can start preparing myself before I receive the formal official letter which is a signed hard copy letter. Once I receive the formal letter, it will find me already completed my task, and I am ready to submit my work. I advise the government to come with our WhatsApp related application, for example, we may assign it with another name to allow its use for official purposes, and we may secure it against hackers, etc. (Interview No. 2, p. 3&4)

This interviewee's understanding of the global digital sphere in the context of governance practice relates to the network character of social media platforms, such as WhatsApp, for the acceleration of government communication. Nonetheless, this perception of national development through a new interactive dimension among government agencies is key. This approach to utilise social network sites for the delivery of official documents also implies a need for a deeper understanding of opportunities in a global digital city for civic interaction, which is possible through using social media platforms.

While policy experts agree that the globalised digital sphere mainly streamlines current policymaking practices, there are nuances of perceptions concerning the way digital communication simplifies the policymaking practices in Dar es Salaam. For example, some respondents highlighted that on the one hand, access to globalised digital spheres among policymakers has changed policy knowledge and encourages the improvement of governance practices. However, on the other hand, globalised digital spheres are also seen as creating new scopes of accountability. As is argued below, "there is a chance to search for materials online" which increases the resources available to policymakers to an unprecedented extent:

> In general, the globalised sphere has increased more knowledge in the digital policymaking. Policymakers have the likelihood to produce a good policy document

> because there is a chance to search for materials online to improve the document. With the globalised sphere, the knowledge gap is reduced, and participants become more knowledgeable about policy issues something which puts them into the position to give strong comments or views. When search ideas from several sources like policy documents, online materials, review articles and other current publications, there is a chance to develop the best policy document in comparison with when you have nowhere to refer or to open your mind. Before the globalised sphere, policy experts were limited to knowledge, were only using their brains to work on policy documents. Sometimes a policy document was developed by relying on just one person thought, unlike today where there are so much learning materials to refer… (Interview No. 27, p. 7)

However, even though privacy issues, specifically in relation to government processes, are a core theme, digital resources are seen as crucial to producing quality policy output. Respondents specifically highlighted the globalised digital sphere as crucial for building their confidence in policymaking practices in the context of information retrieval. Respondents point out the fact that they now have access to new resources for policymaking practice, for example, access to international policy approaches, which they see as an opportunity to develop best practice policy:

> …The globalised sphere has also simplified the identification of the best practice policy section from reading the online policy documents which might provide interest in arranging for a study visit to learn more about such a best policy practice. You visit the country after you are very sure that it is the best policy practice country… (Interview No. 26, p. 6)

It seems that policy experts understand the policymaking process in the global digital city mainly for creating the opportunity for capacity building among government officials to better deliver public services. However, in the global digital city, it is no longer required to physically

visit "the best policy practice country," since digital communication offers an interactive, rather than just informative, space. The global digital city offers more than simply policymaking knowledge and the identification of the best practice policy among policy experts; this new era is changing the policymaking process as such. Apart from the opportunity to use social media platforms to collect citizens' views, it offers, for example, the space to link different governments and stakeholders in a transnational arena. This new policy arena could also embed policymakers in Dar es Salaam, and digital policymaking could build capacity for digital civic interaction, for instance, by creating public platforms for citizens' participation in policy decision-making processes. Policy experts require an understanding that a global digital city such as Dar es Salaam presents the opportunity to promote open government and citizens' engagement. These processes of civic capacity building go together with societal and economic development, and it is surprising that these opportunities are rarely addressed. It seems that the transnationalisation of digital communication is mainly seen in terms of the opportunity to access policy resources from "different countries":

> The globalised digital sphere has made the policymaking practice more simplified since materials are available online. The policy which you would like to make might be available online, and from the other different countries, you may choose a relevant policy base on your context and experience. Also, you may need to share a policy draft with other experts who are away from you, and it is easy to attach a document in an email and reach a destination just on the spot. There are storage devices where you may save your document and protect with a password if you want. So, things have become simplified… (Interview No. 18, p. 6)

This highlights that respondents mainly conceive of policymaking opportunities in the digital city in terms of linking government processes. Interviewees feel that the role of policymaking relates to transforming the traditional government systems for the current digital era, with

minimal awareness of the use of the globalised digital sphere for collaborative policymaking practices between the government and citizens, which is a new change emerging in the global digital cities.

> …It has also simplified access to policymaking experience from other countries. For example, I do not need to write a letter from a certain government to request a certain policy document, I can freely access them through the internet, and I can get anything which I am interested in. For my view, a good practice is to download the policy, read it, assess the situation analysis, visit a country to learn the best practice and lastly identify just one or two policy experts from that country to guide the policymaking process. We followed this process in Singapore and came with a good e-government strategy. For my understanding, copy paste strategy always prove failure ... (Interview No. 29, p. 7)

Interviewees highlight the opportunity to "get anything which I am interested in" from the Internet. It is a very practical and pragmatic understanding. This perception again emphasises an understanding of policymaking practices that relies on old governance systems where the government decides for citizens. In the globalised digital era, there is a growing space for the government and citizens to collaborate in the policymaking process. Interviewees have a focus on practical utilisation of digital connectivity, but do not address an integration of digital-era policymaking or the opportunity for creating a space for citizen engagement in policymaking practices for the development of the city.

The interviewed policy experts in Dar es Salaam argued that the globalised digital sphere simplifies the literature review process in policymaking practice. For example, as one policy expert noted:

> …The globalised digital sphere has facilitated the process of literature review where there is high access to online documents for the review. For example, we may download a policy

> document when doing the literature review and when we feel that we need further clarifications about a certain policy section or anything else we may need from a policy then we may find another alternative such as interviewing through making calls and therefore there is no need to travel. We mostly interview experts (of other countries) at the ministry level who are responsible in the policymaking using a phone call or Skype meeting which is extremely cheap compared to the travelling cost for the physical visit to various countries. It is obvious that globalisation and digital communication have improved policymaking practices and reduced the cost of travelling and payments for reading materials is now very cheap. (Interview No. 20, p. 4)

The wording that "…we may download a policy document…" and "…when we feel that we need further clarifications about a certain policy section or anything else we may need from a policy then we may find another alternative such as interviewing through making calls…" implies that they minimally value citizens' views. Further, the respondent's understanding relates to reduced costs for city government communication. For example, other interviewees also understand digital communication in terms of practical policymaking processes by highlighting the new simplicity due to access to updated literature, which creates awareness of new digital policy needs regarding the increased digitisation. As a policy expert noted:

> On my view, the practice of policymaking becomes so much simplified by the digital sphere since there is so much to read from online. The digital sphere has increased the access to online materials which has simplified the process of the literature review. Engaging in literature review requires someone to review enough materials which include current information or updated information to get a clear understanding of current issues which needs policy attention… (Interview No. 19, p. 7)

This interviewee's understanding of the impact of digitally available policy resources on the identification of the current policy needs implies that public needs in policymaking are less

favoured. The statement, “someone [needs] to review enough materials which include current information or updated information to get a clear understanding of current issues which needs policy attention…” reveals that respondents are confident in using online resources to reveal policy gaps in the digital era.

Lastly, respondents also understand policymaking practices in the globalised digital sphere in terms of improved stakeholder engagement in policymaking practice, as one policy expert noted that:

> …Also, the process of collecting the stakeholder’s comments become simplified since you can send a draft document through email and they may receive immediately and send back comments through emails too. I think the study visits are currently declining where a literature review is given so many weights in the policymaking which I may view it as a challenge of the increased globalisation and digitisation. (Interview No. 19, p. 7)

However, this perception of the global digital sphere, encompassing easy stakeholder engagement in the policymaking practice via email, suggests that, unlike citizens, representative officials are perceived as the primary stakeholders in the policymaking process. Other respondents understand stakeholder engagement in terms of the easy sharing of comments among mainly traditional policy experts and less among other groups of potential stakeholders.

> …Also, the globalised sphere has improved communication with stakeholders. For example, the stakeholder’s discussions which are conducted are sometimes virtual discussion and not the physical meeting. Also, they may send policy document through email where comments will be in the written format which I regard as the more detailed comments than just the physical discussion where the person will be just speaking. The

> written comments are much more thoughtful. Generally, the globalised digital sphere has greatly improved the building of policies. (Interview No. 30, p. 3&4)

The statement "stakeholder's discussions which are conducted are sometimes virtual discussion and not the physical meeting" simply relates to the respondent's understanding of the global sphere mainly in terms of addressing the policymaking communication among government officials as primary stakeholders in the policy processes. However, they do not address the globalised digital sphere for discussing policy decision processes with citizens. Also, respondents seem to value the digital space as a perfect space for writing policy reviews.

6.3 Understanding Dar es Salaam in the global digital policy sphere

In response to the question of what policy experts think as to whether Dar es Salaam is operating in a global policy sphere as a local or global player and why, interviewees feel that digital communication enables Dar es Salaam to operate both globally and locally. Nevertheless, their perception varies. For example, respondents understand that Dar es Salaam's digital engagement in the international business environment justifies its role as a global player in the global digital policy sphere. As one interviewee said:

> I can say in the global digital policy sphere: Dar es Salaam is a global player because it is highly connected to the internet which implies that Dar es Salaam is communicated globally and locally too. For example, citizens in Dar have opportunities to conduct business with outsiders even without necessarily travelling. For example, I have seen many people who have ordered cars and other vehicles from Japan which were safely received in the Tanzania Port Authority (TPA) without engaging in any physical travelling to Japan. Even my car which I am using I have ordered directly from Japan. The TPA is using a digital system that enables receiving cargos from outside the country where there is an opportunity to make online tracking of the cargo… (Interview No. 13, p. 7)

Interviewees' understanding of the global digital policy sphere stems more from the convenient use of technology and internet connectivity in engaging in e-commerce activities such as the purchase of cars across the national border, than from participation in cross-border digital policymaking networks. This suggests that they mainly feel that engaging in international business is playing a crucial part in the global digital policy sphere, which in turn implies less understanding of the potential of the global digital city for collaborative decision-making across the national border. There is a great opportunity to bring together think tanks for policy decision-making across the world to create substantial global policy impact. On the other hand, other interviewees perceive that Dar es Salaam operates in a global digital policy sphere in terms of enabling electronic transactions across the national border, as one interviewee said:

> I think we operate more globally, for example, things like mobile money, mobile banking is not only locally or nationally, but it connects us globally. You can be here but be able to do money transaction to any part of the world. As we are speaking, we are doing very well globally in terms of mobile money such as Tigo Pesa, M-Pesa, Airtel Money where you can send money to the mobile money accounts even when you are located outside the country. There are lots of money transfer companies such as Money Gram, Western Union, etc. which operates in many cities including Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Arusha etc. All these shows that we operate globally more than only locally… (Interview No. 24, p. 7)

This perception indicates that respondents view the global digital policy sphere in connection with activities that enable financial interconnectivity, rather than those that enable an active role in the global digital policy sphere across the national border. The above respondent associates the operation of financial transactions across the national border with a sense of operating in the global digital sphere, which implies minimal awareness of the policymaking opportunities presented by the new digital space in the global digital city. There is a need for policy experts to understand that the global digital city signifies more than the operation of

financial and business activities across the national border. It offers an open space for the trans-governmental policymaking debates that are necessary for the achievement of the development goals. Such a space for trans-governmental integration in the global digital policymaking sphere is vital for inclusive economic growth in the 21st century.

Respondents also highlight that Dar es Salaam meets global market-demands, as one interviewee noted below:

> In making the digital policy, the objective is to understand the best practice at the global level to meet both local and global needs and not only one side. Such understanding enables us to develop digital policies which are globally accepted and therefore makes us operate globally. For example, in the cyberspace there is no boundary; thus, there is no way you can work alone which promote the need to work globally as a team. For example, it is important to register the computer system for computer security purposes. If there is an attack or unauthorised malicious happened in another country like that happened in England, it sends information or an alert that the system is in danger due to attack, which helps to get prepared on how to deal with the ransomware. So, in aspects like this, I view Dar es Salaam to relate closely to the global digital sphere which helps to operate safely both locally and globally… (Interview No. 19, p. 8)

Interviewees feel that making digital policies that are globally accepted and that meet the needs of the global market marks Dar es Salaam as playing a key role in the global digital policy sphere. Such a perception connotes that respondents have minimal understanding of the new space for the intercontinental policymaking collaboration that emerges in the global digital city. It further implies that the policymaking environment in Dar es Salaam is still at the level of competition framework, where policymaking reflects promoting private investors rather than what citizens need. The respondent feels that the key issue that triggers collaborating across

the border is the country's safety in cyberspace. Their main understanding stems from the protection of electronic systems against cybercrimes, which relates to their collective professional role of protecting government interest for public service delivery.

Furthermore, respondents perceive that having the digital policy in a position to allow the performance of various digital activities, such as online transactions, in Dar es Salaam justifies the notion that the city operates globally in the global digital policy sphere. For example, in one interview, a policy expert said that:

> …Citizens in Dar es Salaam also engage in online business; for example, we purchase cars from Japan which is a kind of business performed digitally. There must be a national policy which enables such kind of the business to operate in Dar es Salaam and Tanzania in general. The banking system is also operating digitally to allow payments for the online business to take place. Access to cash is now easy whenever you are. For example, when you have a Visa or Mastercard, you can withdraw cash from the ATM in any country you travel, and this has been so convenient for travellers and businesspeople too. All these imply that, the digital policy which we have in Tanzania enable Dar es Salaam to operate globally. (Interview No. 14, p. 7)

The respondent considers the withdrawal of cash beyond the national border as a part of the global policy sphere. Their understanding of the global digital city is based on linking up in transnational development in business terms. It is important to create awareness that being a key player in the global policy sphere implies playing a collaborative part in global policy regimes, which is a new potential that emerges in the global digital city. On the other hand, respondents perceive that Dar es Salaam is already a key player in the global digital policy sphere because of having what they perceive as quality digital policies in place, as one interviewee said that:

> For the experience from the World Bank report on how they view us digitally, they tell us that we are moving very fast digitally especially in the mobile money although Rwanda and Kenya are moving faster than us… However, generally, in the digital policy sphere, we operate internationally, it needs us to improve our policies and to develop acts and regulations to make us become more internationally. For example, the current digital policies which are at place enable us to purchase products outside the country, i.e. buy the car from Japan or other products from China where there are official documents which we exchange to make the purchase completed, and we have become successful on that. Our digital policies have the power to protect our businesspeople and have the power to sue other citizens who break our digital policies. So, it is obvious that we operate in the global digital policy sphere as the global player. (Interview No. 29, p. 8&9)

The respondent feels that especially in financial contexts, such as mobile money as well as economic contexts, new types of digital policies will help Dar es Salaam to become a more significant global player, yet with a view to protect local businesses. They also see the need to regulate digital policies to grow as more global actors, however, only in the context of business and finance and not in citizens' participation in policymaking practices.

