

**JOURNALISM SOURCING AND CREDIBILITY: A STUDY OF *RAIA*
MWEMA'S USE OF ANONYMOUS SOURCES**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN JOURNALISM AND MEDIA STUDIES

of

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

EGBERT MKOKO

July 2013

Supervisor: Professor Anthea Garman

Co-Supervisor: Ms. Judith Reynolds

Abstract

This study analyses how readers impute credibility to the Tanzanian investigative newspaper *Raia Mwema* which, as a matter of routine journalistic practice, uses a high number of anonymous sources. Against the backdrop of a strong theoretical position, espoused by media studies theorists in both Western media contexts and in Africa, in which this practice is deemed to diminish the credibility of both journalists and their stories, the study's main purpose is to examine how readers make sense of this very prevalent practice in a country that has recently opened up to media plurality. It also investigates where they locate the source of credibility for this high-selling newspaper, if not in the traditional way through its named sources of information. The study surveys the frequency of appearance of anonymous sources in this newspaper for the period of one year from January 2011 to December 2011. Then the study considered how this practice is viewed and understood by the wider journalistic community in Tanzania as well as looking into how the journalists and owners of *Raia Mwema* make choices about attributing their journalism. Lastly, the study engaged with particular readers to understand what sense they make of this practice in the wider landscape of Tanzanian media and the post-repressive political situation.

The study makes use of theories of the sociology of news production so as to understand the context in which *Raia Mwema* has routinised the practice of anonymous attribution and whether the journalistic community and newspaper readers find the practice credible. The study also employs reception analysis in order to understand to what extent *Raia Mwema* readers negotiate and make sense of the mainly political, and often critical, media messages they get from newspaper. In this way, it introduces the importance of the reader in the production of meaning and of assessment of credibility of journalism.

The interviews – ranging from journalists working at the paper, through the wider journalistic community and taking in the readership of the paper – show that theoretical considerations of journalistic credibility must take into account the political, social and media context in which journalism is produced. Pronouncements on the overuse of anonymous sources, without understanding the way readers and journalists negotiate the complexities of an actual situation, do not tell us much about credibility and how readers understand the messages they are given. From this study, it is clear that in African countries embarking on opening media systems,

credibility involves more factors than have been discussed in the literature and that readers and journalists are sophisticated consumers and producers of media messages in countries that place a host of obstacles in the way of investigative journalism and open political communication.

Table of Contents

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| Abstract..... | i |
| Table of Contents..... | iii |
| Acknowledgement | vi |
| Declaration | vii |

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

| | |
|---|----|
| 1.0. Introduction and Background..... | 1 |
| 1.1. An Overview of the Media Landscape in Tanzania before the 1990s..... | 1 |
| 1.2. An Overview of Media Landscape in Tanzania after the 1990s..... | 4 |
| 1.3. Media in Tanzania and Laws that Inhibit Freedom of Expression..... | 5 |
| 1.4. Research Context: A Brief Background of <i>Raia Mwema</i> | 8 |
| 1.5. <i>Raia Mwema</i> and Anonymous Sources..... | 9 |
| 1.6. Statement of the Problem..... | 10 |
| 1.7. Goals of the research..... | 11 |
| 1.8. Research Questions..... | 11 |
| 1.9. Research Methods..... | 11 |
| 1.10. Thesis Outline..... | 12 |

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.0. Introduction..... | 14 |
| 2.1. An Overview of the Theory of News Elements..... | 14 |
| 2.2. Journalism and Attribution..... | 16 |
| 2.2.1. News Sources in Journalistic Work..... | 16 |
| 2.2.2. Journalists – News sources relationship..... | 16 |
| 2.3. Journalists and Anonymous Sources..... | 17 |
| 2.3.1. Justification of Anonymous Sources in Journalistic work..... | 21 |
| 2.3.2. Anonymous Source and Credibility..... | 25 |
| 2.3.3. Revisiting the Use of Anonymous Sources: The Need for Newsroom Policies | 34 |
| 2.4. Investigative Journalism in Liberal Democracy and Authoritarian States..... | 36 |
| 2.5. Conclusion..... | 38 |

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| 3.0. Introduction..... | 39 |
|------------------------|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.1. Research Design..... | 39 |
| 3.1.1. Case Study Approach..... | 41 |
| 3.1.2 Audience/ Reception Analysis..... | 42 |
| 3.2. Research Methods..... | 44 |
| 3.3. Content Analysis..... | 45 |
| 3.3.1. Population..... | 46 |
| 3.3.2. Unit of Analysis..... | 47 |
| 3.4. Interview Schedule and Designs..... | 47 |
| 3.5. Focus Group Discussions..... | 48 |
| 3.6. In-depth Individual Interviews..... | 49 |
| 3.7. Data Presentation and Analysis..... | 50 |
| 3.8. Ethical Considerations..... | 51 |
| CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS | |
| 4.0. Introduction..... | 53 |
| 4.1. Content Analysis Findings..... | 53 |
| 4.1.1. The Appearance of News Stories Quoting Anonymous Sources..... | 53 |
| 4.1.2. Descriptions of Anonymous Sources Used by <i>Raia Mwema</i> | 57 |
| 4.1.3. Anonymous Sources' Affiliations/ Referents | 58 |
| 4.2. Discussion of the Findings..... | 60 |
| 4.3. Findings and Discussion for Research Question 1..... | 62 |
| 4.3.1 Why Anonymous Sources in <i>Raia Mwema</i> ?..... | 62 |
| 4.3.2. Anonymous Sources vs. Newspaper Credibility..... | 65 |
| 4.3.3. Danger of Abuse: Need for Newsroom Policy?..... | 67 |
| 4.3.4. Civil Servants as Frequently Used Anonymous Sources..... | 68 |
| 4.4. Findings and Discussion for Research Question 2..... | 71 |
| 4.4.1. Anonymous Sources and Media in Tanzania..... | 71 |
| 4.4.2. Journalism in Tanzania and Abuse of Sources..... | 74 |
| 4.4.3. Politics, Anonymity and Credibility..... | 77 |
| 4.4.4. Newsrooms and Anonymity: The Importance of Newsroom Policies | 79 |
| 4.5. Discussion on Findings from Research Question 2..... | 81 |
| 4.6. Findings and Discussion for Research Question 3..... | 82 |

| | |
|---|----|
| 4.6.1. Newspapers vs. Newspaper Readers..... | 82 |
| 4.6.2. Newspaper Readers and Anonymous Sources..... | 84 |
| 4:6:3 Anonymous Sources and Credibility..... | 87 |
| 4.6.4. Government Officials and Anonymity..... | 89 |
| 4.7. Conclusion..... | 91 |

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| 5.0. Introduction..... | 93 |
| 5.1. Summary from the Findings..... | 93 |
| 5.2. Scope for Future Research..... | 96 |

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Appendix 1..... | 98 |
| Appendix 2..... | 99 |
| Appendix 3..... | 100 |
| Bibliography..... | 101 |

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to several people who enabled me to make this study possible. First and foremost, I am sincerely grateful to my supervisor Prof. Anthea Garman for her guidance, support, relentless encouragement and tireless patience throughout my research. My sincere gratitude goes also to co-supervisor Ms. Judith Reynolds for her assistance especially during the writing of this thesis. I really appreciate your support despite your tight working schedules.

A lot of thanks go to all my classmates from five countries (South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria and Tanzania) for their support from the beginning of this study and during the time we stayed together as a family away from our families. I will never forget you all guys.

My thanks also go to the *Raia Mwema* family especially John Bwire and Godfrey Dilunga for their kindness as they provided pleasant condition for my research work. Thanks to other journalists, politicians, civil servants and all who agreed and participated in this study. I appreciate your support because without you, this research could not have been written.

Special thanks go to my lovely family for their love, moral support, encouragement, unceasing prayers and patience during my two years of study which forced me to live thousands of kilometers away from them.

Last but not least, special gratitude goes to the management of University of Dar Es Salaam (UDSM) for granting me the study leave and scholarship to take up this Masters programme in Journalism and Media Studies.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this research ‘Journalistic sourcing and credibility; A study of *Raia Mwema*’s use of anonymous sources’ is my own work. I have acknowledged all other authors’ ideas and referenced direct quotations from their work. I have not allowed anyone else to borrow or copy my work.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction and Background

This study – ‘Journalistic sourcing and credibility: A study of *Raia Mwema*’s use of anonymous sources’ – aims at examining the way anonymous sources are used in one of Tanzania’s weekly newspapers’ known as *Raia Mwema* (the Good Citizen) and the way such practices affect the credibility of this media outlet in the eyes of its readers. This research is a case study within the journalism field, and it concentrates on attribution which is one of the basic elements of news.

The study deals with one aspect of news construction and meaning generation – attribution. In news writing, attribution is considered one of the most important elements of news. When attributing, journalists associate facts reported in the story to a source who provides those facts, and therefore, a reporter is distanced from his or her own opinions. The main function of attribution according to Carlson and Franklin (2011:8-9) is “to convince the audience that the facts and assertions within news content are, indeed, credible and legitimate”. Journalism studies theorists insist on the importance of describing the name of the source in the story because “if the source of the information is fully described, the audience can decide for itself whether the information is credible” (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007:107).

1.1 An Overview of the Media Landscape in Tanzania before the 1990s

Tanzania as a country was formed in 1964 from the union of two states; Tanganyika mainland and Zanzibar isles. Tanganyika got its independence from British colonial rule in 1961, while Zanzibar got independence through a revolution which overthrew the Sultan of Zanzibar in a bloody insurrection in January 1964 (Shivji, 2008:41). Only four months after the Zanzibar revolution, on 26 April 1964, the President of Tanganyika, the late Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, and the president of Zanzibar, the late Abeid Aman Karume, agreed to renounce their states’ sovereignties in order to formulate one sovereign country which is known today as Tanzania (Bailey, 1973; Shivji, 2008). Before being held under British colonial rule, Tanganyika was ruled by Germany from the 1880s to 1919, while Zanzibar was administered by Arab rule until 1890 when it formally became a British protectorate (Othman, 1995:170).

During the German colonial rule in the 1880s, the first newspaper, *Msimulizi* (The Storyteller), “was published by the Anglican Universities’ mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in Zanzibar in 1888” (Sturmer, 1998:29). Some other newspapers and periodicals published in late 1890s and early 1900s include *Mtenga Watu* (The Converter), *Maongezi na Maarifa* (Entertainment and Information), *The Usambara Post* and *Habari za Mwezi* (News of the Month) which had a print run of 6,000 copies by 1916 (Scotton, 1972 quoted in Sturmer, 1998:31).

After World War I Tanganyika became a British territory. The media industry continued to be under the domination of European and Indian ownership. In January 1930, the first copy of *Tanganyika Standard* was published. This newspaper, which was the most influential during the British colonial administration, was owned by “the most powerful East African press group” known as East African Standard Ltd with its headquarters in Kenya (Sturmer, 1998:53). The paper was printed on a daily basis and another copy on a weekly basis until 1954 when the weekly *Tanganyika Standard* was renamed *Sunday News*. Sturmer elaborates further about the development of the daily edition of *Tanganyika Standard* by saying that;

After the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, the daily became *The Standard*. Then on February 5th 1970, the paper was nationalised, and, on April 26th 1972, it was consolidated with *The Nationalist*. The result of this merger was *Daily News* (Sturmer, 1998:99).

Henceforth, the *Daily News* and *Sunday News* became the English language government owned newspapers published daily and weekly respectively. They have been the mouthpiece of the government since then. I shall talk more about this later.

Another influential newspaper during the British colonial era was *Sauti ya TANU* (the Voice of TANU) which was owned by the political party –Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) – which became the ruling party after independence. This paper was founded in 1957 and was printed in Swahili. On Independence Day (9 December 1961), a newly introduced paper known as *UHURU* (Independence) replaced *Sauti ya TANU*. *UHURU* paper continued to be controlled by the then ruling party, TANU (renamed CCM in 1977), and has been printed on a daily basis from 1964 until now. In 1972, TANU decided to establish a weekly newspaper known as *Mzalendo* (the Patriot).

From 1962, Tanganyika (Tanzania from 1964) adopted a single party political system. The TANU government decided to establish an English language daily newspaper known as *The Nationalist* in 1964. Sturmer (1998:108) argues that “*The Nationalist* was highly accepted from the very beginning” although it was outspokenly partisan with a very strong anti-western policy. In 1967, the government introduced a nationalization policy which in turn, affected the media industry in 1970 when the private owned newspapers, *The Standard* and its sister paper *Sunday News*, were taken over by the state (Brown and Brown, 1995; Sturmer, 1998). In 1972 the government decided to merge *The Nationalist*, which was owned by TANU, and the newly state owned, *The Standard*, in order to have one English daily newspaper –*Daily News* – owned by the state.

The state’s control of the media, started immediately after independence when the government decided to take control of, and monitor privately-owned media so that they could contribute to foster the unity and development of the country. Apart from the intention of having control over all private media, Sturmer posits that:

One of the first decisions of Nyerere’s cabinet was to rename the colonial Public Relation Department into the Tanganyika Information Services (TIS) which was placed under the Prime Minister’s Office in 1960. Hence, Julius Nyerere himself was in charge of the information sector in this period of change. (Sturmer, 1998:106)

The government’s control over the newspapers continued, and in 1976 the controversial Newspaper Act was passed by the parliament. Apart from powers given to the Minister to register or ban any newspaper at anytime, “the Newspaper Act (1976) penalizes the editor, printer, vendors – all agents who somehow aided the news item to reach the audience – may be hauled to court to face heavy fines and a two-year prison term” (Media Council of Tanzania, 2011b:4). The presence of this law together with other laws such as the National Security Act of 1970, contributed to the downfall of nearly all private-owned newspapers in the country. Apart from government and ruling party owned newspapers, only religious newspapers managed to exist despite such laws. *Kiongozi* (the Leader) which is the Swahili newspaper owned by the Catholic Church of Tanzania, was founded in 1950 and still appears even nowadays. Its content (church news and related issues) was the main reason for its existence. The trade union owned newspaper, *Mfanyakazi* (the Worker), was founded in 1964 by the National Union of Tanganyika

Workers (NUTA). According to the political system of that time, NUTA was an organ within the ruling party TANU and the then the trade union which changed to JUWATA [*Jumuia ya Wafanyakazi Tanzania* (Workers Union of Tanzania)] in 1977 after formulation of the new ruling party, CCM. *Mfanyakazi* was printed on a weekly basis and it became “one of the country’s largest selling papers” (Sturmer, 1998:236).

Over nearly three decades (from 1961 to 1990s), newspapers were forced to accept certain limitations on their freedom due to the presence of the authoritarian single party political system. Criticisms of the government of the day, in anyway, were not accepted. Jenerali Ulimwengu, who was working as a journalist in the *Daily News* in 1970s, was kicked out from the newspaper in 1974 due to his critical reporting against the government (Ulimwengu, 2012). The freedom of the press was not explicitly guaranteed by the constitution during that time. Several newspapers ceased their production due to the adverse environment, and hence, “the Tanzanian newspaper market consisted of only of two dailies – a situation which was to last until 1993” (Sturmer, 1998:139).

1.2 An Overview of the Media Landscape in Tanzania after the 1990s

As Mfumbusa posits, “the media industry in Tanzania opened up to private investment in the early 1990s” (2010:158). This came as a result of adoption of political pluralism and the introduction of a multi-party political system in 1992. Following this paradigm shift in the political and economic dispensation, the media industry in Tanzania experienced dramatic changes as many media houses were established. Before 1992, “there were four regular newspapers – *Daily News* (state owned), *Uhuru* (Ruling Party daily), *Mfanyakazi* (Ruling Party-allied Trade Union owned weekly), and *Kiongozi* (Catholic Church owned weekly)” (Media Council of Tanzania, 2010:2). In the early days of liberalization in 1992, private newspapers began to spring up and among the first newspapers to come to the market include the weeklies *The Family Mirror*, *Business Times*, *Heko*, *Wakati Ni Huu*, *Motomoto* and *Dimba* (Media Council of Tanzania, 2010). Currently, there are more than 4,000 registered publications within the country, which include newspapers, magazines, and journals (Mfumbusa, 2010:159).

One of the outcomes of media liberalization in Tanzania was the increase in daily newspapers from two in 1992 to 13 in 2011 and from five weeklies in 1992 to 63 by 2011 (Media Council of Tanzania, 2011b:26). This rapid growth in the print media industry means Tanzania can be characterised as among the fastest growing in the Sub-Saharan Africa.

Several media houses mushroomed from the early 1990s. The Business Times Ltd was the first media house to establish the first privately owned daily newspaper known as *Majira* (Time) in 1993, followed by their rivals, The Guardian Ltd, which established the second privately owned daily newspaper in the country, *Nipashe* (Tell Me), in 1994 (Sturmer, 1998:178). Another major media house is *Habari* Corporation (renamed New *Habari* Corporation) which started in 1993 with a weekly sports magazine, *Dimba* (Arena) and an influential Swahili weekly, *Rai* (Opinion), before establishing the daily paper known as *Mtanzania* (The Tanzanian).

Mwananchi Communication Ltd is another major media house which publishes two dailies, *Mwananchi* (The Citizen) which is a Swahili paper, and the English language paper, *The Citizen*. Mfumbusa (2010:161) posits that *Mwananchi* Communication Ltd “is the only major player with a majority foreign shareholder: the Kenyan Nation Group of Companies”, and, according to the Media Council of Tanzania, it is the highest selling daily with a print run of 35,000.

1.3. Media in Tanzania and Laws that Inhibit Freedom of Expression

Despite the fast growth of the print media industry in Tanzania, newspapers are still operating in a difficult environment surrounded by laws which restrict, interfere with, undermine and negate the right of freedom of expression. Even after the liberalization of the media, the government has failed to create a conducive environment for newspapers to flourish, and instead, laws which were imposed during the period of the single-party political system are still in operation. This situation seems to imply that the country, after the 1990s, had entered into economic liberalization without real political liberalization especially in terms of freedom of expression.

The Newspaper Act of 1976 is among the principal laws governing the establishment and operations of newspapers in Tanzania. Sturmer states that among other things, this law gives power to the Minister for Information “to ban a newspaper if – in his opinion – this was in the

public interest or in the interest of peace and good order” while the President can “prohibit importation of any publication if – from his point of view – the print medium was detrimental to the public interest” (1998:168). It is within the minister’s capacity or president’s capacity to define in his own point of view what ‘public interest’ is. In addition, this law gives power “to the police to seize a newspaper or any publication so defined and search premises suspected of printing / publishing a newspaper contrary to the act and the regulations thereof” (Media Council of Tanzania, 2007:8).

In early days of liberalization of the media, the government used this law not only to ban several publications, but also to arrest publishers. According to Sturmer;

The first victims were the monthlies *Cheka* (Smile) and *Michapo* (Whips) which were prohibited in early 1993. The corresponding Government Notice No.8 of January 29th 1993 did not give any reason for the decision of the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, William Shija. (1998:182)

Recently, the government has employed the same law to ban the weekly newspaper, *Mwanahalisi*, which is famous for investigative and analytical reporting. News editors and several journalists also fell foul of authorities and were arrested or harassed after running stories which, according to the Newspaper Act, seemed to the government to be malicious. For the period of three years (from 1993 to 1996), five newspapers were suspended or banned by the government by using this law (Sturmer, 1998).

Apart from the Newspaper Act of 1976, another law which violates and interferes with freedom of information in Tanzania is the National Security Act of 1970. Under this law, it is an offence for anyone to communicate any classified matter or to cause leakage of such matter. This section seems to prohibit the flow of information from government officials to journalists. Meanwhile, the law forces journalists to disclose the source of the information when they are required to do so. As the Media Council of Tanzania writes;

Unlike the case of advocates and witnesses in legal proceedings, there is no privilege whatsoever available to protect journalists from disclosing their sources of information if required to do so by a court. The law states that journalists can be imprisoned for contempt of court should one refuse to disclose his/her source. (2007:9)

Media stakeholders try their level best to fight against all laws constraining the freedom of expression in the country, and seek to do away with the dictatorial mechanisms of handling media related issues, but until now, those moves have been in vain. The first attempt was in early 1990s when the then President Ally Hassan Mwinyi, appointed a commission which among other things, was assigned to analyse the existing laws of the country in order to evaluate their compatibility with the new political system (Sturmer, 1998:171). When presenting their report in 1992, the commission under the chairmanship of the former Chief Justice Julius Nyalali, revealed that the Newspaper Act 1976 and the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA) Act 1976 were among 40 laws that were oppressive in nature, outdated and unconstitutional, and therefore, they should be repealed or overhauled (Media Council of Tanzania, 2010:3; Sturmer, 1998:172). Despite those recommendations, nothing has been done so far by the government, and both these laws and other oppressive laws are still in operation.

It was not until 2006 that the government showed an interest in making new media laws by preparing two draft bills; Freedom of Information Bill 2006 and Media Service Bill of 2007. According to the Media Council of Tanzania, this government's plan claimed to have the grand aim of having a pluralistic media free from impediments that hold up the constitutional rights of citizens to receive and impart information. (2009:2).

Media stakeholders led by the Media Council and other media organisations rejected government's proposals on the ground that, "if passed into law they would affect the operations of the journalists, press freedom and freedom of expression" (Media Council of Tanzania, 2009:2). As an alternative, stakeholders prepared other two bills; the Right to Information Bill, 2007 and the Media Service Bill, 2008, which were presented to the government. The outcome of these proposals was that:

The government's first reaction was promising. In doing so, the coalition expected the move would initiate a constructive dialogue between the two parties and eventually reach consensus on ideal provisions for the two bills. The coalition's optimism was, however, short-lived as, the Government decided to adopt a snail pace approach over the matter. To date, five years later, not a single Bill has been prepared to that effect although all along the government has never been short of progressive promises regarding the laws. (Media Council of Tanzania, 2011b:53)

Until the time of this research, the media industry in Tanzania is still governed by authoritarian laws which are oppressive in nature and violate the freedom of the press and journalists. The Media Council, media owners, journalists and other stakeholders are still fighting by lobbying and pressing for the enactment of new media laws so as to have a favourable environment for the benefit of the industry at large.

1.4. Research Context: A Brief Background of *Raia Mwema*

In my research, I have chosen to focus on the *Raia Mwema* newspaper primarily because of its influence with many elite readers and its style of employing anonymous sources in so many stories. *Raia Mwema* is a Tanzanian weekly newspaper which was established in 2007 with the intention of publishing investigative stories in order to expose irresponsible public leaders, promote good governance and provide critical analyses of political, economic and other social issues (Interview with *Raia Mwema* Editor, Dino). The owners of this publication are prominent veteran journalists within the country led by Jenerali Ulimwengu, who is the chairman of the board of directors. Ulimwengu had been a journalist since the 1970s when he worked at the government-owned newspaper, the *Daily News*, before serving the government in different political positions up to 1997 (Ulimwengu, 2012).

In 1993, Ulimwengu and other two journalists who were working at the ruling-party newspaper (*UHURU*) established a private media house known as Habari Corporation (now renamed New Habari Corporation). During Habari Corporation ownership, Ulimwengu and his team established a weekly newspaper known as *Rai* which was a highly successful weekly, analytical, investigative and believed to be a fearless newspaper (Media Council of Tanzania, 2007:16). Apart from *Rai*, other newspapers owned by Habari Corporations are *Mtanzania* (Swahili daily), *Bingwa* (Swahili Sports daily), *Dimba* (Swahili sports weekly) and *The African* (English daily). While running *Rai*, Ulimwengu took a stance of refusing “to sing the praises of the rulers” and this led to the controversial declaration by the state that he was a stateless person without any further explanations from authorities (Media Council of Tanzania, 2007:16).

