



DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM, MEDIA
AND COMMUNICATION, JMG

"I'LL NEVER DO INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM HERE IN TANZANIA IN MY ENTIRE LIFE"

Challenges of press freedom and female journalists
in mainland Tanzania

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Abstract

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Purpose: The aim of the study is to reflect the perceived professional identities of female journalists in relation to investigative journalism and how much the legislative restrictions by the state change their perceived possibilities to produce journalism according to their ideals.

Theory: Findings are discussed with the theory of social capital by Pierre Bourdieu. In *The Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu introduces the accumulation of different forms of capital, such as social and cultural capital.

Method: The study in hand is based on empirical research and its chosen approach is the concept of social capital by Pierre Bourdieu. Empirical research has been conducted by document collecting, interviewing, and participant observation. The data consists of six semi-structured interviews of educated female journalists. On top of empirical data, publications by the Media Council of Tanzania were collected and analyzed: Press freedom violations register (2016), Compendium of analyzes of media related laws in Tanzania (2020), *Challenging the Glass ceiling: Study of Women in the Newsroom in Tanzania* (2019), and *Gender in Media Policy* (2019). The conclusions are based on both the interviews and the document analysis.

Result: Women produce and report investigative journalism in Tanzania, and journalists of female gender consider working with it to be possible with their level of competence, but there is a strong sense of self-censorship among the professionals because of the legislation created to hinder journalism. Journalists need to work in favor of the government, or they risk being banned, fined, or imprisoned. The situation above refers to all genders, but female journalists must hold their professionalism to a higher standard to protect themselves from inappropriate demands within and outside newsrooms.

Foreword

Special thanks to my patient supervisor Maria Edström, who told me to never panic when I was nervous about travelling to Tanzania. To Hanna Tuulonen, who took time from working on their PhD studies to discuss and proofread my thesis. To my experienced and wise travel companions, Finnish journalists Hannamari Hoikkala and Carita Petterson. To Vikes ry who made my travel to Tanzania possible with a scholarship, as well as the Media Council of Tanzania and Tanzania Women's Media Association for providing connections. And especially to all the interviewees, who so openly talked about the current problems to a stranger. Asante sana.

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1 Introduction

The discussion of media freedom in the United Republic of Tanzania has seemed grim in recent years. There has been news of threatened, jailed, or disappeared journalists. Development and media organizations in Tanzania have raised concerns over the gendered discrimination of female journalists and human rights issues. Finnish development organization Vikes ry has been working together with Tanzania Media Council and Tanzania Media Women's Association since 2019 to improve the working conditions of women who work in the media by diminishing the gender pay gap, combating sexual harassment, and improving the social status of female journalists so that they can report stories on more diverse topics. After I was given the possibility to travel to Tanzania with the organization to observe the project and working conditions of Tanzanian female journalists, I became curious about how these professionals see their positions as journalists in regard to producing investigative stories. According to research (MCT, 2019b), women are still working to set their foot inside newsrooms, even though they actually represent a majority in media studies. But fewer stay in the job market, as they still hold the responsibility of housework and are not encouraged by their families to practice their profession. The development project between Vikes ry and Tanzanian NGOs reported in 2019 (MCT, 2019b) that female journalists face sexual harassment even from their editors inside the newsrooms, and that female journalists are not necessarily trusted with hard news or with covering certain events.

As practicing investigative journalism is generally considered to be the most expensive type of journalism but one that does not attract mass consumption (de Burgh, 2000:7), and the previous research seems to suggest that the professional achievements of female journalists are still easily overlooked, I thought there could be a possibility to study how these professionals would see their possibilities in aiming toward investigative reporting. While there has been some studies of women working in the media field in Tanzania, the motives and aspirations toward investigative methods have not been researched – especially in the context of diminishing press freedom in the country since 2015, when Tanzania's former president John Magufuli came into power; since then, multiple new legislative acts have been passed to control the nation's press. With the history of strong ideals of development journalism in the media, linking journalists to support the public interest and the government

to further the interest of the country, Magufuli's government has built a legislative framework that makes it possible for the government to ban, fine, and/or jail journalists and media houses practically with any reason they deem 'against public interest'. The research aims to study the motivations of female professionals struggling to practice journalism according to their ethical standards in a country where they could either face violence or go missing if their stories are published, as well as discuss the relation between the legislative framework and its importance in practicing investigative methods in journalism.

For the study I have interviewed six professionals working in Dar es Salaam, the largest city in Tanzania. All of them have identified themselves as women. In my research I write about female journalists and female professionals with the purpose identifying the struggles this certain group of individuals faces while practicing their profession. As there is no other need to constantly emphasize that the journalists I have interviewed are women, I will refer to them in my results as Journalist 1, Journalist 2, Journalist 3, Journalist 4, Journalist 5, and Journalist 6. There are some organizations that come up in the study regularly, and therefore I will refer to them with initialisms, to make it easier for the reader. In the study, RSF refers to Reporters Without Borders, originally a French organization for journalists all over the world. Based in Paris, RSF is an independent NGO with consultative status with the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF). It has foreign sections, including Brussels, Washington, Berlin, Tunis, Rio de Janeiro, and Stockholm, and a network of correspondents in 130 countries. The initialism MCT refers to the Media Council of Tanzania, an organization which helped me to contact the professionals for the interviews and from whence I have also collected reports of misconduct and their analyzes of media laws affecting Tanzanian journalists. MCT is committed to promoting freedom of the media and ensuring high professional standards and accountability. It was started as an independent, voluntary, non-statutory regulatory body in 1995 during the journalists' and stakeholders' convention held in Dar es Salaam (MCT, 2021).

2 Background

The United Republic of Tanzania is an East African country that consists of a mainland territory and Zanzibar Island. It has a population of over 56 million people and according to Kalyango (2017:6), an estimated 890 working journalists of which 55 percent are male. For comparison, Sweden has a population of roughly 10 million people, and the Swedish Union for Journalists has around 14,300 members (Journalistförbundet, 2021). The history of the freedom of the press in Tanzania is closely related to the history of gaining independence in 1961 after colonialism under Germany and later the United Kingdom, as the country adopted “colonial-era regulations that then were supplemented with a post-colonial socialist belief in media as subservient to a state development agenda” (Powell, 2017:84). The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, ratified in 1977, guarantees that every person:

[H]as freedom of opinion and expression of their ideas; has the right to seek, receive, and/or disseminate information regardless of national boundaries; has the freedom to communicate and freedom with protection from interference from their communication; has the right to be informed at all times of various important events of life and activities of the people and also of issues of importance to the society. (Article 18.)

The phrasing of the constitution is very similar to the article 19 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948): *"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."* There is no separate act about press freedom in the Tanzanian constitution, and the Tanzania Newspaper Act, passed as early as 1976 with an additional supplementary law in 1977, has been criticized for contradicting Article 18 by giving the President and the minister in charge of the information sector the power to ban, control, and prohibit the publication or importation of publications for allegedly jeopardizing national interests, peace, and good government (Sturmer, 1998:167-169). Since 1992, Tanzania has moved toward a pluralist political system and limited capitalism, introducing privatization and market mechanisms to boost industrialization, and allowing private media ownership (Powell, 2017:84). In Tanzania, dramatic change started in 2015, when first the Cybercrimes Act and later other restrictive acts were ruled to heighten governmental power over publishing online and producing

journalism. Despite tough laws and actions over the the years, the Tanzanian press freedom situation has been progressing, according to the World Press Freedom Index by RSF (2021).

The panel of the African Media Barometer (Media Institute of Southern Africa & Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2020:12) discusses the emerged laws in a worried tone. The Media Services Act of 2016 has reintroduced crimes of sedition and criminal defamation, including the defamation of dead persons. According to the report, one panelist pointed out that the Newspaper Act from 1976, which was considered repressive, was replaced with an even more repressive Media Services Act. Similarly, local media organizations like Tanzania Media Women's Association (MCT, 2019b:6) have reported on the discriminatory situation of female journalists working in Tanzania. More women graduate from journalistic education programs, but most professionals working in the field in Tanzania are male. According to a lecturer, whom I interviewed at the University of Dar es Salaam in March 2020, this is because women lack encouragement specifically to work with technical issues and 'hard' topics. It seems important to study the extent to which professional journalists are experiencing not only difficulties related to press freedom, but also gendered discrimination. There is not as much research of female professionals working in journalism in Tanzania, especially when it comes to investigative journalism. As the freedom of the press index, media organizations, and the professionals I interviewed all suggest, practicing journalism altogether is very difficult in Tanzania right now.