Moreover, while it is argued that Dar es Salaam is a global player in the digital policy sphere, other interviewees perceive Dar es Salaam mainly as a local player. These perceptions also vary and can be categorised into two main views. Representing the first view, some respondents perceive that the use of electronic systems that are interlinked among government sections and departments in public service delivery implies that Dar es Salaam is a local player in the global digital policy sphere, as a policy expert noted:

> …Nationally, we have highly transformed service delivery practised electronically as in the local government authorities, and we use various information systems. For example,

> the telemedicine is working to connect the Muhimbili National Hospital in Dar es Salaam with other hospitals in remote areas. We are still working out to operate internationally. We are struggling to establish a link between hospitals in India such as Apolo Hospital and others to make this happen internationally. Many systems are still operating within Tanzania such as EPICOR for financial management, TIS for tax collection, etc.… (Interview No. 26, p. 7&8)

This respondent's main understanding of what makes for a local player in the global digital policy sphere is the inability to interlink electronic public service delivery systems across the national border. There is less understanding, however, of the potential of collaborative policy decision-making practices between citizens and the government in Dar es Salaam, which needs to be understood as key to more inclusive economic growth. Representing a second view, interviewees understand that digital policies that are already in place, such as the National ICT Policy, are insufficient to enable Dar es Salaam to operate as a global player in the global digital policy sphere, as one policy expert said:

> …Despite that Dar es Salaam is highly connected to the internet and digitally connected in comparison to other regions in the country; still, digital policies which we have are not enough to the extent of enabling Dar es Salaam to become a global player in the global digital policy sphere. We still need' some Acts to enable – for example – the National ICT Policy, 2016 to function effectively and allow Dar es Salaam to compete globally. In this stage which we are in terms of the internet, digital practices, and digital policies at a place, I can see some improvements, but still, we operate locally. Thus, we need more improvements to allow us to operate globally. (Interview No. 10, p. 7)

Such a perception indicates that respondents understand Dar es Salaam as a local player in the global digital policy sphere because of its being connected to the internet and having insufficient digital policies in place to achieve societal development in the globalised digital

era. Their understanding of policymaking in the global digital city stems from meeting global market competition, instead of interlinking digital policy decision-making practices within and across the national border to solve common problems.

6.4 Digital policymaking and the notion of territory in Dar es Salaam

When policy experts responded to the question about what aspect of a current policy do they feel is a territorial issue for Dar es Salaam only, and why, they mainly suggested that there is no aspect of a current digital policy that is a sole territorial issue for Dar es Salaam, that disregards other regions of the country. Nevertheless, respondents expressed two main ideas about the notion of territory. Firstly, some respondents believe that digital communication has no boundary, thus making it impossible to demarcate the digital policy for digital issues for one only region, as a policy expert noted:

> So far, I can see that digital policy issues are almost the same everywhere since digital communication has no boundary. Digital issues which happen in Arusha for example, in terms of social media crimes or online banking crimes, are the same as other online crimes happening in other cities in Tanzania. Thus, dealing with digital issues involves the use of the same digital policy and for our case is National ICT Policy 2016. There is no way to demarcate digital issues since you may be in the location 'A' but still be able to conduct the online crime to the person in the location 'B'… (Interview No. 12, p. 8)

Respondents note that online crimes are less limited by regional boundaries and now open a new globalised policy dimension. The new ambiguity of "place" and the lack of territorial demarcation of online crime are becoming an issue for local policymaking, perhaps in line with national approaches. As one interviewee said, policy responses to tackle digital crime need to be holistic and national. While the city responds to territorial crime, digital crime now eliminates city policy and calls for a national solution.

> I have no idea on what aspect of a current policy might be the territorial issue for Dar es Salaam only, because, for my understanding, a national policy is meant for addressing the issue of the whole country and not the specific region. Unless if there is a specific digital issue in Dar es Salaam only, then the policy implementation strategy should address that. I think with digital communication there is no boundary and we do not need to create boundaries because of the need to communicate across cities and regions and even outside the country without limits. Unless if the policy is institutional then there is a chance to demarcate, but for the national policy like the ICT Policy, I think we need to address digital issues generally for the benefit of the whole country. (Interview No. 13, p. 8)

Respondents discern the strength of digital communication across regions as crucial for societal development, which implies that they understand digital communication as less bound by national territories. They further understand the need to address digital policy issues as holistic.

Secondly, understanding that Dar es Salaam is more highly connected to the internet than other regions in the country, some respondents perceive that most of the digital policy themes emerge, in fact, from issues relating to the city, yet digital policies need to be national:

> I think that many issues addressed by the current digital policy in Tanzania touch Dar es Salaam as a city since it is highly connected to the internet. However, the national policy like Tanzania ICT Policy, 2016 is addressing issues at the national wide and not specific regions although most digital issues may have emanated from this city, there is no way for the policy to address issues for Dar es Salaam only… (Respondent No. 16, p. 9)

Respondents seem to understand the growth of digitisation and digital policymaking as mainly pioneered by cities. The statement that "there is no way for the policy to address issues for Dar es Salaam only" translates to the potential of the city as a strategic point for digital policy innovation necessary for societal development in the globalised digital era.

Interviewees have two different perceptions regarding the high internet connectivity in Dar es Salaam and the implications of this territorial context for policymaking. For example, in the first perception, interviewees understand that cybercrime issues in Dar es Salaam, such as the misuse of personal information, indecent posts, and electronic transaction crimes, trigger digital policymaking in Tanzania, as an interviewee said that:

> …I feel there are many issues in the current policy which are of course issues for Dar es Salaam. For example, cybercrimes, misuse of digital personal information, indecent posts, electronic transaction crimes especially through mobile money transactions. These issues are highly increasing in Dar es Salaam because Dar es Salaam is more digitised than other regions in Tanzania. However, we never mention that a policy is addressing issues for Dar es Salaam only because such a city can also be overtaken by other cities too. Even digitisation itself has no boundary, and there is no way you can control the pace of technology. (Interview No. 27, p. 9)

The interviewee associates the use of digital communication with cybercrime, which implies that he views the global digital city as having a more negative than positive impact upon government practices. For example, the perception of "indecent posts" as a digital issue for Dar es Salaam implies that the interviewee strategically aims to manage public sphere in terms of posts that citizens publish online. However, the meaning of 'decent posts' is debatable and remains on the government discretion, a situation which might limit free civic public participation in political discussion, mainly for protecting the government. Interviewees view Dar es Salaam as a main source of cybercrimes due to high internet use among citizens. While on one hand, policy experts understand the global digital city in terms of indecent posts and misuse of personal data, other interviewees, in the second perception, understand that social media use and mobile money crimes in Dar es Salaam trigger digital policymaking in the country, as an interviewee noted that:

> …I think most of the digital policy aspects such as social media crimes, mobile money fraud etc. might have raised from Dar es Salaam before spreading to other regions because digital communication infrastructure is more improved in the city. Also, citizens in Dar may be pioneers of digital communication and digital practices than citizens in other regions of Tanzania, however, in policy we address digital issues in a more general way… (Interview No. 18, p. 9)

Respondents perceive digital practices, such as social media use, in digital cities such as Dar es Salaam as hindering societal development. It is essential to develop further understanding among interviewees that various city governments in other global digital cities have introduced digital platforms for citizen engagement in policy decision-making processes, rather than limited citizens' online participation in social media. Such a new opportunity for inclusiveness in the policymaking process is emerging as a crucial dimension of societal development in global digital cities.

This chapter presented interviews findings regarding policy experts' understanding of Dar es Salaam as a globalised digital sphere for policy decision-making practices. Key findings from interviews were interpreted based on how policy experts understand civic capacity building in a local, yet globalised context for policymaking practices. The next chapter will present discussions of interpretations presented in chapter 5 and 6 and offer arguments.

7. The city as a ‘digital hub’ for development in Dar es Salaam

The idea of the city as “hub:” is increasingly discussed internationally, and specifically in developing regions due to the strategic location and digital functionality emerging in cities. This work suggests the term “digital hub,” extending the understanding of a city as a hub, as proposed by Sassen (2006). From Sassen’s point of view, a city constitutes a hub as a result of digital interconnectivity across cities both locally and internationally in the global digital sphere (Sassen, 2002), although there is a view that inter- and intra-connectivity among cities is significantly determined by the digital evolution of specific city spaces (Carmody & Owusu, 2016). I argue that the layer of digital connectivity creates a new space for global cities. Current studies show that a city is a networking point for connecting people, places, and things (Radicati, 2017). Currently, in the city of Dar es Salaam, for example, there is growing local and global digital interconnectivity. Study results presented in chapter five showed that Dar es Salaam is emerging as a ‘digital hub’ in a more specific way. For example, the ‘digital hub’ of Dar es Salaam is mainly reflected in digital economic and financial perspectives that link the city with other local and global regions. Although Dar es Salaam is also emerging as a ‘digital hub’ with many other digital functionalities, such as enabling visibility for politicians, providing government services, as well as producing dense social connectivity, the emerging elements of local interconnectivity across the world reveal further potential for the city to develop civic public communication in an international context. I argue that such a growing space for multi-dimensional digital connectivity is a characteristic of the city as a digital hub.

7.1 Notions of 'digital hub' for development in a digital city, Dar es Salaam

Findings show that policy experts have minimal understanding of civic public communication as a new aspect of economic development in the digital era. They primarily view economic development from business and financial perspectives, which are in line with traditional understandings of economic development in global cities such as Dar es Salaam. Such understandings imply that Dar es Salaam is emerging as a digital hub for business and financial activities. However, this also indicates the future possibility of creating the city as a digital hub for civic public communication for economic development. This perception complies with new notions of understanding development in terms of building not only economic capacity, but civic capacity as a driver of societal progress. However, in most studies, economic development is the focus of development. For example, Oke et al. (2013) note that social media in Sub-Saharan Africa helps to promote economic development in terms of online banking and trading opportunities across the continent. Only a few studies reveal the increasing use of social media for civic public discussions in some African countries. For instance, in a study conducted in Kenya, Ishengoma (2013) notes that Twitter is used for sharing political content, including disseminating information about a terrorist attack at the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, which can be related to the shifting use of the public sphere for civic public communication. Although Salanova (2012) argues that social media can be used for increasing authoritarian regimes and political manipulation, Madueke et al. (2017) posit that in Nigeria, social media, as opposed to conventional media, has democratised political participation in recent years since it offers citizens the opportunity to interact directly with political processes. I argue that the use of social media for civic public communication mainly depends on the political interest of a given country in shaping collective actions. In Cameroon, for example, Oginni and Moitui (2015) note that in the political process, social media is mainly used for promoting government

activity such as election processes, while its use for civic engagement such as public policy decisions remains irrelevant. While the use of the public sphere for civic public communication is problematised in some African countries, such public communication is growing in South Africa as a new approach to citizen engagement in the global digital sphere. Pade-khene (2018) notes that civic engagement is emerging as key for societal development; the government of South Africa works to facilitate two-way communication between the government and citizens that is specifically aimed towards improving citizens' digital literacy. I argue that interactive decision-making is crucial to achieving development in the digital era since it makes both citizens and the government accountable for their country's development progress. This context also needs to be established in Dar es Salaam. The perspective of economic development that is limited to business and financial activities needs be replaced by the new notion of economic development in terms of civic public communication.

This study's results show that policy experts have minimal understanding of the new model of governance based on decision-sharing between the government and citizens that is emerging in the current digital era. They mainly understand governance in terms of connecting government departments and sections across the country regions. This implies that in Dar es Salaam, the notion of the city as digital hub mainly relates to the promotion of government activities, while the understanding of citizens' participation in the government decision-making process remains unexplored. A new governance model that emphasises the empowerment and direct participation of citizens in social, economic, and political issues is now emerging as crucial for the achievement of societal development in the global digital era. Some Asian countries, such as Jordan, have adopted "open government" as a new governance model, which fosters two-way collaboration between the government and citizens. For example, Al-Jamal and Abu-Shanab (2016) write that:

> Open government is important for narrowing the gap between citizen and government; that is because open government improves the level of data delivery to citizens to enhance service level and help citizens participate in making informed decisions about public policies.

I argue that narrowing the gap between the government and citizens in policymaking practices speaks to civic public communication, and is key for inclusive growth and economic development in global cities such as Dar es Salaam. In some African countries, social media offers citizens the opportunity to freely share their opinions with government. In a study conducted in Nigeria, Madueke et al. (2017, p. 53) argue that "social media can help in cutting down the cost of seeking public opinion to ensure that the will of the masses is translated into policies that will benefit all." Social media has not only decentralised public opinion, but also encourages easy civic deliberation, which leads to the economic development of a country. Although Dar es Salaam's operation in the global sphere relies on traditional styles of governance, which focus more on linear public service delivery than on cycles of citizen engagement, I view the digital linking of government departments across the country as a step towards further developing the city into a digital hub in terms of e-governance practices. However, it is crucial for policy experts in Dar es Salaam to adopt the new model of governance that is based on power-sharing and citizens' public participation for the city's economic development.

This study's results show, however, that there are minimal creative opportunities for using the global digital sphere to develop the government's public platform for citizens to engage in the public debate for societal development. Policy experts primarily rely on globalisation to offer solutions to economic problems, which suggests that, for the time being, Dar es Salaam is a digital hub for digital economic functionalities. However, new creativity is required in Dar es

Salaam to extend understandings of economic development. Studies show that communication advancement creates a platform to share views that influence decisions. For example, in Tunisia and Egypt, Salanova (2012, p. 10) observes that:

> New information and communication technologies have allowed citizens to take part in any of the stages of the communication process: they can create the content of a news item, they can disseminate it, and they can consume from a broad range of sources. Moreover, they have speeded up the course of communication.

This implies a growing opportunity for governments to use advanced communications to collaborate with their citizens by using social media for immediate feedback. While Shittu and Musbaudeen (2015) contend that, while grassroots level decision-making is complex due to the dynamics of views at play, confining decision-making to government leaders has only minimal impact on development. The power of public participation in influencing development should not be underestimated, and thus needs to be articulated properly. Governments' public platforms offer an avenue for citizens to decide their destiny and influence their government's decisions for development. Similarly, in Nigeria, Abdulmutallib (2012, p. 98) emphasises that "in this globalised world, a sort of round-table between the government and governed is being created by media, where they discuss issues that affect their lives and collectively provide a solution to them." I view this two-way communication between the government and those governed as offering a new notion of understanding development in the global era that is key to the global city's economic development. As Kalyango and Adukumi (2013, p. 14) argue, "social media networks are increasingly becoming a critical component of civic engagement and an ideal mode of communication, as they generate virtual discourse among friends, acquaintances, groups with similar aspirations, and with whoever shares one's common interests," which reflects the emerging opportunity for civic public communication in Africa. While other scholars contend that "the process of public participation has been politicised and

its implications on trust cannot be over-emphasised" (Shittu & Musbaudeen, 2015, p. 40), I argue that trusting relationships between government and citizens need to be built by national governments in the context of policy practices and public participation. Since improved connectedness between government and citizens presents an opportunity for development that goes beyond business and finance, using communication advancement to create interactive mechanisms through public platforms in Dar es Salaam remains crucial for the city's economic growth.

Findings reveal that public communication and deliberation of citizens is currently not seen as a critical area for economic development in Dar es Salaam, while digital connectivity is seen as key for promoting works of political leaders. For example, a policy expert said:

> … various political leaders have gained popularity through digital communication such as social media, by using the available digital infrastructure to promote themselves and their work in such a way that it is easy for everyone to see what he or she are doing … (Interview No. 6, p. 6)

This implies that Dar es Salaam is emerging as a digital hub for political activities that mitigates the missing links between government and citizens in the public sphere. Similarly, studies in Africa show the extensive use of social media to promote politicians. For instance, Nnanyelugo and Nwafor (2013) observe that since the general elections in 2011, politicians in Nigeria use social media networks such as Twitter and Facebook as mechanisms to promote their personalities and interact directly with their voters. Nevertheless, this kind of public participation relates more to helping politicians facilitate their political activities than to aiding governance decision-making practices. As Muse (2014, p. 43) argues in the case of Nigeria:

> It is therefore no longer strange to locate the Facebook accounts, or the Twitter handles of political figures such as the president, the prime ministers, cabinet members, civil right activists, and engages them as frequently as the case may be.

However, I argue that solely promoting works of politicians without opening the space for civic deliberations in the public sphere has minimal benefits for development in the global digital era. Although the discourse of ethical debates in the public sphere remains a pressing question (Ess & Thorseth, 2011), a more contemporary study concludes that:

> The dramatic growth of media and Internet outlets in the last decade alone in Nigeria, social networks could potentially be used for a broad range of participatory activities, such as demanding for public services like education and water, contacting leaders, political campaigns, and discussions, and most importantly fighting corruption. They also could play a critical role in citizen engagement and advocacy, which have a major bearing on transparency and accountability in governance and the conduct of public affairs. (Essien, 2017, p. 179)

I argue that public communication and citizens' deliberation for collective decision-making processes have a vital role to play in achieving economic development in the current globalised digital era. Thus, rather than seeing digital opportunities as simply enabling the promotion of politicians, policy experts need to exploit the potential of the global city Dar es Salaam by embracing the new context of understanding development in terms of public communication and citizens' deliberation for the city's economic growth in the digital era.