After spending some years fighting for his citizenship, Ulimwengu decided to sell all 100% shares of Habari Corporation to a business tycoon Rostam Aziz, who was, at that time, not only a

politician, but also a treasurer of the ruling party, a foremost funder and “a silent king maker” (Media Council of Tanzania , 2007:16). Thereafter, Ulimwengu joined other veteran journalists, John Bwire and Johnson Mbwambo, to establish another weekly newspaper, *Raia Mwema*. *Raia Mwema* and the former *Rai* newspaper share the same characteristics as investigative and analytical publications with a reputation for fearlessness.

Within five years of its establishment, *Raia Mwema* had become the leading weekly newspaper with a circulation of 45,000 copies which is the highest among the weeklies in Tanzania. “The largest selling Kiswahili mainstream paper, *Mwananchi*, has the print run of 35,000 copies” (Media Council of Tanzania, 2007:22).

1.5. *Raia Mwema* and Anonymous Sources

One of *Raia Mwema*'s unusual features in its journalism is the trend of quoting unnamed sources in many of its stories. Several journalism studies theorists argue that for the sake of a media outlet's credibility, unnamed sources should be used only as a last resort or in a situation which “without the use of anonymous sources, some of these stories would not be told” (Boeyink, 1990:235).

According to my preliminary study, from January to December 2011, *Raia Mwema* quoted unnamed sources in 55 stories out of 113 stories appearing on its front pages. Some of these stories combine both named and unnamed sources. Although this trend cannot be directly judged as the overuse of unnamed sources, in normal circumstances, quoting unnamed sources in journalistic work is believed to have a “negative effect on readers' perception of credibility” (Sternadori and Thorson, 2009: 63). Anonymous attribution is not a common practice in Tanzania's media except in investigative or contentious stories. Despite its controversy, neither mainstream media houses nor the Media Council of Tanzania, has any formal policy or guidelines on the use of anonymous sources. Instead, the Media Council in its code of ethics insists that journalists should not disclose their confidential sources (Media Council of Tanzania, 2010:10).

Raia Mwema, which positions itself as an elite paper and for serious readers, was selected for this study because it has adopted a notable journalistic style of quoting anonymous sources in many of its stories while maintaining a reputation for journalistic excellence and retaining a loyal readership. The main purpose of this research is to examine why this practice has become so prevalent in this particular newsroom and what readers make of the use of anonymous sources, whether or not they believe these sources, and how they rate the credibility of the newspaper. The reasons for the newspaper's reputation as excellent will also be probed. The study also aims to explore what the wider professional journalistic community in Tanzania makes of this practice at *Raia Mwema*.

1.6. Statement of the Problem

Investigative journalism in Tanzania seems to have grown in recent years, despite the presence of laws which are unfavorable to the freedom of the press within the country. *Raia Mwema* is among notable newspapers participating in investigative journalism especially in the war on grand corruption and other wrong doings among top government officials (Manara, 2011:61). In the Tanzanian context, grand corruption is the term used to describe the involvement of business tycoons or top government leaders and officials in the corruption and embezzlement of funds. According to the *Raia Mwema* editor, there is a strong need to promote investigative journalism within the country, and in practicing such journalism, there is no way you can avoid the use of anonymous sources, or avoid hiding the name of the reporter in the news story (interview with *Raia Mwema* Editor and shareholder, 2012). This practice sometimes brings clashes between newsroom routines and journalism ethics as the practice keeps going on day after day regardless of ethical guidelines which justify the use of anonymous sources just as a last resort (Boeyink, 1990).

The above mentioned challenge is the key issue which this thesis is concerned with. Instead of using anonymous sources as a last resort, *Raia Mwema* uses anonymous sources as key informants in many of its stories. This situation forces readers to rely on anonymous sources' information. *Raia Mwema* editors continue with such trend liberally against the scholars' views

that without providing the identity of a source, “readers might even suspect that quotes from unnamed sources are fabricated” (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson 2007:57).

1.7. Goals of the research

This research has three main goals. The first is to examine why and how unnamed or anonymous sources are used by *Raia Mwema* newspaper. This goal focuses on sourcing theory as far as news production is concerned. In this goal, the focus is to get views from journalists on, among other issues, whether they find the practice credible. The second goal is to examine the way newspaper readers perceive, interpret or make sense of this practice and if they do find such stories credible, what inspires their belief in this credibility. In this case, the study tries to interrogate what sense readers make of the use of anonymous sources and how they rate the credibility of the newspaper.

1.8. Research Questions

Related to the problem and goals outlined above, the study sets out to find answers to the following research questions:

- How do the *Raia Mwema* reporters/editors justify their use of anonymous sources in many of their stories? What political, social and economic factors underlie this practice?
- How does the wider journalistic community understand the practice in relation to journalism in Tanzania?
- How do *Raia Mwema* readers understand this practice and where do they locate the source of *Raia Mwema*'s credibility?

1.9. Research Methods

This research seeks to understand why *Raia Mwema* readers keep on quoting unnamed sources in many of their stories, and the way newspaper readers interpret, understand or make sense of such stories. Also, the research explores whether the Tanzanian journalistic community finds this trend credible and acceptable within this field. To achieve this, I employed both quantitative and

qualitative methods of collecting data; content analysis, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Content analysis helps “establish the frequency with which certain kinds of stories occur” (Deacon, et al (2007:117). This technique was employed to establish the frequency of use of anonymous sources for the period of January to December 2011 and this data informed the initial questions for the in-depth interviews and focus groups.

Another technique of data collection employed was focus group discussion since one of its main purposes is to discover consumer attitudes (Lunt and Livingstone, 1996:79). Focus group discussions were chosen because they are relevant and closely associated with the reception analysis paradigm and they are capable of producing rich and detailed materials for interpretative analysis (Deacon, et al, 2007:57; Jensen, 1988:4). I conducted focus group discussions with *Raia Mwema* readers and other Tanzanian journalists not working in the *Raia Mwema* newsroom.

Apart from focus group discussions, I conducted individual in-depth interviews with the *Raia Mwema* editors and senior journalists, other senior journalists and editors on other publications and with particular readers from the focus groups. Inclusion of journalists from other publications was useful in understanding their views as a peer group and community of practice in Tanzania.

1.10. Thesis outline

This thesis consists of five chapters. This chapter gives the introduction and background of the study which includes the media landscape in Tanzania before and after liberalization in 1990s. This chapter also provides the research context by giving the background of *Raia Mwema* newspaper and the way anonymous sources are quoted in this paper. Lastly, the chapter elaborates on important aspects of the study such as the statement of the problem, goals of the research as well as research questions that the research should answer by the end of this report.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework underpinning this study, and reviews the related literature that informed this study. The framework deals with sourcing theory as far as the newspapers’ production is concerned and reception analysis which focuses on the way readers make sense of media text. This chapter also reviews the way different scholars consider the aspect of media ownership and its effect on daily newsroom routines.

In chapter three, I describe my research methodologies, research designs and tools for data analysis. Apart from content analysis, I argue for qualitative methodological approach employed in collecting data for the study; focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. In this chapter, I explain also challenges that I faced during data collection and the way I tried to overcome those challenges.

In chapter four, I explore a presentation of data, analysis and discussion. This chapter presents findings of what have been obtained through content analysis, focus group interviews and in-depth interviews. These findings are presented with my interpretations in relation to theoretical framework and literature discussed in chapter two.

Chapter five summarises this thesis and concludes by giving suggestions, recommendations and identifying possible issues or areas for future research.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.0. Introduction

The major focus of this study is to determine why *Raia Mwema* newspaper routinised the practice of attributing to anonymous sources and whether the journalistic community and newspaper readers find this practice acceptable. This chapter constitutes the theoretical backbone of the study with the intention of providing an outline of the study and an explanation of its theoretical basis. To address this issue and to understand the phenomenon at hand, the study draws on theoretical approaches from the sociology of news sourcing. Most of theories drawn in for this study reflect Western perspective as there are very few studies that have been done in African context on the use of anonymous sources in journalism. For that reason, I will cite several examples from the United States and other Western countries and later on, compare them with the study at hand.

2.1. An overview of the theory of news elements

This study deals with a particular news writing convention in *Raia Mwema* newspaper. Different journalism scholars define the term ‘news’ differently. It is not easy to have a straightforward definition of news, as Harcup and O’Neill suggest that;

Journalists have ground rules that inform their answers to the question “what is news?” Such ground rules cannot be written down or codified by news organizations, but they exist in daily practice and in knowledge gained on the job, albeit mediated by the subjectivity on the part of individual journalists. (2001:261)

This argument suggests that even within the journalism field, there are different definitions of what news is all about. News values are believed to be important factors to help in defining what news is all about. Apart from such differences among journalists themselves, Schudson (2003:6) argues that media sociologists and the journalists have got different ways of defining what news

is, although, they agree that news is “what is public notable (within a framework of shared understanding that judges it to be both public and notable)” (Schudson, 2003:6).

Harwood and Hudnall (1997:5) provide different definitions of news according to different scholars. They quote different scholars who define news as “anything which interests a large part of the community and has never been brought to their attention” while others define news as “everything that happens, the inspiration of happenings and the result of such happenings” (Harwood and Hudnall, 1997:5). The last definition which Harwood and Hudnall present is that “news is anything and everything interesting about life and materials in all their manifestations” (1997:5).

After going through those definitions from different scholars, Harwood and Hudnall, at last, provide their own definition of news which states that “news is the account of an event, not something inherent in the event itself” (1997:5). As it has been elaborated above, news values and news elements are important factors to be taken into account when defining what news is. Their last definition of news tries to incorporate news elements in it and they conclude that news can be taken as “any trustworthy, unprejudiced report of an event containing timely or previously unknown information that affects the lives of those who read it” (Harwood and Hudnall, 1997:5).

Journalism scholars do not agree on a single definition of news, but they agree on elements which make news. In their last definition, Harwood and Hudnall try to incorporate some news elements so as to make them acceptable to a large journalistic community. A large number of journalists agree that news must be trustworthy, must interest a large number of people, must either have an effect on lives of many readers, be a report about nearby happenings, and lastly, be the event about prominent figures.

When talking about elements of journalism, Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) mention most of elements which are relevant in news stories. Such elements include truth, verification of information provided, balance and fairness. News elements, in this case, provide basic elements in journalism field which address the role of journalists in the society they serve. One of the most important elements of journalism is attribution.

2.2. Journalism and Attribution

Attribution in a journalistic work provides one of the most important elements especially when writing a news story. When attributing, a journalist or a reporter mentions in the news story from whom the facts and evidence provided come. That means, a journalist describes a source of information.

2.2.1. News Sources in Journalistic Work

Journalism scholars suggest that attribution is one of the most important elements in news writing. Boeyink argues that in news writing “the source of the information is critical to understand the meaning and significance of the message” (1990:233).

Different reasons have been provided as to why attribution is an essential element in news stories. Carlson and Franklin suggest that one of the functions of attribution is “to convince the audience that the facts and assertions within news content are, indeed, credible and legitimate” (2011:8-9). To support this argument, Kovach and Rosenstiel add that “if the source of the information is fully described, the audience can decide for itself whether the information is credible” (2007:107). With that regard, it means there is a close relationship between the source of information and credibility. The aspect of credibility will be discussed later in this chapter.

In his discussion about news sources, Schudson (2003:134) argues that news should be more less the product of transactions between journalists and their sources. That means, a source provides knowledge to journalists and journalists disseminate such information to the public.

From Schudson’s views about news sources, there is a need to understand how journalists treat their sources and how such sources relate to the journalists.

2.2.2. Journalists – News Sources Relationship

The journalist-source relationship is supposed to be a give and take relation, which means, there is a mutual dependence between the two. Journalists need materials from a source for their media outlets, while a source needs a journalist so as to get access to the public. Carlson and Franklin (2011:3) suggest that “journalists seek out sources that are both available and suitable, which serves to reinforce patterned sourcing practice”.

A good journalist is one who maintains his or her sources. To maintain a source means there is a good and sympathetic relationship between the two except in rare situations in which a reporter must be antagonistic. Raman (2010) suggests that there are a few occasions where a journalist is forced to be aggressive and adversarial. Likewise, Goodwin insists that an “adversarial relationship between reporters and sources is necessary for the press to be a true watchdog of government and other important institutions” (1983:116).

Apart from the above exception, a journalist must create a conducive environment so that a source would not be concerned that the information or facts she or he provides will be mishandled or misrepresented. Distortion of facts provided by the source is dangerous to a reporter’s credibility, and as Raman posits, “once you lose credibility and trust with a source, you lose a source” (2010:95).

On the other hand, the relationship between a reporter and a news source must be handled with care. A very close friendship between the two is dangerous for the journalism professional as there is the possibility of them unethically taking care of each other. Goodwin warns that “reporters who develop friendships with their source, seeing them socially as well as professionally, can easily fall into the trap of favoritism” (1983:114). This situation may lead the reporter to perform his or her task unethically and unprofessionally, and it is better for journalists “to avoid deep friendships with their sources for fear of relationships that would or might interfere with the reporter’s perspective and ability to treat news subjects fairly” (Goodwin, 1983:114).

To avoid friendship, doesn’t mean that journalist should treat sources as crooks or potential crooks (Goodwin, 1983). Journalists should provide fair treatment to their sources and to the public who are consumers of end products from reporters and sources. In other circumstances, journalists may find themselves meeting sources who don’t want their names being mentioned in a news story. In that scenario, sometimes, journalists decide to use anonymous sources in their work.

2.3. Journalists and Anonymous Sources

Journalists find information from different sources. Such sources can be human subjects or documents stored in offices, libraries, archives, and so on depending on the kind of information

or facts required. Tuchman (1978:93) explains that in normal circumstance, journalists seek reliable sources of information while taking three criteria into account; the individual status of the source, the authority that a source has so as to be considered credible, and lastly, the status of an organization where information originated. Journalists are the ones who should identify the relevant documents or kind of information required, and find people who are able to open up and provide such required information. In this context, the function of the source is “not only pragmatic in supplying information, but also symbolic in supplying legitimacy and authority” (Carlson and Franklin, 2011:4).

Despite the fact that journalists should mention in their news stories the sources of information provided, some news sources opt for anonymity due to several reasons especially for the sake of their lives and jobs. Scott (2005:243) contextualizes anonymity as “the degree to which the identity of a message source is unknown and unspecified; thus, the less knowledge one has about the source and the harder it is to specify who the source is among possible options, the more anonymity exists”. Wulfemeyer and McFadden (1986:470) take a step further when they define anonymous attribution as a “direct or paraphrased quote attributed to an unnamed individual or to unnamed individuals”. In this case, a reporter doesn’t mention the person or an organization which provided information, facts or documents cited in a news story. In other words, an anonymous source is the one providing information to journalist(s) without being named or fully described in a news story, feature or any journalistic work.

Although journalists, in some instances, can write a news story without mentioning the name of the source, Raman gives the general view that;

There are instances where a source may not be identified by name in the story, being referred to by affiliation group or community (a resident of an area, a member of a professional organization or a company), but the journalist should maintain a record of where the information originated from, so that if called upon in case of a dispute or a contradiction, the information can be accurately sourced. (Raman, 2010:97)

Journalism scholars approve the use of anonymous sources in journalistic work on the ground that it makes it possible for sources to speak and be quoted in media without any fear of retribution. Meanwhile, Sole (2011:32) suggests that sources can be granted anonymity, but

“they should never be granted the right to determine how information they provide is used”. Granting anonymity should not be used by sources as the tool to control the way facts and information provided will be treated or used. The control of information remains in the hands of the reporter and/or the editor.

Despite having a give and take relationship, and for the sake of avoiding sources’ control over information they provide, Sole (2006:34) warns journalists not to place themselves in a situation that they need their informants more than the informants need journalists.

On the other hand, despite its approval, the practice of quoting anonymous sources might bring confrontations with the laws of the land. There are several cases in Western media in which journalists were forced by a court to reveal the sources who were quoted anonymously in their stories. Wilson (1996:86) mentions *The Times* journalist Jeremy Warner and Brendan Mulholland of the *Daily Mail* who were fined £ 20,000 and jailed for 6 months respectively after refusing to disclose names of their sources in different stories in Britain.

When discussing the legal jeopardy over the use of unnamed source, Wilson (1996:90) posits that “[J]ournalists being pressed to disclose a name, are always able to go back to the source to check whether the promise can be lifted”. It is the decision of the source which may save journalists from being fined or jailed for failing to disclose the source in a court. Two examples can be cited here. A *New York Times* reporter Judith Miller refused to name her source, and after spending 85 days behind bars, she changed her mind after being given a written permission by the source who agreed to be disclosed (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007:57; Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2007:107). Another journalist from *Time* magazine, Matthew Cooper, escaped 18 months in jail after being permitted by his secret source to testify (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007:57).

So far in Tanzania, there is no record of a similar case in the past, although there are some similar circumstances which happened in the African context. According to Thloloe, the South Africa National Editors’ Forum (Sanef) became furious when a former *City Press* editor Vusi Mona breached the journalism ethics about the confidential source quoted in one of *City Press* stories (Thloloe, 2006:53). This *City Press* editor attended a meeting held by Hefer Commission and disclosed some facts from a confidential source without his consent. Sanef issued a

statement that Mona violated journalism ethics and his decision to disclose the source is unacceptable in South African journalism.

Some experts in journalism studies suggest that journalists may reveal the name of the hidden source if the court of law gives an order to do so. This argument brings in confrontations between ethics and laws, as well as between sources and journalists. Journalism ethics direct reporters and editors to fulfil the promise of anonymity in whatever situation. Godwin (1983) warns about the possibility of journalists losing the trust of other news sources when one of them surrenders to the court order to disclose the source. He states that;

Supporters of the principle of confidentiality for journalists argue that a reporter is no better than his or her sources of information. If you cannot promise protection, many people will not talk. And if you give in when a judge orders you to reveal a secret source, other sources will clam up when you or other reporters go to them for information. (Goodwin, 1983:120)

Apart from being forced by laws of the land to disclose the source of information, there are other circumstances which have made journalists break the promise of anonymity given to sources. Kovach and Rosenstiel posit that “a growing number of journalists believe that if a source who has been granted anonymity is found to have misled the reporter, the source’s identity should be revealed” (2007:97). The most important issue here is all about trust between journalist and the source. On some occasions, journalists decide to sign a special affidavit with an unnamed source that she or he will be named if a libel suit occurs as the result of information provided.

There are several examples when journalists decided to break promises of confidentiality to their sources. The popular example is the *Cohen vs. Cowles Media* case during the United States election campaigns in 1982, when the media house (*Cowles Media*) broke a promise of confidentiality and decided to identify the source (Cohen) in print (Davis, Ross and Gates, 1996; Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997). Editors in Cowles Media took that decision on the ground that the source did not qualify to be granted anonymity as he provided the information for political motives as well as personal benefits. Cohen sued the media house and the court ruled in his favour and awarded compensatory damages from *Cowles Media* on the ground that “the First Amendment did not exempt newspapers from their obligations to keep promises of

confidentiality to news sources” (Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997:142). This case shows how media ethics and laws of the land go against each other over the issue of confidentiality to news sources. I will turn back to this point when discussing anonymous sources and credibility.

Again a similar case happened in South Africa in 1996 when *Cape Times* Journalists were forced by Police force to surrender photographs and written materials related to the killings of a journalist. Despite the court order, journalists refused to surrender such materials on the ground that it is unethical (Thloloe, 2006:52). In Tanzania, there has been no any record of a similar case in the past.

Despite all these challenges on the use of anonymous sources in journalistic work, the practice has still been justified by different journalism scholars. The next part reviews circumstances which justify the practice.

2.3.1. Justification of Anonymous Sources in Journalistic Work

Mixed feelings surround the practice of quoting anonymous sources in journalistic works. Different journalism scholars show limited approval of the practice in different ways and different circumstances. In their opinion about this practice, Wilson, Babcock and Pribek argue that journalists can grant anonymity if the source provides information on “major investigation in which source’s safety or job will be in jeopardy” (1997:149). This argument shows that this practice is normal and justified in investigative reporting as the media attempt to play effectively its role as watchdog in the society. In this context, Kupe suggests that:

The argument that anonymous sources are necessary evil is particular pertinent to investigative journalism which, often because of wrong doing, requires all forms of secrecy and where information can only be obtained by people who cannot be identified for various reasons. (2006:8)

Investigative journalism becomes the form of journalism in which the use of anonymous sources is inevitable. The fact is that most whistle-blowers, who include top government officials, provide information based on the condition of anonymity, especially when their lives or jobs are in jeopardy. In this context, Sole (2006:31) believes that “[G]ood beat journalists will have

confidential sources of long standing in the institutions they cover – the police, the justice department, foreign affairs; the city council etc”. Normally, whistle-blowers from these institutions undertake risk when they agree to come forward and provide information to reporters. For that matter, and because of their importance in providing information, journalists approve the condition of anonymity to these informants so as to assure their safety. Carlson (2011:42) is the journalism theorist who justifies that whistle-blowers must be granted anonymity so that the story can be told for the public interest.

In relation to the above justification of sources’ anonymity, Wulfemayer and McFadden (1986:468) state that “granting confidentiality to a news source can help a journalist obtain information that might otherwise be unavailable”. To be used by journalists, such information must be important and there must be no other way of obtaining it except granting anonymity to the informants. In this circumstance, reporters and editors will have no option other than to grant anonymity to the source so as to get the required information.

Different scholars insist on the importance of ethical considerations when journalists opt to use anonymous source in a certain news story (Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1987; Boeyink, 1990; Duffy and Freeman, 2011). Such ethical considerations include the presence of another different source able to verify information provided by an unnamed source; to weigh the harm of reporting the news by quoting anonymous source over the possibility of not reporting at all. In this case, if the danger of not reporting outweighs the use of anonymous source, the practice can be justified.

On the other hand, Boeyink insists on the importance of journalists ethically justifying the use of anonymous sources by taking into account seven guidelines before granting anonymity. Among other things, such guidelines are helpful in minimizing harm to those involved in a report (Boeyink, 1990:236). In those guidelines Boeyink (1990) suggests that:

- Only editors can authorize the promise of granting anonymity to a news source;
- Granting anonymity must be used only for a just cause;
- Granting anonymity in a news story must be a last resort;
- Identification of source must be as full as possible together with explanations of reasons for anonymity in a news story;

- Editors should balance the benefit of the story against the risk of harm in any use of anonymous source;
- Anonymity must be granted with just intentions by the reporter, the media and the source; and
- A second source must independently verify information quoted from anonymous source.

The above guidelines need to be considered before editors decide to hide the source of information in any news story. It is obviously not possible for all guidelines to be fulfilled, but at least some of them must be taken into account before making a decision for anonymity.

Journalism ethicists (Goodwin, 1983; Kovach and Rosenstiels, 2007; Black and Roberts, 2011) insist that journalists must consider ethical guidelines and moral decisions before granting anonymity. The above guidelines are mostly issues of journalism ethics. The fifth guideline provided by Boeyink, directs editors to consider the potential harm that might occur when making decision to use anonymous source. He states that:

The greater the balance of potential social benefit over harm, the stronger the justification for using anonymous source; the greater the balance of harm over benefit, the more questionable the use of anonymity. (Boeyink, 1990:241)

This argument insists that reporters and editors have to balance the importance and necessity of any story drawing on an anonymous source against the risk of harm to all parties involved. In making the decision, truth and public interest should be taken into account, as Kovach and Rosenstiels posits that “journalists must be committed to truth as a first principle and must be loyal to citizens above all so that they are free to pursue it” (2007:110). Insisting on this argument, Duffy and Freeman add that “use of anonymous sources is more ethically justifiable when the unnamed source is an innocent, wronged party taking personal risks to make an injustice publicly known” (2011:310).

In relation to the above argument, the use of anonymous sources in journalistic work is also justifiable if once named, the source’s life, health or job will be in jeopardy (Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1987; Boeyink, 1990; Davis, Ross and Gates, 1996; Kovach and Rosenstiels, 2007; Duffy and Freeman, 2011). In his argument about this practice, Wilkins posits that journalists

can grant anonymity if “they are preventing either physical or emotional harm to a source; protecting the privacy of the source, particularly children and crime victims” (1997:120).