2.1. Freedom of the Press in Tanzania

Chambers and Costain (2001) argue that healthy democracies need a public sphere where regular and elite citizens alike can “exchange ideas, acquire knowledge and information, confront public problems, exercise public accountability, discuss policy options, challenge the powerful without the fear of reprisal, and defend ethical principles” (Chambers, S. & Costain, A., 2001:6). They conclude that the background conditions that give us confidence in the authenticity of the exercise of democratic self-determination, are, at a minimum, a guarantee of free speech, conscience, and press. (Chambers & Costain, 2011.) All over the world, various powers wish to control local media systems. To represent this, RSF has created the Press Freedom Index, which measures the current journalistic climate within each country

annually, with contributions from local journalists. The Press Freedom Index uses different aspects of society as indicators when measuring the levels of press freedom. RSF considers 87 different questions, which are geographically assigned to specialists who provide data on press freedom violations. Countries score points in categories such as pluralism, media independence, environment and self-censorship, legislative framework, transparency, infrastructure, and abuses. Tanzania's current position on the Press Freedom Index shows the slowly progressing press freedom situation turning toward a completely opposite direction. Ranked 124th out of 180 countries in RSF's 2021 World Press Freedom Index, Tanzania has fallen a total of 53 places since 2016. According to RSF (2021): "Tanzania has become increasingly authoritarian since John Magufuli's election as president in 2015. None of the 180 countries ranked in RSF's World Press Freedom Index has suffered such a precipitous decline in recent years." It is not known yet, at time of writing this research, how the recent death of president Magufuli will impact the press freedom situation in Tanzania.

Tanzania's media history as a once-colonized country gaining independence, leading to the unification of Zanzibar and the mainland territory, has been on a journey toward more diverse press structures, with private media companies and multiple voices within the media. Private media companies started to emerge on top of the national press in the 90s, when Tanzania became a multi-party state on July 1st, 1992. The first pluralistic elections of independent Tanzania were supposed to take place at the end of 1992, but they were postponed to October 1995 (Sturmer, 1998:172-178). According to Sturmer (1998), the most significant agreement was approved on May 3rd of 1991 during a seminar of UNO and UNESCO. The so-called Windhoek Declaration regards "censorship as a violation of human rights and a pluralistic press as an indispensable tool in development and democratization" (Sturmer, 1998:13). Same date was proclaimed that year by UNESCO's General Conference and has later become known as the International Press Freedom Day. The declaration was welcomed by most of Africa's information ministers, and in conference in Abuja, Nigeria, in May 1992, it was stressed that democratization was not possible without freedom of the press. The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) was established in August 1992. Its major objective is to promote and defend press freedom, take appropriate steps where such freedoms are violated and to seek to remove obstacles to the free flow of information. (Sturmer, 1998:13-14.)

Despite these turning points in the 1990s, the press has been seen to support the development of the country throughout the history of Tanzania. As well as the country's first President Julius Nyerere's socialistic idea of building the nation together after being colonized, Sturmer (1998) points out a cultural difference between Western and African journalism. In African media culture, political disagreements are viewed as personal attacks on the people in power. Praise of the leaders is anchored in traditional African values. In a system where it is a cultural expectation for the president to receive praise, the enemies of the system are often condemned. According to Sturmer, "the integrating function of this pattern is performed by the media which mobilise the population to fight against both internal and external factors endangering the homogeneity of a given society" (1998:18-20). This hostility is usually aimed toward the West, but also national issues such as illiteracy and poverty (Sturmer, 1998). The demagogue leader is considered to have rhetorical charisma when they turn the issue in hand into a fight against an abstract and complicated problem. In the context of press freedom, this can be seen when taking into consideration the former president John Magufuli's government's reactions to the claims of press freedom violations. Journalists who report human rights issues may be accused of giving Tanzania a bad reputation. As reported by Human Rights Watch (2019), Tanzania's major English language newspaper The Citizen was banned for writing two one-sided stories, one of which was on "the gradual downward spiral of respect for civil liberties in Tanzania". According to the African Media Barometer (MISA & FES, 2020:14), this has resulted in critical features, analyzes, commentary, and opinions disappearing from newspapers, as it has become much more difficult to feature sources on record. If journalists write critical stories now, the language has often changed, forcing the reader to 'read between the lines' of what is being said. The barometer also points out that there is a cultural double standard allowing a few newspapers to remain outspoken, like the Tanzanite newspaper, but those medias are operated by pro-government interests and represent no real threat to the administration. (MISA & FES, 2020:15.)

MCT's (2019a) Report of Press Freedom Violations from 2017-2018 brings up notions similar to those of the RSF (2021). MCT notes the case of Erick Kabendera, the most widely known Tanzanian investigative journalist to be arrested in recent years. Kabendera spent seven months in prison after being arrested in July 2019. His charges changed three times during his incarceration, making it obvious that he was being held for his articles criticizing the economy and the government, as well as uncovering corruption. The arrest of Kabendera

caught the attention of international medias such as CNN and BBC and human rights organization Amnesty International. Kabendera was freed in 2020 with a USD \$100,000 fine for money laundering and tax violation. One troublesome issue according to RSF (2021) is the closure of media outlets operating in Tanzania. Three web TV stations and a leading daily newspaper were arbitrarily closed in 2019. As stated by RSF (2021), the government threatens privately-owned media by withholding state advertising when the journalism does not support the government. The legislative framework to control the rights of publishing content online provide a risk for media houses as well as private persons to face high fines or even prison in cases of contradicting the will of the government. The arresting of journalists is not uncommon across the world, but in Tanzania disappearances of investigative journalists have also been reported. While I was in Dar es Salaam, I heard about some journalists going into hiding or working from neighboring countries because they fear for their lives. It cannot be said that the disappearance of investigative journalist automatically means they have been victims of a crime, but as the Report of Press Freedom violations by MCT (2019a) suggests, there are journalists who have, according to their sources, felt sufficiently threatened to hide after handling topics for which they have received threats. RSF (2021) notes that Tanzanian authorities have not expressed any concern toward looking into these disappearances or protecting journalists. A Tanzanian investigative journalist, Azory Gwanda went missing after investigating the murders of local officials in November 2017. MCT's report (2019a) says that unidentified people came over to his house and abducted him in a white Toyota Land Cruiser. Before his disappearance, Gwanda had been working on a journalistic investigation into a series of murders of local officials, including members of the government and the police force. At the time of his abduction, he was investigating the mysterious disappearances of children in the area. (MCT, 2019a.) In June 2019 on BBC's 'Focus on Africa' program, Tanzania's foreign minister at the time said that Gwanda had "disappeared and died" in the country's eastern Rufiji region. When international organizations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists asked for more detailed information about the death, the minister took back their words, saying that their words were taken out of the context, and he did not know the whereabouts of the journalist. (CPJ, 2020.)

Journalists have been arrested on duty and opposition politicians have been indefinitely detained. Another missing journalist is Kibondo-based freelance writer, Mwemezi Muhingo

(MCT, 2019a). Muhingo had received threats after writing a story about a missing person. Muhingo was working on the story even after his colleagues had stopped working on it after receiving threats. He had told his colleagues that he feared for his life. Some sources of the report (MCT, 2019a) have stated that he has gone into hiding. MCT's report mentions multiple other incidents, most of them assaults, threats, or arrests of journalists. In the Sengerema district, a radio station was stormed by local officials under the instructions of the District Commissioner. At the time of the invasion, the station manager, Felician Ncheye, was admitted to Muhimbili National Hospital, where he died on March 27th, 2017. The station was overrun by the District Council. On May 28th, 2018, a journalist was kidnapped in the Kigoma region by unidentified people. The journalist was told that he had won a prize from a mobile company and when he went to collect it, he was taken away in a car. He was found a month later dumped in Dar es Salaam and has since been unwilling to talk about the incident. (MCT, 2019a.) Statistics provided by the report between October 2017 and September 2018 indicate that the most common violation against press freedom was denying access to information, such as not giving interviews/statistics or chasing away journalists. Most commonly, these incidents were conducted by State Coercive Organs, such as intelligence agencies, security agents, and the police. The Press Violations Register, the MCT's (2016) online database, shows that these have been common incidents recently as well.