Findings also indicate a minimal sense of national interest in the global sphere; the sense of connectivity among policy experts relates mainly to the economic benefits of globalisation addressing the global interest. For instance, one interviewee posited earlier (see p. 168) that "… economically, globalisation has influenced the government of Tanzania to establish

business plans and economic policy which meets the global needs in a way that it helps us to engage in international business for our economic development …" (Interview No. 6, p. 2). The focus of Dar es Salaam meeting the global economic interest implies that the city is emerging as a digital hub for international business activities; however, citizens' empowerment to collaboratively address global economic policy for inclusive growth remains unexplored. Similar findings in Sub-Saharan Africa show that social media is increasingly supporting trading activities and online financial transactions across regions of the continent (Oke et al., 2013), which reveals that Africa is extensively embracing the global interest in economic, rather than civic public communication. I argue that social media is currently emerging as an advanced technique for promoting the interest of most citizens. In the context of Nigeria, Kolaposakiru et al. (2013) argue that most strategic economic plans are not oriented from the grassroots level, but rather from various international institutions, to serve global, and therefore short-lived, interests. This development context indicates the gap between citizens and governments in addressing national interests which, as I argue, poses a danger to national development. Nevertheless, the new era of promoting public interest emerges, in which the globalised sphere empowers citizens to communicate their views for collective decision-making. Although Banday and Mattoo (2013) argue that when introducing this approach, public participation needs to be coordinated through national efforts such as policy guidelines, I suggest that promoting collective decision-making is a complex process that requires a strategic framework. Oginni and Moitui (2015) claim that new development opportunities in the digital era emerge as critical where citizens voice their concerns and influence decisions regarding their future lives. However, the digital sphere serves not only global interests; it also offers a space for national interests to penetrate. Social media facilitates the online sharing of opinions and the organisation of public demonstration which, as I argue, reveals the interactive nature of digital media that is necessary to promote the national interest in the global sphere.

A contemporary study conducted in Kenya shows that digital media is also critical for promoting public policy decisions and influencing politicians on policy directions (Mwangi, 2018). This relates to the role of media in promoting national concerns. This practice of engaging citizens in public decisions through the digital sphere needs to be developed in global cities such as Dar es Salaam, to meet both national and global interests. Policy experts need to understand that promoting national interests through digital media is a key aspect of societal development in the global digital era.

7.1.1 Emerging digital opportunities in Dar es Salaam

As indicated earlier, findings reveal a minimal understanding of using the global sphere to gain civic public communication knowledge. Policy experts understand the primary uses of social media among youths as social interaction and entertainment, which they view as a "waste of time" that does not contribute to development. For example, (see p. 177) a policy expert said:

> … most youths are misusing internet and digital communication, they only use for refreshment, chatting, view other people's posts, watch movies and music, etc. they are not aware that such practices mean the waste of time, they could use the same time to learn meaningful pieces of stuff… (Interview No. 9, p. 3)

Similarly, studies by Kalu and Peace (2016, p. 61), for example, support the argument that young adults have mostly embraced social media for "updating their profiles" and "status," regularly "writing on friends' walls" and "uploading their pictures," during which, as they argue, they could be doing other, more important things. Nevertheless, there is only a limited understanding that there are more significant opportunities for engagement in the public sphere, such as the sharing of political thoughts and opinions online through digital smartphone interaction. In another contemporary study, for instance, Madueke et al. (2017, p. 49) propose

that “any government who wishes to communicate effectively with its citizens can maximize the power of the social media to enhance their political participation.” This implies further opportunities for the government to engage youths in decision-making processes through social media. I am of the view that, rather than perceive social media as a waste of time, policy experts in Dar es Salaam need to extend the inclusiveness of government decisions through making use of youth’s engagement in social media. Although, from the findings, Dar es Salaam reveals the sense of hub in terms of the connection it provides to social events and social entertainment in the digital sphere. Growing social media connectivity reveals the possibility for the city to emerge as a digital hub for civic public communication in the near future.

Findings show that policy experts have also minimal understanding of the interactive governance system through which youths can be linked via social media. Their understanding of the global sphere is primarily linked to neoliberal perspectives, wherein they feel that the promotion of social media influences youths’ use of social media to mainly encompass chatting, writing comments, or posting photos which, as they argue, contributes very little to development. The statement (see p. 182) “… the way the smartphone is advertised may influence its use …” (Interview No. 19, p. 14) translates the minimal understanding of the potential of social media among interviewees. The use of social media among youths in Dar es Salaam implies that the notion of the city as a hub for social connectivity is emerging, which also reveals the possible opportunity to build Dar es Salaam as a digital hub for civic public communication. Despite the ubiquity of neoliberalism in the globalised sphere, linking social media to neoliberal perspectives by suggesting that it presents negligible prospects for development portrays a limited understanding of its potential. Similarly, Carmody and Owusu (2016) posit that the information age facilitates global, urban forms of neoliberal projects to grow in the African continent, via corporate and government power which, as argued,

contributes to the continent's (under)development. Such linking of media development to (under)development perspectives relates to traditional understandings of development in the globalised digital era. The growth of media on the continent offers several interactive, governance-related opportunities, which are crucial for societal economic development in the current era. The most distinctive feature of digital media, such as social media – in contrast to traditional media – is that it offers real-time interaction and feedback (Oginni & Moitui, 2015). In this regard, its role in collecting public opinions and building an interactive governance system is extensive. For instance, Capano, Howlett, and Ramesh (2015, p. 311) note that currently there is a changing impression from "government" to "governance," in which the government plays a "steering" rather than "rowing" role, and forms "collaborative governance" through social networks. This implies that access to social media among youths is an opportunity for governments to create such an interactive governance system. Studies show that in most African countries, social media plays a key role in electoral processes (Oginni & Moitui, 2015); however, such use can be extended to an interactive governance system for economic development. Considering that new models of governance are not necessarily better than the old systems of government (Capano et al., 2015), I argue that for a nation to realise the potential of an interactive governance system, embarking on strategic policy decisions is critical. The strengths of globalised smartphone interaction in Tanzania should not be ignored. Policy experts in Dar es Salaam should explore the opportunity for social media to link youths with governance for collective decision-making. Such an emerging social media opportunity for civic public communication is crucial for developing the economy in global cities such as Dar es Salaam.

7.2 Civic public communication as a "node" in Dar es Salaam

A few conclusions can be drawn from the results presented in the previous chapters regarding the formation of civic public communication as a "node" in Dar es Salaam. Sassen argues that cities are currently emerging with the strategic aim to build the city's economy. She considers the possibility of cities and global digital networks emerging as "nodes" in transboundary politics as a result of complex institutional development (Sassen, 2006, p. 340). Her viewpoint is that when the global and local meet, they create a new space, the node, which enables the creation of a new organisational structure to build the city's economy. Similar to the term "node," Castells (2004, p. 82) uses terms like "space of flow" and "space of places." The former refers to an interterritorial connection across borders, and the latter refers to geographical spaces and community interactions, both being crucial for shaping contemporary cities and building the networked economy. Viewing Dar es Salaam from Sassen's theoretical point of view, it seems that Dar es Salaam is emerging as a node in a way to connect to gobalised digital communication to enable through this connection a new space for civic public communication. However, this is understood in specific contexts that implicate different understandings of economic development.

7.2.1 Use of digital smartphone interaction to participate in civic activities

Findings also reveal what I describe as a perception of policy makers of 'digital civic illiteracy.' Policy perceptions address mainly economic issues and do not fully engage with new opportunities for civic communication, in terms of governance processes, in terms of digital policymaking, and in terms of seeing such a digital civic capacity as societal development. It is argued (see p. 187) that "a mere citizen who did not go to school but own a smartphone may not be in the position to engage in civic matters because may not understand the importance of

civic matters" (Interview No. 13, p. 4). I argue that smartphone ownership itself might be viewed already as a "technical" node as a new space of civic public communication in Dar es Salaam; however, there is a gap between a technical and a civic node, as the smartphone is rarely used to promote citizens' voices and opinions for government decision-making activities. Previous studies reveal that individuals who understand digital information have a higher chance of engaging in civic communication than those who do not critically understand it (Mihailidis & Cohen, 2013). However, citizens in Dar es Salaam lack the skills required for critical engagement with digital information, which I also view as a new digital civic divide in which there is access to digital information but minimal understanding of such information. Digital literacy empowers citizens to engage in civic activities, as Kim and Yang (2016) argue, in the context of internet skill literacy and internet information literacy within the general perception of digital literacy. The authors claim that internet information literacy, more so than internet skills literacy, is highly associated with civic engagement, since individuals tend to have sufficient operational skills in using the internet and technology, but still minimally engage in civic activities (Kim & Yang, 2016). I argue that digital information literacy is nevertheless an important aspect of civic engagement, which also needs to be developed to raise civic public communication for economic development in Dar es Salaam. In some countries, such as South Africa, embedding knowledge for civic engagement is now emerging as a fundamental right for citizens, as this process supports a two-way communication between government and citizens for decision-making practices. As Pade-khene (2018, p. 1) argues, "key to building capacities and learning, is developing the abilities of both local government and citizens to become digitally literate (including civic and responsiveness literacy), in order to realise and action the true benefits of digital citizen engagement." However, societies differ in terms of the digital resources available to the government to build capacity for civic public communication among citizens. Therefore, building a responsive government, especially in

civic public communication, is not a straightforward process; government commitment to this is very much required for achieving economic development in the digital era.

Policy experts understand social media to access political information in both rural and urban areas, which implies that the globalised digital sphere is crucial for the promotion of political activities and the government. Such use of the global sphere defines the city as a "node" for promoting political activities. Despite this use of social media, it reflects the new space for engaging in civic activities that is emerging both in Dar es Salaam and beyond the city territory. Although some scholars support seeking political information via social media as a determinant factor for civic engagement (Gil de Zúñiga, 2012), I argue that access to political information, with minimal citizen participation, is insufficient to meet the need for civic participation in the global sphere. Earlier research suggests that using digital communication to access political information relates to a more informed kind of citizenship, but has little effect on public communication (Mossberger, Tolbert, & McNeal, 2008). The digital divide is conceptualised in terms of lack of "means" and "skills" to participate online, which impacts public engagement. However, dealing with the digital divide serves to achieve inclusive public participation for economic development. Social media is currently regarded as a means of political participation, as Madueke et al. (2017), in the context of Nigeria, note that social media such as Facebook and Twitter opens up new possibilities of conversation between politicians and citizens. For Dar es Salaam to achieve economic development, it is critical to use the social media space to engage citizens in different civic activities, such as participation in political discussions, despite current uses of this space being limited to the promotion of the political government.

Findings reveal that social media platforms are specifically crucial for promoting government practices, such as the exchange of public documents and human rights information, which suggests that Dar es Salaam is emerging as a node from the perspective of e-governance. Exclusion of citizens from government decision-making practices via social media platforms is also revealed. However, research that supports inclusion suggests that social media platforms provide a space for participants to write comments, as well as to ask and answer questions. For example, Anim (2013) notes that while, initially, social media was established mainly as a social tool, contemporarily, it offers an interactive space for institutional and business activities. This includes the ability to write comments and discuss matters with other people, a strategy that can also be extended to joint decision-making practices between citizens and government in Dar es Salaam. However, while there is a concern that technology alone cannot bring changes (Benzinger, 2014), I argue that technology has the power to shape human behaviour and therefore influence the transformation of society, including civic interactions. Muse (2014) notes that citizens are currently using social media to commend or condemn government decision-making activities, which is a crucial practice for societal development; however, research findings confirm minimal inclusiveness of citizens, implying minimal implications of the digital sphere for societal development. Also, Wang (2014) suggests that collaborative governance forms a basis for modern governance in the digital era. Thus, achieving economic development in a globalised digital city like Dar es Salaam is a collaborative task between government and citizens, and not the responsibility of the government alone.

Interviews reveal that the idea of digital policy regulations that allow free public participation in civic discussions is not well known in Dar es Salaam, as the following quotation presented earlier (see p. 192) shows: “the freedom to speak out is reduced, and citizens are not interested

in discussing issues related to democracy or good governance" (Interview No. 18, p. 4). However, there is an increasing trend of regulating digital landscapes in a way that promotes citizens' participation in the public sphere for collaborative decision-making practices. For example, Linders (2012, p. 452) highlights that "coproduction knowledge" between government and citizens is achieved when government rules are set to boost "reciprocity" as a way to extract contributions from citizens. This context implies that the public sphere for collaborative decision-making between the government and citizens requires coordination by the government in terms of policies. Globalisation and advanced communication enable the contemporary public sphere to generate public opinions, although previous analysts contend that technology cannot guarantee the real character of the communicator, but rather, merely offer an image (Faris, 2010). However, for a country to realise the fruitful benefits of the public sphere, there is a need for the government to enable civic public communication by setting media policies that promote such engagement. Mustapha (2012, p. 40) proposes that "building consensus and institutions through all-embracing and sustained rational debate is the key to addressing the social, economic, and political problems that confront Africa," through which the role of government in enhancing civic public communication for development is revealed. Oginni and Moitui (2015) conclude that engaging citizens in development plans and decision-making practices across regions and sub-regions of the African continent is key to achieving development in the digital era. This implies that democratic development is achieved through interaction in a transnational sphere whereas, from this study's findings, policymakers claim to only see minimal participation in civic public communication in Dar es Salaam. Also, a contemporary study in Africa indicates that development is achieved through collaborations between citizens and government. As Igbokwe-ibeto and Osakede (2017, p. 157) state, "unless citizens are carried along in the process of public policymaking and implementation to reflect the modern trend in today's globalized era, development may remain far-fetched." Therefore,

for Dar es Salaam to promote economic achievement in the current globalised digital era, policy experts must encourage civic public participation through digital policy regulation.

Policy experts seem to have only minimal knowledge of global citizenship, whereas they view social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter as key for learning institutional facts such as those relating to political elections and the rule of law within national contexts. This space is mainly understood for promoting the government. For example, an expert says (see p. 193) "… we have recently learned so much from Kenya general re-election in October 2017, which has opened our eyes regarding the good governance system especially how national election committee is supposed to work independently under the rule of law ..." (Interview No. 9, p. 4&5). Such a perception of the use of social media indicates some aspects of global citizenship; however, the space is underutilised in terms of promoting global citizenship such as decision-making practices across the border. The use of social media in Dar es Salaam also reveals that the city is emerging as a node for e-governance practices, wherein the global sphere seems crucial for dutiful governance while the notion of global citizenship remains limited. A study by Adaeza and Howard (2016) revealed similar findings that social media is employed in Sub-Saharan Africa for creating cross-border platforms and multi-country social media applications for monitoring elections across African regions. This context relates to the use of the digital sphere for promoting "how" to politically govern a nation while the use of the digital sphere for collecting public opinions across the border is seen as irrelevant among African countries. However, as the world is increasingly interconnected through social media networks, the idea of global citizenship is also growing across the world. Culver and Kerr (2014, p. 58) reveal that:

> New media technologies, in fact, have contributed to the acceleration in the exchange of ideas and information at the global level that has changed the way people go about their daily lives, including the way they experience and enact citizenship.

This suggests changes in the way citizenship is understood in the global digital era. As civic engagement is widely discussed to contribute to development (Gaventa & Barrett, 2012), Dar es Salaam should not neglect the opportunity presented by social media to create the cross-border interlinkages required to resolve common development matters such as global policymaking for societal development. This would exploit social media beyond its capacity to merely connect citizens to political elections and the rule of law worldwide.