Journalists debate among themselves about the right to promise anonymity to a source, and the number of editorial staff members who should know the identity of the source. The question is who should have the right to grant anonymity; a reporter or an editor? Several journalism scholars (Wulfemeyer, 1983; Thakutra, 2009; Duffy and Freeman, 2011; and Goodwin, 1983) agree with Boeyink’s first guideline that editors should be the ones to promise and authorize anonymity. He emphasizes that “[H]aving an editor know the identity of the source minimizes the risk of both inaccuracy and harm, whether the cause is deception by a reporter, manipulation by a source, or simple inexperience” (Boeyink, 1990:237).

Despite being allowed to quote unnamed sources in very specific circumstances, journalists are required to provide full description of a source (while preserving anonymity) with an explanation for why the source is unnamed in a news story. Such description of unnamed sources in a news story is important as “the audience can better assess their motivations and credentials” (Duffy and Freeman, 2011:310). Apart from such description, explanations to justify anonymity must be given as it “gives the audience critical information on which to judge the story” (Boeyink, 1990:240).

The last aspect which has been discussed by several journalism scholars is the fact that granting anonymity should be done only as a last resort. In this case, reporters and editors are supposed to find different ways to let sources speak on-the-record. In this matter, Wulfemeyer (1983:47) posits that “confidentiality is granted as a last resort and the information obtained from unnamed sources must be verified” by other sources who are willing to be named. In addition to that, Boeyink elaborates that “acceptance of the criterion of last resort also means anonymous sources can be used in important stories when all other reasonable avenues fail” (1990:240).

Apart from the above justifications of granting anonymity, Duffy and Freeman (2011) suggest four scenarios in which the use of anonymous sources should be avoided. These scenarios include;

- Routine information from government agencies. Public officials should be held publicly accountable for their actions. Examples include proposals, deliberations, policy changes, and summaries of meetings between officials.
- Information about law enforcement investigations in which no charges have been filed.
- Routine business deals and new products (this does not preclude reporting on shady business deals or corruption; it is aimed at preventing use of journalism for promotional purposes).
- Early announcements of information scheduled to soon go public. (Duffy and Freeman, 2011:310-311)

Through these guidelines, journalists will be capable of reducing the possibility of abuse of anonymous sources, being used by government officials and businessmen for their own motives, while maintaining a newspaper's trust and credibility to readers.

2.3.2. Anonymous Source, Newspapers and Credibility Aspect

Different scholars have come up with different versions of what credibility is all about, as far as news production and journalism more generally are concerned. Black and Roberts (2011:401) associate the term credibility with believability of the message regardless of its truth or sender's morality. They elaborate that being credible depends on what people think about you or about the message, and not the reality of you or the message. So long as this argument does not consider the importance of truth, more explanations are needed so as to understand clearly what credibility means as far as journalism is concerned.

When defining credibility from a news perspective, Kioussis (2001) proposes separating two different domains; source credibility and medium credibility. Another domain –the news or message itself, has been ignored by many scholars on the ground that its perceived credibility depends on the source or the medium. For the purpose of this study, I shall discuss this later in this section.

Different scholars argue that source credibility involves trustworthiness and source expertise (Kioussis, 2001:383; Wathen and Burkell, 2002:135). Sternadori and Thorson define source

credibility as “attitude toward a source of communication, global evaluation of believability of a message source, or a combination of trustworthiness, expertise and goodwill” (2009:56). This definition combines several aspects from different scholars who did not provide them at once. It shows that credibility involves the way audiences judge and trust the communicator and the message communicated to them. Likewise, source credibility involves the degree of experience and expertise which the source has in the issue to be communicated or addressed. That means, the audience or the community, is among the most important aspects to be involved when discussing the meaning of credibility. I will return into this point later.

Kiousis (2001:382) argues that medium credibility focuses on the perception of the medium or channel in which content is delivered. In this respect, the credibility given by the community to the medium, can affect the credibility of the specific content delivered by the same medium. In this case, Westley and Severin (1964 as quoted by Kiousis (2001:384) caution that we must differentiate medium preference from medium credibility as it is not necessary that the most preferred medium is the most credible.

Meyer (1988:567); tries to simplify the meaning of credibility by providing two dimensions which carry the whole concept of credibility; believability and community affiliation. He argues that for the newspaper to be credible, it must create an environment to be believed and accepted by its community as a credible one. He elaborates that:

A newspaper can be believed but still be alienated if it advocates positions strongly opposed by a majority in its community or undertakes investigations or editorial positions that run counter to the perceived economic or social interests of the community. (Meyer: 1988:567)

This statement suggests that it is difficult for a medium or a source to be considered credible if there is no positive community affiliation. George (2007:899) adds that believability in journalism incorporates fairness, balance (lack of bias) and accuracy. In terms of community affiliation, he states that;

The community affiliation index incorporates readers’ perception of whether the newspaper watches out for their interests, is concerned about their community well-being, is patriotic, and is concerned mainly about the public interest. (George, 2007:900)

In this situation, a newspaper with a very strong community affiliation and low believability can be still regarded as credible due to the fact that, it is much affiliated to the community by serving their interests. This has been supported by Meyer who argues that “the public can disapprove of the way a newspaper covers a sensitive local story, but still believe what it says” (1988:568). This situation suggests that we need more than one measurement of medium credibility, although, this might be different when it comes to source credibility as different scholars come out with different factors of testing source credibility.

Self (1996) studied different ways in which several schools of thoughts understand source credibility. He then comes up with three ways in which source’s credibility can be assessed;

First, sources are credible because their message’s rightness is perceived by the audience. Second, sources are credible because they rightly read how to reveal themselves to particular audiences. And, third, sources are perceived to be credible because of audience characteristics”. (Self, 1996:423)

To reinforce this argument, Wathen and Burkell (2002:135) posit that “research on source credibility examines the impact of personal (or organizational) characteristics such as expertise or trustworthiness on the “believability” of the message that is delivered”. This shows that a credible source is the one who is trusted by the audience due to his/ her expertise in the topic, or due to his or her general characteristics as perceived by the same audience. A source, even if he or she is providing something worthy and true, can be considered less credible just because of the audience’s negative perception of his or her character. In the same observation, Sternadori and Thorson (2009) present the importance of neutrality and knowledge about an issue to be addressed by the source. They argue that;

Sources who have a vested interest in what they are trying to promote are viewed as less credible than are sources judged to be independent observers, and sources judged to have low expertise on a topic are also judged as less credible than are sources with high expertise. (Sternadori and Thorson, 2009:56)

The above scholars present a single measurement of source credibility in common; expertise. This suggests that knowledge about the topic addressed to the audience is very important in order to judge source’s credibility. In their study, Hovland and Weiss suggested two dimensions of

source credibility which include expertness and trustworthiness (Severin and Tankard, 1992:156). Similarly, McCroskey and Teven (1999) use three measurements of credibility; competence, goodwill and trustworthiness.

To summarize the above measurements from different scholars, Whitehead (1968) presents four dominant factors; trustworthiness, competence or professionalism, dynamism and objectivity. In trustworthiness, a source is supposed to have components such as honesty and trustworthiness just in order to be regarded as a highly credible source. In case of competence, a source is “expected to be professional and experienced, to have a professional manner, and to be authoritative” (Whitehead, 1968:60). This factor is similar to expertness suggested by other scholars such as Sternadori and Thorson, and, Hovland and Weiss. On the other hand, the dynamism factor needs the communicator to be aggressive and active when communicating, while the last factor –objectivity– suggests that the highly credible source is “open-minded, objective and impartial” ((Whitehead, 1968:61).

Some scholars disagree among themselves whether media preference and commercial success have something to do with credibility. Some of them believe that media organizations which are preferred by the audience can be considered credible as well as media with business success. Meyer and Zhang (2002:3) believe that “credibility has something to do with business success” due to the fact that the newspaper’s credibility may influence the readers’ decision to buy. They also argue that a credible newspaper must produce information which is of high quality, reliable and has built public trust. And from that argument, “the resulting higher quality justifies more public trust attributed to the newspaper, and not only larger readership and circulation, but influence with which advertisers will want their names associated” (Meyer and Zhang, 2002:3). This argument is also supported by George (2007:899) who argues that “credibility is closely related to commercial success”. He acknowledges that when press credibility is in crisis, adverts and circulation will also be in crisis as there is a mutual dependence among them.

Likewise, Gaziano and McGrath (1986) posit that credibility determines the media preference of the audience. They argue further that a highly credible medium will be preferred by the audience in relation to the low credibility medium. However, this argument is highly criticized by Westley and Severin (1964 as quoted in Kiouisis, 2001:384) as they believe that media preference and media credibility must be distinguished. They argue that “people did not always feel their most

preferred medium was the most credible” (Kiouisis, 2001:384). Despite such controversy among scholars, the fact is that there is a close relationship between media credibility and media preference from the audience.

News, as the end product from a source and channeled through medium to the audience, will be judged as credible according to the whole process involved in its production and presentation. By definition, news credibility according to Sternadori and Thorson (2009:56), refers to “the public perception of news quality, which may or may not match journalistic perceptions of news quality”. With this definition, audiences judge news credibility according to their own criteria and satisfactions. The news production process, the source’s character and the medium, can all be used by the audience to measure the news credibility due to their satisfaction.

As I explained in previous sections of this chapter, there is a mutual dependence between journalists and sources. Carlson and Franklin (2011:3) believe that “journalists seek out sources that are both available and suitable, which serves to reinforce patterned sourcing practice”. The main thing that journalists seek from sources is to get information which is true and factual which will not undermine the media outlet in eyes of the audience. On the other hand, audiences tend to create trust in some news sources regardless of the facts presented. Coincidentally, audiences find elite sources more credible while journalists also tend to use elites as ‘primary definers’ and find them more credible and authoritative speakers (Hall et al, 1978; Carlson and Franklin, 2011). In selecting news sources, journalists favour credibility as a dominant factor with an intention to get a positive response from the audience, who will perceive these sources as reputable truth tellers (Powers and Fico, 1994; Manning, 2001; Reich, 2011). On the other hand, apart from favouring elites as sources, most journalists give regular coverage to upper class sources while ignoring lower class cadre (Reich, 2011:21).

In news production, journalists tend to be reluctant to question and less strict over facts from elites or upper class sources. Strictness, according to Reich, (2011:21), refers to “a set of journalistic practices, including cross checking, relying on additional sources (not necessarily for corroboration of previous information) and less anonymity in an attempt to delegate some responsibility to attributed sources”. According to Reich, when journalists use many anonymous sources, they become less strict in searching for additional sources and facts. It is through this circumstance that the issue of anonymous sources’ credibility arises.

Some journalism scholars approve the use of anonymous sources while others criticize on the ground that “without providing the identity of a source, readers do not know the motives behind the statements” (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007:57). When readers become suspicious of the practice, it means they doubt even in the credibility of the news, source(s) (in this case anonymous source), and, sometimes, the medium.

It is not only newspaper readers who seem to be unhappy with the practice because, as Martin-Kratzer and Thorson posit, “some news editors fear that using anonymous sources will harm newspapers’ credibility” (2007:57). Smith (2007:9) acknowledges that “editors opposed to anonymous sources argue that their use undermines the credibility of the news”. Generally, some editors are not happy with this practice and their worry is all about newspapers’ credibility being put in jeopardy if the trend keeps on increasing. Research shows that some news editors are ready to be scooped by their fellows because they are not ready to rely on information from anonymous sources (Smith, 2007).

Editors’ worries about the use of anonymous sources are also based on the fact that “the use of unnamed sources makes the reporter and the newspaper suspect, opens the door to sources lying or attempting a maneuver and puts reporters at risk of lawsuits if they break anonymity promises” (Sternadori and Thorson, 2009:55). This warning suggests what Raman implies when he says that “many editors believe that anonymous sources are the hallmark of a lazy reporter” (2010:96). Sources can take advantage of reporter’s laziness to lie and demand anonymity, and a newspaper’s credibility will be damaged. Publishing something wrong from anonymous source will not only harm newspaper’s credibility, but will also be an embarrassment to the editors of that paper.

Editors are also worried that after promising anonymity to a source, it is difficult to break the promise even if the source lied. The case of *Cohen vs. Cowles Media* is a good example which shows how the media house was forced by the court to pay damages when the editors broke the anonymity promise made to a source (Davis, Rose and Gates, 1996; Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997)). Despite the fact that the source manipulated the reporter so as to take advantage of readers, the promise made by journalists to grant anonymity must be fulfilled. In this situation, editors prefer to ban the use of anonymous sources rather than creating the room for the newspaper to be used and to put its credibility at risk.

On the other hand, reporters themselves can take advantage of anonymity to fabricate stories. This is possible in a situation in which news editors are not forced by internal newsroom policies to know the identity of a source before approving anonymity. The most popular case in which a reporter fabricated a story and created ‘a non-existent anonymous source’ is the *Janet Cooke case* in 1981 in her Jimmy’s World story (Wulfemeyer, 1983; Boeyink, 1990; Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997; Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Smith, 2007; Davis, Ross and Gates, 2009; Sternadori and Thorson, 2009; Raman, 2010). A *Washington Post* reporter (Janet Cooke) created a fictitious Jimmy –a child addicted to drugs– and granted ‘him’ anonymity. Janet scooped a Pulitzer Prize but later lost it after admitting her fabrications. Another incident of reporter’s abuse of unnamed sources happened in 2003 and 2004 when *New York Times* reporter Jayson Blair and *USA Today* reporter Jack Kelley were forced to resign, due to the similar allegations that they “fictionalized accounts accredited to unnamed sources” in their stories (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007:57). In regard to this trend, it is right for editors to become worried over the use of anonymous sources unless they know personally the identity of sources granted anonymity.

Several journalism scholars show their concern that the use of anonymous sources is likely to damage the credibility of the newspaper. Awad (2006:993) indicates that “in journalism, real names are real people and hiding those names is a cause for suspicion”. Wulfemeyer and McFadden (1986:469) add that “granting confidentiality to a news source can erode public confidence concerning the accuracy of news reports and the ethics of reporters”. Once readers become suspicious of a news story quoting unnamed source, the newspaper will also come under suspicion over its credibility, and a newspapers’ business might be affected. And this makes editors worried that granting anonymity will harm their newspapers’ credibility.

Apart from the above mentioned cases (*Cohen vs. Cowles Media* and *Janet Cooke’s case*) which brought suspicions over the use of anonymous sources, there are circumstances in which anonymous sources are accepted with no doubt and bring positive changes to the community. A vivid example here is the Watergate Scandal which forced US President Richard Nixon to step down from power in 1974 (Thakurta, 2009:187). In this scandal, two *Washington Post* journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein received information from their confidential source and their stories not only had a huge impact in the USA, but also contributed to the importance of the use

of anonymous sources. Citing this case in his research, Esposito (1999:16) argues that “what really matters is not whether the source is named or unnamed, but whether the information gathered is factual”. An anonymous source is not supposed to be ignored just because the identity is hidden, what is important is to make sure that facts provided by the source are true and accurate. In the same situation, Wulfemeyer and McFadden argue that;

Certainly, whenever a source is named, it is easier for viewers to judge credibility, but it does not guarantee that the information is true. By the same token, just because information has been obtained from a source who wants to remain anonymous, it does not mean such information is false. (1986:473)

Several journalism scholars debate on the issue of believing facts from unnamed sources and the way such sources can affect the credibility of the newspaper. Some of these scholars do not agree that anonymity damages the newspaper’s credibility. The notion that anonymous sources harm newspaper’s credibility ignores the fact that readers are active and can make their own judgment accordingly. There are circumstances in which newspaper readers approve of the use of anonymous sources with no doubt. By referring to other studies, Wulfemeyer and McFadden posit that newspaper readers do not care about the use of anonymous sources as they “seem to recognize the “cloaking” of sources and indicate that the practice is justified in some cases” (1986:469). Despite having a negative perception of this trend, Sternadori and Thorson believe that;

In the wake of Watergate, readers appeared positive about anonymous sources. Some viewed anonymous sources as more knowledgeable and credible, and unnamed attribution seemed to make a story more interesting or even more accurate. (2009:57)

Generally, the Watergate Scandal shows how readers are active and can judge the credibility of the newspaper despite quoting anonymous sources. This is quite different from editors’ views presented by other scholars that anonymous sources always harm the credibility of news stories and newspapers.

In his study on the effect of using anonymous sources in the American press, Smith (2007:17) found that there are several researches which suggest that “anonymous sources or stories with no mention of sources may be more believable than stories that name the sources of information”.

The argument is also supported by Davis, Ross and Gates who posit that “readers understand the role of anonymous sources in investigative journalism and accept the practice of confidential source usage” (1996:91). For that matter, news editors do not need to be worried about the use of anonymous sources if they are sure of facts provided and believe that sources are honestly considered as whistle-blowers.

In his research, Smith finds that “the only version of the stories to provoke a decline in credibility was the one in which the anonymous sources mounted personal attacks” (2007:17). In this case, a source who has been granted anonymity, takes advantage of being unnamed in print to attack another person. Such stories harm credibility as the intention of the source seems to be more personal than having a public interest.

Studies also suggest that the ‘referent’ used to identify anonymous source can play a role as far as credibility is concerned. Riffe (1980:618) argues that “unnamed sources containing references to government institutions possessed the greatest perceived credibility”. On the other hand, “sources lacking a concrete referent remained less acceptable sources of information than did sources having some referent to a person, document or institution” (Riffe, 1980:621). To link a source with a government office or institution makes the information highly acceptable to the readers. Some of the common words used to describe anonymous sources affiliated to government offices include ‘officials’, ‘authorities’, ‘leaders’, ‘diplomats’, etc. On the other hand, institutional referents could be “experts”, ‘insiders’, ‘staffers’, ‘analysts’, ‘politicians’, etc. In order to make the news more credible, reporters and editors prefer the use of ‘high status’ sources rather than ‘neutral’ sources (Wulfemeyer, 1985:85).

Sometimes, journalists quote sources with no referents. Some of the terms used include ‘learned on high authority’, ‘it was learned’, ‘trustworthy indications’, etc. In his study, Riffle concludes that sources with no referent and politicians are rated with the lower credibility in relation to other types of sources (1980:622).

To conclude this section, it has been learned that quoting anonymous source might not bring any problem if the information provided has been verified. Wulfemeyer insists that:

When a source is named it makes it easier for readers to judge the accuracy and fairness of information, but if reporters and editors diligently verify all the information obtained

from confidential sources and refuse to print unverified information, readers would seem to be as well served (1985:86)

This practice of quoting anonymous sources can't be banned completely especially in controversial and investigative stories. Again, Wulfemeyer believes that readers "perceive a controversial story to be more accurate and fair when no source or unnamed source is quoted than when a named source or two opposing named sources are quoted" (1985:82). The use of anonymous sources is here to stay. The best way to live with it is to find the way journalists will have ethical guidelines before taking decision to grant anonymity to their sources.

Arguing from an African perspective, Sole warns that the overuse of anonymous sources can be addictive for journalists and, therefore, it must be handled with care (2006:35). His argument is also supported by another African scholar, Kupe, who says that the routine use of anonymous source undermines the journalism professional, creates suspicions in the readers, erodes the trust that public has in the media, and creates the danger and possibilities of media being used by personalities instead of considering public interest (2006:10). On the other hand, Louw, (2006:17) views the use of unnamed sources as a "crucial element that enables the news media to carry out its watchdog role". Henceforth, journalism scholars come out with different views and suggestions on the importance of imposing policies to guide the use of anonymous sources.

2.3.3. Revisiting the Use of Anonymous Sources: The Need for Newsroom Policies

Editors believe that if they ban completely the use of anonymous sources in their newspapers, they are likely to miss stories that are important. Some Western media have tried to ban the practice but they ended up lifting the ban after very few days. The *Washington Post* is an example of media house which tried to ban the use of unnamed sources as far back as the 1970s, but after being scooped on major stories, it ended up lifting the ban and continued depending on anonymous sources in some of its stories (Sternadori and Thorson, 2009).

Taking this situation into consideration, some journalism scholars suggest that in order to limit the abuse of this practice, newsrooms must have formal policies to guide journalists and editors when granting anonymity to their sources (Wulfemeyer, 1983; Boeyink, 1990; Davis, Ross and

Gates, 1996; Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Duffy and Freeman, 2011). These scholars believe that due to the presence of formal and written policies guiding the use of anonymity, reporters and their editors will be careful to avoid abuse of the practice in newsrooms.

Some journalism scholars suggest that the overuse of anonymous sources is dangerous for newspaper's credibility and journalistic work at large. To avoid the overuse and abuse of the practice, specific criteria must be set within a newsroom which all journalists must observe.

Wulfemeyer (1983), based on the lesson from the *Janet Cooke case* (Jimmy's World), suggests that there is a need for newsrooms or news organizations to establish formal and written policies concerning the use of anonymous sources so as to avoid abuse or misuse of these sources.

Likewise, Davis, Ross and Gates (1996) reveal in their study that reporters and newsrooms with written policies use unnamed sources less often than those without policies.

Among other issues, policies must describe who has the right to grant anonymity (either reporters or an editor). Also these policies should demand editors to know in advance not only the name, but also the identity of the source granted anonymity so as to avoid fabrication of stories from lazy reporters. Other issues that need to be well elaborated within a policy include the need for verification of information obtained from anonymous sources; using anonymous source only as a last resort or if the source's life or job will be in jeopardy or in major investigative reports; full description of a source (to be done carefully) and reasons for anonymity to be given in a news story; and finally, to avoid being used by sources in personal attacks (Davis, Ross and Gates, 1996; Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997).

The presence of newsroom policies and guidelines on this practice will be helpful to minimize the abuse of anonymous sources as well as to prevent the newspaper's credibility. In some circumstances, these policies can bring confrontation between journalistic matters and legal issues within the media organization. Davis, Ross and Gates note that:

Newsroom executives and media attorneys typically are split over the benefits of written newsroom standards: many editors favor specific policies governing confidential source usage, while many media attorneys favor pre-publication review, fearing that the existence of documented policies can later be used against the newspaper in court.

(1996:90)

For the betterment of the profession, formal policies are better options to minimize the harm of newspaper credibility. News organizations have something to do with this issue and can never be ignored completely. In Tanzania, media houses don't have the tradition of having such kind of specific in-house policies to guide the professionalism. One of the reasons behind the absence of such policies within newsrooms is the political environment within the country.

2.4. Investigative Journalism in Liberal Democracies and Authoritarian States

The issue concerning the political and economic environment of a certain country has an impact on the journalistic work within the country. The political environment determines the type of media ownership and the way journalists work within such political system. Several governments in the world have tried to control the way media operates through imposing a number of restrictions especially in the freedom of the press while investigative journalism was attacked by politicians and people in power (Franklin, 1994:4). Today's journalism in different countries operates in authoritarian regime, in a liberal democratic society or in neither of the two. By simple definitions, authoritarianism is the political system whereby political criticism is prohibited and the government is in control of almost every important apparatus to sustain status quo (Tong, 2011). In contrast, a liberal democratic political system allows criticism and there is a low degree of political control of the media (McNair, 1998).

These two political systems treat media differently. Starting with authoritarian regime, McNair posits that;

Authoritarian regimes of whatever kind insist on journalistic deference and conformity to the official line on events, believing – as Lenin put it when he said that ‘words were more dangerous than bombs and bullets’ – that criticism may lead to political unrest and collapse of the regime. (1998:86)

In this situation, media operate with a high level of restrictions from the state in which some kind of stories are completely prohibited. In some scenarios, most mainstream media in authoritarian states are owned by the state, politicians or people with a close relationship with the government

of the day. Controversial news sources who criticise the government are likely to be excluded from most of these newsrooms.

In terms of a liberal democratic political system, there is a diversity of media ownership with low control and restrictions from the government. In this system, as McNair puts it, “critical and pluralist journalism is viewed as a safeguard against the possibility of a return to authoritarian rule and as a watchdog over the abuse of political power by those to whom it is entrusted by the people in election” (1998:84). There is less restriction on sources’ and journalists’ freedom to criticise the government and its entities with no fear or favour.