There has been steady deterioration of press freedom and freedom of expression in Tanzania during the past three years. With strict new laws being passed, such as the Media Services Act, 2016, Cyber Crimes Act, Statistics Act enacted in 2015, Electronic and Postal Communications Act Online Regulations 2018, and the recent Statistics Act Amendment, the freedom of expression and press freedom situation is precarious because all the laws have an adverse effect on the media as well as citizens' ability to express alternative viewpoints and opinions that contradict the official narrative. (MCT, 2019a:1)

Limited freedom of the press is not only a problem for journalists, but for democracy. Without free and accurate information, citizens are not able to make informed decisions about the leadership of their country. In their research, Färdigh et al. (2011) point out that availability of information is not only important for voters, but also economists, who need crucial information to avoid market failures and to achieve an efficient allocation of resources:

The principal-agent framework, commonly used by both economists and political scientists, is defined by the asymmetry of information between principal and agent (Besley & Burgess 2002, Aidt 2003, Coyne & Leeson 2004, Miller 2005, Teorell 2007, Lindstedt & Naurin 2010). In this case, the principals are typically citizens/voters and the agents are politicians/bureaucrats. The origins of corruption, in this type of 2- model, can be traced back to an information asymmetry where the agent has an information advantage over the principal.¹ A free press is supposed to contribute to more transparency and a freer flow of information which will decrease the information asymmetry. (Färdigh et al., 2011:4-10.)

According to Färdigh et al. (2011), the most obvious cost of corruption is the risk of getting caught and punished. Where there is free media providing citizens impartial and sufficient information, the risk of exposure is larger. Their study argues that on top of the apparent impact on democracy, press freedom increases economic development and the spread of education, literacy, and depersonalized relationships. They conclude that these aspects lower the amount of corruption in a society.

The data collection for this study was conducted during spring 2020; since then the situation in Tanzania has changed in some substantial ways. Tanzania faced a general election in 2020, with very limited possibilities to work and report freely for journalists. The African Media Barometer (MISA & FES, 2020) pointed out that there was a great risk for the diminished freedom of the press to affect the outcome of the election. As feared, troublesome events happened during the election in October. The Tanzanian Election Watch (Ssempebwa et al., 2020), a regional initiative formed to shed light on the electoral context in the country, expressed concern about events during the election day which dampened the credibility of the electoral process. As well as reported deaths of innocent civilians, arresting candidates on election day, and arresting and attacking opposition polling agents observing the polling stations, freedom of speech was affected by an internet and Twitter shutdown on the 27th of October and limiting mobile services and restricting the free flow of information through short messaging services. According to Middle Eastern media Al Jazeera (2020a), international media were not given accreditation to cover voting, and major social media networks were blocked unless using virtual private networks (VPN). Magufuli was chosen president for the next five years after receiving 12.5 million votes. His main challenger,

Tundu Lissu of the opposing Chadema party, received 1.9 million votes, according to the electoral commission. The opposition claimed election fraud. (Al Jazeera, 2020b.)

The COVID-19 pandemic caused wide lockdowns in countries all over the world in March 2020, and Tanzania's approach to the virus was very different to other countries. Tanzanian authorities provided coronavirus figures until the end of April, reporting just over 500 cases and 21 deaths (RSF, 2020). After that, authorities stopped giving out numbers to journalists, stating that there were no new cases. Journalists faced not only the impossibility of accessing state-held information but, again, new repressive policies toward media and journalists who question the government's handling of the epidemic. According to RSF (2020), reporter Talib Ussi Hamad from the Tanzania Daima newspaper was suspended for six months in April on the government's orders on the grounds that he referred to a coronavirus patient without the patient's consent. The Mwananachi newspaper's website license was withdrawn for six months and a local Web TV, Kwanza Online TV, was closed for 11 months. Three other media outlets were fined by the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority. In July and August of 2020, the government made new legislative changes, implementing regulations for publishing "information with regards to the outbreak of a deadly or contagious disease in the country or elsewhere without the approval of the respective authorities" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2020). Reproducing content from foreign media without prior permission from the government was also criminalized. President Magufuli stated that Tanzania had defeated the pandemic by praying. Without any restrictions or measures taken to avoid COVID-19 spreading in the country, many officials have died without the cause of their death being specified. At the end of February 2021, president Magufuli disappeared from the public eye and was announced dead on the 17th of March (BBC, 2021; Africanews, 2021). The vice president, Samia Suluhu Hassan, 61, was sworn into office on March 19, 2021, and she became the first female president of the United Republic of Tanzania. According to the Tanzanian newspaper The Citizen (Mosenda, 2021), Hassan has assured to follow Magufuli's vision in their politics.

3 Previous studies

Mark Deuze (2005:445) describes the professional identity of journalists as an ideology, i.e. a collection of values, strategies, and formal codes characterizing professional journalism and shared most widely by its members. He has outlined five important factors for the professional identities of journalists that have been present in Western academic research:

- Public service: journalists provide a public service (as watchdogs or 'news-hounds', active collectors and disseminators of information);
- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;
- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free, and independent in their work;
- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality, and speed (inherent in the concept of 'news');
- Ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity, and legitimacy. (Deuze, 2005:447)

Patterson (1998, as cited in Wiik, 2010:27) has concluded, by comparing journalists from five countries, that there is a trans-national journalistic culture, meaning that journalists have some shared conceptions of news, despite different working conditions.

3.1. Journalism and gender

The first president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, nationalized the most influential newspaper The Standard and appointed a woman called Frene Ginwala as the new editor (Sturmer, 1998:120). Ginwala was an educated Marxist and African nationalist who had worked as a freelance journalist at the BBC, The Guardian, The Sunday Observer among others and was on the editorial board of the Algerian-based paper *Révolution Africaine*. According to Sturmer (1998), Ginwala and Nyerere together negotiated Ginwala's situation as editor, as she had been in the opposition all her life, but Nyerere assured her that he did not want The Standard to become a governmental mouthpiece. Ginwala demanded that the president repeat his promise in public. On February 5th, 1970, the day of the paper's nationalization, the so-called 'President's Charter' was published on the frontpage of the daily. The proclamation was reputed to be the creed of Tanzanian journalism until the early 1990s:

The new 'Standard' will be free to criticise any particular acts of individual Tanu or Government leaders, and to publicise any failures in the community, by whomever they are

committed. It will be free to criticise the implementation of agreed policies, either on its own initiative or following upon complaints or suggestions from its readers. The new 'Standard' will aim at supplying its readers with all domestic and world news as quickly and as fully as possible. It will be run on the basis that a newspaper only keeps the trust of its readers, and only deserves their trust, if it reports the truth of the best of its ability, and without distortion, whether that truth is pleasant or unpleasant. (Part of 'President's Charter', The Standard, No. 12.211, February 5th, 1970, p. 1, as cited in Sturmer, 1998:123)

The ideals stated in the charter seem to reflect the trans-national ideals of journalistic culture, despite the fact that The Standard was declared a socialist publication and the president was still in charge of the editor.

Jenny Wiik (2010) discusses journalism as a gendered field in transition in their dissertation on the professional identity of Swedish journalists. She refers to Melin (2008, as cited in Wiik, 2010:173) who contacted British female journalists who were struggling for legitimacy within rather strict masculine hierarchies, and used various tactics, such as acting in typical masculine manners or relying on their femininity as an asset; and de Bruin (2004, as cited in Wiik, 2010:173) who "suggested the professional experience of journalists to be an overlap of professional-, gender- and organizational identities". Wiik notes that female journalists use their professional identity over their gender identity at newsrooms as a protection against the unequal masculine newsroom culture. The protection is not absolute, she points out, as it has to be acknowledged by other actors. According to Wiik, women stress about their professional identity more than men and value their ideals to a higher extent, crystallizing more distinct professional identities. Women tend to emphasize the traditionally professional ideals of neutrality and scrutiny to a greater level (Wiik, 2010:174-175). Wiik notes that for men, the gap between professional and gender identities has probably never been a problem, making them more carefree concerning their place in journalism. Her findings support a change in this (in Sweden):

Neutrality has as a symbolic attribute in the journalistic discourse, repeatedly been defined as masculine – empirically confirmed in several studies (e.g. Djerf Pierre, 2007, Larssen, 2000, Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 1997, Melin-Higgins, 1996a). According to my results this is no longer true for Swedish journalism – there has been a shift in values based on gender. (Wiik, 2010:174.)