Research outcomes show that citizens have more freedom to use social media platforms to engage in political discussions regarding other countries than to engage in national political discussions. Policymakers acknowledge, however, that they do not actively enable such a sphere and notions of civic digital literacy. For example, policymakers feel that citizens' engagement in national discussions of civic matters via social media platforms barely occurs in Dar es Salaam. At the same time, the vision of a digital society includes citizens' collaboration with the government in civic activities, such as policymaking, which is regarded as a key practice for societal development. For instance, Wojciech (2017, p. 117) points out that digital-era governance is characterised by "reintegration of state administration; need-based holism which focuses on citizens' needs; as well as digitisation changes concerning cultural, social and technological adaptation." This idea of meeting citizens' needs implies the importance of collective decision-making for economic growth. Earlier research shows that citizens' public participation is essential to building an inclusive and cohesive society (Singh, 2007) that takes citizens' concerns on board. Other scholars concur that social media platforms enable users to engage and interact collaboratively with their government (Banday & Mattoo,

2013), representing the modern way of governance in globalised societies for common decision-making practices. Therefore, the public communication space enabled by social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook in Dar es Salaam needs to be more effectively utilised by the government in collaborative decision-making practices with citizens. Such a governance model is vital to facilitating its economic development.

This study's results show, however, a lack of understanding regarding the use of digital smartphone interactions to participate in cross-border civic public communications for government decision-making. Respondents seem to mainly identify social media as providing a platform for the discussion of humanitarian issues and the deprivation of human rights across the national border which, in fact, indicates the dimension of global citizenship. Since social media offers the possibility to communicate beyond the borders of the city, it reflects the existence of a new space for civic public communication beyond the borders of Dar es Salaam. Similar results by Castells (2008) show that the global public sphere shifts the space of public debates from the national level to the global network's communications. This also signifies the emergence of global citizenship. He uses the notion of "global governance" to represent the interests of society across national borders through the public sphere.

Studies in Africa show the emerging transformation of the public sphere for expanding the horizon for democratisation. For example, Mustapha (2012) asserts that in the context of contemporary globalisation and technological development, the notion of the public sphere is emerging as a multiplicity of overlapping publics, critiquing Habermas' conception of the public sphere as a single national public. He views the internet as a "network of networks" for building connections for public opinions (Mustapha, 2012, p. 31). Although other scholars believe that globalisation leads to the deterritorialisation of the public sphere due to increasing

cross-border public opinions, I argue that the transnational practices offered by the global sphere contribute to societal changes. Volkmer (2014) notes that the transformation of media structures, as is the case in some African countries, enables new forms of interdependent and transnational public engagement, wherein the diasporic community is able to participate in public debates in their country of origin to influence the process of democratisation. Such transnational public sphere engagement needs to be promoted in the city of Dar es Salaam, too. As the digital sphere transforms notions of civic engagement within the national territory (Culver & Kerr, 2014), the existence of digital smartphone interaction in Dar es Salaam provides an understanding of a public space where citizens and governments across borders can work together in matters of public concern. Such cross-border civic public communication among citizens to legitimise government decision-making processes is important for global cities such as Dar es Salaam to achieve economic growth.

Policy experts reveal that citizens' engagement in the public sphere in Dar es Salaam is closely linked to the power of politicians and the government to exercise their political power over the public space. This implies that awareness of the new model of governance that is currently emerging in the governance of global digital cities is still minimal. As was remarked earlier (see p. 196) by one interviewee:

> I cannot tell the extent to which citizens use the smartphone to participate in civic matters; however, I think it is to a small extent because only the government can make citizens use or hinder them from participating in civic activities. (Interview No. 17, p. 22)

This clearly reveals the potential of political power to control the communication space for civic public engagement. This practice relates to a traditional form of governance, and the formation of public opinion of citizens through deliberation. Calhoun (2010) reveals the similar idea that the public space is situated within the larger field of political power and state influence

that shapes citizens' public interactions. However, state control over the public sphere conflicts with the contemporary, digital-era governance model, which promotes citizens' inclusiveness for better governance results. For example, Bellantoni (2016, p. 2) supports that "in order to reach its full potential, an open government strategy requires an inclusive process and needs to have the 'buy-in' from key actors, both within and outside government." This signifies the direction required for better governance results. Demonstrating this modern citizenship practice, previous studies show that in many instances, social media has become the central component of governance in modern governments' movement towards so-called "we-governance." In this model, citizens take a more active role, to ensure government functions' achievements are useful for societal change (Linders, 2012). This context of citizenship implied less control of the global public sphere and shared responsibility between citizens and government, which is vital to the promotion of development outcomes in Dar es Salaam.

7.2.2 The changing notion of citizenship in the era of digital communication

Based on results presented in chapter five of how digital communication is changing the notion of citizenship, various findings emerge. For example, interviewees revealed that social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter are mainly used to address institutional issues such as national policies, elections, and good governance matters, which is representative of the old perspective of citizenship. Similarly, Oginni and Moitui (2015) note that social media appears to strengthen and monitor election practices in African countries. This function respects tradition, and relates to notions of dutiful citizenship. Kim and Yang (2016, p. 440) also argue that "dutiful citizenship is based on electoral engagement, such as voting and institutional participation, within the established rules of political parties." This is reflected in current utilisations of the new digital space in Dar es Salaam, where the city as a

“node” is emerging mainly in the sense of promoting government roles. Meanwhile, the notion of linking social media to digital citizenship is still unclear. Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes (2010) reveal similar findings, that social media is becoming crucial for promoting transparency in governance. It helps citizens to develop trust in government when they understand what the government is doing. Nevertheless, informing citizens without engaging them is insufficient to achieve societal development. As digital communication is increasing in some African countries, there is a widespread notion of the new model of governance that involves citizens’ direct participation in decision-making practices. For example, the existing body of knowledge shows that there is increasing use of social media as a means to engage citizens; as Muse (2014) notes, citizens use social media to participate in public discussions by expressing support for or showing displeasure with government decision-making practices. This new citizenship practice of linking government decision-making with citizens is crucial for the city’s economic development in Dar es Salaam in the current global digital era.

Furthermore, findings show that social media interaction is mainly understood from the perspective of institutional settings, such as rights, constitutions, and taxation across countries. Such a perspective is consistent with traditional understandings of citizenship and demonstrates minimal awareness of the possibilities of global citizenship for decision-making practices on matters affecting global development issues. This understanding can be mainly attributed to the roles that policy experts play in promoting the government. Despite the newness of the concept of global citizenship in developing countries such as Tanzania, it is gradually growing due to increased digital communication. While global citizenship is seen as diverse across countries and based on the national context (Katzarska-miller, Reysen, Kamble, & Vithoji, 2012), globalised communication for interaction emerges as the key to creating this context. For example, Katzarska-Miller et al. (2012, p. 173) note that citizens in India understand

"global citizenship in terms of connecting with others and working to correct global problems through technologies such as the Internet." This implies that digital connectivity through social media, which is also seen in Dar es Salaam, is crucial for developing global citizenship in terms of collective decision-making for global issues. Also, Culver and Kerr (2014) reveal that social media provides a useful space for creating global citizenship by facilitating easy contact with the outside world. In my view, citizenship practices in the globalised digital era are less bound by national territories, which allows a sense of global citizenship to emerge. Despite the aim of global citizenship approaches to build common identity across nations and unite the world, there is also an argument that learning global citizenship should be considered as supplementary to national citizenship, because, as argued, it spreads more global thinking (Goren & Yemini, 2018; Quaynor, 2015). However, I argue that in the globalised sphere, in which societies are interconnected, it is impossible to live in digital isolation. Thus, global citizenship is crucial to promote wide engagement in the discussion of worldviews for the achievement of societal development. Although findings reveal minimal knowledge of global citizenship among policy experts, they reflect the growth of a new notion of global citizenship in Dar es Salaam. I have conceptualised this new civic public communication space as "node." Global citizenship is regarded as a modern citizenship practice for creating the better world (Anderson et al., 2017), and thus needs to be adopted in Dar es Salaam for the economic development of the city.

7.3 The emerging denationalised sphere in policymaking

Denationalisation is emerging as one of the key elements of transformation in the global era, particularly in developing countries, although it appears in different contexts. For example, Setiany et al. (2018) use the concept of denationalisation to refer to privatisation, describing

the changing status of capital ownership from the state to private under globalisation. Also, in a business environment, Ogaboh and Odu (2013) note that the technological advancement of globalisation has eased the denationalisation of markets by creating a new world order of the global economy. Such views of denationalisation in the global sphere imply the growing destabilisation of existing national territories. On the other hand, Sassen (2006) states that in the digital sphere, the national and global are not mutually exclusive, but rather are interlinked, especially via the territorial dimension. She further emphasises the shifting relation between the nation and the globe due to globalisation and the extended network connection, which, as she argues, "destabilises historical national formalities" (Sassen, 2006, p. 326). Similarly, Nwanko (2013) asserts that denationalisation, in terms of the collapse of state boundaries – especially in governance practices – is growing. This is due to the rise of the network society in the global sphere which, as the findings show, is also the case in Dar es Salaam. The global network articulates a new system in the national territory. Sassen (2006) views the space of the global city as a denationalised space, which underpins and motivates this study of Dar es Salaam. Also, Paquot (2011) reveals that global cities lead in denationalisation, in moving beyond the established traditional national framework. Findings from this study presented in chapter six show some elements of denationalisation in the global networked city space of Dar es Salaam to be emerging in a specific way, with specific implications for the city's economic development. The globalised digital space in Dar es Salaam is transforming old formalities of governance in terms of policy and decision-making practices to meet the needs of the growing global digital sphere. This can be linked to the idea of denationalisation. In the digital era, the policymaking structure is destabilised, and collaborative governance and decision-making practices are emerging as crucial for inclusive growth. This provides a new way of understanding economic development in the global networked city of Dar es Salaam.

7.3.1 Policymaking practices in the global digital city, Dar es Salaam

The semi-structured interviews revealed that policy experts mainly understand social media in terms of simplifying governance processes and protecting government decisions. Hence, they have minimal understanding of using the global digital city as an open space for citizen engagement in government policymaking practices. For example, an expert said: "I think there is a need to officialise WhatsApp to simplify our work" (Interview No. 2, p. 3). This simply shows policy experts' motives to use social media to promote government, while citizens' inclusiveness in government policymaking decisions is not optimised. This kind of social media use is observed in other African countries. For example, previous research by Oginni and Moitui (2015, p. 158) on the use of social media in the public policy process across African countries reveal that "social media use has taken a new shape with respect to citizens' engagement in the electoral process, but its use for civic engagement in the policy process is very low." Although social media is not currently used to engage citizens in the policymaking process in Dar es Salaam, it should not be overlooked simply because of its limited contribution. It reflects the initial stage of learning new ways of using digitisation in governance, which I link to the theoretical concept of denationalisation. It is essential to understand that, while the global digital sphere is manifested in different contexts across the world, currently the use of social media for engaging citizens in policy decision-making is encouraged across the globe for the achievement of development goals (Oginni & Moitui, 2015). In this sense, policymakers in Dar es Salaam should explore the opportunity of using social media to engage citizens in the policymaking process as a new way to achieve economic development in the city.

Findings show that policy experts understand policymaking decisions as the exclusive role of government that does not require citizen input. Policy experts perceive the global digital sphere as crucial to building capacity for government officials to learn and improve policymaking practices, but not building citizen capacity through citizen engagement. For instance, a policy expert said earlier (see p. 223) that: "… the globalised sphere has also simplified the identification of the best practice policy section from reading the online policy documents which might provide interest in arranging for a study visit to learn more about such a best policy practice …" (Interview No. 26, p. 6). This shows that policy experts see the main opportunity presented by the digital sphere as aiding government officials to explore international policymaking knowledge. This implies limited understanding of the opportunity to create a digital public forum for citizen participation in policymaking decisions. While policy experts do not perceive this opportunity, this does not mean that current digital practices do not contribute to economic development. Rather, the learning curve in using the digital sphere for achieving societal development is revealed. While global network connection overrides national policies, I argue that the current system of policymaking practice that is emerging in the city of Dar es Salaam relates to denationalisation. Growth of the use of social media in the digital era benefits policymaking practices. As Yeung (2018) argues, social media platforms provide users with multiple ways to offer insights and make policy decisions since they complement traditional methods of collecting public opinions. In this sense, as the global sphere is extending in Dar es Salaam, formalising social media public forums for policymaking is necessary for the city's economic development.

However, as the results reveal, policy experts still understand policymaking through the lens of the old government system, with minimal citizen engagement, despite the growth of the global digital sphere. This is a dichotomy that is addressed by scholars in relation to other

countries as well (Brooks et al., 2018; Eko, 2015; Stiftung, 2016). Scholars view conservative policy processes, such as those in Dar es Salaam, as leading to unrealistic policy. For example, Oginni and Moitui (2015) support that when there is a lack of civic engagement in public policymaking (either online or offline), the active link is between the government policymakers and the policy environment. This system of government, which relies on the government domination of policy decisions, makes minimal contributions to societal change in the global digital city, and thus needs to be phased out. More inclusiveness is required to meet the growing understanding of the new model of governance, which emphasises more collaborations among multiple actors. While Carmody and Owusu (2016) doubt the effectiveness of the new model of governance in coordinating the policy decision-making process, the literature supports that "the new mode of governance brings multiple stakeholders together in common forums with public agencies to engage in equal consensus-oriented decision-making in order to define existing challenges and to develop initiatives necessary for addressing them" (la Cour, 2016, p. 56). This new system of collaborative governance, specifically in policymaking, is currently emerging as key for societal development. Nevertheless, it implies a new structure of government formalities in Dar es Salaam that I associate with the denationalisation process.

Findings show that there is also a limited understanding of the open government system for public participation in policymaking. Policy experts strongly feel that "literature review is given so much weight than best policy practice in policymaking" (see p. 227) (Interview No. 19, p. 7), which indicates a lack of understanding of open government, and specifically public participation, for policymaking. This implies that the policymaking process in Dar es Salaam is not open for citizens to contribute their input, despite the growth of the global digital sphere in the city. This kind of global sphere use resonates with observations across African countries. For example, from a study conducted in Malawi, Razzano (2016) demonstrates the challenges

of bringing citizens together in policymaking using an open government system. Conversely, coordinating technical government departments is much easier. This finding can be explained by the fact that policymakers, especially in African countries, still understand development in traditional terms. Despite the minimal use of the digital sphere for open government in Dar es Salaam, the emerging new use of the global network in policymaking manifests the destabilisation of the old national formalities in the policymaking process. Currently, open government is proposed as a new government reform for reciprocal public service delivery, which adds value to policy outcomes, specifically across cities in the world. For example, Ramírez-Alujas and Dassen (2014, p. 2) suggest that open government ultimately relates to:

> … the promotion of policies that are open to co-produce public value beyond institutional exclusivity (and, in many cases, monopolistic) of the State domain; it does not only relate to the adequate provision and delivery of public goods and services.

This view incorporates the promotion of a transparent, open policy to increase citizens' trust in the government. Therefore, the notion of open government in policymaking is essential for Dar es Salaam to achieve economic development in the digital age.