Despite having these two political systems, most countries fall in the middle of these regimes; that means, they are neither fully liberal democratic societies nor fully authoritarian societies (McNair, 1998:88). Tanzania, the country in this research, is also in transition from an authoritarian regime to a liberal democratic state. In this situation, the media operates with half freedom and half government controls and restrictions.

Tong (2011) relates the way investigative journalism is practised in authoritarian countries and Western democratic countries. He argues that it is difficult to practise investigative journalism in authoritarian regimes due to state interference and control over the media. Some of these difficulties include states interference in what should and should not be aired, prosecution of investigative journalists, propaganda from government entities and bans imposed by the state on journalists and their media outlets. In contrast, in most Western liberal democratic countries, investigative journalism is successfully practised and regarded as “the cornerstone of democracy” (Tong, 2011:5). In Tanzania, the presence of Newspaper Act of 1976 and National Security Act is a vivid example of the way the government impedes the freedom of the press.

There is a close relationship between investigative journalism and the use of anonymous sources especially in exposing scandals and faults within governments, institutions or individuals. This form of journalism is important so as to make the government and its entities accountable to the society at large. Among other things, as Tong argues, “investigative journalism should reveal new information, expose what is being covered up, accuse bad guys and organisations, raise concern over new/hidden problems, trigger changes and make society better” (2011:11).

In order to practise this journalistic work effectively, the media must operate in a political environment which allows criticism and free opinions. It is difficult for an authoritarian country to be willing to allow this kind of journalism. That's why McNair (1998) believes that investigative journalism is more common in liberal democratic countries than in authoritarian countries due to the differences in political cultures.

Most scholars make their arguments from a Western perspective. Kupe, speaking about journalism in the African context, says that “the use of anonymous sources is the symptom of a larger problem in a society, not created by journalists and the media, of low levels of freedom of expression and democratic space” (2006: 9). His argument is supportive of the fact that, investigative journalism should be practised in countries with elements of authoritarianism as there is low freedom of expression, no transparency and only papers are accountable to the public. It is within countries with low levels of freedom of expression that sources are more afraid of opening up to the media. He insists that “the use of anonymous sources in a context of low freedom of expression or lack of effective protective legislation can, therefore, be justified on the grounds that it contributes to accountability and promotes transparency” (Kupe, 2006:10).

As described earlier, Tanzania is a country with low freedom of expression and of the press. Most of media owners are politicians or business tycoons who operate their media houses with personal agendas. Few media houses decided to stick to professionalism and engage in investigative reporting while using many unnamed sources. The use of anonymous sources is important in exposing wrong-doings and evils within the society, and makes it possible for the profession of journalism to play its role as a watchdog.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter reviews a range of literature on the sociology of news production especially sourcing theories. It reviews the aspect of credibility as far as the use of anonymous sources is concerned and views from different journalism scholars on the need for policy's introduction in newsrooms over the practice of using unnamed sources. It also reviews the way political and social environment can influence the journalistic work within a certain country. The next chapter reviews methods and methodologies employed in this research.

Chapter Three

Research Methods and Methodology

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses methods employed for collecting data. Methods to be discussed in this chapter are combined for the purpose of providing deeper understanding of the problem at hand and ways to be used to solve such problems. Generally, the chapter outlines the way this study has been conducted and tools of data collection and analyses that have been employed.

3.1. Research Design

In order for research to be successful, it must be well planned. The researcher must clearly explain what the research is going to do as well as what are the best ways to do it (Babbie and Mutton, 2001:72). Research methods and research design are sometimes regarded as one. In this study, the former refers to techniques to be employed in collecting data, while the later refers to plans, guidelines or framework of how the research will be done so as to meet the objectives of this research.

Research can be done under different approaches. Many scholars agree on three approaches by which research can be conducted; exploratory, descriptive and explanatory approaches (Babbie and Mutton, 2001; Kothari, 2004; Adam and Kamuzora, 2008). Exploratory research aims at “formulating a problem for more precise investigation or of developing the working hypotheses from an operational point of view” (Kothari, 2004:35). In exploratory research, a researcher tries to familiarize himself/ herself with the topic or the study before formulating the problem to be investigated. This considers the fact that the research problem might be not well understood so that it needs deep investigation. Such investigation on the problem can be done through reviewing literatures on the topic at hand as well as doing an experience survey which will be helpful in understanding the problem more precisely and formulating hypotheses (Kothari, 2004:36).

The second type of research is known as descriptive. This refers to “studies which are concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular individual, or of a group whereas diagnostic research studies determine the frequency with which something occurs or its association with something else” (Kothari, 2004:37). In contrast with exploratory research, problems in descriptive approach are structured and understood when collecting information about people’s opinions, habits as well as attitudes and social issues (Kombo and Tromp, 2006:71). According to Babbie and Mutton, descriptive research places an emphasis on “frequency with which a specific characteristics or variable occurs in a sample” (2001:81).

The last type of research is explanatory (or experimental study) which is confronted with causes and effects. It explores the assumptions whether the effect of one variable is a result of changes of another variable. Kothari puts it that explanatory study “require procedures that will not only reduce bias and increase reliability, but will permit drawing inferences about causality” (2004:39). In other words, this type of study focuses on determining relationship among variables in terms of cause –effects, and then, making inferences.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher draws on a descriptive approach in order to answer the research questions at hand. The study is descriptive due to the fact that it is concerned with determining readers’ behaviour and attitudes on the aspect of credibility when they meet news stories quoting anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema*. The study also places an emphasis on the frequency of appearance of anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* for the period of one year and frequency is among the features of descriptive research.

In terms of time dimension, the study can be either longitudinal or cross –sectional. Longitudinal studies involve “the collection of data at different points in time” while in cross –sectional studies, “data are collected from a representative sample at only one point in time” (Wimmer and Dominick, 206:212). One of advantages of longitudinal studies is the fact that a researcher may study changes and development over time especially in explanatory research. As Babbie and Mutton (2001: 92) suggest, “exploratory and descriptive studies are often cross –sectional” as collection of data is done at one point in time. That means this study is not only descriptive as it focuses on describing the characteristics of variables under investigation, but also cross –sectional as data collection has been done only at one point in time. Shaughnessy,

Zechmeister and Zechmeister concur with the fact that cross –sectional study is “ideally suited for the descriptive goal” of the research (2003:141).

3.1.1. Case Study Approach

This research employs case study design as it tries to describe and analyse specific units in detail, in context and holistically so as to have a better understanding (Kombo and Tromp, 2006:72). The research questions in this study require a design which will provide deeper insights and allow detailed analysis. The case study design provides “a rich source of information about individuals and insights into possible causes of people’s behaviour” (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:293). In this study, in-depth information is needed so as to understand factors behind readers’ attitudes and understandings. On the other hand, in-depth information is needed when investigating factors behind the use of anonymous sources during news production. A case study design is significant to this research because, as Creswell suggests, it is “a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals” (2009:13). The process of sense making and news production has been deeply explored through a case study design. This case study approach can also be categorized as “idiographic study” due to the fact that it is concerned with understanding a particular and specific event or case within its own context (Babbie and Mutton, 2001:272; Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:31).

In this study, I chose *Raia Mwema* newspaper as my case study. The purpose is to examine why *Raia Mwema* continues to be read and used in the Tanzanian context and to enjoy a high reputation among its readers despite its ‘risky’ use of anonymous sources. Hence, the study seeks to understand readers’ behavior as well as journalists’ understanding of the use of anonymous sources. The case study approach is appropriate to be applied in this context as it helps a researcher “to obtain a real and enlightened record of personal experiences which would reveal man’s inner strivings, tensions and motivations that drive him to action along with the forces that direct him to adopt a certain pattern of behaviour” (Kothari, 2004:115).

3.1.2 Audience/Reception Analysis

Part of this study analyses the way audience members receive media text as well as the way they interpret and make sense of it. In other words, this is the review of what audiences do with media texts and how readers find sources and media credible according to their own position.

Reception theory, or Audience research, according to Livingstone, deals with the “interpretative relation between audience and medium” (1998:239). Holub (2003: xii) defines Reception theory as a “general shift in concern from the author and the work to the text and the reader”. In Reception studies, the emphasis is all on the interpretation of the readers of the media messages. Despite the fact that media texts contain their own meanings from producers, readers are not so passive that they receive and interpret the message just the way the producer expected. As Holub (2003) suggests, reception theory combines two contextual aspects; media text on the one hand and subjectivity of the reader on the other. It is argued that reception analysis tries to reveal the way an audience (in this context, newspaper readers) interprets and makes sense of media messages according to their social and historical context (Fiske, 1987:82).

The concept of Reception analysis goes hand in hand with production of meaning. It suggests that audiences are not only consumers of meaning from media messages, but are also producers of meaning. The new production of meaning is done by audiences after receiving and interpreting media text produced by journalists or other media producers. Such interpretation, as Fiske suggests, is done according to audience’s social and historical context. McQuail elaborates further that “media messages are always open and ‘polysemic’ (having multiple meanings) and are interpreted according to the context and the culture of the receiver” (2005:73).

Reception theorists suggest that “different constituted audiences will work with different textual meaning” (Barker, 2000:269). This means there are different ways in which an audience receives and interprets, constructs and gives meaning to a media message. In other words, construction of new meaning differs from one culture to another. In order to understand the way an audience makes sense of media messages, we have to study and understand the audience itself. As Manning (2001:207) argues, any effect of the media on the audience depends much on the social environment.

Audiences are hypothesized to be active when working with media text which, as reception theorists posit, is produced with the potential for multiple meanings. As Barker puts it, audiences must be considered as “active and knowledgeable producers of meaning not products of a structured text” (2000:269). When decoding, audiences do not take meanings from producers as they are, instead, they interpret and produce new meanings which may or may not be the same as the original one. Hall (1980:136) presents three possible decoding positions. The first decoding position is the ‘dominant–hegemonic’ whereby readers or audiences react positively to the sender’s meaning in a message. The second position refers to a ‘negotiated code’ which allows audiences to negotiate with encoded meaning and judge according to their own ways of thinking. The last one is known as “an oppositional code where people understand the preferred meaning but reject it and decode in contrary ways” (Barker, 2000:271).

In these three decoding positions, as Hall (1980) suggests, it is obvious that there is no guarantee that readers will accept the meaning as produced by journalists in a news story. The same story will be perceived in a different way by different readers. As audience analysis aims to study the relations that exist between textual structures and audiences’ understandings of those texts, it is also important to note, with regard to this study, that readers will consider differently the credibility of news stories as well as news sources. In news stories quoting anonymous sources, the perception of audiences and interpretations of the credibility of the story or medium will be different because “audiences are never passive, nor are all their members equal, since some will be more experienced or more active fans than others” (McQuail, 2005:404).

In his views on audience’s attitudes, McQuail argues that “audiences are sensitive to the quality of media” (McQuail, 2005:441). From such qualities –objectivity, impartiality and fairness – an audience interprets and makes sense of news stories and judges its credibility. This is also applicable in terms of news sources. In terms of the use of anonymous sources, several studies have been done and reveal that, in most cases, “readers understand the role of anonymous sources in investigative journalism and accept the practice of confidential sources” (Davis, Ross and Gates, 1986:91). Despite accepting the practice, readers might rate differently the credibility of such sources. Nevertheless, in his study on the impact of unnamed sources, Smith (2007:13) finds

that most respondents who read newspapers frequently rated the credibility of named and unnamed sources equally.

McQuail (2005:412) presents other important forms of audiences which might be crucial in this study. He points out that there are audiences in terms of “followers” who will keep on reading a certain newspaper simply because they are fans or followers of that particular newspaper or particular genres in that paper. The other type involves audiences who are fans of specific practitioners such as journalists, editors or even owners. This can also influence judgments of a newspaper’s credibility or sources.

3.2. Research Methods

Any kind of research is likely to employ one of three approaches; quantitative, qualitative or mixed approach. The decision to make use of one of these three approaches depends on the research question and/or problem, and what the researcher expects to achieve. For an example, if the researcher’s interest is to make generalization from the findings, a quantitative approach is the better choice. On the other hand, if the research is aimed at describing and understanding phenomena within an appropriate context, the best way to go is to use a qualitative approach (Babbie and Mutton, 2001:270). Mixed methodologies are basically used when the researcher needs to neutralize or cancel biases inherent in a single methodology, or just wants to connect and integrate data collected by both approaches.

In order to achieve the objective of this research and to answer my research questions, I have used both quantitative and qualitative methods. As a quantitative approach, I used content analysis for the purpose of establishing “the frequency with which certain kind of stories occur in the press” (Deacon, et al, 2007:117). As a qualitative approach, I used two techniques; focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews. Qualitative methods are strongly associated with the reception analysis which is among the areas studied in this research (Jensen, 1988:3). On the other hand, a qualitative approach is relevant to this research as it aims to study, explain and understand readers’ behaviour and understanding on the issue of credibility as far as the use of anonymous sources is concerned.

3.3. Content Analysis

In this research, I employed content analysis in order to determine the frequency of the use of anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* newspaper for the period of one year; January to December 2011. Content analysis is defined as an “approach to the analysis of documents and texts (which may be printed or visual) that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner” (Bryman, 2012:289). The method is useful in communication studies as it provide rich materials to show the frequency of appearance of certain contents in media. In this study, content analysis has been employed for the quantitative aspect as it “gives researchers additional statistical tools that can aid in interpretation and analysis” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006:151). According to Hansen, *et al*:

The purpose of the method is to identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance. (1998:95)

As elaborated earlier, content analysis in this research has been employed to determine the frequency of anonymous attribution in *Raia Mwema* newspaper. That means content analysis is here employed in a quantitative manner. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), two uses of content analysis seem to be useful in this study.

First, content analysis has been employed in order to describe communication content especially in the use of anonymous sources. It helped to identify the existence of the trend of using anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* for the period of one year. As Deacon, *et al*, elaborates, the aim has been to “quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation” (2007:119).

The second use of content analysis in this study is for the purpose of “establishing a starting point for studies of media effects” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006:153). The study aims to find out the way anonymous attribution is perceived by readers especially in relation to credibility. Before jumping to the analysis of news credibility, the researcher needed to be clear about the trend of using anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema*. Content analysis was the starting point for

the study on the effect of anonymous attribution on news credibility. In mass media research, as Wimmer and Dominick posit, “content analysis alone cannot serve as the basis for making statements about the effects of content on an audience” (2006:153). This method has been taken into account just as a preparation for other techniques of collecting data which are focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

3.3.1. Population

Bryman (2012:714) gives a direct definition of population as “the universe of units from which a sample is to be selected”. In any research, populations are defined according to research questions and what or who is being investigated (Deacon, et al, 2007:43; Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2005:145). A population can be an institution, text, people, product, or any other thing which is investigated in a certain piece of research. In other words, the population must “specify the boundaries of the body of content to be considered” in a specific research (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006:155). To obtain such specification of population in content analysis, two dimensions have been suggested by Wimmer and Dominick; the topic area and the time period (2006:156).

One of the qualities of a population is that it must be a real representative of an entire group in relation to the topic area. According to my research topic, and in relation to Wimmer and Dominick’s views, the population which has been taken into account in the content analysis is news stories which appeared on *Raia Mwema*’s front pages for the period of one year; January to December 2011. The decision to consider only front pages stories was taken so as to avoid difficulties and tedium that would have arisen if a large volume of content (say all news stories in a paper) had been taken into account. From such population, I counted the number of stories quoting unnamed sources in relation to all stories appearing in the front page of *Raia Mwema* newspapers in a year. This is in relation to the content analysis. Population and sample for interviews and focus group discussions will be elaborated later in this chapter.

3.3.2. Unit of Analysis

Wimmer and Dominick argue that a unit of analysis might be small elements selected such as a word, theme, character, act, program or a symbol to be counted (2006:158). In communication or media research, Bryman (2012) suggests four kinds of units of analysis frequently used. They include significant actors, words, dispositions, and, subjects and themes.

In this study, the main concern which I was looking for was news stories quoting anonymous sources. In this case, units of analysis taken into account include significant actors and words. In terms of significant actors, the focus was to find out the kind of sources quoted anonymously. This includes politicians, government officials, religious leaders, economists, experts, etc. In terms of words, the focus was to identify the kinds of words used to describe these sources such as ‘sources close to’, ‘a reliable source’, ‘a source who prefer anonymity’, and so on.

3.4. Interview Schedule and Designs

After doing the content analysis I moved on to interviewing. Before conducting in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions, I prepared interview question schedules so as to provide guidance during those activities of data collection. Such interview schedules reflected the basic objective of this research so as to get answers or responses useful for the analysis. Wimmer and Dominick insist that when formulating questions, we have to be sure that they accurately communicate what is required from respondents (2006:181).

I prepared three interview guides for focus group discussions and for in-depth individual interviews. The first interview guide was prepared to help during interviews or discussions with newspapers readers while the other one was prepared to guide the discussion and interviews with journalists (reporters and editors). I used informal and open-ended questions in order to give an opportunity for respondents to open -up and provide rich materials for analysis. This helped also in asking follow-up questions for more elaborations from respondents. A separate interview guide was prepared for journalists working in *Raia Mwema*. (See appendix for Interview guides)

3.5. Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is one of data collection techniques that have been suggested by several reception theorists to be employed in reception analysis and qualitative research as it provides rich materials for analysis (Jensen, 1988; McQuail, 2005; Lunt and Livingstone, 1996; Hansen, et al, 1998). In communication and media research, focus group discussion is considered as a “research strategy for understanding audience attitudes and behavior” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006:128). This technique provides the researcher with a lot of respondents’ opinions, understandings, beliefs and experiences, some of which might not have been expected.

In focus group discussions, a researcher brings together a certain number of participants with minimum of 5 and maximum of 10 in order to discuss an issue at hand with guidance from the moderator (Deacon, et al, 2007:57). In this case, the topic to be discussed was the use of anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* newspaper and its effect on credibility. This method of collecting data was chosen due to the fact that, it is “closely associated with the reception analysis paradigm” and it produces rich and detailed materials for interpretative analysis (Deacon, et al, 2007:57).

My focus groups composed of homogeneous members of the target population, which means, participants with similar educational level, age and profession in the same group. This process of grouping participants accordingly allowed them to contribute and share their experience without any inferiority complex. I conducted four focus group discussions. The first group brought together newspaper readers who work in different government entities. The second group comprised newspaper readers who work in different private entities. The third group brought together editors from different newspapers while the last group comprised senior reporters from different newspapers. The decision to have two groups of different respondents was based on the fact that, I would be able to see if there are different perceptions and feelings between readers who are civil servants and those who are working in private entities, as well as different views between veteran journalists and editors in relation to other senior journalists. In this case, the population was newspaper readers and journalists working in different media houses in Tanzania. The sample was selected purposively with snowball sampling technique in order to get particular participants for the study at hand who may produce rich materials for the analysis (Deacon, et al, 2007:55).

In order to ensure that I got a reasonable turn-out of participants, I decided to pay for lunch for all participants who attended discussions and I provided a transport allowance of about US\$ 15 to all journalists who attended. The issue of paying participants in focus group discussions has been advised by Hansen, et al, (1998:271) just for the purpose of making the discussion successful. Discussions with each group lasted for approximately 90 minutes depending on the willingness of participants. The focus groups were semi-structured and taped.

During discussions, I took the role of being a moderator so as to facilitate and stimulate the discussion. As a moderator, I found that it was my obligation to have some knowledge of the politics of news production and the newspaper business within the country. My responsibility was to make sure that respondents opened-up and gave responses according to the interview guide (see appendix). I did not follow the interview guide in a rigid way as, instead, I tried to be flexible while keeping in mind that all questions must be answered and follow-up questions are asked for more elaboration, if necessary. Generally, my task as a moderator was to ensure that “the discussion remains on the issue at hand, while eliciting a wide range of opinions on that issue” (Lunt and Livingstone, 1996:80).

3.6. In-depth Individual Interviews

Apart from focus group discussions, another technique of data collection employed in this study was individual in-depth interviews, a method which has also been recommended by Babbie and Mutton (2001:80). The selection of respondents for this part of research was done through snowball sampling in order to fulfil the specific target and objective of the research. Purposive sampling is relevant if the study is concerned with exploring the universe and understanding the audience (Kombo and Tromp, 2006:82-83) and, snowball sampling works so that “initial contacts suggest further people for the researcher to approach, who in turn may provide further contacts” (Deacon, et al, 1999:53). Some members of focus groups were chosen for individual interviews so as to provide more information and explanation in areas which seemed to need more elaborations. In other words, interviews were used to try to fill in gaps left after group discussions.

I used the same guideline used in focus group discussion during the individual face to face interviews. The aim here was to get the informants to open up while stimulating them to produce more information. One of advantages of individual in-depth interview is that, it allows “greater flexibility in asking questions” while the respondent can obtain clarification when questions are unclear (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:138). When discussing proper methods to be used in reception analysis, Jensen argues that the in-depth interview has frequently been employed to probe the audience’s experience of media (1988:4).

In order to give room for the respondents to open up, most questions were open-ended. Such kinds of questions are intended to “elicit views and opinions from the participants” (Creswell, 2009:181). In this situation, collected data was textual rather than numerical due to the fact that the aim is to acquire general understanding and not to allow coding or counting data collected.

I managed to conduct in-depth interview with a *Raia Mwema* shareholder and editor, *Raia Mwema*’s Chief Editor, a veteran journalist who is working for the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), two senior government officials and three Members of Parliament. I interviewed them in order to elicit their attitudes, views, experience and understandings of the use of anonymous sources and the effect of this on credibility.

3.7. Data Presentation and analysis

Raia Mwema is a weekly Swahili newspaper and all participants in focus group and interviews were Swahili speakers. This means that all interviews and discussions were conducted in Swahili. After collecting data, I translated all the interviews into English with an emphasis on maintaining the meaning without distortion. When reporting findings, I decided to present in a narrative form with frequent quotations from interviewees so as to let the data speak for itself. Empirical data have been collected during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions done with journalists and the readers (Babbie and Mutton, 2001:75).

3.8. Ethical considerations

In any kind of study, the researcher must give attention and consideration to the ethical issues. Such considerations may include rules and regulations that guide the research procedure and treatment of participants who, in this case, are human subjects. In other words, as Wimmer and Dominick sum up, the researcher must respect “the rights, values and decisions of other people” during the study (2006:69). Consideration of research ethics gives credibility and adds value to the research findings. Failure to consider such ethical guidelines will undermine the “entire scientific process, impedes the advancement of knowledge and erodes the public’s respect for scientific and academic communities” (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:46). Such kinds of values must be taken into account from the beginning of the study until the release of research report.

As this study deals with human subjects, the first ethical consideration to be taken into account is the “evaluation of the risks and benefits of a research project” (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:49). Such kind of evaluation will determine whether the research can be conducted (if benefits outweigh risks) or not be conducted (if risks outweigh benefits). I took this matter into consideration after being satisfied that this study was beneficial to both the researcher and participants.

During the study, I discovered that it was my responsibility to create and maintain good relationship, trust and respect with the population to be studied. Such trust and respect for the population (journalists and newspaper readers) is important so as to create good environment even for possible future research with the same population (Ali and Kelly, 2004:119-120).

Another ethical consideration to be taken into account in my study is privacy and confidentiality. In research, and in this context, privacy refers to “the rights of individuals to decide how information about them is to be communicated to others” (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:61). Dissemination of some information or individual’s behaviour can bring harm to participants. In order to avoid such risk, the researcher must be aware of the sensitivity of the information provided to him, the setting, and the way such information will be disseminated (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:60). It happened that on some occasions, *Raia Mwema* editor decided to disclose to me some names of their news sources

during interviews on condition that I kept those sources confidential, as well as information about these sources. These were the same sources granted anonymity in the newspaper. This was a bit challenging but I managed to fulfil the promise I made to them to keep those sources secret.