Being a woman in a male-dominated field makes it necessary to develop specific strategies for taking possession of positions in the field (Djerf-Pierre, 2007:98). Djerf-Pierre (2007) concludes that three principal strategies have been developed: strategies of competition, specialization, and expansion. 'Challenging the Glass Ceiling: Study of Women in the Newsroom in Tanzania' (MCT, 2019b) suggests that women journalists in Tanzania cover more "soft" topics than "hard" topics. The Encyclopedia Britannica (2014) defines soft news:

A journalistic style and genre that blurs the line between information and entertainment. Although the term soft news was originally synonymous with feature stories placed in newspapers or television newscasts for human interest, the concept expanded to include a wide range of media outlets that present more personality-centred stories. Traditionally, so-called hard news relates the circumstances of a recent event or incident considered to be of general local, regional, national, or international significance. By contrast, soft news usually centres on the lives of individuals and has little, if any, perceived urgency. Hard news generally concerns issues, politics, economics, international relations, welfare, and scientific developments, whereas soft news focuses on human-interest stories and celebrity. (Mills-Brown, 2014.)

The Global Media Monitoring Project, begun in 1995, found out that women reporters were more likely to be assigned soft-news stories about entertainment, arts, and culture. Such stories were also more likely to feature women in traditional rather than professional roles. Top three beats covered by women journalists were gender equality, health and human rights issues while the top three beats covered by men were issues of disasters, war, or conflict; economics, business, and finance; and investigative or in-depth stories. This was followed by lifestyle topics for women journalists, and science and technology for men. Women also preferred working on topics such as social issues, health, and politics. (GMMP, as cited in MCT, 2019b.) In the Study on Women in the Media Tanzania (as cited in MCT, 2019b), six out of 24 media houses admitted that they would not send female journalists to assignments deemed dangerous, such as public demonstrations. Women interviewed in the study said that sometimes women journalists are excluded from assignments, such as those taking place at night, and that there are some stories that editors consider that a male journalist can do better. Some 26 percent of female participants felt marginalized in getting choice assignments because of their gender. Monica Djerf-Pierre (2007) refers to two different kinds of

journalism: private and feminine, and public and masculine. According to her, journalism that treats objects of masculine interest and consults (male) holders of power as sources describing reality with dispassionate perspective or distance is generally associated with masculinity. On the other hand, journalism that relates to the private sphere and serves readers'/listeners'/viewers' interests, consults women as sources, seeks to get close to the people or phenomena, and uses empathy, personal feelings, and reflections considered feminine. Djerf-Pierre (2007) argues that just as there is asymmetry between the male public sphere and female private sphere, the same difference in power and status lies within the genders in journalism, and therefore masculine journalism generally holds greater symbolic value. (Djerf-Pierre, 2007:97.)

There might be a change in attitudes in Sweden, but RSF (2020) published a report 'The Toll of Sexism on Journalism' in March 2020 about the violence and pressure female journalists face all over the world. The report mentions that in traditionally conservative societies husbands and family members may pressure and ask women to leave their job because of the dangers it poses. Half of the respondents to the RSF survey (50 percent) said women journalists continue to be subjected to sexist violence by officials, state representatives, politicians, and well-known figures holding senior positions. The violence is primarily verbal. MCT (2019b) reconfirms in their study that women's traditional roles and domestic responsibilities reduce their opportunities to participate in more challenging assignments and this impacts negatively on their career paths. Women are not always seen as able to handle technical equipment, which can also lead to women feeling inadequate as journalists. In the Study on Women in the Media Tanzania (as cited in MCT, 2019b), 70 percent of the respondents see the need of getting more training on different subjects such as news reporting, preparing radio/TV magazines, feature writing and investigative journalism. According to Tyson (2006), women's place in their social settings restricts their perceived expertise and their access to technical knowledge, education, and careers. Even though she speaks of women with computer science expertise, she points out that the lower percentages of women working in those masculinized, exclusive realms, do not disguise the fact that women do have successful careers in and make valuable contributions to the technical realm (Tyson, 2006:36-59).

3.2. Investigative journalism

Hugo de Burgh (2000) summarizes investigative journalism in the introduction of *Investigative journalism – Context and Practice*:

Investigative journalists attempt to get at the truth where the truth is obscure because it suits others that it be so; they choose their topics from a sense of right and wrong which we can only call a moral sense, but in the manner of their research they attempt to be dispassionately evidential. They are doing more than disagreeing with how society runs; they are pointing out that it is failing by its own standards. They expose, but they expose in the public interest, which they define. Their efforts, if successful, alert us to failures in the system and lead to politicians, lawyers and policemen taking action even as they fulminate, action that may result in legislation or regulation. (De Burgh, 2000:23.)

Contributors of the book are members of the Centre for Research at Nottingham Trent University, and the focus of the book lies within the United Kingdom's media landscape, so the ideals presented are from a very Western angle. Even though the Tanzanian media culture seems to hold standards of investigative journalism very similar to the Western ideals, there is one clear difference between journalism cultures. De Burgh (2000:23) refers to multiple researchers and writers who talk about investigative journalism in the sense that its almost greatest meaning is to criticize and guard the government especially. Gunilla L. Faringer (1991) points out in *Press Freedom in Africa* that freedom of the press in Africa cannot be judged without understanding the context of African politics and society. The evolution of the African press formed from colonialism, and its strong nationalism is because of anti-colonialist efforts. In many African countries, but especially in Tanzania, which has roots in populist socialism, journalism has been seen as supporting the government to work toward the development of the country. 'Development journalism' is common practice in relatively new countries forming their own culture of press and press freedom. (Faringer, 1991.) But, according to Wiik (2010), even in recently authoritarian and developing countries such as Nepal and Tanzania, the objectivity norm is gaining ground. In Tanzania, journalists seem to be getting educated in the ideals of objectivity, while legislation has taken Tanzania toward more authoritarian politics.

Mills and Sarikakis (2016) examined the politics of investigative journalism under the conditions of dominance of the State by investigating journalists' experiences with

surveillance. They interviewed 48 journalists globally, showing that journalists are acutely aware of surveillance and its impact. Experiences were remarkably similar in non-Western and Western countries. Journalists need to engage increasingly with technological communities to defend journalism and their lives. Mills and Sarikakis found out that those journalists interviewed who were subjected to surveillance reported adopting a variety of digital countersecurity measures, but were finding it difficult to find measures secure enough to work with sensitive stories, as surveillance capabilities have become so advanced and pervasive. Multiple journalists reported feelings of 'paranoia'. Mills and Sarikakis argue that the goal of the surveillance of journalists by the State is to cultivate a chilling effect that promotes submission to the dominant governing view in both democratic and undemocratic countries. According to them, the only major difference is the willingness and ability to resort to violence when controlling the journalists who don't get the message. (Mills & Sarikakis, 2016.) In Tanzania, human rights organizations have been putting pressure on the government, condemning the disappearances of investigative journalists and investigating them. If the government shows disinterest toward the violence journalists face, it sends a similar kind of message to the journalists as practicing it.

Ismail et al. (2017) have outlined the challenges investigative journalism practitioners have to face both outside and within their newsroom. Outside challenges include:

- 1) *difficulty of uncovering wrongdoing because it is being concealed.* This can involve wrongdoers but also authorities who cover up information on the basis of 'national security' or 'peace'.
- 2) *laws controlling the media.* These laws have been seen as responsible for stifling investigative journalism.

The second outside challenge triggers inside challenges, such as forcing reporters to exercise self-censorship, editors to tone down controversial issues, and news editors not picking up stories of people's grievances. (Ismail et al., 2017.) Another challenge discouraging journalists from pursuing investigative reporting is the risk involved in practicing it, according to Ismail et al. They refer to Anderson and Benjaminson (1976), who have written that investigative journalism is the riskiest pursuit in the media. Reporters face risks before, during, and after finishing the investigation, because there are people from every angle trying to stop reporters from bringing the truth to the public.