7.3.2 Implications of the globalised digital sphere on the current policy decision-making practices

This study reveals that interviewees understand policymaking in terms of protecting the image of political leaders and the government system for governance purposes. It seems their central understanding of policymaking is rooted in the view that social media is a distraction to both government systems and society, and not a solution for societal problems. This can be closely linked to the destabilisation of the existing national formalities, in the sense that social media enables the disclosure of government issues that were previously unknown to the public. This

view reveals that the concept of denationalisation is emerging in Dar es Salaam. Similarly, the view of using the global sphere to protect the government is also observed in previous studies. For instance, Morozov (2011) acknowledges the occurrence of this situation when he notes that social media can be employed to help political leaders back up their authoritarian regimes and promote their power. This exploitation of social media can be related to the use of the global sphere to protect the image of the government. Also, Salanova (2012, p. 15) adds that "authoritarian regimes can be as quick as activists in using new media tools for their interest, as a means of monitoring and controlling societies with increasingly improved mechanisms," which implies governments' increasing strategies to control new media landscapes to protect their interest. Such findings have occurred mainly because, as also demonstrated from this study, policymakers have limited understanding of the new conception of development emerging in the global sphere, which is less authoritative and focuses on promoting civic public communication. Social media can be used to achieve development more democratically. For example, Muse (2014) notes that social media, apart from helping citizens become active and to work closely with the government, also allows societies to achieve development in a more participatory way. He adds that "after all, democracy and public participation is all about the people, and not the government" (Muse, 2014, p. 47), which reveals that the significance of social media for development mainly comes about as a result of collaboration between the government and citizens. As the digital sphere is growing in Dar es Salaam, policymakers need to replace the traditional conceptions of development and allow new understandings of economic development to take over. I posit that social media platforms offer collective and creative solutions to the government. Given that government decisions such as those related to policymaking in Dar es Salaam need to be open and collaborative, policymakers need to use new digital opportunities via social media platforms to achieve economic development.

The results show that policymakers understand policymaking in terms of controlling the freedom of the internet as a strategy to achieve societal development. The statement mentioned earlier (see p. 213) that "we need to reduce the free access to all information…" (Interview No. 4, p. 4) relates to the authoritarian view of the public sphere in which the government influences public communication, hence shaping public opinion. Similarly, in a study conducted in West Africa, Brooks et al. (2018, p. 74) note that "non-democratic countries with poor human rights records maintain power by tightly controlling information, limiting their populations' ability to share opinions, organise, and create democratic alternatives." This strategy can be viewed as a new trend in some African countries in the global digital sphere. The study further notes that internet shutdown is taking place in these regions. For example, in Ethiopia, "the Internet is no longer a haven for freedom of expression" (Eko, 2015, p. 264). Also, "in 2017, the governments of Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Gabon all used Internet blackouts as a political tool" (Brooks et al., 2018, p. 74) through which citizen engagement in the public sphere was limited. Other research into internet governance in West and East Africa includes studies (Kalyango & Adukumi, 2013; Mittelman, 2014) that indicate that achieving freedom of expression through the internet is progressing slowly. I argue that policymakers in African countries have not considered the opportunity for citizens' civic public communication in policymaking decisions. I link the authoritarian view of policymaking with that of denationalisation, wherein the global network sphere is transforming the existing formalities of traditional media governance into internet shut down. The understanding of policymaking in the authoritarian regime, in terms of limiting citizens' ability to engage in civic public communication, poses dangers to a city's economic development following the currently changing notions of perceiving economic development. Banday and Mattoo (2013) note that governments in the digital era promote citizens' integration through social media, whereas frameworks, policies, and guidelines are regulated to encourage citizens' integration. Despite

policy experts viewing policymaking in terms of shaping citizens' online opinions, such a policymaking framework strategy could be utilised in Dar es Salaam to foster civic public communication for the city's economic development.

The study reveals that policy experts understand policymaking in a global digital city in terms of blocking access to social media during working hours as a strategy to increase staff productivity. For instance, one policy expert said earlier (see p. 211), "we have blocked the access to YouTube and Google search engine …" (Interview No. 24, p. 7). This strongly indicates new emerging control mechanisms for the public sphere that could also serve to limit the expression of public opinions in policy decision-making. Studies from Africa show that "some governments have begun to use internet control measures – surveillance, filtering, and blocking technologies – to counter the deterritorialization of content from real space to cyberspace" (Eko, 2015, p. 264). The trend of social media blockage is also observed in Equatorial Guinea (Brooks et al., 2018). Also, Stiftung (2016, p. 62) notes that in Uganda, the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) "can only block the website from being accessed in the country because they do not have rights to social media companies." Despite this power, it seems that governments do not have access to individual social media accounts, which are important spaces for individuals to express public opinions. This lack of power over social media accounts signifies that the global sphere has strong impacts on public communication that not even a nation state can limit. Salanova (2012, p. 11) notes that the "Internet has benefited grassroots movements by providing new possibilities for citizens to organise even under authoritarian regimes." I argue that control and monitoring of social media shows that the government already understands trending topics and public opinions, however, there is less interest in such concerns. Blocking access to social media signifies the power of the global sphere in breaking national boundaries and overriding existing government formalities, which

therefore means that new structures can influence and control public communication. Policymakers perceive the prevention of public participation through social media blockage as important for development; however, there is a minimal understanding that social media platforms are currently emerging as potential public platforms for collecting public opinions in policy decision-making. Morozov (2011) contends that when the need arises, only a few people may join the online public communication; however, online participation is not contingent upon time and space, and conversations among participants via social media offer the opportunity to reach strong policy decisions. For the global city of Dar es Salaam to achieve economic development in the digital age, the policymaking framework needs to allow free citizen engagement in social media platforms for collective decisions, rather than block access to social media sites.

7.4 Deterritorialised space in the global digital city Dar es Salaam

The phenomena of globalisation and digital communication have allowed territorial interconnection that exceeds barriers of time and space across the world. Such phenomena reduce the self-sustaining nature of the nation, producing a new way of a national territorial organisation, which Sassen (2006) coined the "deterritorialization" process. Through assemblage thinking, Wise (2013) notes that the process of deterritorialisation can be made and remade. Because of the global network sphere, traditional national power erodes, and the role of the national territory becomes redefined. Sassen's theory posits that the global network eliminates city territory and function out of national jurisdiction. Furthermore, scholars from Sub-Saharan Africa understand that "deterritorialization" is the "decontextualization and diffusion of culture, technology, and worldviews without regard to territorial boundaries and jurisdictions" (Eko, 2015, p. 253). However, Munro and Thanem (2018) note that the process

of “deterritorialization” challenges existing social codes and boundaries, whereas “reterritorialization” is considered as a way forward. I argue that the act of “reterritorialization” is more applicable in cities where there is a possibility for “deterritorialization” to emerge. Eko (2015) believes that “deterritorialization” is always accompanied by the global or local “reterritorialization” or “reconstruction” as a way forward. I link “reterritorialization” to the notion of a reorganisation of the national territory in the global era. From the findings, a new phase of understanding the city’s economy in the view of deterritorialisation, through assemblage thinking, is currently emerging in specific ways in the city of Dar es Salaam. For instance, citizens exercise international business links across national borders. This practice relates to the transformation of the old notion of binding citizenship to the national territory, therefore indicating the possibility for a new space for cross-border, deterritorialised policymaking collaboration to emerge. The notion of deterritorialisation implies that citizens in a national territory gain direct access to the global sphere to increase more awareness of civic public communication which, as I argue, signifies a new phase of a city’s economic development.

7.4.1 Understanding Dar es Salaam in the global digital policy sphere

Findings reveal that policy experts have limited understanding of cross-border digital policy networks, as they mainly understand the global digital policy sphere in terms of digitally linking up to the international business environment. For instance, in a policy expert’s statement, “I can say in the global digital policy sphere, Dar es Salaam is a global player because it is highly connected to the internet which implies that Dar es Salaam is communicated globally and locally too.” To illustrate as pointed earlier (see p. 228), “citizens in Dar es Salaam have opportunities to conduct business with outsiders even without necessarily travelling”

(Interview No. 13, p. 16). This indicates a gap in policy experts' understanding of collaborative policymaking networks across the national border. Nonetheless, I associate the linking up of international business with the deterritorialisation perspective. A similar finding is observed in Africa, where Mittelman (2014, p. 114) argues that "policymakers often have in mind market-led regulation as a policy framework idea," which I view as a traditional understanding of development in the global cities in Africa. The policy strategy for linking policy decisions across national borders remains unclear in African cities. Current studies show that collaboration across the border is emerging as the favoured policy strategy in the digital era. For example, prominent scholars in media and governance propose that cities in the digital era would benefit from the global and transnational collaborative lens (McCann, Ward, & Cochrane, 2011). This can also be applied in terms of digital policymaking practices. While collaborative decision-making across borders seems key to policy decisions, in a study conducted in Angola, Croese (2018, p. 207) notes that "the logic and interests driving the adoption and implementation of the transnational policymaking strategy are often distinctly territorial and political," which implies that the reshaping of policymaking strategy in the global digital city is fundamentally the role of the national government. Profoundly, the policy framework structure in most African cities is mainly state-backed, which Mittelman (2014) associates with the challenge of achieving transnational policymaking strategies. I argue that policy experts in global cities such as Dar es Salaam have a significant chance to reframe policy decision structures that allow cross-border collaboration to achieve economic development in the current digital age.

Furthermore, respondents had little idea about the digital space for the trans-governmental policymaking debates, as they view the global digital policy sphere from the perspective of financial interconnectivity activities. For example, one respondent said earlier (see p. 229),

“there are lots of money transfer companies such as Money Gram, Western Union, etc. which operates in many cities including Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Arusha etc. All these shows that we operate globally more than only locally…” (Interview No. 24, p. 7). This notion of policymaking in the digital policy sphere mainly reflects financial transactions in the digital city, Dar es Salaam. The notion of trans-governmental policymaking is currently emerging in global cities as an alternative to traditional policymaking practices; however, in the Middle East and North African countries, this is linked to policy diffusion. For example, in a study conducted in Morocco and Jordan, Wavre (2016) found that trans-governmental collaboration in policymaking promotes soft governance, whereby the strategy is used for international regulatory forums. This increases the adoption of policies that originate from somewhere else. However, I argue that there is a chance for citizens and policy experts to engage in trans-governmental policy debate and discussion for collective decisions rather than only adopting policy ideas. Despite that, Wavre (2016) links trans-governmental policymaking with the complex authoritative view, such as political and economic power, I contend, however, that the global digital sphere offers an advanced degree of integration by reducing the concept of space and time. Thus, such a digital space is key for enabling the learning of new policymaking knowledge across governments in global cities. Currently, there is a shift in policymaking strategies in which the notion of trans-governmental collaboration is regarded as a new governance model for coordinating and resolving policy challenges across national territories. For example, Cartwright et al. (2018, p. 14) suggest that the inter-governmental policy framework in South Africa “provides for regular policy engagements between different levels of government and establishes mechanisms for settling intergovernmental disputes and collaboration on initiatives that span local government boundaries.” I argue that policy experts in Dar es Salaam have a chance to open the space for global digital policymaking debates across

the national border to learn the new policy knowledge necessary for economic development in the era of digitisation.

Findings reveal that policy experts have not much awareness of the new space for the intercontinental policymaking collaboration that emerges in the global digital city, as their focus in the global digital policy sphere is primarily on protecting electronic systems against cybercrimes. For instance, one respondent said earlier (see p. 230) "…in the cyberspace there is no boundary; thus, there is no way you can work alone which promote the need to work globally as a team…" (Interview No. 19, p. 8). Such a statement reveals the policymaking perspective on technical, governance-related parts of the digital sphere, while knowledge of intercontinental collaboration in digital policymaking remains unexplored. Technical collaboration across continents reveals the deterritorialisation process that emerges in Dar es Salaam in which the existing territorial formalities for national security are destabilised. In recent decades, the globalised digital sphere has increased the international interdependence in different parts of the world. Sooryamoorthy (2013) argues that in South Africa, there is a movement for promoting policymakers' collaboration across national, regional, and international ventures to increase knowledge and competence. Such collaboration, as argued, offers a well-thought policy document inclusive of global policymaking perspectives from the multicultural environment. Such a policy framework constitutes a global policy for economic development in the digital era. However, the dimension of policymaking across different communities remains debatable. For instance, Adelle et al. (2018, p. 90) note that, in African countries, the notion of collaborative policymaking across continents reveals some shared challenges, such as "limiting their effectiveness, including achieving adequate regional representation; unequal contribution and power relations between members; and securing sufficient, diverse and sustainable resources," through which questions about the two-

community model of policymaking emerge in terms of different conflicting societal values. I argue that, despite those challenges, the emerging digital space is crucial for opening the space for citizen engagement in policy decisions. Such engagement would offer the opportunity to improve the state's ability to resolve policy concerns across continents rather than relying only on the government-to-government networks. For Dar es Salaam to achieve economic development in the digital era, there is a need for policy experts to open a space for citizens' collaboration in transcontinental policy networks.

Furthermore, the study reveals minimal awareness among policy experts of the new space for global governance in the policymaking sphere. This is because they understand the global digital city mainly enabling transnational development in business terms. The ability of Dar es Salaam to interconnect in worldwide business networks relates to the deterritorialisation of the national boundaries. As one respondent said earlier (see p. 232):

> …our digital policies have the power to protect our businesspeople and have the power to sue other citizens who go against our digital policies. So, it is obvious that we operate in the global digital policy sphere as the global player ... (Interview No. 29, p. 19).

This implies more global policy concern about international business activities than the potential for participation in global governance. However, scholars reveal that policymaking is no longer contained by national boundaries in the 21st century. Global governance opportunities are arising, although Castells (2005, p. 9) feels that "its contribution to solving the problems of our world is limited because of the segmentation of the interests and values underlying its diverse components. Their connection to national and international institutions is complex and problematic." However, I argue that nation states still have the power to localise policymaking structures in the global policy sphere. This implies the need for nation states to redefine their traditional policymaking frameworks to fully utilise the civic public

communication space for collective decisions about issues that impact societal lives. Similarly, in a study conducted in West Africa, Balboa and Deloffre (2015) note that the engagement of multi-level stakeholders across the national border is growing as the modern process of policymaking. They view such a structure, however, as a highly decentralised structure of global governance. I understand this decentralised structure as a crucial approach for policymaking practices to lead to societal development in the digital era. Whereas Welz (2013, p. 425) terms global governance in African countries as a "two-level game," Adelle et al. (2018) question the authority of nation states in policymaking in the sphere of multiple levels of governance. This implies that the global digital policy sphere is still debatable in African countries. Despite such concerns, I argue that in the context of the current digital sphere, global governance is useful for collecting diverse knowledge from diverse groups worldwide for policymaking decisions, a strategy which could also be adopted in Dar es Salaam for the city's economic development.

In this chapter, I have offered the discussion of interview interpretations presented in chapter 5 and 6 and provided critical discussions regarding digital globalisation and policymaking practice in Dar es Salaam. Sassen's theory of globalisation and digitisation is critically discussed to reveal the notion of civic public communication in the context of policymaking in Dar es Salaam. Conceptualisations of Sassens theory for understanding Dar es Salaam city as a 'hub', 'node', 'denationalisation' and 'deterritorialization' space through 'assemblage' for policy decision practices, as a dimension of civic public communication, is critically discussed in this chapter. The following chapter will draw the conclusions of the thesis based on the findings presented in chapter 5 and 6 as well as discussions offered in chapter 7.

8. Inclusive policymaking as an approach to development in a digital city, Dar es Salaam

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the results of qualitative interviews and offers recommendations for further study. This study addresses the conceptualisation of civic public communication as an important component of the paradigm of the 'knowledge economy'. It examines how policymakers in Tanzania understand the paradigm of the knowledge economy in specific national and local terms and how they address these issues in their digital policymaking practice. While digital engagement among youths is rapidly growing, it is important for policymakers to build on this new capacity and identify ways forward to fully address the needs and opportunities of this digital generation.

This chapter reflects two research questions: 1) what is the policy experts' understanding of digital social practices of youths in their interaction through smartphone communication in Dar es Salaam? And 2) what are the implications of digital interactions through smartphone communication in affecting policy decision practices for managing the knowledge economy in Dar es Salaam?

From contemporary perspectives, perceptions of development are dynamic. Digital development opportunities are especially emerging on a local, city level. In this sense, it is essential to highlight that globalised digital communication is not only a new dimension of abstract connectivity, but that the digital dimension marks a turning point in the perception of development in developing regions. The normative understanding of societal development and a focus on the traditional perspectives of a centralised approach to development require careful revision considering globalised digital communication.