On the other hand, researchers should protect participants and make sure that information received from them will remain “anonymous, or if that is not possible, the confidentiality of their information should be maintained” (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister and Zechmeister, 2003:52). In my study, this has been taken into consideration so as to protect my respondents from any possible risk. I also asked my participants and interviewers if they were ready to be named during data presentation or not. For the sake of their security and confidentiality, I decided not to use their real names and I assured them that all information that they did not want be quoted would be left out of.

After collecting data, it is my responsibility to make sure that I provide accurate information during data analysis and interpretation, and avoiding falsification and concoction of findings for the purpose of meeting personal needs or interests.

Chapter Four

Research Findings and Discussions

4.0. Introduction

This chapter has been divided into two main parts. The first part is concerned with the presentation and discussion of data collected in the content analysis. The second part deals with data collected during the focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews. In this second part, the data will be presented and discussed according to the primary research questions. As mentioned in chapter three, qualitative data will be presented in a narrative form so as to let such data speak for themselves.

4.1. Content Analysis Findings

4.1.1. The appearance of news stories quoting anonymous sources

The study reviewed all copies of *Raia Mwema* printed for the period of one year; that is from January to December 2011. *Raia Mwema* is a weekly newspaper printed every Wednesday. That means, for the period of one year, at least 52 issues of *Raia Mwema* were supposed to be reviewed in the study.

I visited the *Raia Mwema* library and found 55 issues which were printed in 2011. There were three occasions on which the newspaper issued special editions. And that is why there are three more issues added to the normal 52 -weekly issues. These three special editions were the ‘Budget special edition’ which was printed on 9 June 2011, ‘Tourism and Wildlife special edition’ on 18 August 2011 and a special edition for 50 years of Independence which was printed on 9 December 2011.

The study takes into consideration only stories that appeared on the front pages. The decision to consider front page stories was taken on the ground that these are the most important stories and that is why editors decide to put them on the front pages. All stories which were highlighted on front pages, even if the full text was available inside the newspaper, were considered front-page stories.

In total, I found that *Raia Mwema* had 113 stories that appeared on front pages in the 55 issues. That is approximately two stories per issue except on a few days when three stories appeared on the front page. Among the 113 stories, the study revealed that 55 stories use anonymous sources, 50 stories use named sources, and eight stories did not draw on human sources. The last eight stories came from investigations done by *Raia Mwema* reporters with a special focus on documents from different institutions. In terms of percentages, stories with named sources occupied 44.2% in relation to 48.7% which quote anonymous sources. The final 7.1% comprises stories without any attribution.

The following figure summarizes the distribution of news stories with named sources, unnamed sources and stories with no attribution at all.

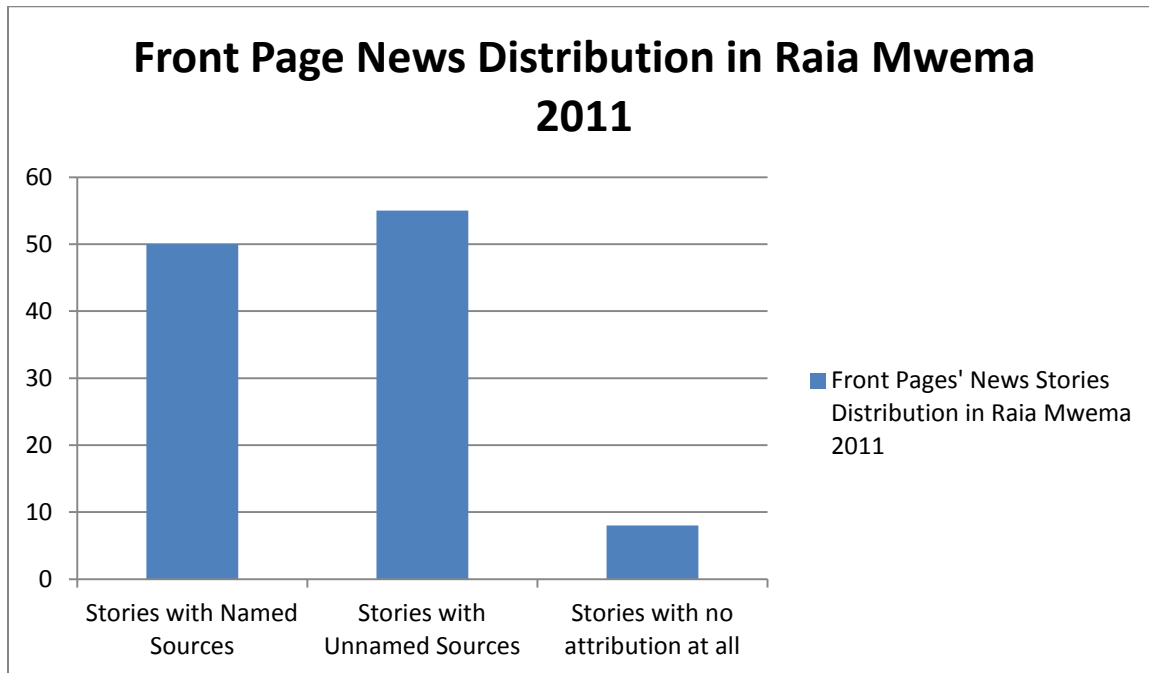


Figure 4.1. The number of stories from the front page news of *Raia Mwema* with different kind of sources and attribution 2011 (Source: Content analysis data).

The trend of using anonymous sources differs over time and depends on the type of the story concerned. The following figure demonstrates the number of stories with named source in relation to news stories with unnamed sources per month.

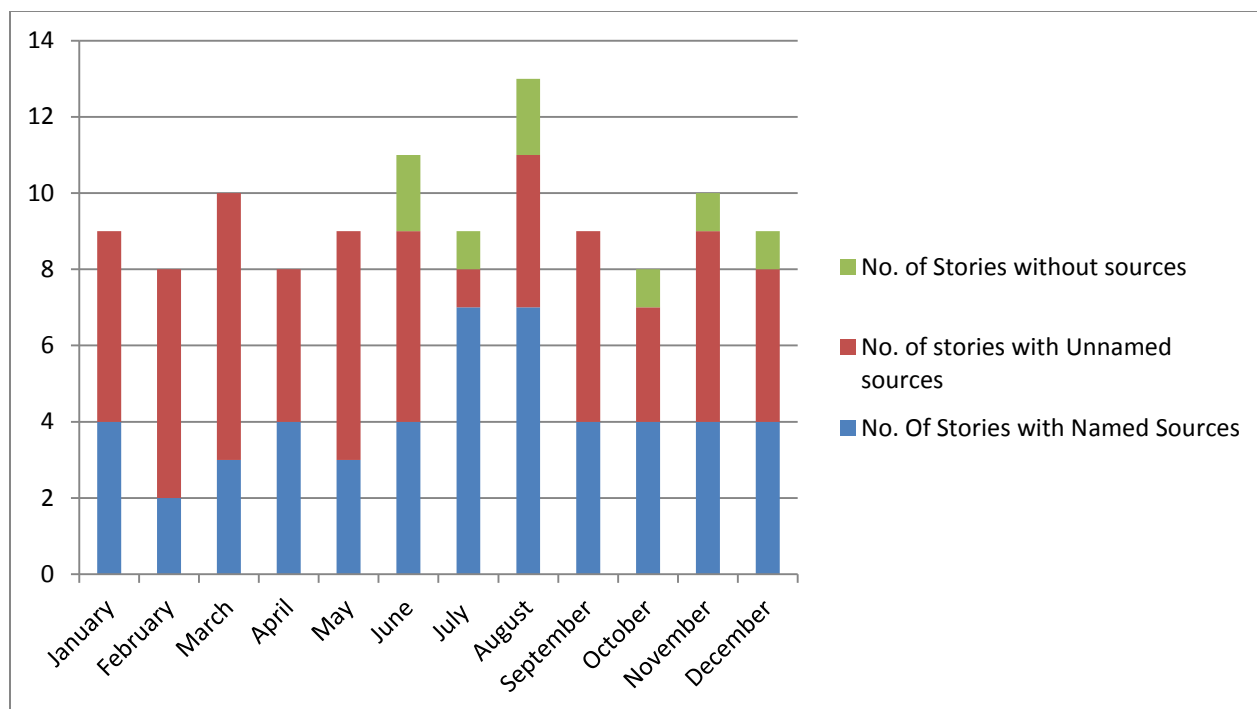


Figure 4.2. Number of stories with named sources in relation to stories with unnamed sources (Source: Content analysis data).

The above figure (figure 4:2) presents the number of stories with named sources, unnamed sources and stories without human sources. It was only in July, August and October when stories with named sources were more numerous than stories with unnamed sources. Stories with and without named sources were the same in numbers in April and December. In other seven months, stories with unnamed sources were more frequent than stories with named sources.

Apart from stories with named and unnamed sources, *Raia Mwema* carried other stories without any human source. This happened in June, July, August, October, November and December. In total, eight stories were written without human sources. These stories rely on documents (if any) or statements from certain institutions. In the edition of 1 June 2011, the story with a headline “Ministers in Hot Soup during Budget Session” was all about preview of the budget session which was about to start. In that preview story, neither named nor unnamed sources were quoted. The next issue (9 June 2011), the story “It is a relief budget” was *Raia Mwema*’s analysis of the budget speech tabled in parliament.

On 10 August 2011, *Raia Mwema* carried stories “Politicians behind CHADEMA, CCM violence” and “Dr Slaa, Mukama to solve Arusha dispute” in which no source (named or unnamed) was mentioned. These stories were based on investigations done by *Raia Mwema* reporters. Such stories (eight in total in 2011) were silent on the issue of where the facts presented came from.

After making such division of stories per month, I went further by looking at the number of named sources against unnamed sources used per month. I did this because there are some stories which contain named and unnamed sources simultaneously. The following table summarizes the number of different types of sources used per month.

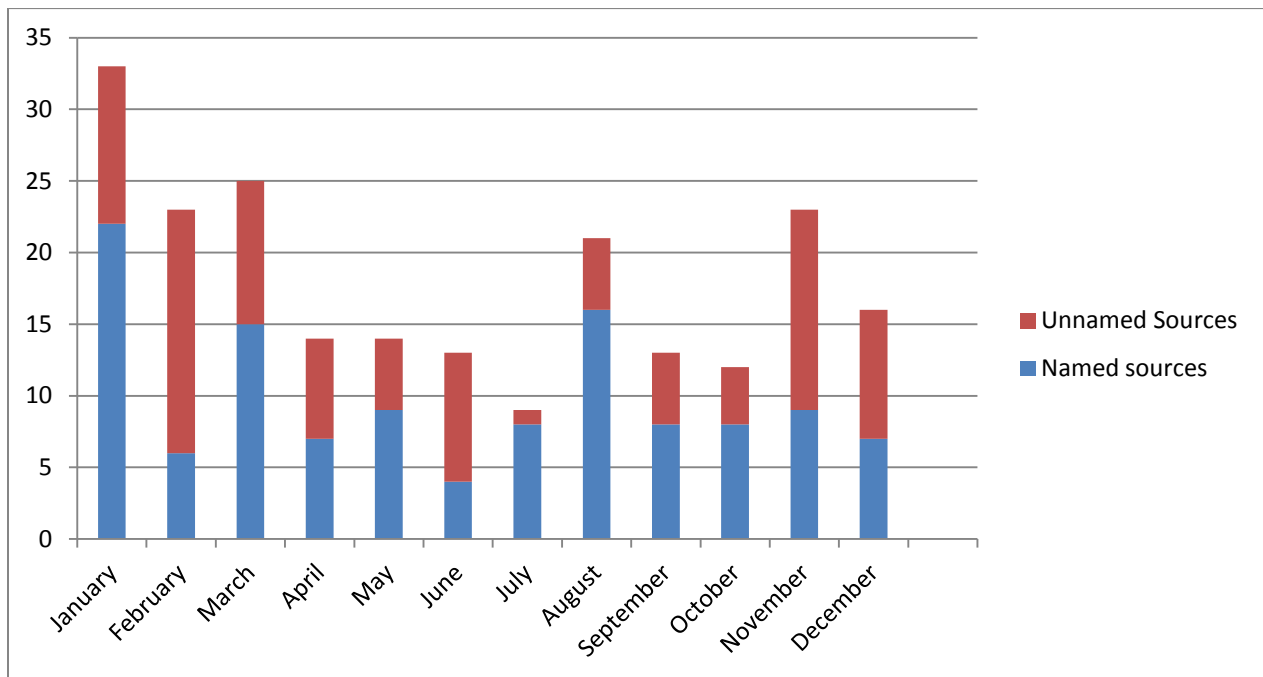


Figure 4.3. Total number of sources used in *Raia Mwema* Newspaper 2011. (Source: Content analysis data)

The above presentation shows that there are some months where anonymous sources were more frequently used in news stories than named sources, and vice versa. On the other hand, there are a few occasions where the numbers of named and unnamed sources were the same. For example, in January 2011, nearly 67% of sources used were named while only 33% were unnamed. There are four months where the use of unnamed sources exceeded named sources; these are February (73%), June (69%), November (60%) and December (56%). In April, the numbers of named and

unnamed sources used were equal (seven each). The study revealed that in July 2011, only one source was unnamed out of nine sources used by *Raia Mwema*.

4.1.2. Descriptions of Anonymous Sources Used by *Raia Mwema*

There are different words that can be used by newspapers to describe unnamed source in a news story. Such description is meaningful and important so as to see how the source is associated with the topic or facts presented in a news story. In other words, such description may be important in judging the credibility of the news story when the name of the source is not given.

Before presenting a description of sources most often used by *Raia Mwema*, I decided to go through all 55 stories with anonymous sources, so as to categorize them according to their topics or subject matter. The following table presents main story subject matter categories reported by *Raia Mwema* with anonymous attribution;

Table 4.1 Topics of stories quoting Anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* 2011

| Story Subject Matter | Total number of stories (N =55) | Percentage |
|------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Politics | 27 | 49 |
| Economics | 11 | 20 |
| Crime | 6 | 11 |
| Government | 8 | 15 |
| Others (Religious, health, social) | 3 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 55 | 100 |

The above table shows that politics dominates stories quoting anonymous sources for the year 2011 with 49% in relation to other stories. These are stories about political matters and most of them quote politicians or other sources speaking about politics. Economic reporting takes 20% while government reporting comes third with about 15%. Crime reporting amounts to 11% and other stories which quote anonymous sources (health, religious and other social matters) comprise 5%.

Anonymous sources quoted in stories can be described in a variety of ways. Some of the terms commonly used in the media include ‘researcher’, ‘analyst’, ‘observer’, ‘insider’, ‘authorities’, ‘specialist’, ‘staffers’, ‘diplomats’, ‘economist’, etc (Wulfemeyer and McFadden, 1986). Apart from these common descriptors, *Raia Mwema* referred to anonymous sources with some other descriptions such as ‘a source close to...’, ‘a reliable source from...’, ‘a source who preferred anonymity’, ‘one member from...’, ‘a conservative politician from...’, ‘our reliable informer’, ‘*Raia Mwema*’s source within...’, ‘*Raia Mwema*’s secret source’, ‘a source with high influence in...’ and ‘a source known to...’. These were commonly used and kept on changing from story to story according to the story topic and the way the facts reported had been gathered. On the other hand, this was the only way used by *Raia Mwema* to identify and describe its anonymous sources to the readers despite the ethical guideline that anonymous sources are supposed to be as fully identified as possible so as to give readers critical information by which to judge the story (Boeyink, 1990:240).

4.1.3. Anonymous Sources’ Affiliations/Referents

During my research, I decided to study in detail the anonymous sources’ affiliation due to the fact that, there is a relationship between credibility and sources’ affiliation or referent. This was very important so as to understand the expertise which the source had according to the subject matter of a story and if his or her expertise was relevant to the topic of a story. Apart from understanding the expertise of the source, this aspect is useful in judging the credibility of the source and the news story as different referents have different levels of credibility.

Raia Mwema tried to ensure that the source in a certain story has a direct relationship with the topic or subject matter, except on a few occasions. For example, the story ‘State House cancels MPs’ allowances’ (14 December 2011) was based on information from one ‘reliable source from State House’ and another ‘political analyst’. Seven direct quotes were attributed to ‘a reliable source from State House’ while two quotes were attributed to ‘a political analyst’. A political analyst quoted in this story is neither an MP nor a working staff in the State House. In addition, the reporter in this story used two named sources with five direct quotes in total.

There are stories in which *Raia Mwema* attributes quotes or information to several unnamed sources from a single institution. The story ‘President refuses to sign MPs’ allowance document’ (7 December 2011) quotes two anonymous sources from State House, one unnamed Member of Parliament and one named source from parliament office. Another story ‘Lowassa threatens Kikwete’ (30 November 2011) involves three different unnamed politicians. One of those three sources is also described as working for the government.

Most of the stories which originated from government entities involve unnamed civil servants. For example, crime stories involve sources from the Police force, courts or sources known to the suspects, while health reports involve patients who remain anonymous as well as civil servants working in health institutions.

Sources used by *Raia Mwema* were mostly affiliated to politics (politicians), government entities (civil servants), neutral (economists and analysts) and lastly, there were sources with no referent. The following table summarizes the distribution of sources’ affiliations in all 55 stories quoting anonymous sources in 2011.

Table 4.2 Anonymous Sources’ Affiliation

| Anonymous Sources’ Affiliation/ referent | Number of sources | Percentage |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Politics (Politicians incl. MPs, party leaders and members, etc) | 26 | 27 |
| Government Referent (Civil servants, police officers, etc) | 33 | 34 |
| Private Institution referent (Religious leaders, etc) | 9 | 9 |
| Neutral Referent (Experts, Analysts, Economists, Patients, etc) | 4 | 4 |
| No Referent (Secret sources, Reliable source, <i>Raia Mwema</i> Informer, etc) | 25 | 26 |
| Total | 97 | 100 |

The above table shows that anonymous sources with government affiliation were more frequently used than other referents. 34% of anonymous sources quoted in *Raia Mwema* in 2011 were civil servants; that means people who work in the government and its entities. Politicians take the second position with 27%, while neutral referents such as experts, analysts and economists make up just 4%.

The above findings provide a different picture when we consider the relationship between topic or subject matter and source's affiliations. As elaborated in table 4.1 above, the subject matter dominating in quoting anonymous sources in 2011 was politics. Meanwhile, civil servants remain the most quoted anonymous sources and not politicians.

Despite proposed ethical guidelines of providing full descriptions of anonymous sources in a story (Duffy and Freeman, 2011; Boeyink, 1990; Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997), *Raia Mwema* often fails to provide such descriptions. 25% of anonymous sources were quoted without any referent or more description to readers. Words used to identify these sources include 'Raia Mwema's informer', 'secret source', 'reliable source', 'trustworthy indications', 'it was learned' and other similar words without more explanations. Likewise, *Raia Mwema* in most of its stories does not explain the reasons for anonymity except on very few occasions where it explained that some civil servants and politicians asked for anonymity because they are not spokespersons in their capacity.

4.2. Discussion of the findings

Content analysis, as discussed earlier, was employed for the purpose of establishing the frequency of appearance of anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* for the period of one year (2011). It has been revealed that only 44.2% of front page stories in a year quote named sources. The other 55.8% quote unnamed sources. Wulfemeyer and McFadden (1986:473) believe that if more than half of news stories use anonymous sources, it can be concluded that "the practice is being used too often". In that particular sense, this research argues that with such percentage (55.8%), *Raia Mwema* use anonymous sources more frequently than half of the time and this, according to Wulfemeyer and McFadden, is too often. This situation shows the danger of loss of credibility for a newspaper if the trend keeps on increasing as suggested by several scholars. It is

from this preliminary observation that I formulated two primary research questions which ask how *Raia Mwema* reporters and editors justify their use of anonymous sources in many of their stories.

The findings from content analysis show that people working in government offices and institutions are the preferred sources used by *Raia Mwema* to get information and facts relevant to the newspaper. The comparative low number of neutral sources such as economists and political analysts shows that most of these experts are free to present their views and opinions with no fear and that is why most of them are named. Wulfemeyer and McFadden (1986) posit that economists and political analysts could be grouped as neutral sources because they usually give views according to their expertise and not through political affiliations or biases.

Government officers were much used as sources granted anonymity due to the fact that they helped the newspaper to get facts which, in a normal circumstance, cannot be easily accessed. Granting anonymity to these secret sources from government offices prevents them from putting their lives or jobs in jeopardy as well as from being identified by the public and top officials as the sources of information. From this observation, I formulated some questions to newspaper readers during focus group discussions and in-depth individual interview so as to understand if they understand this practice and where they locate the source of *Raia Mwema*'s credibility.

Some African scholars posit that the use of anonymous sources is a 'necessary evil' in investigative journalism and that some cannot be told without secret sources (Kupe, 2006; Sole, 2006; Louw, 2006). The use of sources with no referent is common when a reporter is confident with facts received from secret source during investigation, and he wants to make sure that there is no way a source can be suspected. In relation to that, the study reveals that most of the front page stories quoting anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* do not have bylines; that means they do not include the name of the reporter. This shall be among issues to be discussed in detail when presenting findings from *Raia Mwema* editors and journalists.

As elaborated above, content analysis was employed to establish the frequency of appearance of anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema*, and to help in formulating questions for discussions. After presenting the frequencies of appearance of anonymous sources, the next part presents findings from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews about the first research question.

4.3. Findings and Discussion on Research Question 1

The first research question in this study asks ‘how do the *Raia Mwema* reporters/editors justify their use of anonymous sources in many of their stories? What political, social and economic factors underlie this practice?’ The question interrogates *Raia Mwema* newsroom routines especially around news gathering, news sourcing and news production in general. To get answers to this question, I conducted individual in-depth interviews with a *Raia Mwema* shareholder and editor, Jamal, and *Raia Mwema* news editor, Gerald. I interviewed Jamal on 7 February 2012 while an interview with Gerald was conducted on 10 February 2012. More accurately, the interviews with Jamal and Gerald were conducted so as to investigate the reasons behind *Raia Mwema*’s frequent use of anonymous sources in most of their front page stories (more than 50% of their front page stories use anonymous sources as established in content analysis). From these practitioners, I hoped to understand if there were political or social motives behind this practice. Presentation of findings has been categorized according to secondary research questions asked during interviews to both respondents.

4.3.1 Why Anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema*?

Different scholars have got different reasons why anonymous sources can be used in media. Generally, journalism scholars agree on the fact that anonymous sources might be used in major investigative reports and in a situation in which if named, a source’s job or life will be in jeopardy (Boeyink, 1990; Duffy and Freeman, 2011; Kupe, 2006; Sole, 2006; Louw, 2006; Wulfemeyer, 1983). The *Raia Mwema* editor (Gerald) has got the following views on how to make decision on using anonymous sources;

Normally, there are two issues to be taken into account before taking decision to grant anonymity to our sources. The first thing, and the most important, is to get all facts correctly with vivid evidences and documents required. After being satisfied that we have all facts needed, we consider the environment and outcomes if we shall name our source in the story. Our main consideration here is that the source’s job and life not be put into danger. This second consideration shall depend only on the accuracy of the facts from the

source. What we believe is that, if we get the facts right, our readers do not care about the identity of the source. (Interview with Gerald, 10 February 2012)

In his view, the staff of *Raia Mwema* believes that the political environment is not conducive for whistle-blowers especially when they provide information and facts about a major investigation. As Kupe posits in relation to the African context, an “anonymous source is the best source you can have and that without them the ‘free flow of information’ would dry up and issues that are in the public interest would never see the light of day” (2006:8). This argument shows that the use of anonymous sources is the ‘necessary evil’ if journalism is there to stay. In this case, Jamal elaborates further that it is not unlawful to hide the identity of the source, but the decision must be handled with care after going through several considerations;

Our stories are too investigative that if we name our source, we may cause problems in his job or life. Most of our sources are civil servants who work within the government of the day or its institutions. If we reveal the source’s name today, that means tomorrow not only shall we not get any information from him or her, but also she or he must be fired and his or her life will be in danger. In order to maintain relationships and trust with our sources, we normally don’t mention their names in the story and our readers understand the reasons behind this trend. In these kinds of stories, we are going one step ahead in that we normally don’t mention even the reporter’s name (byline) for his or her own security. We know that because of the nature of our stories, if you mention the reporter’s name today; tomorrow he will be at great risk. (Interview with Jamal, 7 February 2012)

Apart from that, Jamal gave an example of one official from one government entity who was suspended from his job after being suspected of being involved in the leakage of secret document to *Raia Mwema*;

A few days ago, we wrote the story about TanRoads (Tanzania Road Agency) and we attached a letter we got from our source. Unfortunately, one director who is unknown to any of our staff members has been suspended after being suspected of being the one who gave us that letter. Actually, we got that letter from different source and the TanRoads management punished someone who is not aware of anything. Imagine, what would have happened if we had mentioned (in the story) the source of our information and who gave

us that letter? It could be a disaster. That's why we don't ever disclose our secret sources.
(Interview with Jamal, 7 February 2012)

The above scenario illustrates what Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007:109) argue that anonymity can be granted if the information from the source is so important that the public must be told, and revealing a source's name will put him in jeopardy. On the other hand, Duffy and Freeman (2011:303) suggest that the use of anonymous sources can be justified when reporting on issues about a government and its entities, as most whistle-blowers and informants are not spokespersons of those entities, and thus, they have to be protected.