3.3. Gender in Investigative journalism

According to Hugo de Burgh (2000:19), the most important skills among investigative journalists are thorough knowledge of information sources and types and the rules that govern them, the ability to read documents for significance, and an understanding of statistics, as well as interpersonal skills. Other skills needed are empathy toward others (in order to secure relevant interview responses), the ability to take account of potential impediments to the truth such as false memories or question formulation, quick reactions, and the wit to 'doorstep' and to go undercover if necessary. The tradition of investigative journalism includes successful stories irrespective of the gender of the journalists, and yet this chosen subgenre of journalism carries ideals that are in many cultures associated with masculinity; objectivity, truth seeking, risk taking and setting the agenda of public discussion. (De Burgh, 2000.) Djerf-Pierre (2007:99) points to the underlying definition of masculinity when referring to critical, investigative journalism. The masculine values of criteria of excellence were courage, fearlessness, determination, and individuality.

There is a lack of research into the situation of female investigative journalists (Svensson et al., 2013). In their research of female investigative journalists in China, they note that even though few Chinese investigative journalists would consider gender issues the most pressing of their concerns, gender itself might not be the most important obstacle for the exercise of investigative journalism in China when compared with political control, market pressures, constraining values and routines in different types of media, gender stereotypes, and patriarchal power (Svensson et al., 2013:92). Researchers point out that there are limited statistics to globally compare the situations of female investigative journalists, but that some conclusions can possibly be made when looking into how many women are joining organizations for investigative journalists, are given prizes in investigative journalism awards, are selected to edit or write books about investigative journalism, and are invited to talk at conferences and seminars on investigative journalism. (Svensson et al., 2013.)

According to Svensson et al. (2013), 53 percent of the members in the Association for Investigative Journalists in Finland were women, and 36 percent of the members of the Forum

for African Investigative Reporters were women, at the time of their study. The book *Tell Me No Lies*, edited by John Pilgrim (2005), consists of 28 journalists included in the book, eight being women. *Shaking the Foundations*, edited by Bruce Shapiro (2003), introduces 200 years of Investigative Journalism in America. From the chosen texts, 34 male journalists were introduced, and only nine women. Researchers point out that The Pulitzer Prize has been awarded to investigative reporting since 1985, but up to 2012, some 29 percent of the recipients were women. Svensson et al. (2013) argue that these numbers do not only demonstrate the smaller numbers of female journalists in investigative journalism, but possibly a selection bias and tendency to prioritize male investigative journalists, which could strengthen the perception of male investigative journalism as the norm. They note, though, that there are no discussions on structural constraints or discrimination against women in Western works on investigative journalism. (Svensson et al., 2013.)

4 Theory

4.1. Research question

While there is a limited amount of research about gender and investigative journalism, there are multiple studies of female journalists as well as press freedom in Tanzania. There is no academic discussion of investigative journalism, especially from a gendered point of view, in Tanzania. The aim of this study is to reflect the perceived professional identities of female journalists in relation to investigative journalism and how much the legislative restrictions by the state change their perceived possibilities to produce journalism according to their ideals.

Therefore, my main research question is:

How do female journalists in Tanzania see their possibilities in pursuing investigative journalism?

To be able to answer the main research question, I have formed two sub-questions, which I will be able to answer in my theoretical analysis:

Q1. What are the working conditions for journalists in Tanzania?

Q2. What are the gender-specific conditions for female journalists working in Tanzania?

To be able to operationalize the questions in a theoretical manner, I have reframed the sub-questions to be discussable in the context of social capital:

What kind of cultural and social capital do journalists require in order to work in investigative journalism in Tanzania?

What kind of cultural and social capital do female journalists require in order to work in investigative journalism in Tanzania?

4.2.Theory: Social capital

Bourdieu speaks of habitus, to which Wiik (2010) contributes by describing the journalist's habitus as an important aspect that influences every area of professional conduct. The habitus

shines through their favourite subject areas, professional ideals, and news valuation. The habitus of a person, the way they think, will orient them toward social positions within the journalistic field. The habitus forms not only from the lived experiences of the journalists, but in relation to the capital in possession. Social capital – education, connections and networks of a journalists – defines one's position in the field. (Wiik, 2010:17)

I discuss my findings within the theoretic framework of social capital by Pierre Bourdieu. In *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (2011:78-92) introduces the accumulation of different forms of capital. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms: an embodied, objectified, and institutionalized state. In the embodied state, cultural capital exists in long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body. It cannot be given away, as it is embodied in the habitus of a person like trained muscles. (Bourdieu, 2011.) Embodied cultural capital for a journalist could mean that they have gathered their knowledge of the surrounding society and culture and it cannot be transferred with money to someone else – in the case of journalists, though, writing a journalistic piece could be seen as a transaction of their embodied cultural capital for salary. The embodied form of cultural capital journalists have gathered is therefore lost capital, when the journalists disappear or die. The cultural capital embodied in them cannot be replaced.

In the objectified state, cultural capital can be found in the form of cultural goods such as pictures, books, instruments, machines, and so on. These objects hold value as economic capital, since they become extant objects that can be sold and bought with money. (Bourdieu, 2011.) The tangible creations of a journalist, for example, become objects in this way. But as these objects have economic value, they hold cultural capital that in some cases needs embodied capital to be operated. A manufactured machine needs the person with embodied cultural capital, knowledge of how the machine works, to explain its operation to the person who buys the machine. (Bourdieu, 2011.) A journalist with technical skills then holds cultural capital they have embodied to operate machines, which produce objectified forms of cultural capital, such as pictures or broadcast reporting. For the journalistic story, it becomes an objectified state of cultural capital that holds cultural capital in its writing that is understandable by the reader. But at the same time, an illiterate person needs a teacher who holds embodied cultural capital to teach them how to read the story. Another example of

embodied cultural capital in relation to the objectified state of cultural capital could be a painting by a famous painter. The painting itself as an object is not very valuable – it is wood, canvas and paint. But if the person looking at it has enough cultural capital to know that the painting is by a famous painter, they know it holds much more value than its literal physical form. This form of capital Bourdieu (2011) calls symbolic. Prestige and reputation work as symbolic capital, as they do not mean anything unless there are people who believe that someone possesses those qualities (Webb, 2002). In this way, cultural and social capital can turn into symbolic capital in the field of journalism.

In an institutionalized state, the embodied cultural capital raised by using objectified cultural capital can be measured and changed to economic capital. Exchanging money for cultural capital, for example by paying for one's studies, is beneficial for the individual only if the exchange can be measured with qualification. After getting their diploma, the person holds institutional assurance that they hold cultural capital to a certain degree, therefore being employable as an academic. (Bourdieu, 2011.) Bourdieu uses cultural capital to discuss questions of class in a society, as it makes it possible to analyze the form of cultural capital that individuals have and need to succeed or gain power – or as Bourdieu says, capital. Cultural capital varies and it is not universally accepted, either within or across fields (Webb, 2002). In marketing, for example, something could be advertised in a certain way, and for some culture, group, or individuals this same idea can hold positive value for some and negative value for others. (Webb, 2002.)

"Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 2011:84), meaning one belonging to a group or holding connections in a society. Social capital can be the possession of membership in a group, which gives its members capital in collectively owned form, as credentials that entitle them to it. These relationships can be socially instituted or guaranteed by a common name, belonging to a certain family, a class, a tribe, a school, or a party, to give just a few examples. (Bourdieu, 2011.) For example, journalists in Tanzania could have social capital in the form of belonging to academic institutes, a newsroom, a student group, and all the other connections in their life. As these connections need to be reinforced to gain or benefit from

social capital, a journalist who takes care of their network of interviewees or colleagues is generally considered to hold more social capital. But as journalists hold independence to a strong ideal standard, social capital cannot always be gained by certain social groups (such as a political party or religion) in the field.

One can collect social capital in also other ways, through exchanges of favors, objects, or money. (Bourdieu, 2011.) These individual exchanges can be important for the journalistic connections – investigating a story that reveals a hidden issue in society can be seen as a favor to those who are affected, and the social capital of a journalist increases among those who trusted them with their story as a source or whose situation changed. Writing critical stories can also lead to the journalist losing their social capital among those who are criticized, therefore taking away connections or even economic capital when the journalist is forbidden to practice their work by being banned. In my analysis, I will go through the ways in which cultural and social capital can affect journalists in Tanzania, according to my research. Bourdieu's theories of social capital and this field have been widely used in media research and to analyze gender in journalism, therefore making it a logical choice to use in understanding and connecting to the ongoing academic discussion.