The notion of development can no longer be conceived from the one-dimensional, centralised perspective, in which decision-making power is concentrated at the higher government authority. Conversely, digital communication enables an interactive communication space for public inclusion in decision-making practices. Digital communication, as a 'networked' structure, cannot be adequately assessed from such a centralised perspective. Furthermore, the centralised perspective does not allow the identification of the core dimensions of development potential enabled by digital communication. I argue that a decentralised approach for societal development of developing countries is required to build on the new potential of citizen engagement in decision-making practices and its possibility for exerting pressure on government performance for economic development.

Such a decentralised approach also relates to civic communication (Guinjoan, Badia, & Tulla, 2016). Civic public communication, which can entail public discussions, shared decision-making practices, public engagement in government decisions, and public deliberation, is emerging as a new way of conceptualising development in the globalised digital era. In enabling the understanding of new notions of development in the digital city, developing citizens' engagement in the public sphere is crucial. As the globalised digital sphere enables the creation of digital public platforms as new spaces for citizens' interaction in civic activities for societal development, these transnational civic discourse practices also relate to the new notion of understanding development in digital cities. A new dimension of a citizen-inclusive approach is needed, as citizens in cities in developing countries, such as in Dar es Salaam, are now fully embedded in globalised digital spheres. The role of citizens' views for inclusive growth requires high prioritisation in the city of Dar es Salaam. My approach is not national, but rather a digital policy approach for cities in developing regions where globalised links are

significant for addressing civic public communication as new understandings of development and change.

Key analytical summary

From the findings presented in chapter 5, the perspectives of globalisation on civic public communication illuminate four key dimensions: First, the findings reveal a level of digital illiteracy to fully exploit the opportunity for citizens to voice their opinions in the process of government decision-making. As is seen as a key area in other African countries, such as South Africa as the citation shows, this opportunity is not envisioned as a potential way forward in Tanzania. Policy experts are not seeing the opportunity to engage citizens in public debates for economic development in Dar es Salaam rather they see this opportunity mainly in public service delivery.

Second, the study findings reveal that policy experts' perception of civic activities focuses mainly on a top-down approach of informing the public of the current civic news, such as political speeches. This relates to the promotion of the political government, while citizen participation in political communication is left aside.

Third, policy experts in Dar es Salaam understand engagement in civic activities from the perspective of sharing political and government information and promoting the personality of politicians, their perception of civic activities, such as citizen participation in the political arena in Dar es Salaam, is mainly passive.

Fourth, the research findings illuminate that respondents understand that public sphere offers opportunity to "discuss" and "challenge" civic matters, although are mainly referring to government settings, and not to citizen engagement in government decision-making practices. This understanding of citizenship among interviewees – mainly addressed in the perspective of institutional settings such as national policies, elections, and good governance matters – speaks to the old perspective of citizenship. Awareness of the new type of citizenship in the digital era in terms of linking the government and citizens in collective decision-making practices through social media is rarely addressed.

The key findings presented in chapter 6 also offer perspectives for globalisation in civic public communication for policymaking practices and illuminate three key dimensions: First, the findings illuminate limited awareness of how open data for citizens present new opportunities for civic public communication in the global digital city, such as, adopting collaborative policy decision-making practices. They mainly feel that working with government data will be enough for Dar es Salaam to achieve development. The opportunity to use digital communication for collaborative policy decision-making practices is limited.

Second, the findings reveal limited understanding on the opportunity to use social media platforms to collect citizens' views, for example, the space to link different governments and stakeholders in a transnational arena. Digital policymaking could build capacity for digital civic interaction, for instance, by creating public platforms for citizens' participation in policy decision-making processes.

Lastly, the findings show that interviewees understand the globalised digital sphere as a space to access governance and policymaking information as they highlight the opportunity to "get

anything which I am interested in" from the Internet, as quoted in previous chapters. This perception emphasises an understanding of policymaking practices that relies on old governance systems where the government decides for citizens. The growing space for the government and citizens to collaborate in the policymaking process is less known.

Conceptual opening

An approach to conceptually assess such elements as "hub," "node," and the "denationalization" and "deterritorialization" processes, in terms of digital development through "assemblage" (Sassen, 2006) allows us to further identify the role of the digital city as a "digital hub." There are four fundamental theoretical concepts that allow understanding of the space of the city as presented in the conceptual approach of this study. The city as a hub demonstrates digital functionalities; the city as a node relates to strategies to build a city's economy; denationalisation refers to the impact of the globalised digital network on old national formalities; and deterritorialisation relates to destabilisation of national boundaries by the global digital network. All these concepts are encapsulated in the assemblage thinking of the digital city.

8.1. The digital city as 'assemblage' for understanding development

I use the concept of 'assemblage', as discussed in chapter two, to understand the complexity of global and local networks for economic development in Dar es Salaam. Thus, assemblage thinking in this study offers a critical basis for understanding policymaking structure in the city of Dar es Salaam as a local sphere in the global network sphere. For this study, assemblage thinking is employed to understand the processes of deterritorialisation, denationalisation, node, and hub in the global digital context. These conceptual processes are critical for

understanding notions of development and policy approaches necessary for conceptualising development in the digital city of Dar es Salaam.

8.1.1 City as a 'hub' of globalised digital networks for development in Dar es Salaam

Based on the understanding of 'assemblage' in conceptualising the digital city, some elements of Dar es Salaam's emergence as a 'hub' for digital functionalities are specifically revealed by this city study. In contemporary studies, scholars use terms such as "hub city" (Radicati, 2017) or "city hub" (Heddebaut & Di Ciommo, 2018) to describe the view of the city as a hub. In relation to the idea of the hub, Sassen (2002) observes that cities are increasingly emerging as points where digital activities and the flow of goods and information begins. Thus, she observes cities as facilitating their spread to other non-city regions. The notion of hub emphasises cities as the connecting and linking points between the local and the global. For example, in a study conducted in Sri Lanka, Radicati (2017) notes that the city of Colombo plays a critical role in connecting both, Sri Lanka as a local site as well as to other, external places such as Dubai, Singapore, or Hong Kong, through which the notion of "hub city" is reflected. I view cities as immediate actors in digital functionalities to outside cities through the sphere of global network connectivity. It is essential to bear in mind that the concept of hub is not new in urban studies, and receives various attention based on the way it is applied, be it as "financial hub" (Meyer, 2015) or "transport city hub" (Heddebaut & Di Ciommo, 2018; Kim, 2018). Still, these different dimensions help to understand current evolutions happening in global cities for urban development. The concept of hub in urban studies is meant to achieve urban development only if it is intended by a city's strategic planning. Radicati (2017) notes that the "hub city" invites reflection of both geographical location and future vision, which implies that strategic policy

frameworks need to be revised to exploit the globalised centrality of a hub for cities' economic development.

Cities in developing regions play significant roles as models for the development of nations. Policy experts' understandings of Dar es Salaam as a hub are grounded in the context of financial and business activities, indicating that development is predominantly understood from traditional perspectives. Recognising the city as a hub for civic public communication, which relates to the new notion of economic development in the current digital era, is still overlooked in Dar es Salaam. The city as a hub for civic public communication is new knowledge that needs to be developed among policy experts for the city's economic development. Civic public communication enhanced through the globalised digital sphere entails elements such as political deliberation, public discussions, political discussions, citizen engagement in decision-making practices, public consultations, and shared policy decision-making. These elements are vital for understanding contemporary development emerging through the digital sphere. Digital functionalities enabled by the globalised digital sphere, such as digital social practices happening across the city of Dar es Salaam, are crucial for achieving societal development. For example, instead of merely using the globalised digital sphere as a hub for linking citizens in local or global business contexts, this sphere could be used more interactively. Dar es Salaam as a digital hub for various digital functionalities could take civic public communication as a model for the rest of the country, whereby some sort of shepherding of civic practices, using the hub to engage citizens in development practices, could take place.

The approach to the city as a hub for civic public communication is pertinent to understanding development since it helps to serve the need to include citizens in the development process. Citizens' inclusion is enabled through new media, such as social media sites, which are widely

available across the digital city of Dar es Salaam. Popular social media in Dar es Salaam such as WhatsApp, Instagram, and Facebook serve as essential platforms for collecting citizens' views and providing for public discussions; this is crucial for inclusive development. Policy experts require the understanding that societal development in the globalised digital era is more effective when it involves more citizens' views to make sense of citizenship in the digital era. New media in Dar es Salaam, which includes social media platforms, serves the purpose of collecting public views for societal development; thus, it needs to be viewed as an opportunity for development. This is distinct from the opportunities afforded by traditional media such as newspapers, radio, and television, which are less interactive. Such a civic public communication-oriented contextualisation of development implies a transformation in understanding the notion of development in the digital era.

8.1.2 'Node' as a way forward to development

The concept of 'node' as a new space for civic public communication is another element that emerges from this study. This is despite the fact that in urban studies, this concept appears more in relation to urban transport points across regions (Xu, Jiao, Chen, Deng, & Shen, 2018). Nodes mainly operate within the space resulting from the global and local network connection. According to Sassen (2006), a "node" emerges when the global and local spheres meet. There is a sense that it defines and shapes how people and systems flow in the global sphere. In urban studies, Castells (2004, p. 82) uses terms such as "space of flow" to conceptualise the trans-local and transnational city spaces, and "space of places" to refer to the geographical spaces and community interaction in city life, which I argue captures the concept of "node." However, his work seems to focus more on the interaction between the "space of flow" and "space of places" in shaping contemporary cities' networked capital economies than on the role of civic

public communication in fostering cities' economic development. Also, in the analysis of African cities, Onyebueke (2011) uses the term "coordinates" to explain "node" in building the global economy within the globalisation context; however, much of his attention focuses on linking the global urban network. I argue that, despite the multiple applications of the concept of node, such as "transportation" node (Xu et al., 2018) and "telecommunications" node (Lü, Zhou, Zhang, & Stanley, 2016), it still offers a base from which to assess the range of transformations in cities across the world in the globalised context.

The articulation of the concept of node in this study reveals a new space for civic public communication in policy decision-making. In the context of this study, digital citizenship entails using the digital sphere to participate in civic activities such as civic discussions, political discussions, citizen engagement in government policy decisions, and public discussions. Node as a new space is critical for promoting digital citizenship such as the inclusion of citizens' view in government decision-making practices, since it offers a space for public discussions of policy decisions. However, based on this study's results, it is appropriate to conclude that the digital sphere in Dar es Salaam is key for promoting government activities as a node. Such an approach requires the exploration of various strategies for linking government to citizens to overcome the traditional, post-colonial governance perspective. While e-governance is becoming a new buzz word, this emerging sphere is not only about government administration of public service delivery to citizens, as highlighted by respondents, but - in a different perspective - about engaging citizens by allowing their interaction to be included in new types of governance. The new governance model emerging in the digital era promotes collaborative decision-making practices between citizens and the government. For example, it is more productive for youths in Dar es Salaam – who are the largest population group engaging in social media – to participate in policy decision practices via social media,

than to use it for social entertainment as is the trend revealed by this study. The concept of the node as a local sphere of digital policy enables youths in Dar es Salaam to serve as role models for other citizens in pioneering collaborative policy decisions that link them directly with the government through social media platforms. Therefore, there is a need for policy experts to promote civic capacity building by using the node for collaborative policy decisions between youths and the government.

The "digital civic illiteracy" as addressed by policymakers in this study, however, implies that citizens are unprepared to utilise the node to engage in civic public communication. Policy experts need to understand developing digital civic literacy as a means to achieving societal development. For example, in realising collective development in South Africa, Pade-khene (2018, p. 1) notes that "key to building capacities and learning, is developing the abilities of both local government and citizens to become digitally literate (including civic and responsiveness literacy), in order to realise and action the true benefits of digital citizen engagement." This knowledge needs to be developed in Dar es Salaam too. The approach to digital policy for a local, yet globally connected node – in terms of active engagement in public opinions for government decisions – is critical for achieving inclusive growth whereby citizens take on active roles in the development process. In terms of digital citizenship in Dar es Salaam, the concept of the node enables the citizen to define development within their own context, rather than explicitly leaving this role to the central government. Such a new approach to development is crucial for understanding societal changes in the city of Dar es Salaam, especially in the contemporary digital era. It follows that a node as a new space for communication should not only be regarded as key to promoting e-governance and political activities, which correlates with the old model of governance in which citizen engagement is minimal, but also be regarded as a critical sphere to engage citizens in government decision

practices. Such use of the digital sphere relates to the notion of dutiful governance, which has minimal implications for development in the digital era. Node is a critical space for promoting the new model of governance in which government and citizens work together in decision-making practices within and beyond the national territory as a contemporary approach to development. The purely pragmatic assessment that social media platforms are essential for promoting government practices while neglecting to collect citizens' views is a traditional understanding of development that needs to be phased out in the digital era. Digital media can be best utilised for creating a public forum where both citizens and government can participate in collective decision-making as a new approach to societal development.

8.1.3 'Denationalization' as a potential dimension in policy decisions

The concept of "denationalization" specifically emerges from Sassen's (2006) theoretical perspective. She uses the term denationalisation to refer to the destructive impact of the globalised sphere on the norms of the nation state, including understandings of citizenship in terms of engagement. However, Sparke (2009) challenges Sassen's notion of denationalization as it relates to neoliberalism, while he perceives the new terms of citizenship engagement as merely the expanded form of citizenship inclusion. Scholars in various disciplines differ in their conceptualisation of denationalisation in relation to the global network connectivity; however, its meaning remains similar. For example, in a study conducted in Nigeria, Nwanko (2013) uses the concept of denationalisation of governance to refer to the understanding of globalisation processes in the governance of the digital world. I argue that this concept offers commonalities in understanding the contemporary governance model across national borders that is emerging in the current globalised sphere. Also, in the capitalist sense, Paquot (2011) employs the concept of denationalisation, particularly in global cities, to refer to production

and wealth distribution across the nation-state framework. I argue that the concept of denationalisation, despite its extensive use across disciplines, serves as a common conceptualisation of urban studies, specifically in the current global cities, for understanding the new dimension of cities' economic development.

The concept of denationalisation in terms of the digital network in this study is understood as key to promoting policy decisions in a global digital city. The study reveals minimal awareness of utilising the digital sphere for collaborative policymaking as a current gap in Dar es Salaam's approach to economic development. Policy experts view policymaking in terms of protecting the image of political leaders and government systems, that is, for governance purposes. This presents a challenge to achieving development in Dar es Salaam in the globalised digital era since, as revealed in this study, established digital policies minimally involve citizen views, and thus minimally impact development. The understanding of policy experts in this study is that social media destroys government and society; they link social media to the destabilisation of old national formalities, which again reveals the process of denationalisation. Such a traditional understanding of development is no longer relevant to understanding the development of a digital city such as Dar es Salaam. Social media offer a solution for, rather than destruction of, societal problems because social media sites offer the space for citizen–government interaction. Policy experts in Dar es Salaam require an understanding that new media transforms the ways in which citizens and the government act and interact in the 21st century. The best way to achieve development in the city of Dar es Salaam is to allow interactive decision-making practices between the government and citizens through social media, rather than continue to protect government issues as confidential. The government should not view the denationalisation process enabled by social media as destructive, but instead should view this space as creating a potential dimension for policy decisions in the

global era. This view implies moving away from traditional perspectives to new understandings of economic development, which involve the citizen in decision-making practices.

The denationalised space of the digital city is emerging as an opportunity for policy decisions whereby public opinions are collected through new media. Yet, in this study, policy experts demonstrate the understanding that the denationalised space transforms the existing traditional media governance which offered no possibility for citizens to share opinions publicly. In consequence, they view new media as needing to be controlled. In policymaking practices, the digital sphere is seen as crucial for accessing digital policy documents from other countries. Instead of merely using this sphere to download digital policy documents representing views of citizens from another country, this space is also relevant for creating public forums and collecting citizens' views for policy decision-making. Policy experts in Dar es Salaam need to understand the management of the public sphere in the view of promoting free public opinions for government policy decision practices. This differs from the internet shut down strategy, which is now a policy tool to silence opposition, also in Dar es Salaam. Citizen engagement is a new approach to policymaking in digital cities, which also needs to be promoted in Dar es Salaam for economic development. In South Africa, for example, Reid (2017, p. 94) suggests:

> Inverting thinking and policymaking practice by adopting an audience-centred approach, and shifting the policymaking paradigm to one of audience-firstness where the audience becomes the nodal starting point rather than the end recipient of the process, may foster an environment in which audience inclusion and participation are more reliably considered in decisions which impact on citizens' lived experiences of the media.