Scholars such as Boeyink (1990) and Duffy and Freeman (2011) argue that when the editor decides to use anonymous sources in some stories, it is better to have a secondary source to verify such information. A staff of *Raia Mwema* understands the importance of identifying the source and, as the news editor posits, tries to have a secondary named source of information so as to make the public and newspapers readers comfortable with information and facts provided in a news story. The following excerpt illustrates the point:

Interviewer: How do you verify facts you receive from sources who prefer anonymity?

Gerald: We know how important it is to have named sources as per journalism textbooks. Even in stories that we quote anonymous sources as our primary sources, we normally find a way to verify such facts with other (second) source who will be willing to be named. In this situation, we don't care if another source will reply for or against the facts we have. What we need from him is to have his voice and views on the issue at hand. At the end of the day we shall have different voices in our story. The most important thing is to be satisfied that all facts we have at hand (from anonymous source) are absolutely true.

Interviewer: What if the source just wants to use your newspaper to take advantage of his personal issues?

Gerald: For the time being, since I became an editor of this paper, we have not come across such a scenario, although, it might happen in future. We are very careful to ensure that public interest is behind all stories for which we want to quote anonymous sources.

Any decision is taken through our editorial meetings which we normally do before going for printing.

The issue of decision making on whether to promise and grant anonymity or not has been discussed by several journalism scholars. Some of them (Wilson, Babcock and Pribek, 1997; Boeyink, 1990; Wulfemeyer, 1983) suggest that editors must be responsible not only for promising and granting anonymity, but also need to know the name and identity of the source before going public. In *Raia Mwema*, the decision to grant anonymity is done collectively by senior journalists and editors (which include newspaper owners and shareholders working in the newsroom). On some occasions, even if the source did not ask for anonymity, the editorial meeting can take the decision to hide his or her identity, especially in a controversial story. Basically, *Raia Mwema* manages to fulfill some of guidelines proposed by different scholars when granting anonymity. The main problem is, instead of granting anonymity as a last resort and only in major investigations, *Raia Mwema* uses the practice so frequently that it may endanger its credibility to its readers. This issue of credibility was discussed in detail during interviews.

4.3.2. Anonymous Sources vs. Newspaper Credibility

As the findings from the content analysis show, 58% of news stories on *Raia Mwema*'s front pages in 2011 quote anonymous sources. Wulfemeyer and McFadden (1986:473) argue that if more than half of news stories in a media outlet contain anonymous source, the practice is overused. Meanwhile, the overuse of anonymous sources in journalism may not only undermine the legitimate use of such sources within a professional, but also bring a negative effect on the perception of credibility among readers (Wulfemeyer, 1983:43; Sternadori and Thorson, 2009:63). When talking about the trend of using anonymous sources and dangers of decreasing credibility for readers, Jamal said;

Jamal: I don't think this trend has any negative effect on the credibility of our newspaper. Theoretically, yes, it might be harmful to the credibility, but practically, that is not right at all. It is our normal routine to use anonymous source and our market structure remains positive as our sales keep on increasing day by day. What we have noticed is that, there is a great relationship between newspaper's credibility and market trend. If we lose credibility

to our readers, we will drop in our market simultaneously. We have been in this business for five years now and we have never experienced any loss or market decline. Sometimes theories from journalism textbooks and the reality are two different things.

Interviewer: Why do you think the reality is quite different from what journalism textbooks and scholars predict?

Jamal: Actually, I don't know....but what I can say, may be, our readers know our team. I mean they know our history since we have been working with *Rai* newspaper, and they believe that we are the same people with the same journalistic style of presenting the truth without fear or favour. So they show their belief in us by continuing to buy copies of our newspaper all the time. So we are confident that the overuse of anonymous source has nothing to do with credibility.

On the same issue, Gerald has his own views;

Gerald: First of all, I don't think if this trend is really dangerous to the newspaper's credibility. After all, we always quote anonymous sources once we are 100% sure of the facts we have at hand. We don't have a history of lying or even apologizing to our readers for presenting false documents. Our credibility is there to stay as we consider the public interest in all our stories. We don't entertain personal attacks from hidden sources as we know it will harm our credibility. On the other hand, we depend much on feedback from our readers. There have never been complaints by our readers about the practice. That means, readers don't care about whether we name the source or not, what they need is truthful and factual news stories. And for your information, our readers will believe more in a story with anonymous source than a news story with quotations from named sources especially top government officials and politicians.

Interviewer: Why do you think so?

Gerald: It is obvious, nowadays in Tanzania, people do not trust politicians and government leaders anymore.

The issue of relationship between newspaper credibility and business success has been supported by several scholars. Meyer and Zhang (2002:4) and George (2007:899) argue that once the

newspaper produces news stories with high quality (truth and factual), it will build a public trust and, not only will it increase its circulation but it also will attract more advertisers. *Raia Mwema* has managed to become a leading weekly newspaper within the country. That means it is highly trusted by the public and regarded as a credible newspaper. On the other hand, being credible, according to Meyer (1988:567) depends on believability and community affiliation. According to one of *Raia Mwema*'s shareholders (Jamal), the paper has built a relationship of trust with its readers and they believe that it provides what the entire community needs. Such relationship means the paper enjoys credibility within the country.

4.3.3. Danger of Abuse: Need for Newsroom Policy?

Many media houses in Tanzania do not have formal written policies to guide them in several journalistic practices within the newsroom. We shall see what the situation is like in other newsrooms in later sections of this chapter when I report on focus group discussions with journalists from other newsrooms. Talking about *Raia Mwema* newspaper, the newsroom does not have a formal and written policy to guide the use of anonymous sources. However, there are informal and unwritten policies which guide the practice;

Jamal: We don't have any written policy about the use of anonymous sources. What we have are just informal and unwritten policies which everyone within the newsroom must be aware of. The first guideline is that the news editor must know in advance the identity of the source to be granted anonymity. There is no way a story can be written quoting anonymous source while an editor doesn't know the identity of that source. The second thing is all about confidentiality within the newsroom. As you see, we are very few here in our newsroom. It is easy for all of us to know the identity of the source granted anonymity in tomorrow's paper. In this situation, we keep on reminding each other of the importance of confidentiality so that our sources do not find themselves in trouble. In our newsroom, this informal policy works a lot and we don't think that there is a need to have a written policy, at least for the time being.

Despite working without a formal policy to guide the practice, the news editor I interviewed declares that the idea of having a formal policy within their newsroom could be appropriate in

order to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings or confusions especially from young journalists within the newsroom.

Gerald: I can buy the idea of having formal policy within a newsroom because I saw it in several newspapers (outside Tanzania). It is an idea which can be implemented in future just by putting such policies or guidelines into writing because here in our newsroom, it is as if we have started implementing it before being written. For example, it is known within the newsroom that an editor must know the identity of the source in advance. Nothing has been written about this although everyone in the newsroom is aware of it. That's why I am saying we have a policy though not a written one everywhere in our newsroom.

Interviewer: Do you think it is 'healthy' to continue working without a formal policy?

Gerald: That's why am saying the idea of having a formal and written policy is good and I think it's better for our newsroom to have it. But this needs a lot of debates with my bosses and perhaps we can work on it in future.

Some journalism scholars argue that in order to limit the abuse of the use of anonymous sources, it is recommended for newsrooms to establish formal policies which will guide journalists and editors when granting anonymity to their sources (Wulfemeyer, 1983; Boeyink, 1990; Davis, Ross and Gates, 1996; Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Duffy and Freeman, 2011). Among other issues, the importance of formal policies is to reduce the danger of abuse and a newspaper to be used by sources in fulfilling their personal agenda. The case of *Washington Post* Journalist Janet Cooke (Jimmy's World) and the Cohen vs. Cowles Media case explained in Chapter two can be taken as examples of the importance of having newsroom policies so as to guide the practice. *Raia Mwema* seems to have informal and unwritten guidelines on the practice. In contrast, *Raia Mwema* news editor knows the importance of having a formal and written policy rather than relying on unwritten guidelines.

4.3.4. Civil Servants as Frequently-used Anonymous Sources

In the wake of the Bill Clinton-Monica Lewinsky scandal, a great number of anonymous sources from the White House were quoted by Television stations in the US (Esposito, 1999:17). The

findings from Esposito's study reveal that these sources from the White House (civil servants) were considered as such credible sources and that the audience did not care whether they had been named or not. The situation of being associated with the government office made these civil servants credible sources despite remaining anonymous. On the other hand, Riffe (1980:618) argues that "unnamed sources containing references to government institutions possessed the greatest perceived credibility" in relation to those with other references such as politicians.

As elaborated in the content analysis, many of the anonymous sources quoted in *Raia Mwema* were associated with the government offices. 36% of all sources quoted anonymously in 2011 were working with the government while 27% were politicians.

Several reasons were behind such large numbers of civil servants being quoted anonymously by *Raia Mwema*. During the interview, Jamal noted that the journalism environment, the political environment in Tanzania and the fear of the outcomes, made civil servants speak or give documents on condition of anonymity.

Jamal: It's true that most of our anonymous sources are civil servants, which means they are government workers. We quote them anonymously because most of them are not authorized spokespersons in their capacity although they provide useful and important information to us. We cannot say that they are loyal to the public as there is no guarantee about that. In a real sense, these people are tired of the way things are going in their offices and that's why they decide to give us information plus all the necessary documents so that the public can know what's going on. On the other hand, we believe that most government officials are less likely to tell lies than politicians. When we talk to politicians, we take extra care because most of them have private motives behind the story they provide. Likewise, people don't trust politicians nowadays and, instead, they find government workers more credible.

This argument was not far from what Gerald provides, but he places more emphasis on why government officials prefer anonymity:

Gerald: Actually, most of our sources are high ranked government officials who are not happy with the way things are handled within their offices. Some of them are ministers but they don't want to be named. Sometimes, it seems that these people are not really patriotic

or loyal to the nation, but they don't benefit from certain deals and that's why they become angry and disclose confidential documents to journalists (*Raia Mwema*) with the condition of anonymity. As long as we find these documents factual and in the public interest, we take the decision of printing them despite personal motives from these sources.

Interviewer: Why don't you convince these high ranked officials such as ministers to agree to being named if the issues at hand are in the public interest?

Gerald: Sometimes we educate and convince them to agree to be named. In rare cases, they concur but most of the time they disagree and insist that they must be granted anonymity. Egbert..., sometimes, even intellectuals such as university professors ask for anonymity, especially those who work for public universities. This is ridiculous because we expect that these intellectuals have got freedom to express their views without fear or favour. It is unfortunate that they don't want to be named while giving free and fair opinions. A few days ago, we decided to 'kill' a story from several university professors who insisted on being quoted anonymously. We failed to find the motives behind their decision because the story was not that 'bad' to the public and even to their jobs. So we decided to 'kill' it for the benefit of our newspaper's credibility. Just imagine, if a professor is afraid of being named in a newspaper, what about a layman who doesn't know about the importance of freedom of expression? I think there is something wrong within most government entities.

Interviewee: What do you think that something is?

Gerald: My friend, what I can say is that, we don't really have freedom of expression in our country. May be we are still very young as a democratic country. It was in the 1990s when private ownership of media was introduced in our country. We are still growing.

Despite providing information about the condition of anonymity, sources from government entities remain the most preferred and used sources in *Raia Mwema*. Editors in this paper do not find politicians credible sources due to their political motives behind the facts or information they provide. So far, *Raia Mwema* hasn't experienced any situation of being lied to by unnamed sources. In that sense, the newspaper believes that anonymous sources are effective informants in the Tanzanian context.

4.4. Findings and Discussion for Research Question 2

The previous part discussed findings from individual interviews I conducted with a *Raia Mwema*'s shareholder and editor, and a news editor about their trend of using anonymous sources in most of their stories. This part presents findings and discussions related to the second research question which asks 'How does the wider journalistic community understand the practice of using anonymous sources in relation to journalism in Tanzania? This question targets views and understandings from journalists within the country on the way they see the practice of using anonymous sources and its potential danger to credibility.

To answer this research question, I conducted two focus group discussions with journalists in Tanzania. The first group discussion brought together editors and senior journalists from different media outlets. The second group discussion brought together other reporters who are not in senior positions. Apart from the focus groups, I conducted individual in-depth interviews with some members of the focus group discussions so as to get more elaborations. I also conducted an interview with a veteran journalist currently working with the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) so as to know his understanding and experience on the practice.

4.4.1. Anonymous Sources and Media in Tanzania

Journalism scholars do not prohibit the use of anonymous sources per se, but what they suggest is for journalists to be careful when they take the decision to hide the names of their sources in stories. The main reason for that is to maintain the credibility of the media outlet. The good thing about anonymous source is that they can talk and present facts freely to journalists without any fear of retribution. But Sole (2006:32) warns journalists that they must keep their distance from these sources and never allow them to have any say or decision on how the facts they provide will be handled by the newspaper. Some journalists in Tanzania agree with Sole (2006) on this argument and say that despite having their regular sources of information (especially from government offices), they don't give them room to have any kind of interference in the way such stories will be used. The control of news story and facts collected must remain the sole responsibility of a reporter and an editor.

Decisions to use named or unnamed sources in Tanzanian media vary from one newsroom to another. The focus group discussion which I conducted on 14 February 2012 brought together some editors and senior journalists from major media houses within the country; Daniel is a Sub-Editor on a Swahili daily newspaper (*Mwananchi*), Amina is a senior journalists working with a state owned newspaper (*Habari Leo*), Lino is a News Editor (*Rai Newspaper*), Suleiman is a News Editor for Radio France International while Lucas is working with the weekly paper, *MwanaHalisi*. As I said previously, all names are not real and decision to use these names was taken for security purpose and confidentiality of my participants. We discussed the reasons why they use unnamed sources in some stories:

Daniel: Here in Tanzania, our working environment is not favourable for a source to talk freely to the media without fear of the consequences whether at work or at home in his or her private life. Yes, the constitution of the United Republic guarantees the freedom of expression which includes the freedom to impart and receive information, but in a real sense, we don't have such freedom. Our informants, once they give you a certain story with facts, ask for anonymity so as to ensure his or her safety. Once you break the promise, tomorrow you will not get any more information and, on the other hand, he might be fired from work for talking to journalists. To avoid these outcomes, we decide to use unnamed sources provided you get all facts right.

Amina: I can add something there. Once a journalist talks to his or her source in a major investigation, at the end of the interview they must ask if the source is ready to be named or not. Once the source asks for anonymity, a journalist must keep the promise and grant anonymity. The thing is, in most daily newspapers here in Tanzania, the trend of using anonymous sources is very low because they lack investigative reports.

Moderator: Why do you think most dailies don't do investigative journalism?

Amina: Any kind of investigation consumes a lot of time and resources. Many dailies don't have that time to wait for an investigation to be complete before starting reporting its findings. On the other hand, investigative reporting needs a lot of money. Our media houses are not willing to invest in this kind of journalism as their first priority is to make money and not spend money. So, it is very rare to find a real investigative report in a daily

newspaper. Lastly, our political environment in Tanzania is also not favourable for the media to have a lot of investigative reports.

The last response from Amina on the investigative journalism within the country is not far from what McNair (1998) argues that political environment is likely to determine the way journalists work within the country. McNair believes that in a liberal democratic society, journalism can work as a watchdog while criticizing the government through investigative reporting and make it accountable to the society at large (1998:84). As elaborated in Chapter 1, Tanzania is in transition from an authoritarian regime to become a liberal democratic society. Private ownership of media started in 1990s but is still regulated by the laws formulated during an authoritarian era. That's why media within the country seem to be reluctant to practice investigative journalism for fear of the consequences from draconian laws. During an individual interview, a veteran journalist currently working with the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) made connections between the use of anonymous sources and laws governing the media industry within the country:

Allan: In countries like Tanzania where the media industry is governed by draconian laws such as the Newspaper Act, National Security Act, Prisons Act and other laws, it is not easy for sources to be free in providing information to journalists. The environment forces sources to give out information on condition that he must be granted anonymity for the security of his job or life. Unless we have Freedom of Information Act, journalists engaged in investigative reporting shall continue using anonymous sources in most cases. In the current situation in Tanzania, there is no way you can practice investigative journalism without the use of anonymous sources. In other countries with laws that guarantee freedom of the press, it is easy to report and name the source without any problem.

Interviewer: Don't you think that the trend of using anonymous sources can harm a newspaper's credibility?

Allan: It depends. The use of anonymous sources cannot completely put off a reader in an environment like the one we have in Tanzania. Readers have got different ways to measure credibility. For example, I think you are studying *Raia Mwema* because is the most popular weekly newspaper in Tanzania with great number of readers. This paper has got the trend of using anonymous sources and remains credible. This is due to the fact that, people know

the owners and editors of *Raia Mwema*. You cannot talk about journalism in Tanzania without talking about Ulimwengu (Jenerali), Mbwambo (Johnson), Bwire (John) or Francis Chirwa. These are real custodian of the media industry in this country and regular newspaper readers know them. Therefore, *Raia Mwema* readers don't care whether the story has named or unnamed sources. They believe in the credibility of the owners and the editors who cannot tell lies. Even for me, in this particular newspaper I don't have any problem with their trend of using anonymous sources. I may doubt other newspapers but not this one.

If we take Allan's views into consideration, it seems that there are many factors to be taken into account when judging a newspaper's credibility apart from what have been mentioned by different scholars in Chapter 2 (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Smith, 2007). Allan's views –that *Raia Mwema* readers know and give credibility to the production team and owners– are similar to what had been said by Jamal (Shareholder and editor) that the credibility that their newspaper enjoys comes from readers' understandings of who owns and reports in *Raia Mwema*.

4.4.2. Journalism in Tanzania and Abuse of Sources

As discussed in Chapter 2, some journalism scholars warn that the trend of using anonymous sources is dangerous as it may lead to the abuse of such sources resulting in damage to the reputation and credibility of the newspaper (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Awad, 2006; Wulfemeyer and McFadden, 1986). For *Raia Mwema*, this warning seems not to be applicable as despite its extensive use of anonymous sources, the newspaper enjoys a good reputation and is considered credible within the country. However, some members of journalistic community within the country have different views on the possibility of abuse of the practice. Another focus group discussion brought together Rahim who is a senior journalist working with Tanzania's first private daily newspaper (*Majira*), Musa who is a senior journalist working with another daily (*Jambo Leo*), Aziz (Senior journalist on a daily paper, *Majira*), Msechu (senior journalist and Secretary – Morogoro Press Club), Thadeo (senior Journalist with *Nipashe*) and Hamis (Senior Journalist in a weekly (*The Guardian*)):

Rahim: In my views, I don't think anonymous sources can be misused or abused in Tanzanian context. When a journalist gets all facts right, there is no problem if he decides to quote the source anonymously simply because facts will speak for themselves.....

Musa: No please...you are absolutely wrong Rahim (laugh). There are situations where I don't understand why—we journalists—decide to use anonymous sources. In such circumstance, I become suspicious of the truth within a story. For example, in sports reporting, journalists in Tanzania used anonymous sources in an unnecessary environment. There is no reason for journalist to quote an anonymous source who speaks about Juma Kaseja's transfer from one team to another. What for? Why anonymity here? At the end of the day, you'll find that the story is full of lies and reporter abused the use of anonymous sources. In my views, I usually take extra care when I find a story quoting anonymous sources because most of journalists are lazy and they hide their laziness behind the use of anonymous sources.

Moderator: Do you mean you don't trust many stories in *Raia Mwema*?

Musa: In case of *Raia Mwema*, things are different. I know *Raia Mwema* reporters and editors. I always believe in what they write. I didn't have any doubt about their journalistic skills, ability and experience. They don't have a history of telling lies even when they worked on other publications. My problem is with other newspapers and young journalists. Oh my friend, these fellow journalists are crazy... (Laugh)...they don't want to work hard on their stories, unfortunately, they just end up quoting 'non-existent' anonymous sources. This is unacceptable in our profession.

These views reflected the situation that there are different opinions from journalists themselves on the best way of dealing with anonymous sources and how to avoid abuse of the practice. Some journalism practitioners (like Musa above) accept views from journalism scholars that hiding sources' names can cause readers to become suspicious (Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007:57; Awad, 2006:993; Wulfemeyer and McFadden, 1986:469). Musa's views that *Raia Mwema* is an exception when it comes to the issue of credibility suggest that apart from scholar's views that anonymous sources can harm credibility, there are other factors that can be taken into consideration such as the ownership pattern and the history of the publication when it comes to the

issue of newspaper's credibility against the use of anonymous sources. One of the editors in a focus group discussion held in Dar es Salaam gave an example of how he denied being involved in concocting a story by using unnamed source after being assigned to do so by his senior editor in a newsroom:

Lino: This practice is very much abused in our newsrooms. I can tell you an incident which happened to me some years ago. My senior editor came to me with his 'readymade' headline and hints directing me to formulate a story corresponding to his headline. I asked who should I talk to as my source, and he replied I have to use unnamed sources. I refused to do so and I reported the matter to the managing editor because I was forced to do something unprofessional. I am loyal to the profession and I can't abuse it. How many journalists and editors in our newsrooms are doing the same thing that they abuse unnamed sources just to meet their personal needs and interests? I believe that the practice is dangerous for the profession and there is a high possibility of abusing these sources.

A veteran journalist whom I interviewed concurs with the above argument that there is a great danger of abusing anonymous sources in Tanzania especially when editors are not responsible:

Allan: Anonymous sources can be abused at anytime. A journalist can just sit behind a computer and formulate a story for his or her own interest and attribute it to anonymous source. In this case, an editor must be careful to know the identity of this anonymous source instead of taking things for granted. Anonymity must be only for readers and not for editors. Any responsible editor cannot allow a story with anonymous source to be printed without knowing in advance the identity of the source granted anonymity. If an editor is irresponsible, journalists are likely to abuse the use of anonymous sources and, in the end, the newspaper's credibility will be damaged.

While discussing the way journalists can abuse the use of anonymous sources, Allan noted that apart from these practitioners, media owners can contribute a lot to the abuse of anonymous sources. He gave his own experience when he was working with different media houses:

Allan: I have worked in public and private media houses. I have seen a lot of gross abuses of anonymous sources initiated by media owners. I have seen them (media owners) coming to editors or directly to senior reporters in a newsroom with a story concocted to attack his

enemy with facts based on anonymity. So long as you are employed by the one who come with this story, and he is the owner of the media outlet, there is nothing you can do but to run the story as you have been directed. I think you remember personal attacks between two businesspersons who owned two major media houses in Tanzania between 2007 and 2009. Most of the stories against each of the media outlets were fabricated and their sources were anonymous. That practice is very bad for the young and growing media industry in Tanzania when media owners abuse the profession for their personal vendettas.