5 Method

The study in hand is based on empirical research. I used the Constant Comparative Method of Grounded Theory by Glaser and Strauss (Kolb, 2012) as a method to code and analyze the data. Empirical research has been conducted by document collecting, interviewing, and participant observation. The data consists of six semi-structured interviews of educated female journalists. I travelled to Tanzania from Gothenburg for two weeks and conducted the interviews face to face in Dar es Salaam. I also interviewed a professor of journalism from the University of Dar es Salaam and followed the discussions of media professionals about the situation of gender issues among journalism. On top of empirical data, publications of the Media Council of Tanzania were collected and analyzed:

Press freedom violations register (2016)

Compendium of analyzes of media related laws in Tanzania (2020)

Challenging the Glass Ceiling: Study of Women in the Newsroom in Tanzania (2019)

Gender in Media Policy (2019)

Conclusions are based on deductive, qualitative analysis of coded data.

To answer Q1 and Q2 above, I have formed the questions "What kind of cultural and social capital do journalists require in order to work in investigative journalism in Tanzania?" and "What kind of cultural and social capital do female journalists require in order to work in investigative journalism in Tanzania?", hereby operationalizing the questions about social capital. To be able to form an answer to Q1, I primarily analyze literature studies and document analyzes. To answer Q2, the analysis is based primarily on the interviews.

5.1. Interviews

The interviews were conducted in Dar es Salaam. The participants have been promised anonymity as a precaution, for them to feel like they can provide answers without fear of consequences. As I recorded their interviews, their names were never put together with the recordings to provide anonymity in case the material were to end up getting lost in transit. Interviewees were advised to talk about their experiences and not care about the fact that they

may not have experience in investigative journalism or willingness to pursue working with investigative journalism. The key idea of the interviews was presented as a question of how the respondents gauge their likelihood of working in investigative journalism based on their lived experiences so far. The interviewees were selected based on their profession and gender, and the fact that they operated in mainland Tanzania professionally. The quotes of the interviewees have been edited to help with the legibility of the comments and to reduce the possibility of recognizing the speaker from their use of words. The original meaning of the phrases has not been edited, and I have not interpreted phrases where I have doubted whether I understand a certain phrase or its context properly. The aim of the questions formed in the interviews was to gather information to form an analysis answering these questions:

What does investigative journalism mean in the Tanzanian context?

What is the impact of education in handling sources, digital security, and other methods of investigative journalism?

What kind of security issues do journalists and female journalists face in their work?

What kind of gender-specific editorial issues do female journalists face in their work?

When questions about working as an investigative journalist were raised during our discussion, one journalist participating in the study began to whisper and seemed nervous, despite openly telling of their feelings of threat. Most of the people interviewed for this study had at least 10 years of experience in the field. They had been working as journalists when the work was more open and there had been no fear of consequences, or at least not as dramatic as they are now. Some of them had previously been working with investigative stories but seemed to feel that the situation for free journalism in Tanzania had become much worse. All the interviewees were educated in the field of journalism, except one person who had education in marketing and public relations. Their ideals of journalistic work seemed to reflect the same ideas that have been present in the academic discussion of journalism (Deuze, 2005).

5.2. Coding the data

I asked the interviewees open questions according to different themes related to investigative journalism and aspects of their work life. Questions also arose about their education

background and work history, religion, and family situation for comparing ethnographic aspects when forming the analysis. I then used the Constant Comparative Method (Glaser, 1965) to code the data and to draw conclusions that reflect the theoretical relationships of the issues under discussion.

Glaser describes the Constant Comparative Method (CCM) in four stages:

- 1) *comparing incidents applicable to each other*
- 2) *integrating categories and their properties*
- 3) *delimiting the theory*
- 4) *writing the theory* (Glaser, 1965:439.)

As a defining rule of the method, Glaser (1965) suggests that when coding an incident for a category, it should be compared with the previous incidents coded in the same category. I started my analysis using open coding with qualitative data analysis software Nvivo to sort the data of the interviews according to the topics that rose from the discussion. When comparing experiences discussed in the data, I ended up having 12 different codes: Ethnographic details, Professional background, Investigative journalism in Tanzania, Experiences of threat, Freedom of information requests, Imagined outcomes and motivations, Past and possible topics, Self-censorship, Subjects of investigation, Support and struggles in newsrooms, Technical skills, and Working in governmental media. This process was the first part of the CCM. Categorizing the interviews helped me to see that there were different correlations between the theory of social capital I had chosen and the experiences the interviewees were talking about.

The data provided by the reports could also be put under the same coded themes and compared with the experiences of the interviewees. From the Press Freedom Violations register it was possible to identify incidents that the interviewees were referring to when they talked about journalists disappearing or getting killed. The difficulty of working and publishing freely was present in interviews and could be compared to the notions of new legislation by a compendium of analyzes of media related laws in Tanzania. The experiences of journalists working as women and their interest toward certain topics were compared to the Study of Women in the Newsroom in Tanzania.

With this process of looking at the data, I was able to form different hypotheses of each of the coded categories and write memos of my assumptions of conclusions I could draw from the data. I started part two of the CCM, integrating categories and their properties. This means comparing incidents one at a time in the data to find possible correlations between incidents. (Glaser, 1965.) For example, I noticed that journalists who were working in governmental media felt more positive about gaining information from the officials when reporting as journalists, even though they too felt that the freedom of the press was more restrained than earlier in their career. The third part of the CCM, according to Glaser (1965), is to delimit the theory. This happens on two levels, the theory and the list of categories coded. By reduction of terminology and consequent generalizing by constant comparison, I was able to form a theoretical idea that female journalists have a clear possibility to make investigative journalism, but they must use different strategies to keep themselves safe. Now I was able to compare my data to existing research on female journalists and investigative journalism all over the world while keeping the theory with the analysis. This generalization allowed me to scope the situation of the individuals represented in the data, toward a wider understanding and discussion of gender and journalism. With this analysis, I was able to delimit the categories I had coded to the themes that became saturated, reflecting similar notions and phenomena that stayed relevant with the theory. Eventually, there were three themes left for the final process in the CCM, writing the theory (Glaser, 1965), in the empirical findings: Investigative journalism in Tanzania, Support and struggles in newsrooms, and Imagined outcomes and motivations.

5.3. Weaknesses

I must take into consideration the anthropological aspect in my analysis, as there are many factors that can cause interpretations that are limited because of my position as a Western, Nordic researcher who does not have personal connections to the culture, life, or languages in Tanzania. There might be many key cultural aspects I am not able to see because of my own background. My position as a Western researcher might have also affected the interviewees, in that I may not have gained their full trust to completely understand the complexity of the issues in the culture, possibly leading them to share less of their experiences. Even though English is one of the official languages of Tanzania, many of the interviewees spoke more comfortably in Kiswahili/Swahili, which I do not speak or understand more than a few words.

As my native language is Finnish and the interviews were conducted in English, it is natural that there have been many possibilities for misunderstandings and communicational breaks. In my analysis I have considered the situations where the interviewee has not understood the question properly or I have not understood the answer completely. I have left these discussions out of the results, except the discussions relating to digital security.

The number of interviews is limited because of the time frame of my travel and the sensitivity of the topic, making it difficult to gather more interviews online. Because of such a small interviewee group, the results of the study cannot be read as examples of all female journalists in Tanzania or Dar es Salaam. It might be that experiences of female journalists in rural areas of the country are very different. In my analysis I am putting emphasis on the in-depth, qualitative analysis of said experiences. It is also notable that after my stay in Tanzania dramatic situations such as the general election, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the change of leader from Magufuli to their vice president Samia Suluhu may have put even more pressure and caused confusion among professional journalists. The empirical research in hand is about the experiences of female journalists right before the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. The study is also concentrated on mainland Tanzania, as the participants of the research were working there. It is known that the mainland and Zanzibar have different media cultures. Therefore, I am focusing on the analysis of mainland and urban areas of Tanzania.