The traditional policymaking approach, in which policy experts dominate policymaking practices, is irrelevant. What is required are meaningful public policy discussions, public participation needs to be sufficiently wide, and citizens need to be well-informed.

8.1.4 ‘Deterritorialization’ as a space for policymaking

This study also reveals the emerging concept of deterritorialisation in Dar es Salaam. Conceptual debates reveal that this concept applies to a range of disciplines such as media and journalism, political economy, and sociology, due to its evolving potential to assess key transformations that are happening in the digital era. For example, in globalisation and media context in Africa, Eko (2015) uses deterritorialisation to refer to the individual and national interconnection in diffusing culture, technology, and worldviews that emerges through the global system. I argue that such an understanding of the deterritorialisation process is essential for achieving development in the global cities in Africa without ignoring the specificity of the local context. The process of deterritorialisation as addressed in contemporary scholarship seems to be mainly related to global cities. For example, in a study conducted in Africa, Osha (2014, p. 6) notes that “globalising cities such as Lagos, London and New York generate conditions that produce new identities.” He adds that “in these globalising spaces, identities are deterritorialized as people mix and use global language; their local and national identities are gradually diminished despite their sometimes extreme nationalist sentiments” Osha (2014, p. 6). However, it is also crucial to understand that the deterritorialisation process extends to rural areas, gradually changing them into emerging strategic spaces for transformation through the extended network connectivity of the local network in the global sphere.

Currently, deterritorialisation through assemblage perspectives displaces the deep-rooted and stable national boundaries concerning decision-making practices that affect the nation state. The deterritorialised space resulting from the digital network (Sassen, 2006), enables linking up with cross-border policymaking opportunities, which is crucial for policymakers. Thus, in understanding the policymaking process in the globalised sphere, I argue that

deterritorialisation is key to extending collaborative policymaking beyond national borders. Policy experts in Dar es Salaam seem to have a pragmatic understanding of policymaking in the digital era and lack a visionary view of policymaking in the globalised digital age. The digital sphere should not be viewed from only the traditional perspective of finance, such as the linking up of international business, without extending the scope of using this sphere for policymaking. Linking up across the border in the policymaking context is an opportunity for better knowledge and understanding of digital policy issues among policy experts in Dar es Salaam, which therefore helps them to make informed policy decisions.

In addition, the digital sphere broadens policymaking communications and enhances citizens' engagement in policy decisions across a transnational spectrum, which also promotes the sense of global citizenship for inclusive growth. The building of collaborative networks across the borders in terms of policymaking is a gap that needs to be addressed when debating the digital transformation in Dar es Salaam. In conceptualising global citizenship, policy experts in Dar es Salaam require the understanding that the national border no longer bounds citizenship in the digital era, while digital space serves as an important platform for collecting views to address common civic global concerns across nations. The sense of global citizenship needs to be addressed in Dar es Salaam by promoting the global civic discussions that are necessary for collective decision-making in global development issues, rather than only seeing the global sphere as key to promoting e-governance beyond the national border. These are the essential changes that need to be adopted in Dar es Salaam for the city's economic development.

Furthermore, the deterritorialised digital space addresses common policy problems and policymaking knowledge through the trans-governmental policymaking network. The practice of trans-governmental policymaking represents professional cross-border interactions among

public servants and national governments in the policymaking context. Social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram should be viewed as powerful and effective tools for spreading policymaking expertise and guidance. Instead of only using the global sphere for financial interconnectivity across national borders, as revealed in this study, policy experts can efficiently utilise social media platforms to pursue cross-border policymaking for joint problem-solving across national governments, whereby two or more governments can work together to resolve digital policy issues. It is pertinent for policy experts in Dar es Salaam to utilise the digital network as an opportunity for gaining new knowledge from other national governments relating to digital policymaking, to induce positive changes. Although the inter-governmental network is mainly reflected at the state level, involving government officials, such knowledge also helps policy experts to improve policymaking at the lower level. For example, it stimulates policy experts to promote digital policymaking while keeping in mind the view of citizens' inclusiveness for the digital city's economic development. The inclusive approach in governance practices can shape participatory culture, especially in policymaking, thus contributing to the digital city's economic development. Participation in the trans-governmental network is critical to transforming authoritative attitudes among policy experts while promoting a free public sphere for public participation. These are the new insights that need to be adopted in the digital era for the development of Dar es Salaam.

Given the findings, it is reasonable to conclude that the deterritorialised sphere also opens a space for engaging in global governance practices. Global governance in terms of policymaking is increasingly relevant for societal development, by which actors across national borders work together to negotiate global policies that affect more than one nation state. In Dar es Salaam, there is limited understanding among policymakers of the collaborative, cross-border policymaking opportunities offered by the deterritorialised sphere for managing

complex policies that affect global development. Policy experts in Dar es Salaam mainly understand global governance in the context of dealing with security threats and connecting business activities worldwide. However, there is further opportunity to utilise this sphere for collective decision-making at the global level. With global governance, the government as an actor takes part by engaging policy experts in addressing shared global concerns such as global digital policymaking. Policy experts in Dar es Salaam need to utilise the deterritorialised space to work collaboratively across the border in managing digital policy concerns for the development of Dar es Salaam city.

8.2 Recommendations

Without focusing on civic public communication as a new notion of development in the contemporary era, the globalised digital sphere would make minimal contribution to the development of cities in developing regions. Civic public communication, which entails citizens' engagement in government policy decisions, is a necessary element of stimulating inclusive development in the digital era. This study reveals a wide gap in civic public communication for inclusive policymaking in Dar es Salaam, and thus suggests the need to develop this approach for government decision-making practices. In addressing the inclusive approach to digital policy decisions in a digital city, Dar es Salaam, the researcher would like to make some recommendations, which, if taken into consideration, might bring positive changes in the contemporary globalised digital era.

(1) For Dar es Salaam to achieve an inclusive approach to digital policy decisions, it will be worthwhile for international agencies such as the United Nations (UN) and other Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to establish a digital policymaking unit that will work

closely with local professionals from academic institutions. This unit will be responsible for building capacity among policy experts for shaping their digital policy perceptions for the city's economic development, particularly in the two following areas:

The first area is to build capacity among policy experts to further utilise the inclusive approach across the national border. Such training of policy experts would stimulate practices such as trans-governmental and cross-border policymaking and broaden digital policymaking knowledge beyond the nation state for societal development in Dar es Salaam. Cross-border policymaking brings citizens across countries together in addressing global digital policy concerns for collaborative decision-making. Trans-governmental policymaking collaboration is the professional network that serves as an alternative, indirect way of stimulating adjustments and promoting changes in government practices. However, it is vital for government officials to understand that the interests of the political government and policy experts determine the trans-governmental policymaking network. Thus, policy experts in Dar es Salaam need to understand the broader importance of creating a digital policy network for addressing the city's need for economic development. Trans-governmental policymaking should happen among governments with policy-related characteristics, such as among African governments, for broader democratisation of the African region. However, there is a need for regulatory governance to emanate from Africa itself to guide global governance practices.

In addition, as a second area, close collaboration between UN agencies, NGOs, and local professionals is required to further build capacity among policy experts regarding a policymaking approach that is inclusive of citizens. This approach is needed to tackle policy concerns, by incorporating citizens' voices in government policy decisions for positive policy outcomes. The inclusive approach also relates to a decentralised approach to policymaking, in

which citizens' policy needs are taken into account. Representations of the citizen in policy decisions by policy experts in a digital era is an outdated governance practice which is contemporarily irrelevant. Although digital policymaking is a new experience in Tanzania, policy experts and the government should abandon the centralised policymaking approach in which the central government dominates the process of policymaking, and allow new media to include citizens' opinions in digital policy decisions. For Dar es Salaam to accommodate new development thinking in the digital era, policy decision-makers should ensure that citizens' views are taken into consideration in policy decision-making for the city's economic development.

(2) It is necessary for policy experts to develop a policy-specific public platform for collecting citizens' views. This approach means using social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram for engaging citizens to discuss civic matters such as digital policy decisions for inclusive development in Dar es Salaam. Citizens can easily use public platforms to express their policy concerns and collectively identify policy issues that they need the government to address. These platforms would create interaction between the government – including digital policy experts – and citizens. They could also serve as central points of coordination for policy experts and the government to understand which contemporary policy issues need to be addressed. Such collective decisions in terms of public consultation in policymaking practices relate to open government policymaking. Establishing the commitment of open government in terms of citizen participation in government policy decisions is a new approach to development, and key to understanding economic development in Dar es Salaam in the 21st century.

(3) As shown in this study, citizens in Dar es Salaam – youths represent the majority – are "digital civic illiterate" in using new media for civic public communication. It is necessary for policy experts to promote digital civic literacy among citizens through the education system and knowledge creation to make digital civic knowledge a basic proficiency in Dar es Salaam, and Tanzania in general. This effort means ensuring that curricula in primary, secondary, and tertiary education offer education to build digital civic capacity, develop civic interest, and allow a more significant portion of the new generation to acquire digital information skills for engaging in government policy decisions. In addition, the government should establish a centre for developing digital civic literacy for citizens who are not in the schooling system to acquire civic knowledge. Currently, digital media is the central component for civic public communication; therefore, policy experts should use social media sites to promote digital civic activities to increase the likelihood of citizens to voice their perspectives regarding government policy decisions.

(4) Furthermore, there is a need for policy experts in Dar es Salaam to regulate digital policy in terms of promoting the free public sphere for citizen participation in civic public communication. It is important to understand that digital civic literacy is closely linked to civic public participation since it offers skills necessary for civic engagement in the public sphere. However, only the government can allow or restrict citizens' participation in the public sphere through digital media regulations. Collaboration across African regions stimulates new thinking on digital media regulations in Dar es Salaam. Instead of regulating the public sphere with the view of blocking social media or other search engines, policy experts should follow best practice from other African countries, such as South Africa, which promotes civic engagement in the public sphere. This research offers convincing evidence that for Dar es Salaam to achieve development in the digital era, digital policy needs to allow free space for

civic public participation. Thus, this is a call for the government to enable digital policy regulation for public sphere engagement as a key for understanding development in the digital city of Dar es Salaam.

8.3 Suggestions for further research

The results from this study, serve as an approach to understanding development in the context of digital policymaking, in the digital city of Dar es Salaam, other cities of African regions, and developing regions as well. This study has identified that further research needs to be undertaken. The results from this study show the need for an inclusive policymaking approach as a contemporary understanding of development in the digital city of Dar es Salaam. However, to realise inclusive development in Dar es Salaam, there is a need to assess youths' views toward digital policymaking practices, since this is the largest population segment engaging in the digital sphere in the city.

Finally, this study addresses understandings of the global digital city as a policymaking approach in Dar es Salaam. The study results offer key insights into understanding development in the global digital city of Dar es Salaam. As a contribution to the field of media and communication, this work 1) presents civic public communication as a new notion of understanding development in the global digital city in digital policymaking contexts; and 2) suggests inclusive policymaking as an approach for digital policy decisions for cities necessary for understanding development communications in developing regions such as Africa. Recommendations of this study reflect the aim of the study, as well as the conclusions.

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Appendix 1 Consent form for participants (English)

Consent form

Josephine Churk (PhD Candidate and Primary Researcher)
The University of Melbourne,
Faculty of Arts,
School of Culture and Communication,
Department of Media and Communication.

Local Address:
College of Business Education,
Department of Business Administration,
P O Box 2077,
Dodoma Tanzania.

Additional Researchers:
Prof Ingrid Volkmer; Principal Supervisor,
Dr. Christiaan De Beukelaer; Co Supervisor,

Name of Participant: _____

Project: Global city policymaking for the new 'development economy' in Africa: A case study of mobile communication in Tanzania

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep.
2. I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate digital smartphone interaction and the way national and local policymakers in Tanzania 'manage' such an emerging knowledge economy.
3. I understand that my participation in this project is for research purposes only.
4. I acknowledge that the possible effects of participating in this research project have been explained to my satisfaction.
5. In this project, I will be required to share my experience on civic public communication knowledge gained through digital smartphone interaction for societal development as well as my experience in decision-making practices for managing such an emerging economy.
6. I understand that my interviews are audio-recorded.

7. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from this project anytime without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data that I have provided.
8. I understand that the data from this research will be stored at the University of Melbourne and will be disposed after 5 years.
9. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements; my data will be password protected and accessible only by the named researchers.
10. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form, it will be retained by the researcher.

Participant Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 2 Consent form for participants (Swahili)

Fomu ya kutoa idhini ya ushiriki

Josephine Churk (Mtahiniwa wa udaktari wa philosophia na mtafiti)
Chuo kikuu cha Melbourne,
Kitivo cha Sanaa,
Shule ya Utamaduni na Mawasiliano,
Idara ya Habari na Mawasiliano.
Mawasiliano: [+255 719009120]
Barua pepe: jchurk@student.unimelb.edu.au

Anwani ya nyumbani:
Chuo cha Elimu ya Biashara, Dodoma,
Idara ya Usimamizi wa Biashara,
SLP 2077,
Dodoma Tanzania.

Watafiti wengine:
Prof Ingrid Volkmer; Msimamizi mkuu,
Dr. Christiaan De Beukelaer; Msimamizi mshiriki,

Jina la mshiriki: _____

Mradi: Uandaaji wa sera katika mji wa utandawazi ili kufikia maendeleo mapya ya uchumi Afrika: uchunguzi wa kifani wa mawasiliano ya simu za mkononi nchini Tanzania

1. Ninaidhinisha kushiriki katika mradi huu, ambao nimeshapewa maelezo yake na nimepewa nakala yangu ya maelezo kwa lugha rahisi.
2. Ninatambua kuwa lengo la utafiti huu ni kuchunguza namna gani mawasiliano ya kidigitali kwa njia ya smartphone yanawasaidia raia kujifunza kujadili maswala ya kiuraia kwa ajili ya kuboresha uchumi wa miji. Pia kuchunguza ni namna gani taifa na watunga sera wa ndani ya Tanzania wanasimamia maarifa hayo yanayoanza kuibuka sasa hivi hapa Dar es Salaam.
3. Ninaelewa kwamba ushiriki wangu unahusishwa na utafiti huu pekee na si vinginevyo.
4. Ninatambua kwamba nimekwisha pata maelezo ya kiwango cha kuridhisha kuhusu madhara yoyote yatokanayo na ushiriki wangu katika utafiti huu.
5. Katika mradi huu nitatakiwa kutoa mawazo yangu kuhusu namna gani mawasiliano ya kidigitali kwa njia ya smartphone yanawasaidia raia kujifunza kujadili maswala ya kiuraia kwa ajili ya kuboresha uchumi wa miji, na kueleza uzoefu wangu kuhusu namna ambavyo taifa na watunga sera wa ndani ya Tanzania wanasimamia aina hiyo ya uchumi inayoanza kuchipuka sasa hivi.