Interviewer: Do you think the same situation could happen in the *Raia Mwema* newsroom where owners are also working in the same media house?

Allan: I don't think so because *Raia Mwema* has something unique. The owners of this paper are journalists by profession. They know that being loyal to the profession means a lot especially to the credibility of the newspaper. Other businesspersons don't care much about the profession because their first priority is profit maximization even if that means that the profession will be abused.

This scenario in which media owners are also working as journalists in the same newsroom is unusual in the Tanzanian context. In some circumstances, as McQuail warns, “newspaper owners are free to use their newspapers to make propaganda if they wish to do so, provided they accept the risk of losing readers and credibility” (2005:291). For *Raia Mwema*, the owners seem to be strict in defending the profession despite their frequent use of anonymous sources. On the other hand, this is not a guarantee that *Raia Mwema* owners shall never become involved in abusing the practice in future. But for the time being, this newspaper has managed to comply with the requirements of professionalism and to maintain their readers and build trust in them.

4.4.3. Politics, Anonymity and Credibility

As we have seen previously in the content analysis, 49% of stories quoting anonymous sources are dealing with political issues. Unfortunately, politicians occupied only 27% of all anonymous sources used by *Raia Mwema* in 2011. This shows that the percentage of unnamed politician sources used does not correspond to the percentage of political news stories. Several reasons were

given by journalists during focus group discussions on the issue of using politicians as credible news sources.

It is true that political stories dominate in most of newspapers in Tanzania (including *Raia Mwema*). The main issues discussed in these stories are conflicts within political parties, personal attacks among politicians and political scandals, to mention a few. Despite the high number of political stories, some journalists believe that politicians are not credible sources of information:

Suleiman: Politicians are not reliable sources especially when they provide information with the condition of anonymity. Even in a normal circumstance, when you get information from politicians you need to be very careful because they, most of the time, tell lies especially in conflicting issues or attacks among them. I believe that even *Raia Mwema* managed to escape the trap of being caught and told lies by politicians and that's why I have never heard any case filed against this paper.

Moderator: What about the rest of you? Do you also agree that politicians are liars?

Lucas: This is absolutely true. If your newspaper keeps writing all the things you have been told by politicians, you will face a massive fall in the newspaper's credibility. For example, when you read this story with the headline 'Youth wing slams Lowassa, Rostam' (*Raia Mwema*, 20 March 2011), the source here is anonymous and what he did is just to attack Lowassa (Edward) and Rostam (Aziz) as if they have been convicted and proved to be wrongdoers in the ruling party and have to be expelled. This is a completely personal attack (from unnamed source) and *Raia Mwema* must be very careful with these kinds of stories and sources because they may damage their credibility.

On very few occasions, *Raia Mwema* has found itself to be involved in personal attack stories while hiding the name of the source. In 13 April 2011 and 4 May 2011, this paper carried stories attacking the former Prime Minister Edward Lowassa and his fellows politicians involved in grand corruption. It was reported that the ruling party was about to kick them out. A few days later, *Raia Mwema* carried another story involving the same politicians with their plan to hold demonstrations against the ruling party's decision to eliminate them from the party. This trend may, if continues, endanger its credibility.

News stories with government referents are perceived by most readers as credible and true. That means that anonymous sources with political reference are perceived to be less credible sources. This study seems to correspond with Riffe's views on the credibility of politicians when used as sources in Tanzania media. Despite being perceived as less credible, during an interview with Allan, he argues that "we cannot avoid using politicians as anonymous sources in our media because in the Tanzanian context, these are the ones providing information of scandals within the government and, therefore, remain useful sources especially in investigative stories" (Interview with Allan, 13 February 2012).

4.4.4. Newsrooms and Anonymity: The Importance of Newsroom Policies

Several journalism scholars suggest that the introduction of newsroom policies may reduce the danger of abuse of anonymous sources and, therefore, maintain the medium's credibility to the audience (Wulfemeyer, 1983; Boeyink, 1990; Davis, Ross and Gates, 1996; Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Duffy and Freeman, 2011). The presence of formal policy in a newsroom may make reporters and editors consider all guidelines before making a decision to use an anonymous source. In their findings on the study about this practice, Davis, Ross and Gates (1996) suggest that reporters in newsrooms with written policies use anonymous sources less often than those in newsrooms without policies.

We had a long discussion about the importance of newsroom policies on this practice in Tanzania. Our discussion tried to find out whether there is a need to have these policies and whether their availability might be helpful to minimize abuse of anonymous sources and maintain newspapers' credibility. Very few journalists in either focus group argued in favour of newsroom policies. Most of them don't support the move to have newsroom policies on the ground that it is difficult to be fully implemented. Participants believe that policies will not change anything in the Tanzanian context due to interference from media owners in newsroom routines. Apart from media owners' interference, participants insist on the need to abolish draconian laws which are barriers to the free access of information. One participant who is also a sub editor in a weekly newspaper elaborates that:

Daniel: I don't agree with an idea of imposing policies on the use of anonymous sources in our newsrooms because those who will impose those policies will be the first to violate and go against them. Two parties can initiate these policies; either media owners or editors. A few minutes ago, Innocent gave us a good example of how editors may force reporters to abuse the use of anonymous sources. In Tanzania, interference of owners in their media houses is obvious. How could a young journalist deny an order from the owners to write a story which violates our own policies? It's not the right time now to have such policies...

Amina: What Daniel says is absolutely right. I am working in a state owned newspaper. We have our own policy which guides our day to day activities in the newsroom. Unfortunately, our bosses are the ones who contravene these policies. We are allowed (by our policy) to criticize anyone in the government when she/ he makes a mistake. Once we write a story criticizing a minister or any public figure within the government, editors become furious and a reporter can even receive a warning despite working as per our newsroom policy. If we don't manage to put into practice this general newsroom policy, what about such a specific policy on the use of anonymous sources? Maybe we need another body to monitor this specific newsroom practices and to punish those who violate ethics. Don't tell me about MCT because they are toothless (laugh).

All other participants in senior positions within newsrooms opposed the idea suggested by several journalism scholars that newsroom policies can minimize the abuse of anonymous sources. The main fear of these journalists is all about owners' interference in newsroom routines as well as editors' inconsistency in implementing such policies.

Aziz, a senior reporter who participated in a second group discussion in Morogoro, argued against his fellows (Rahim) when suggesting that it is a right time for newsrooms to establish such kind of policies for the benefit of the profession at large. He argues that "there is no need to tolerate reporters' and editors' laziness which, at the end of the day, affect the whole profession in the eyes of our readers. We must establish these policies and put them into practice so as to make reporters and editors accountable to any abuse of anonymous sources used in their newspaper" (Aziz in a focus group discussion, 30 June 2012).

Apart from Aziz, other members of the same group discussion were against these policies on the ground that it is difficult in the Tanzanian environment for such policies to be fully implemented. In an interview with a veteran journalist, Allan, argues that it is better for newsrooms to have formal policies to guide the practice, although it is too early for media houses in Tanzania to enforce such policies or for them to be put into practice.

4.5. Discussion on Findings from Research Question 2

The representatives of the journalism community in Tanzania I interviewed seem to accept the practice of the extensive use of anonymous sources by *Raia Mwema*, although they are more cautious about accepting the practice by other media outlets. *Raia Mwema* is considered as the paper which cannot violate journalism ethics as it is owned by journalists who uphold professional journalistic standards and ethical codes and who also know how to maintain their readers' trust and the credibility in the paper. On the other hand, the journalists I interviewed believe the fact that *Raia Mwema* has operated for five years without any suit being filed against it to the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) is a sign that the paper is operating on the right track. It is very rare for other newspapers in Tanzania to operate for a year without being taken to the MCT for ethical violation or misconduct. *Raia Mwema* has not received any warning from the government through the ministry of information either as have many newspapers of the same reporting style.

Some of the journalists interviewed concur with Riffle's (1980) argument that politicians are less credible sources of information. *Raia Mwema* with 49% of political stories in a year has only 27% of sources with political references. This seems that the paper use politicians with care in order to avoid being used by such politicians to fulfil their hidden agenda while enjoying anonymity in a story. The participants in the focus group discussions did not consider civil servants who provide information to journalists as patriots. These sources— more likely as whistle-blowers— are branded as government officials who are tired of how things are operated within the system they work. Their contribution is, however, necessary in investigative journalism which is just growing in Tanzania for the time being.

It is believed by my participants that overuse of anonymous sources can damage the credibility only in certain circumstances. *Raia Mwema* is considered by some journalists to be a role model in

the way it handles the practice. It seems that if other newspapers did the same, there would be no doubt about their credibility and no abuse of the practice. Despite suggestions by several scholars about the importance of formal policies on the practice in order to maintain credibility and minimize abuse, some journalists in Tanzania do not agree on that.

In the next section, I consider how newspaper readers understand the practice and whether they find *Raia Mwema* to be credible despite the frequent use of anonymous sources in many of its stories.

4.6. Findings and Discussion for Research Question 3

This part discusses findings based on readers' perception about *Raia Mwema*'s trend of using anonymous sources in many of their stories. The main concern here is to answer the last research question which asks "How do *Raia Mwema* readers understand this practice and where do they locate the source of *Raia Mwema*'s credibility?" I conducted two focus group discussions and several in-depth individual interviews with particular readers of this paper. I held the first focus group discussion in Dodoma where I met newspaper readers who work in different government entities. I choose Dodoma because it is the capital city of Tanzania where you find the headquarters of most government offices including Parliament. The second focus group discussion brought together newspaper readers working in private enterprises in the commercial city of Dar es Salaam. Thereafter, I conducted individual interviews with other readers who included Members of Parliament and civil servants who were not available for the group discussions.

4.6.1. Newspapers vs. Newspaper Readers

There are different views as to why readers prefer one newspaper to another. Generally, the preferred newspaper is the one with the highest readership and circulation. This was the first issue which came up in our focus group discussions as well as during individual interviews. Despite having different reasons for their selection of newspapers, most of the respondents argued that they prefer newspapers with a lot of analytical and factual features to those just reporting daily activities. As indicated earlier in this chapter, for security purpose and the confidentiality, all

names of participants in this research are not real names (including names of Members of Parliament). When discussing newspapers' preferences, some participants said:

Tuma: In most cases, I prefer reading analytical newspapers and not daily reporting or gossips from the gutter press (tabloids). It happens that most analytical newspapers are weeklies as they have a lot of time for preparation in relation to daily newspapers...

Mushi: ...Tuma, don't you know that most tabloids are weeklies too and, therefore, they have the same period for preparations? ... (Laughs)...

Tuma: ...listen, tabloids have enough time for preparation because they are weeklies but remember their main concern is gossiping and not otherwise. I am talking about newspapers being read by serious people.

Moderator: Can you mention some of the preferred newspapers you are talking about?

Tuma: Oh yes! I prefer *MwanaHalisi*, *Raia Mwema* and *Rai* although I am losing interest in this paper as days go on. On the other hand I also prefer weekly sports newspapers such as *Mwanaspoti* and *Dimba*.

Almost all the participants in the first group had the same opinions on the preference of newspapers. They all agree that they prefer analytical papers and not newspapers that use their space reporting who said and did what and when. On the same issue, a Member of Parliament from opposition party, David (not his real name), argued:

David: Most newspapers report what has been said by politicians or high ranked government officials. I don't like this kind of reporting as it doesn't help the public. I prefer reading newspapers which are analytical and that the public can benefit from in one way or another. Among the dailies here in Tanzania, I prefer reading *Mwananchi* while I read some weeklies such as *Raia Mwema* and *MwanaHalisi*.

Journalism scholars debate whether there is a relationship among media preference, business pattern and the credibility of the newspaper. Westley and Severin (1964 as quoted in Kiouis, 2001:384) believe that media preference has nothing to do with credibility as people could prefer reading and buying a certain newspaper even if they don't find it credible. On the other hand,

other scholars posit that a newspaper which is perceived as credible by readers is the one which will be mostly preferred while its business and circulation will keep on increasing (George, 2007; Meyer and Zhang, 2002; Gaziano and McGrath, 1986). I asked my participants about their views if such kind of relationship exists in their media preference:

Ruta: Normally, I prefer reading a newspaper which seems to be credible to me. I cannot rely on and waste my time reading something which I know is full of lies, that's ridiculous! On the other hand, I believe that people buy newspapers which they find credible even if it is all about tabloids. Here in Tanzania, we have an experience of several newspapers which existed for approximately one month before closing down their business because readers didn't find them credible.

Amasi: Once I want to buy a newspaper, the first thing to take into account is to ask myself whether the paper is trustworthy and believable. If I don't trust the paper, I cannot waste my money on it. I always buy *Raia Mwema* because I believe this is the most credible newspaper in Tanzania. I also believe that this paper must be among the highest selling in the country because once you miss it today, don't expect that you will find a copy tomorrow. They are selling a lot because people believe what the paper is writing.

Responses from these participants correspond to what Gaziano and McGrath (1986) posit on the relationship between readers' preference and credibility of the papers, as well as the relationship between credibility and business orientation. Some *Raia Mwema* readers prefer this paper due to its credibility, and this situation is believed to expand the circulation of the paper.

4.6.2. Newspaper Readers and Anonymous Sources

News sources are considered to be important in journalistic work as they create confidence in readers about the credibility of the facts provided. Some journalism scholars believe that stories with anonymous sources will make readers suspicious. Kupe, an African scholar, argues that it is necessary for journalists to use named sources because "they enable a journalist and the media to be true to a number of claims they make about their institutional roles in a society and their professional practices" (2006:5). My participants in the focus group discussions as well as the

individual interviews had different opinions on this matter. One respondent (David) who is a Member of Parliament believes that most stories quoting unnamed sources are “cooked” and full of lies. He adds that “most journalists use anonymous sources to hide their personal agenda or personal attacks against a certain issue or some people, and, therefore, it’s very rare to find a truthful and factual story with anonymous sources” (Interview with David).

But, when asked about *Raia Mwema* and its trend of using anonymous sources, he came up with a different view:

David: For the case of *Raia Mwema*, it is not easy to ignore stories from this paper because it doesn’t have any history of lying or concocting stories. Since its establishment, I have never come across *Raia Mwema* stories which, at the end of the day, proved to be wrong. In this particular newspaper, it doesn’t matter whether the source of information is named or unnamed.

Interviewer: Why do you have different perceptions when you compare other newspapers to *Raia Mwema* on the same journalistic practice?

David: You know what? *Raia Mwema* is a newspaper which differs from other newspapers in Tanzania when it comes to the issue of professionalism. Ulimwengu (Jenerali), the owner of *Raia Mwema*, is one of the most reputable journalists in the country. For readers who know Ulimwengu as I do, must trust this paper and find it credible. Remember that this is the same person who was declared *persona non grata* due to the criticisms in his former newspaper (*Rai*) on government’s wrong-doings. Despite that hard life time experience, Ulimwengu is still the same, fearless a person leading a fearless newspaper. I can assure you Egbert, most *Raia Mwema* readers believe what is written by this paper because they know and believe in Ulimwengu and his team. The same credibility cannot be given to any other newspaper in the country because none of the rest has escaped being sent either to the court or the Press Council (Media Council of Tanzania) for unethical reporting.

These views were supported by another Member of Parliament, Martha, during an individual interview. She said she finds *Raia Mwema* credible because of its ownership and the background of the owners as well as the history of the newspaper since its establishment. She posits that

“naming a source is not an issue in *Raia Mwema* as it doesn’t have a bad history of being lied to by sources as has happened in other newspapers” (Interview with Martha).

During focus group discussions, some participants associated the use of anonymous sources with lack of freedom of expression while others argue that a newspaper’s use of anonymous sources is based on the ethical point of view:

Amasi: I have seen some newspaper hiding the source of information and at the end of the day, I found those stories true without any reasonable doubt. If the facts provided are true, why is the source unnamed? It is obvious that in Tanzania we don’t have freedom of expression. Sources are not happy to make themselves known to the public while, on the other hand, media personnel don’t want to lose their sources and that’s why they agree to grant anonymity. *Raia Mwema* and *MwanaHalisi* are among the newspapers with this style and these papers are investigative. When I see unnamed sources in one of these newspapers, I don’t have any doubt. This is quite different from when I see the same in other newspapers especially dailies. You know Egbert, most Tanzanian dailies are suffering from ‘he said syndrome’ in their journalistic work. That means, they are just reporting what has been said by someone and not investigative issues. That’s why I don’t trust them when I see anonymous sources in their news stories.

Moderator: Do you mean that unnamed sources should be used only during investigative reporting?

Amasi: Absolutely yes! In the Tanzanian context, there is no way dailies could carry out investigations which I believe need a lot of time. Weeklies such as *Raia Mwema* and *MwanaHalisi* are well known due to their investigative reports and that’s why they employ anonymous sources so as to get hidden information and facts. If you are just reporting who said what and when, why then should you hide the name of that source? (Laughs...)

These views bear out the points made by African scholars Sole (2006), Kupe (2006) and Louw (2006) who argue that the use of anonymous sources in African media is associated with investigative journalism due to the political environment of many African states. Kupe (2006:9) insists that in most African countries, the use of anonymous sources is a sign that media work is being carried out in societies with a huge problem of low levels of freedom of expression and

democratic spaces. This goes against Tong (2011) who argue from a Western perspective that investigative journalism and the use of anonymous sources can work more effectively only in democratic societies than in countries with a constrained democratic space.

4.6.3 Anonymous Sources and Credibility

The aspect of credibility was the key issue during focus group discussions with my participants as well as during individual interviews I did with several respondents. During my first focus group discussion with readers working in government entities, this issue was discussed for nearly 40 minutes. In the second focus group discussion, the same issue consumed nearly 30 minutes.

Credibility, according to Black and Roberts (2011), is highly associated with believability regardless of the truth of the message or the sender's morality. In this case, a message can be believed by readers according to their own factors which include people's views about the sender or the message itself.

I asked my participants whether they find news stories quoting anonymous sources as credible or they decode such stories with suspicion. Different opinions arose during the discussion. One participant argued that the decision on the credibility of the paper depends on the story and the paper that carries that story:

Mwai: I believe that the credibility of the paper depends on several factors. In my opinion, I believe that *Raia Mwema* cannot tell lies because it is owned by veteran and professional journalists who have a good history in the journalism field within the country. The owners of this paper are not politicians as it is for other media owners. Journalists and editors of *Raia Mwema* don't have any history of being involved in fabrication of stories. Hence, I, and even other readers, not only find this paper credible but also believe that most *Raia Mwema* stories are true.

Moderator: Do you mean that your trust in this paper and its stories is highly influenced by the type of ownership and newsroom management?

Mwai: Obviously. I can assure you that I don't trust stories quoting anonymous sources in other newspapers such as *Rai* (Opinion), *Jamhuri* (Republic) or *Sauti Huru* (Free Voice) because they are either owned by politicians or they have their own agenda which drives them to put aside professionalism.

Another participant cited an example from some newspapers to show how *Raia Mwema's* stories quoting anonymous sources turned to be proved right after some time:

Mohd: Look at this story '*Bado miezi miwili Nchi kuingia gizani*' (Two months left before total darkness). This story quotes anonymous sources from the ministry of energy and others from Electricity Supply Company who spoke about the possibility of huge power rationing within the country after two months. The story was printed in February 2011 and it was in April 2011 when the huge power rationing faced the country for nearly six months or more. As you see, the story originated from unnamed sources and at the end of the day, it was proved right. This shows how the paper proved its believability and the fact that it deserves credibility from its readers.

Ruta: Here is another example of how *Raia Mwema's* secret sources tell the truth to reporters. This story '*Ukata sasa waitesa nchi*' (The country in financial crisis) tells how the country is facing shortage of funds to run the government. We heard the Minister for Finance refuting this story in the parliament although some Members of Parliament including the Shadow Minister Zitto Kabwe insisted that it is true that the government has insufficient funds to run its operations. Only two weeks after the publication of that story, we heard that civil servants were not paid their February salaries due to lack of government funds. This shows that anonymous sources tell *Raia Mwema* reporters the truth although the government was not happy with that truth being revealed in public.

Moderator: The stories you have cited were published in *Raia Mwema*. Do you think the same can be done by other newspapers?

Ruta: I don't think so. I believe that even news sources who are granted anonymity believe that *Raia Mwema* reporters will present all facts provided to them as they are without fear or favour. The problem with other publications within the country is that, they have their

own agenda and, so, it is difficult to believe in what they report especially when quoting unnamed sources.

These views show that the trend of using anonymous sources in different newspapers is perceived differently by readers. *Raia Mwema* is considered by my participants in the focus group discussion as a credible newspaper despite the frequent use of anonymous sources. Its credibility is thought to be inherent in the profile of the newspaper owners and the editorial background of journalists and editors working on this paper. Indeed, one interviewee argued that from an African perspective, there is no way a newspaper can work as a watchdog without the use of anonymous sources:

Damian: In our country, there are very few newspapers that can be regarded as watchdogs as far as journalism is concerned. Watchdog journalism in Tanzania cannot be practised without the use of anonymous sources. *Raia Mwema* is the paper which has been branded as one of the few newspapers practising watchdog journalism in Tanzania. I, and even other readers, believe that *Raia Mwema* is the most credible paper. Its trend of using so many unnamed sources doesn't affect its credibility and instead, it proves that they are really doing investigation before reporting.

This argument supports what has been elaborated by Meyer (1988:567) that for the newspaper to be credible, it must be believed and accepted by the community which it serves. *Raia Mwema* is considered by the community to play its role as a watchdog by doing investigation in most stories. On the other hand, its investigative reports are believed by its readers regardless of its frequent use of anonymous sources. Due to these reasons, this paper enjoys a reputation as a credible paper within the country. Many people believe that the paper is effectively playing its role as a watchdog in Tanzania. The trend of using unnamed sources in many stories seems to have no impact on its credibility and, instead, the dedication of the paper credits it to provide factual and hidden stories that are not easily available without such extra effort.

4.6.4. Government Officials and Anonymity

As elaborated earlier (section 4.2) in this chapter, most of the sources granted anonymity work in some way in government. That means most of them are civil servants who are not authorised spokespersons in their offices. These sources have knowledge and evidence which makes them highly acceptable as credible sources of information. As Riffe (1980:618) argues, “unnamed

sources containing references to government institutions possessed the greatest perceived credibility”. It is not only the *Raia Mwema* journalists who understand Riffe’s argument, but also readers as they believe in whatever facts provided by *Raia Mwema*’s unnamed sources with government referents.

During my interview with a Member of Parliament (Martha), several issues arose regarding the involvement of government officials in providing facts and documents to journalists despite the fact that they are not allowed to do so:

Martha: It is true that unauthorised government officials are the ones providing secret information to journalists especially those working with *Raia Mwema*. I believe that these civil servants are tired of the way things or issues are handled in their respective offices. So long as they are not involved in running these issues by their seniors, they opt to tell journalists the condition of anonymity.

Interviewer: Can we say that these civil servants are patriots (loyal and put public interests at the forefront)?

Martha: I can say yes because if you want thing to move accordingly, and some senior people mess up, the good thing is to expose such evils although it is against the code of conduct for civil servants to expose unauthorized issues to journalists. What they did is for the public interest and not for their personal benefit.

The same issue was discussed during focus group discussions and some participants argued against the benevolence of news sources in their exposés to journalists. One participant argued that most civil servants who give information to journalists are not really innocent, but victims of deals within the government or its entities:

Meshack: I agree that most civil servants provide factual and relevant documents to journalists because they see each and everything happening in their offices. What I don’t agree with is the fact that these civil servants are patriots. I believe that most of them are just victims who missed opportunities to be involved in deals of making huge amount of money in those offices. Likewise, in politics, unnamed politicians (in media) provide information to journalists just to attack other politicians simply because they belong to

different groups. That's the reason why most political parties have internal conflicts due to the presence of small groups opposing each other. For me, I think, anonymity is highly driven by personal vendettas rather than public interest.