6 Result

All interviewees felt strongly motivated to work in their field. The common motivation for most of them was to include representation of women and female issues in the public discussion. Only one of the interviewees felt like they would continue working with investigative journalism under the current circumstances, but they were not working as a reporter at the time. Most of the interviewees felt that investigative work was too risky for them. Some had experience of investigative methods and felt that the atmosphere in society had changed, becoming more dangerous for journalists. Some saw the role of investigative journalism as helping the government find criminals, but all reported feeling that the government has made it harder for journalists to report different aspects of the story. There was a stronger aim to produce journalism for development together with the government, instead of investigating the government. Some wanted to investigate press freedom and the situation of limited free speech in Tanzania. Some of the journalists felt that there were instances when their gender played a key role in how they were treated or respected while working. Some problems expressed seemed to be common among all journalists, such as limited access to information, lack of respect by officials, and fear of physical violence.

6.1. Investigative journalism in Tanzania

The interviewees were asked how they would describe investigative journalism. Four of the six participants described it as something deeper, either going further with the journalistic research or analysis. Two journalists mentioned revealing something that has been hidden or an issue that has not been addressed in public. Five participants mentioned public interests using words such as community, people, public, and society. These observations can be seen in the following accounts by Journalist 4 and Journalist 6:

It's a type of journalism that you dig deeper, you go deep to the topic or anything that you want to write or air. You just don't end at where other people have ended. Let's just say, a person is dead. And then the news ends there. But you want to know more. What killed the person, what really happened? Was he OK 2-5 days before? You just go deeper and outside of the box other than any other news. (Journalist 4)

Rather than daily events, you get a certain tip. You slow down, you research about it, you get information. And also, for the interest of the public. That is what I was doing [when doing] investigating. And that is what I know about investigative journalism. You go deeper into something so that you get wider information. And when you release it, it has an impact on society. (Journalist 6)

Interviewees brought up that with investigative journalism "you can reveal things that the government and the state doesn't know" (Journalist 1). Journalist 1 then continued, when asked about possible outcomes of publishing investigative stories, that it helps officials to take actions or start investigating an issue:

It makes the government accountable, because sometimes the government officers, the ministers, the members of parliament, they just open the meetings, conferences, become the guest of honor in meetings but they don't know what is happening in the ground. Sometimes they receive reports from their offices. The reports do not capture exactly what is happening in Dar es Salaam or in Tanzania. So they don't know many of the things. Our role as journalists is to go there. Bring it up. Bring it on. Reveal. And make the government take action. (Journalist 1)

Journalist 3 mentioned helping the government as one purpose of investigative journalism too, as the officials are informed about the issues or revealed misuse of government funds, leading to the police or authorities taking action. Both interviewees, Journalists 1 and 3, implied that the government needed to be held accountable, as they had to take action when issues were revealed. However, they saw investigative journalism as beneficial for the government, even though they were both aware of the government's oppressive attitude toward press freedom.

The outcome of the investigative journalism should be, people should have to be put accountable for what they have done before. Or make sure it is done according to what is planned. People also fear that. The aim of investigation is meant to make sure to give in to the society, maybe change, if the system is not too good, maybe we can use another kind of system so that life can go smoothly. (Journalist 6)

When asked about their political views, all interviewees told that they did not belong to any political party, most of them clarified that this was because of their profession as journalists.

Political views, I can say yes, but I do not belong to any political party. But I do the political views because it is part of my rights, to have an opinion on the political trend of the political situations in my country, to also speak about it, because I understand I have a freedom of expression. (Journalist 2)

Journalist 6 pointed out that they worked in governmental media, which made them report in a certain way, but that they think it is not good for journalists to belong to any kind of political party, in order to be objective. Journalist 3 worked for governmental media as well and told that as a reporter they sometimes had to kill the story if it was not beneficial for the government. Journalist 4 had decided to stay away from political discussions and investigative journalism, at least for now:

I don't like politics in Tanzania. They say it is democratic, but it is not really. If you look at it deeply, especially now the current... It's some sort of dictatorship. So that is why I don't like doing investigative journalism. Maybe until this period passes, because if you do investigative journalism here, you end up dead. (Journalist 4)

Journalist 6 brought up that the working conditions used to be different for journalists. She had done investigative journalism, but she did not know back then it was so dangerous. She talked about not taking any more investigative work because of her safety.

So few are now doing investigative journalism. Even if I had an opportunity, for the fear of unknown, I said: No, I should not apply for this because when I go out my life will be in danger. Because of the history we have. Now these days, we have so many policies of the media. (Journalist 6)

When she got married, she was told to stop doing journalism because of her family. Her husband told her that she was not to proceed in her work. After a six-month break working as a manager in a different field, she started working as a journalist again, because she felt that it was her career and passion. She described her routines at work, supervising multiple forms of media outlets and producing while similarly taking care of responsibilities of her extended family. She said that she needed to delegate issues to other people who helped her out, or otherwise she would burst. She did not have children at the age of 35, and she was thankful of that, because she felt that otherwise she could not have finished her education.

While investigative journalism altogether is a risk for every journalist in Tanzania, it seems that it is still considered a man's job. The interviewees were asked to describe male and female journalists working on investigative journalism in Tanzania and to compare them. It was commonly stated that investigative journalism was done more by male journalists, even though there were some women who wrote investigative pieces. Journalists 3 and 5 brought up the assumption that women fear making investigative journalism. Journalist 1 strongly disagreed that there was any difference between the social capital of the genders, but said that sometimes working on investigative stories as a woman had been more beneficial for her safety in the sense that people assumed the writer of the story to be a man, and did not therefore look for a woman who could be responsible for it. She, as well as Journalist 3, mentioned that when the story is dangerous to the journalist, the publication takes off their byline and publishes the story without a name to protect them. In those cases, Journalist 1 felt more secure being a woman, because she said that the bigger and the better the story was, the more it was expected to be written by a man. She had the most experience and education on the topic of investigative journalism, even though she was not currently working as a reporter. Lack of peer support in investigative journalism was also mentioned, as well as the assumption that women do not have "guts enough to do it". Journalist 2 talked about how women are not trusted to handle certain topics or go through difficult tasks or investigation:

Because we have been met like we cannot do some serious issues, even politics, let alone the investigation part of it. Now when it comes to conducting investigation, it is even more complex. We are believed not to be able. Because we assume that conducting investigative stories is very high risk and only men can do it. Most of the investigation stories done have been done by male journalists rather than women. And when women do investigative stories, their outcome must rotate around education, looking into pregnancies, looking into dropouts, looking into conditions of maybe toilets in public schools. But when it comes to bigger issues: there's corruption scandals, any national scandal, politics, situation in prisons, it is – that men can do it better. (Journalist 2)

6.2. Soft topics and hard news

If female journalists could work freely in Tanzania, what kinds of topics would they investigate? The interviewees were asked about topics they would want to investigate as well as topics that they felt should be investigated in Tanzania. The purpose of this was to reflect on whether there was a difference between the societal issues they had observed and the

personal interests of certain journalists, as well as could there be self-esteem issues in thinking of what kind of topics belong to them.

6.3. Tables of the subjects of investigation

Subjects interviewees had investigated:
Traffic accidents (undercover)
Abortions in Tanzania
Education
Court case of woman who had lost their land and house
Killings of disabled people (undercover)
Tradition of female genitalia mutilation
Educational: female health condition mistaken for superstition
Donation
How house skill is treated
Mining business
Reading cuts in Tanzania
Delivery kits
HIV and AIDS in rural areas
Ivory trade
Drug dealers

The table contains topics that the six women journalists interviewed in February 2020 had investigated earlier as professionals. The interviewees were asked to talk about topics they have worked on. The word cloud below shows general topics the interviewees said they usually worked with as news reporters or journalists. These earlier covered subjects of investigation can all be categorized under health, education, politics, and social – the most common forms of news and stories journalists worked with.