6. Ninaelewa kwamba mahojiano haya yatarekodiwa katika kinasa sauti.
7. Ninaelewa kwamba ushiriki wangu ni wa hiari na niko huru kujitoa katika ushiriki huu katika muda wowote bila hata kutoa maelezo yatakayokuwa yamenipelekea kufanya hivyo. Pia niko huru kuondoa taarifa zangu zote ambazo nimeshazitoa ambazo hajizaanza kutumika.
8. Ninaelewa kwamba taarifa za utafiti huu zitahifadhiwa katika Chuo Kikuu cha Melbourne na zitateketezwa miaka mitano (5) ijayo baada ya kuhitimu.
9. Nimekwishapewa maelekezo kuhusu usiri wa taarifa nitakazozitoa na kwamba zitatunzwa salama. Taarifa zangu zitalindwa kwa namba ya siri na zitaweza kufikiwa na watafiti tajwa hapa pekee.
10. Ninaelewa kwamba fomu hii itarudishwa kwa mtafiti mara baada ya kuidhinisha.

Sahihi ya mshiriki: _____ **Tarehe:** _____

Appendix 3 Plain Language Statement (English)

Plain language statement

Note: *This PLS is for policy experts*

Josephine Churk (PhD Candidate)

The University of Melbourne,
Faculty of Arts,
School of Culture and Communication,
Department of Media and Communication.
Contact: [+255 719009120]
Email: jchurk@student.unimelb.edu.au

Project: Global city policymaking for the new 'development economy' in Africa: A case study of mobile communication in Tanzania

Introduction

You are invited to participate in the above project. Thank you for your interest in participating in this research project. The following few pages will provide you with further information about the project, so that you can decide if you would like to take part in this research.

Please take the time to read this information carefully. You may ask questions about anything you don't understand or want to know more about.

Your participation is voluntary. If you don't wish to take part, you don't have to. If you begin participating, you can also stop at any time.

What is this research about?

The purpose of this research is to investigate the civic public communication knowledge that is gained through digital smartphone interaction for improving city's economy and the way national and local policy and decision makers in Tanzania 'manage' such an emerging knowledge in the study area.

What will I be asked to do?

Should you agree to participate in this project by share your experience on policy and decision-making practices for managing an emerging knowledge economy. I estimate that, the total time required of you will not exceed 60 minutes

What are the possible benefits?

Your participation in this research provides potential benefits. The outcome of this research will contribute to improve the decision-making practices for managing knowledge gained through digital practices in Tanzania and elsewhere for improving city's economy. This will enable Tanzanian society to explore more economic benefits from digital opportunities which are currently emerging in Tanzania.

What are the possible risks?
[There is only minimal risk that might arise to participants in this project because the research project itself does not involve sensitive information.

Do I have to take part?
No. Participation is completely voluntary. You can withdraw (quit) at any time. There is no implication to participants when voluntarily deciding to withdraw from participation in the research and it will be possible to withdraw any data already collected.

Will I hear about the results of this project?
Once the thesis arising from this research is complete, a soft copy of its summary will be emailed to research participants for upload in institution website. Study results will be presented in the international conference at first and thereafter be published in international journals for public and academic access.

What will happen to information about me?
The researcher will ensure respect for the participants and protect the participant's privacy and confidentiality of data provided. In no circumstance, the participant identification will be disclosed to protect the identification of data. Participant anonymity will fully be applied to hide participant's identification. Data will only be used for the purpose of this research. Audio visual data will be stored in digital recording formats such as digital video or digital audio and encrypted with a strong password. Non-digital data will be stored securely in the locked trunk. At the end of research project data will be retained for 5 years in the University of Melbourne and then data will be disposed by the officer who is responsible for the disposal of data.

Who can I contact if I have any concerns about the project?
This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.

Ethics ID: 1750078
Date 14 Sept 2017

Appendix 4 Plain Language Statement (Swahili)

Maelezo ya utafiti kwa lugha rahisi

Zingatia: Haya maelezo ni kwa ajili ya wataalamu wa sera pekee

Josephine Churk (Mtahiniwa wa udaktari wa philosophia)
Chuo kikuu cha Melbourne,
Kitivo cha sanaa,
Shule ya Utamaduni na Mawasiliano,
Idara ya Habari na Mawasiliano.
Mawasiliano: [+255 719009120]
Barua pepe: jchurk@student.unimelb.edu.au

Mradi: Uandaaji wa sera katika mji wa utandawazi ili kufikia maendeleo mapya ya uchumi Afrika: uchunguzi wa kifani wa mawasiliano ya simu za mkononi nchini Tanzania

Utangulizi

Unakaribishwa kushiriki katika mradi tajwa hapo juu. Nashukuru kwa kuonyesha nia ya kupenda kushiriki katika utafiti huu. Maelezo yafuatayo yatakupa taarifa zaidi kuhusu utafiti ili uweze kuamua kama utapenda kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

Tafadhali soma maelekezo yafuatayo kwa umakini. Unaweza kuuliza maswali kuhusu taarifa yoyote usiyoielewa au unayopenda kufahamu zaidi.

Ushiriki wako ni wa hiari. Kama hautapenda kuendelea kushiriki basi ufanye hivyo. Na kama tayari umeanza kushiriki na baadae ukaona hupendi kuendelea kushiriki basi unaweza pia kujiondoa wakati wowote.

Utafiti huu unahusu nini?

Lengo la utafiti huu ni kuchunguza namna gani mawasiliano ya kidigitali kwa njia ya smartphone yanawasaidia raia kujifunza kujadili maswala ya kiuraia kwa ajili ya kuboresha uchumi wa miji. Pia kuchunguza ni namna gani taifa na watunga sera wa ndani ya Tanzania wanasimamia maarifa hayo yanayoanza kuibuka sasa hivi hapa Dar es Salaam.

Nitaulizwa kufanya nini?

Utaulizwa kama umekubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu kwa kutoa maoni yako pamoja na kueleza uzoefu wako kuhusu maswala ya sera na utoaji maamuzi ya kusimamia uchumi wa maarifa unaoanza kuibuka hivi sasa. Ninakadiria kuwa muda wa mahojiano haya hautazidi dakika 60.

Faida gani itapatikana kutoka katika mahojiano haya?

Ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu utaleta faida sana. Matokeo ya utafiti huu yatachangia kuboresha shughuli za utoaji wa maamuzi yanayosimamia uchumi wa maarifa upatikanao kutoka katika shughuli za mawasiliano ya kidigitali hapa Tanzania na sehemu nyingine kwa ajili ya kuboresha uchumi wa miji. Hii itasaidia jamii ya watanzania kuchunguza zaidi kuhusu faida za kiuchumi zitokanazo na fursa za kidigitali ambazo zimeanza kuchipua hapa Tanzania.

Hatari gani inaweza kutokea?

Hakuna hatari inayoweza kumpata mshiriki wa utafiti huu na kama itatokea ni kwa kiwango kidogo sana kwani mradi huu hauhusishi ukusanyaji wa taarifa nyeti.

Je, ni lazima nishiriki?
Hapana, ushiriki katika utafiti huu ni hiari yako tu. Unaweza kujiondoa kwenye ushiriki katika muda wowote unaopenda. Pia hakuna madhara yoyote yatampata mshiriki kama akiamua kwa hiari yake kujiondoa katika ushiriki wa utafiti huu, na inawezekana kabisa kuondoa taarifa zote ambazo tayari zitakua zimekusanywa kutoka kwa mshiriki huyu.

Je nitapata fursa ya kufahamu matokeo ya utafiti huu?
Pale ambapo taarifa ya utafiti huu itakapokuwa imekamilika, taarifa fupi itaandaliwa na kutumwa kwa washiriki kwa barua pepe na pia kuwekwa katika tofuti ya taasisi. Matokeo ya utafiti huu pia yatawasilishwa kwanza katika mkutano wa wasomi wa kimataifa na baadae kuchapishwa katika jarida la kimataifa kwa matumizi ya wananchi na wataalamu mbalimbali.

Vipi kuhusu taarifa zinazonihusu mimi?
Mtafiti atahakikisha kumthamini mshiriki na kulinda siri za mshiriki na usiri wa taarifa zote utazingatiwa. Katika hali yoyote ile mtafiti ana wajibu wa kuto kutoa taarifa za utambuzi wa mshiriki. Utambuzi wa mshiriki utafichwa kwa kiwango cha juu iwezekanavyo. Taarifa zitakazotolewa zitatumika kwa ajili ya utafiti huu pekee. Taarifa zitahifadhiwa katika vinasa sauti vya kidigitali na kutunzwa salama kwa kuwekewa namba ya siri. Tarifa zote zilizopo katika hali ya karatasi zitahifadhiwa katika kabati linalofungwa kwa kufuli imara. Baada ya kumaliza utafiti huu, taarifa zitabakizwa katika hifadhi ya taarifa ya Chuo Kikuu cha Melbourne kwa muda wa miaka mitano (5) kabla ya kuteketezwa na afisa anayehusika katika kuteketeza taarifa nyeti za chou.

Je, nikiwa na wasiswasi kuhusu mradi huu niwasiliane na nani?
Mradi huu umepitishwa na kamati ya maadili ya tafiti ya Chuo Kikuu cha Melbourne. Kama una wasiwasi kuhusiana na utekelezaji wa utafiti huu, na haupo tayari kujadili pamoja na kundi hili la watafiti, basi usiache kutuandikia kupitia the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Simu No: +61 3 8344 2073 au barua pepe: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.
Ethics ID: 1750078
Tarehe: 14 Septemba 2017

Appendix 5 Interview guide questions (English)

Semi-structured interview guide: questions for policy and decision makers in Dar es Salaam

Introduction

I am Josephine Churk, a PhD candidate in the University of Melbourne, Australia. Currently, I am conducting a research entitled '**Towards a New 'Development Economy' in Africa: A case study of Smartphone Communication in Tanzania'**
I consider you as a knowledgeable and experienced person on the issue. This interview will take about 45-60 minutes of your time. Be assured that your responses will be used solely for the purpose of this study. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time. Your honest feedback will be highly appreciated. Are you ready and willing to participate?

Policy-making questions

1. What is your role in this organization, and can you briefly describe your work?
2. Digital communication is now everywhere: as a policy practitioner - how do you understand this new digital globalized sphere which you operate in?
3. How do policymakers in Dar es salaam collaborate in digital policymaking with other African nations - and why?
4. How are digital policymakers linked to other policy organizations and why?
5. How do digital policymakers in Dar es salaam collaborate with policymakers in other African cities?
6. Overall: how do you relate to global policy frameworks?
7. How does the globalized digital sphere change the policymaking practices here locally?
8. Where do you think the globalized digital sphere affects the current decision-making practices?
9. Do you think Dar es salaam operates in a global digital policy sphere - as a local or global player? Why?
10. As a digital policy actor, what aspect of a current policy do you feel is a territorial issue for Dar es salaam only and why?

Knowledge questions

11. What do you think are the advantages of a globalized sphere in Dar es salaam?

12. As digital communication is increasing - youths in Dar es salaam has now more access to the global sphere, how do you see this as an opportunity to gain knowledge?
13. As youths are increasingly globalized, what sort of knowledge do they gain in the social interaction through digital smartphone communication?
14. How people in Dar es salaam use digital smartphone interaction to participate in civic activities nationally or globally?
15. How do you see digital communication changing the notion of citizenship between national and global?

Thank you for your time and participation

Respondent profile

Name of Institution/ Municipal Council……....
Department……
Section…….....
Work/Profession……
Current work
position…….....
Experience of working in the current position…….....
Education level…….
Age……

Appendix 6 Interview guide questions (Swahili)

Mwongozo wa maswali ya mahojiano kwa wataalamu wa sera jiji la Dar es Salaam

Naitwa Josephine Churk, ni mtahiniwa wa udaktari wa falsafa katika Chuo Kikuu cha Melbourne, nchini Australia. Kwa sasa ninafanya utafiti wenye kichwa cha habari '**Uandaaji wa sera katika mji wa utandawazi ili kufikia maendeleo mapya ya uchumi Afrika: uchunguzi wa kifani wa mawasiliano ya simu za mkononi nchini Tanzania'.**

Ninakuchukulia wewe kuwa ni mdau mwenye ufahamu mkubwa na uzoefu wa kutosha katika mada hii. Mahojiano haya yatachukua takribani dakika 45-60 za muda wako. Ninakuhakikishia kwamba majibu utakayonipa yatatumika kwa ajili ya utafiti huu pekee na sio vinginevyo. Ushiriki wako katika mahojiano haya ni wa hiari na uko huru kujitoa ushiriki wako katika muda wowote. Ninathamini sana majibu yako yaliyo dhati. Je uko tayari na umekubali kushiriki katika mahojiano haya?

Sehemu A: Maswali kuhusu utengenezaji wa sera

1. Tafadhali naomba unielezee kwa kifupi sana kuhusu kazi yako na majukumu yako ni yapi katika taasisi hii?
2. Kwa sasa, mawasiliano ya kidigitali yameenea kila mahali, na ninaamini wewe mwenyewe pia unaendesha shughuli zako katika mazingira hayo hayo ya kidigitali na kiutandawazi. Ukiwa kama mdau mmojawapo katika kuandaa sera mbalimbali za nchi unaelewa nini kuhusu haya mawasiliano mapya ya kidigitali yanayoletwa na utandawazi?
3. Je unashiriki katika kuandaa sera zozote zinazosimamia maswala ya kidigitali? Na je, unaweza kuniambia ni vipi unashirikiana na mataifa mbalimbali ya Afrika katika kuandaa sera zinazosimamia maswala ya kidigitali na kwa nini huo ushirikiano ni muhimu?
4. Ni kwa vipi watunga sera mnashirikiana na mashirika mbalimbali yanayotengeneza sera katika uandaaji wa sera zinazosimamia maswala ya kidigitali na kwa nini?
5. Wewe kama mwandaaji wa sera, ni kwa vipi unashirikiana na waandaaji wengine wa sera za kidigitali katika miji mikubwa ya Afrika.
6. Kwa ujumla, ni kwa vipi sera zenu za kidigitali zinahusiana na mfumo wa sera za kimataifa?
7. Unadhani ni kwa vipi wimbi la utandawazi limechangia kubadili uzoefu katika kutengeneza sera hasa kwa hapa Dar es salaam?

8. Je unadhani ni wapi unaona mfumo wa kiutandawazi wa kidigitali umeathiri maswala ya utoaji maamuzi katika kipindi hiki.
9. Kwa mtazamo wako, unavyoiangalia Dar es salaam kwa upande wa sera hasa za kidigitali, je inajiendesha yenyewe kama Dar es salaam peke yake au unahisi sera za kidigitali zimeipelekea Dar es salaam kujiendesha kimataifa zaidi? Kwa nini?
10. Wewe ukiwa mdau wa sera za kidigitali, je, unaweza kunitajia ni kipengele gani kilichopo katika sera mojawapo ya kidigitali ambacho wewe unaona ni swala la Dar es Salaam pekee wala sio swala la nje ya Dar es salaam. Kwa nini unahisi hivyo?

Sehemu B: Maswali kuhusu uchumi wa maarifa

11. Unadhani nini faida/ manufaa ya utandawazi kwa hapa Dar es salaam?
12. Kwa jinsi ambavyo mawasiliano ya kidigitali yanaongezeka kwa kasi, vijana nao kwa sasa wanaufikia ulimwengu kiurahisi zaidi. Unaliongelea vipi jambo hili kama fursa yao kupata maarifa mbali mbali?
13. Kwa jinsi ambavyo vijana wengi huvutwa zaidi na utandawazi wa kidigitali, unadhani ni maarifa yapi ambayo hupata katika mawasiliano yao ya kila siku hasa kwa kutumia smartphone?
14. Unadhani ni kwa jinsi gani wananchi wa hapa Dar es salaam wanatumia smartphone zao kushiriki katika shughuli za kiraia katika nyanja za kitaifa au kimataifa?
15. Unaona vipi kuhusu mawasiliano ya kidigitali, je yanachangia kubadilisha mtazamo wa raia kuhusu uraia wa kitaifa na wa kimataifa?

Asante kwa muda wako na kwa kushiriki.

Maelezo ya washiriki:
Jina la Taasisi……..
Idara/ Kitengo……..……
Taaluma ya kazi……..
Cheo……..……
Uzoefu katika cheo.……..…….....
Kiwango cha elimu…….....
Umri……..

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