Moderator: What about the rest of you, do you agree with Meshack?

Bonaventure: I don't think Meshack is right because in Tanzania we have the problem of selfishness among top government officials and political leaders. Most of these leaders ignore the public and instead they concentrate on their private interests. Junior staffs try to show their patriotism by revealing what big shots are doing which is against public interest. For this matter, I believe that the hidden informants are patriots and they are helpful in revealing what has been hidden, for the benefit of the nation at large.

Mushi: Let me add something here. I think apart from patriotism, bureaucracy within the government and its entities contributes to the increase in the use of anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema* and other newspapers. It is difficult for spokespersons to provide information at the right time and, as a result, journalists use the available alternative, which is the use of unauthorized civil servants, to get information on condition of anonymity.

Most of my participants in both the focus group discussions and the interviews believe that *Raia Mwema* is a credible newspaper regardless of whether it uses named or unnamed sources. The paper has managed to build trust with its readers and wider society. Its frequent trend of using unnamed sources doesn't affect its credibility despite some scholars' views that the overuse of such kind of sources damages the credibility of the paper. Politicians, government officers and people working in private organizations agree that the nature of *Raia Mwema*'s ownership, editorial experience and journalistic background contribute to the credibility that the newspaper enjoys from the public.

4.7. Conclusion

According to *Raia Mwema*'s shareholder and editor (Jamal), influential readers of *Raia Mwema* are middle-class citizens. These include government workers, people working in private institutions, students especially in higher learning institutions, intellectuals, and retired people. He adds that it is only 7% of its readers who belongs to the working class in rural areas. Jamal

believes that readers from the middle class are able to separate truth from lies and judge the news story according to its context (Interview with Jamal, 7 February 2012). Most of them, don't care about who said what (a source), but their main concern in any news story is all about facts provided. According to *Raia Mwema* editors, readers not only understand the motives behind the use of anonymous sources but also accept the practice with no doubt. As suggested by George (2007:899) and Meyer and Zhang (2002:4), an increase in a newspaper's circulation and adverts is among indicators which show that the public find the paper credible.

For the past five years since its establishment, no complaints have been filed to the court of law or to the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) against *Raia Mwema*. This means despite the frequent use of anonymous sources, reporters and editors are keen to make sure that they find all facts needed in a story so as to maintain its credibility status among readers. The newspaper, on the other hand, ensures that the promise of anonymity is kept and fulfilled in order to maintain good relationship between *Raia Mwema* and its informants. As we have seen above, some staffers in this newspaper believe that their readers understand the role of anonymous sources especially when they are used as whistleblowers in investigative journalism while finding them credible too. Meanwhile, as Jamal noted during the interview, readers understand the team which runs the newspaper and they believe in the team especially when some scholars' views and journalisms textbooks disagree with the reality. This is a very important observation in this study as none of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 discusses this scenario in which readers can judge credibility by looking at the team that runs the newspaper and nothing else.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.0. Introduction

This chapter sums up important issues which arose out of this research. The thesis tries to find answers for the problem which deals with credibility as far as journalism sourcing theory is concerned. Three main research questions have been answered with the main purpose of finding out how *Raia Mwema* readers make sense of news stories quoting anonymous sources and whether they find the paper and sources credible. The thesis, in addition, tries to interrogate also the politics surrounding the practice in relation to the Tanzanian journalistic environment.

5.1. Summary from the Findings

I collected ‘content data’ in my preliminary study in order to determine the frequency of using anonymous sources in this newspaper for the period of one year; January to December 2011. This method was useful as it helped in formulating research questions concerning news production within *Raia Mwema* newsroom. Apart from content data, I also collected and analyzed ‘audience data’ from individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions I conducted with readers, media practitioners and some politicians.

From the ‘content data’ and ‘audience data’, the study has established that *Raia Mwema* is among the most reputable newspapers in Tanzania owned and led by reputable journalists within the country. Its reputation has allowed the paper to be considered as very credible despite some reporting practices which are not accepted by some journalism scholars.

It is from the audience data also where the study reveals that *Raia Mwema* has credibility because it is vested in the actual individuals who run the paper, their individual credibility, their standards and practices and reputation as journalists, and the fact that they are also the owners. Ulimwengu and other shareholders of this newspaper are veterans and reputable journalists with a long experience in the field. The owners and editors of *Raia Mwema* don’t have any history of unethical conduct in their journalistic work and, instead, they have a history of being involved in the conflict with the government due to their reportage which seems not to favor those in power.

For the audience, *Raia Mwema* is perceived as a credible paper as it has good affiliation with the community it serves.

Participants in this research, especially *Raia Mwema* readers, have proved that there are times when journalism theories do not adequately describe or inform the real situation. As we have seen in Chapter Three, most journalism theorists argue that the frequent use of anonymous sources is dangerous to the profession as it harms the credibility of the newspaper (Smith, 2007; Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Sternadori and Thorson, 2009; Duffy and Freeman, 2011) . *Raia Mwema* readers judge the newspaper's credibility differently from what journalism theorists posit as they perceive this newspaper as credible despite its trend of using unnamed sources in many of its stories. This judgment of *Raia Mwema*'s credibility from its readers is based on the owners' history and reputation they have in journalism field.

Apart from this aspect of credibility, some journalism scholars favour the importance of newsroom policies to guide this practice of using anonymous sources in many of the newspaper's stories ((Wulfemeyer, 1983; Boeyink, 1990; Davis, Ross and Gates, 1996; Martin-Kratzer and Thorson, 2007; Duffy and Freeman, 2011). These views from theorists are least supported by journalists who participated in this research as most of them believe that it is not the right time for Tanzanian media to introduce such policies. Some of these journalists posit that the political setting within Tanzania is the major hindrance to the introduction of newsroom policies as most media houses are owned by politicians who have personal agenda.

The study has also established that the journalistic community within Tanzania, as represented by the journalists who were interviewed in the study, understands the importance of taking ethical guidelines into consideration in order to make the media credible. Journalists understand that abuse of the practice is dangerous for the credibility of any newspaper and, as a result, may affect the business of that entire newspaper. On the other hand, journalists who participated in focus group discussions and individual interviews seem not to favour the importance of newsroom policies especially on the issue of how to handle anonymous sources. Most of them believe that there is too unfavourable environment in most newsrooms in Tanzania to make these policies work. The only option given by most of the journalists (for the time being and at the present situation) is to have a free regulatory body (apart from the Media Council of Tanzania)

which will monitor any abuse of ethical guidelines and which has a power to summon media houses which violate these guidelines as well as their in-house policies.

Journalists who participated in focus group discussions and interviews suggest that there is a need for newsrooms to have enough freedom which include freedom from owner's interference. Once newsrooms are free from any kind of interference, it will then be possible for policies to guide the use of anonymous sources not only to be implemented but also to be fulfilled. In this scenario, journalists believe that it may be possible for such newsroom policies to be employed within newsrooms. Lack of freedom within newsrooms seems to be an obstacle in the implementation of such policies.

The political environment within Tanzania seems to be unfavourable as far as press freedom is concerned. The media industry in Tanzania is still struggling to move from an authoritarian regime to a liberal democracy. It was not until the 1990s that the media industry in Tanzania opened up to private investment. This shows that there is still a long way to go for the media industry to achieve freedom of expression. Despite this political environment, some media houses (such as *Raia Mwema*) manage to do a lot of investigative reporting, a practice which some scholars (McNair, 1998; Tong, 2011) believe is not possible in a political environment like that of Tanzania. On the other hand, Kupe (2006) argues that this practice (investigative journalism) is the real sign of journalistic work in countries with a low level of freedom of expression (like Tanzania). Despite such conflicting views from different scholars, there is a need for the political setting in Tanzania to review the way the media industry is operating so as to create a conducive environment for journalists and the industry at large. Laws such as the Newspaper Act of 1976, the National Security Act of 1970 and other laws deemed by the Nyalali Commission as oppressive in nature (Sturmer, 1998; Media Council of Tanzania, 2010) must be repealed or overhauled. Media stakeholders in Tanzania are still struggling to convince the government to table two media draft bills to the parliament – Freedom of Information Bill 2006 and Media Service bill of 2007– in order to replace other existing laws governing the media industry.

5.2. Scope for future research

As elaborated early in Chapter Three, this study is descriptive in nature as it deals with understanding readers' behaviour and attitudes on the aspect of credibility especially when decoding news stories and quoting anonymous sources in *Raia Mwema*. The study also gives another perspective on the frequency of appearance of anonymous sources in this paper. Findings reveal that most readers decode *Raia Mwema*'s news stories in a "dominant-hegemony" position whereby they react positively to the sender's meaning in a message (Hall, 1980:136). The main reason behind this decoding position is the nature of ownership of this paper. Readers have built trust in media owners which, in return, allows the newspaper to be considered one with very high credibility within the country. The pressure owners put on journalists, the very different imperatives and standards owners and journalists are working within are among the issues which make this paper one of a kind. On the other hand, the owners of this *Raia Mwema* are also working as editors and columnists on this paper.

This study did not go far as to see the impact that ownership has had as far as media credibility is concerned. The study did not take into consideration whether the situation of owners being practitioners in the same newsroom can affect the credibility or have any adverse effect on the audience. I suggest that these areas could be taken into consideration in other future research.

Raia Mwema serves a community which is in transition from an authoritarian regime to a liberal democracy. Such a transition is not an obstacle for the paper to practice investigative journalism. It seems that there are different factors which make investigative journalism possible in an African context. Such factors might be different in the case of investigative journalism in the West. There is a need for this issue to be studied in future research so as to avoid some sort of confusion as far as media ethics is concerned.

The newspaper in the study (*Raia Mwema*) is very unique in Tanzania as there is no other media house which is fully owned by journalists. On the other hand, it is the paper the owners of which are also working in the same newsroom. Against all odds, *Raia Mwema* is perceived as a credible newspaper despite its frequent trend of using unnamed sources in most of its stories. Due to those factors, *Raia Mwema* has somehow managed to transcend the situation whereby its readers react positively to the message given out by this newspaper.

Appendix 1

Interview guide

For Journalists

1. Introduction and background of the study
2. What is your experience in journalism?
3. What do you think of your newspaper's use of anonymous sources and why do you (journalists) decide to quote these sources in some of your stories?
4. What types of anonymous sources are mostly quoted?
5. Who makes decision whether to name or hide the source of your information? Reporter, a source or an editor?
6. How frequently are anonymous sources used in your newspapers?
7. What do you think are impacts of attributing to anonymous sources to your readers?
8. Have you ever met with any complaints from your readers regarding such trend of quoting anonymous sources?
9. What do you think when you find more than half of newspaper's stories per year attributing to unnamed sources?
10. As journalists, what are your perceptions about the readers' concern on this practice?
11. Do you think the frequent use of anonymous sources could harm the credibility of the newspaper in anyway? Why and how?
12. Do your media house(s) have any formal/ informal newsroom policies and guidelines governing the use of anonymous sources? If no, is it the right time now to introduce such policies?
13. What, in your opinion, do you think must be minimum guidelines before deciding whether to use unnamed sources?
14. Do you think your newsroom can work without anonymous sources?
15. Is there anything you would like to bring up which we have never discussed here?

Thank You for your participation

Appendix 2

Interview guide for readers

1. Introduction (Name, education background and occupation)
2. What are your general views on the way media industry is performing in Tanzania?
3. How frequently do you read *Raia Mwema* and why?
4. How would you compare *Raia Mwema* to other newspapers?
5. How could you rate the trend of quoting anonymous sources in this newspaper?
6. Why do you think some sources remain unnamed in this particular newspaper?
7. How could you rate the credibility of the newspaper (*Raia Mwema*) and its journalists?
8. How could you rate the credibility of these unnamed sources?
9. How do you differentiate news stories in *Raia Mwema* and news stories in other newspapers?
10. How do you rate the credibility of news stories with named and unnamed sources? What kind of stories do you rate more credible and why?
11. Do you trust news stories quoting anonymous sources in this particular newspaper? Why?
12. Have you ever think of the possibility of reporter's abuse or misuse of unnamed sources?
13. Why do you think most of *Raia Mwema*'s unnamed sources are civil servants?
14. Do you care if the newspaper is frequently quoting unnamed sources?
15. Do you think newspaper's ownership has some impact on such trend?
16. Is there anything you would like to bring up especially about the journalism performance in Tanzania?

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 3

Interview Guide for Journalists within *Raia Mwema*

1. Introduction and general background of the newspaper
2. What is the target audience of the *Raia Mwema*?
3. Why do you quote anonymous sources in many of your stories (specifically in 2011)?
4. Don't you think that this trend of attributing many stories to unnamed sources can harm the credibility of your newspaper?
5. Who in your newsroom decide whether to hide the name of the source or to reveal in a news story?
6. How do you verify facts you receive from anonymous source?
7. Do you get any feedback from your readers on the issue of attribution?
8. Where do most of your unnamed sources come from? Political parties? Government entities?
9. What are you doing to maintain your relationship with these unnamed sources?
10. Have you ever come across any difficulties because of anonymous sources?
11. Don't you see that the frequent use of unnamed sources may cause some journalist to misuse them or abuse the practice?
12. Do you have any policy guiding the practice? If not why? If yes, is it effective?
13. What is your general overview on the performance of the media industry in Tanzania?

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Bibliography

- Adam, J. and Kamuzora, F. 2008. *Research Methods for Business and Social Studies*. Mzumbe: Mzumbe Book Project.
- Ali, S and Kelly, M. 2004. Ethics and social research. In Seale, C. (ed). *Researching Society and Culture 2nd ed*. London: Sage.
- Awad, I. 2006. Journalists and Their Sources: Lessons from Anthropology. *Journalism Studies*. 7(6). 922-939.
- Babbie, E and Mutton, J. 2001. *The Practice of Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bailey, M. 1973. *The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: A study in Political Integration*. New York: Syracuse University.
- Barker, C. 2000. *Cultural Studies; Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.
- Black, J and Roberts, C. 2011. *Doing Ethics in Media: Theories and Practical Applications*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Boeyink, D.E. 1990. Anonymous Sources in News Stories: Justifying Exceptions and Limiting Abuses. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*. 5(4). 233-246.
- Brown, I. and Brown, R. 1995. Approach to Rural Mass Poverty. In Legum, C. and Mmari, G. (eds). *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. London: James Currey Ltd. 9-22.
- Bryman, A. 2012. *Social Research Methods (4th Ed)*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Carlson, M. 2011. Whither Anonymity? Journalism and Unnamed Sources in a Changing Media Environment. In Franklin, B. and Carlson, M. (Eds.). *Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives*. New York and London: Routledge. 37-48.
- Carlson, M and Franklin, B. (Eds.). 2011. *Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives*. New York and London: Routledge.

- Creswell, J.W. 2009. *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches (3rd Edition)*. London: Sage.
- Davis, C.N., Ross, S.D. and Gates, P.H. 1996. How newspapers editors feel about confidential sources in a wake of Cohen v. Cowles. *Newspapers Research Journal*. 17(3-4). 88-97.
- Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P and Murdock, G. 2007. *Researching Communication: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Duffy, M.J. and Freeman, C.P. 2011. Anonymous Sources: A Utilitarian Exploration of Their Justification and Guidelines for Limited Use. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*. 26(4). 297-315.
- Ernst, J. 1988. *The Structure of Political Communication*. Frankfurt: European University Studies.
- Esposito, S.A. 1999. Anonymous White House Sources: How They Helped Shape Television News Coverage of the Bill Clinton –Monica Lewinsky Investigation. *Communications and the Law*. 21(3). 1-18.
- Fiske, J. 1987. *Television Culture*. London: Methuen.
- Franklin, B. 1994. *Packaging Politics: Political Communication in Britain's Media Democracy*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Gaziano, C. and McGrath, K. 1986. Measuring the Concept of Credibility. *Journalism Quarterly* 63(3). 451-462.
- George, C. 2007. Credibility Deficit: Why some news media don't pay the price. *Journalism Studies*. 8(6). 898-908.
- Ghauri, P. and Gronhaug, K. 2005. *Research Methods in Business Studies: A Practical Guide*. Harlow: Pearson.
- Goodwin, H.E. 1983. *Groping for Ethics in Journalism*. Iowa: Iowa State University Press.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. and Roberts, B. 1978. *Policing the Crisis*. London: Macmillan.

- Hall, S. 1980. Encoding/Decoding. In Hall, S., Hobson, D., Lowe, A. and Willis, P (Eds). *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Hutchinson. 128-138.
- Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R., and Newbold, C. 1998. *Mass Communication Research Methods*. London: Macmillan.
- Harcup, T. and O'Neill, D. 2001. What Is News? Galtung and Ruge revisited'. *Journalism Studies*. 2(2). 261 – 280.
- Harwood, W. and Hudnall, J.C. 1997. *Writing and Editing School News*. Topeka: Clark Pub co.
- Holub, R.C. 2001. *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jensen, K.B. 1988. Answering the question: What is Reception Analysis? *Nordicom Review*. 9(1). 3-5.
- Kiousis, S. 2001. Public Trust or Mistrust? Perceptions of Media Credibility in the Information Age. *Mass Communication and Society*. 4(4). 381-403.
- Kombo, D.K and Tromp, D.L.A. 2006. *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.
- Kothari, C.R. 2004. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: News Age International.
- Kovach, B and Rosenstiel, T. 2007. *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Kupe, T. 2006. Anonymous Sources or the 'a Source Close to ...' Syndrome – A Necessary Evil?. *IAJ Journal 'Anonymous Sources'*. 1. 5-10.
- Livingstone, S. 1998. Relationship between media and audience: prospect for audience reception studies. In Liebes, T. and Curran, J.(Eds.). *Media, Ritual and Identity: Essays in honor of Elihu Katz*. London: Routledge. 237-253.

- Louw, R. 2006. Section 205 and the minefield around journalists' confidential sources. *IAJ Journal 'Anonymous Sources'*. 1. 11-22.
- Lunt, P. and Livingstone, S. 1996. Rethinking the Focus Group in Media and Communications Research. *Journal of Communication*. 46(2). 79-98.
- Manara, K. 2011. The Effects of Unethical Practices on Newspapers' Reportage of Grand Corruption in Tanzania. *Media Research Papers*. Dar es Salaam: MCT. 47-100.
- Manning, P. 2001. *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Martin-Kratzer, R. and Thorson, E. 2007. Use of Anonymous Sources Decline in U.S. Newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 28(2). 56-70.
- McCroskey, J. C. and Teven, J. J. (1999). Goodwill: A Reexamination of the Construct and its Measurement. *Communication Monographs*. 66. 90-103.
- McNair, B. 1998. *The Sociology of Journalism*. London: Arnold.
- McQuail, D. 2005. *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory 5th edition*. London: Sage.
- Media Council of Tanzania. 2007. *State of the Media 2007*. Dar es salaam: Ecoprint.
- Media Council of Tanzania. 2010. *Self Regulate or Perish: The History of the Media Council of Tanzania up to 2009*. Dar es Salaam: MCT.
- Media Council of Tanzania. 2011a. *State of the Media Report 2010*. Dar es salaam: MCT.
- Media Council of Tanzania. 2011b. *State of the Media Report 2011*. Dar es salaam: MCT.
- Mfumbusa, B. 2010. Tanzania's Journalism education at crossroads: Western models, Local realities. In Josephi, B (ed). *Journalism education in countries with limited media freedom*. New York: Peter Lang Publishers. 155-172.
- Meyer, P. 1988. Defining and Measuring Credibility of Newspapers: Developing an Index. *Journalism Quarterly*. 65(2).. 567-588.

- Meyer, P. and Zhang, Y. 2002. Anatomy of a Death Spiral: Newspapers and Their Credibility. Paper presented to National Convention of Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Miami, FL, (2002, August 10). Retrieved from: http://www.unc.edu/~pmeyer/Quality_Project/anatomy_of_death_spiral.pdf, 11 September 2012.
- Niblock, S. 2005. Practice and Theory: What is News? In Keeble, R (ed). *Print Journalism; A Critical Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge. 73-81.
- Othman, H. 1995. The Union with Zanzibar. In Legum, C. and Mmari, G. (eds). *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. London: James Currey Ltd. 170-175.
- Powers, A. and Fico, F. 1994. Influences on Use of Sources at Large U.S Newspapers. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 15(4). 87-97.
- Rains, S.A. and Scott, C.R. 2007. To Identify or Not to Identify: A Theoretical Model of Receiver Responses to Anonymous Communication. *Communication Theory*. 17. 61-91.
- Raman, U. 2010. *Writing for the Media*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Randall, D. 2011. *The Universal Journalist (4th edition)*. London: Pluto Press.
- Reich, Z. 2011, Source Credibility as a Journalistic Work Tool. In Franklin, B. and Carlson, M. (eds). *Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives*. New York and London: Routledge. 19-36.
- Riffe, D. 1980. Relative Credibility Revisited: How 18 Unnamed Sources Are Rated. *Journalism Quarterly*. 5(4). 618-623.
- Schudson, M. 2003. *The Sociology of News*. New York: W W Norton.
- Scott, C. R. 2005. Anonymity in Applied Communication Research: Tension between IRBs, Researchers, and Human Subjects. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*. 33. 242-257.
- Self, C.S. 1996. Credibility. In Swalen, M. and Stacks, D (Eds). *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research*. Mahwah New Jersey: Erlbaum.

- Severin, W.J. and Tankard, J.W. 1992. *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, And Uses In The Mass Media*. New York: Longman.
- Shaughnessy, J.J., Zechmeister, E.B and Zechmeister, J.S. 2003. *Research Methods in Psychology 6th edition*. Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Shivji, I.G. 2008. *Pan-Africanism or Pragmatism? Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union*. Dar es salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Smith, R.F. 2007. Impact of Unnamed Source On Credibility Not Certain. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 28(3). 8-19.
- Sole, S. 2006. The Vital Role Played by Confidential Sources. *IAJ Journal 'Anonymous Sources'*. 1. 29-35.
- Sternadori, M.M. and Thorson, E. 2009. Anonymous Sources Harm Credibility of All Stories. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 30(4). 54-66.
- Sturmer, M. 1998. *The Media History in Tanzania*. Mtwara: Ndanda Mission Press.
- Thakurta, P.G. 2009. *Media Ethics; Truth, Fairness and Objectivity*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Thloloe, J. 2006. Ethical Principles. *IAJ Journal 'Anonymous Sources'*. 1. 51-55.
- Tong, J. 2011. *Investigative Journalism in China; Journalism, Power and Society*. London: Continuum.
- Tuchman, G. 1978. *Making News; A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Wathen, C.N. and Burkell, J. 2002. Believe It or Not: Factors Influence Credibility on the Web. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*. 53(2). 134-144.
- Whitehead, J.L. 1968. Factors of Source Credibility. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 54(59-63).
- Wilkins, L. 1997. Anonymous Sources. *Journalism Ethics*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. 117-122.

Wilson, J. 1996. *Understanding Journalism: A guide to Issues*. London and New York: Routledge.

Wilson, S.L., Babcock, W.A. and Pribek, J. 1997. Newspaper ombudsmen's reactions to use of anonymous sources. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 18(3-4). 141-153.

Wimmer, R.D. and Dominick, J.R. 2006. *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Boston: Wadsworth.

Wulfemeyer, K.T. 1983. Use of Anonymous Sources in Journalism. *Newspaper Research Journal*. 4(2). 43-50.

Wulfemeyer, K.T. 1985. How and why anonymous attribution is used by Time and Newsweek. *Journalism Quarterly*. 62. 81-86.

Wulfemeyer, K.T. and McFadden, L.L. 1986. Anonymous Attribution in Network News. *Journalism Quarterly*. 63(3). 468-473.

www.raiamwema.co.tz Retrieved 13 April 2012.

<http://www.jenerali.com/cms.php?cmsid=2> retrieved 12 August 2012