Subjects interviewees would want to investigate	Subjects that should be investigated overall
Process of health care from when patient is taken to hospital until they are taken home, because of high death rate among treated patients, as well as maternal death rate.	Government should investigate how drug dealing is happening in Tanzania, because number of people getting caught with drugs in airport is low, but numbers are high in other areas. Why are Tanzanians caught in other airports but not in Tanzanian airports? How do they pack their drugs and export them?
How much hospitals advocate possible surgeries, because many do not know they exist.	Corruption, abuse of power, issues of fraud
The impact of the decision of banishing young pregnant girls from going to school, how it affects the generation of their children when their mother is forced to be illiterate.	Issues that are not yet put to spotlight: gender violence and sextortion.
Freedom of the press in Tanzania because it feels like there is not free press.	Abuse of children, young people and female that are often dealt inside the family and covered up.
Improvement of the women in decision making in Tanzania.	Lot of young girls getting pregnant, who are now denied going back to school, without anyone looking why they are getting pregnant, because there are lot of other reasons than getting herself into having sex.
Women and children.	Freedom of the press, democracy in politics and newsrooms. The situation is not as free as it were. Investigate to understand and maybe give hope that the profession of journalism is not seen as a threat to journalists or society.
Environment.	Water is being distributed, electronics made, roads fixed, big bridges built, but so many small issues lack investigations. People should understand how life is going.
Female genital mutilation.	Education. Free education, but people who graduate are not employed. Where is it lacking, skills, curriculum?
High number of children being raped.	In politics, there is lot there to unveil.
Female prisoners, what is the situation, are some wrongly jailed?	Traditions, some traditions are unhuman.

The first column shows topics the journalists personally want to investigate. The second column shows what kind of topics they would wish to see investigated in Tanzania, not necessarily by them.

6.4. Support and struggles in newsrooms

All the journalists felt that they were supported in their work environment. Trust was strong in the chief or executive editors being able to deal with conflict, but a certain mistrust in colleagues' support was brought up. It seemed to be common that the names of journalists were sought through colleagues, who could provide the information for money. This was brought up by Journalist 1 and Journalist 3.

Sometimes they want to know who wrote this story. They may come in the office and say, we want to know the writer of this story. The receptionist is not allowed to agree. So they call the editor. The editor comes and see the visitor, when the visitor wants to see the journalist the news editor says no, we don't allow that. (Journalist 1)

Sometimes a coworker may also spread information outside. You never know who they meet. You never know who they lead with. They may be your enemies too. The newsroom is big. You have a lot of people from different areas from different backgrounds. So it happens. I think sometimes it's just God protecting us. It is very dangerous. (Journalist 1)

Journalist 3: You are writing and not putting byline, but in the newsroom, the people know this is the writing by [name]. So sometimes the people want to know who wrote the story. They use the people in your newsroom, to know who is writing. Sometimes. I'm not safe.

Interviewer: You have your name given out?

Journalist 3: Yeah.

Interviewer: Many times?

Journalist 3: Not many times but sometimes. It is easy for the people to convince them and say that they give some money for knowing who is writing these stories. (Journalist 3)

The editors had asked journalists to not publish a story if it was not pleasant for the government, instead of supporting them in publishing the story. It must be noted that under the current legislation, an unsupportive publication can bring harsh sanctions, even as far as the closure of the newsroom or media house.

Sometimes you are collecting the story, but the next day the story is not published. And you ask the news editor: "Why my story is not published?" In government newspaper, sometimes, they say: "No, no, this is not good for our government, the story is not published." (Journalist 3)

Although reports show that female journalists often face sexual harassment, the interviewees did not bring up sexual harassment at the workplace, nor whether they had experienced it. It cannot be assumed that they would be willing to pick up such a sensitive topic, even if they did have experiences of this kind. Journalist 1 had heard of situations of sexual harassment in the newsroom or women journalists exchanging sexual favors to get published but did not have evidence. She said she had once been sexually harassed by a source, who insisted that she have sex with them to get the story. In that situation her editor had been supportive and understood when she said she did not pursue the story. Journalist 1 emphasized that as a woman reporter it was professionally important to be able to fight back when sexual favors were asked or discrimination toward gender was happening. According to her, gaining unique professional insight would help give a female journalist some advantage in negotiating their work opportunities without submitting to sexual harassment. She said that security was afforded by being the best journalist, as no one wanted to get rid of the best journalist; but if a weak journalist were sexually harassed, it would be easy to find a way to get rid of the female journalist that was harassed.

If you are not capable of doing your work and you think the editors and male journalists can help you, you're going to be weak. They will sexually harass you most of the time because you're weak. (Journalist 1)

6.5. FOI requests and digital security

The journalists were asked about their possibilities of gaining information when they were producing their stories – in other words, if they were provided information when they made Freedom of Information (FOI) requests. They were also asked if they were denied information because of their gender. None of them specified being discriminated as a woman, but they identified instances when they received negative behavior for being a journalist. Journalist 2 said that there were sometimes changes in attitudes because of her being a woman, but more often there was a problem of lack of respect when the journalist was not that experienced.

Some sources feel like they are more comfortable talking to a more senior journalist. During my start of working as a journalist, during my junior eras it was so difficult to get those big names to have interview with, because they don't believe in you, but as you grow, you create relations and then it becomes easier to work with. (Journalist 2)

Journalist 5 believed that the sources and officials she worked with took her seriously, but she noted that some of them would often put her down. She said that it was possibly because they didn't trust a woman, but she felt that for her part, most of them trusted her. According to information based on Freedom of Information requests, there were some contradictions between the experiences of the journalists. Journalist 6 felt that her (governmental) medium got the information that they wanted, and it was very rare for the officials to deny information after the Right to Information Act that was passed in 2016. She said that before the policy it was difficult for her to do her investigative stories because access to the statistics she was asking for was denied. Journalist 2 said the government used to have a portal that contained much official information, as it was the biggest single source of such data. She was able to make a story with the data from the government portal and verify it by going to rural areas to confirm the information.

When the government pulled out from the open government initiative it also closed that portal of information. And now accessing information from the public institution is challenge. Getting information for some potent issues of some investigative stories has become even more difficult. (Journalist 2)

She said that nowadays the government does not talk and does not have information written online; and some of the information available was highly biased with a positive spin, while less flattering information could not be found. The government of Tanzania announced its withdrawal from Open Government Partnership effective July 2017. (Open Government Partnership, 2019.) Journalist 1 felt that some of the data was published, and some was not, and that officials may choose to give the data or not, even though even the law stipulates free data access. The government officials are allowed to refrain from offering documents, information, or statistics because of national security issues. She described calling, asking for an appointment, sending a letter, and still getting a no to certain parts of information. In those instances, she might publish the story, stating that they tried to ask the officials for information on a given timeframe, but they did not answer. She believed the story needed to be published for other potential information that is crucial for the community. Journalist 1 mentioned that sometimes the governmental data was being 'cooked', or altered. She said it can be seen by comparing data from different sources such as the World Bank, the World Economic Forum, and the UN, all of whom corroborated the same information – but then government gave out different numbers. Journalist 1 also pointed out different ways of

gaining information, where sometimes, in her opinion, being a woman was also an advantage. Sometimes when she was doing a survey she was not seen as a journalist but some girl passing through. This made it possible for her to do her work and investigations undercover.

Source security was commonly understood as making the source appear anonymous in the story. When asked about digital security for personal safety, four of the six interviewees had difficulty understanding the question, and two interpreted it as in relation to social media. Journalist 1, with an education in investigative journalism, talked about hiding data in her computer in a safe way. She said that before her studies she did not know how to take such measures. Journalist 2 had trusted the editor to hold and keep the documents safe. She said that in her view many journalists in her country had less knowledge about digital security measures taken or training in them, which made most of the journalists vulnerable online:

We are going blindly, not understanding the risks we are exposed into. We have very little knowledge of understanding the issues of making sure that you have a strong password into email, your personal data on the phone secured, but we understand some of our stories being published online without our names. The digital security is not taken seriously. Not for me, but for many people. Institutions are not keen or careful about issues of digital security.
(Journalist 2)

Journalist 4 mentioned that because they did not work on controversial topics, their social media felt 'ok' and she did not feel a threat. She mentioned that women who were working on such topics and in politics get calls and are threatened, and that she did not want to do that.

6.6. Imagined outcomes and motivations

When asked why they do journalism, four of the interviewees mentioned philanthropic motives, such as 'people need to know', 'inform the public', 'news for the people', 'make a difference'. Three journalists said that they loved journalism. Journalist 2 felt like they play a very key role in her country, to the people, and she felt satisfaction whenever she wrote a story that brought impact. But all of the journalists felt that the occupation had become challenging.

Right now, we have a lot of laws that interfere the right to get information, right to write, the right to report. There is a lot of restrictions, so far the future is blind. We don't know what

will happen, but, as they say it, journalism is about impact, so we are hoping that these laws that are currently existing, the initiatives done by different stakeholders to call for amendment, if they bear fruit, then the light will come again. And the future of journalism in Tanzania will be bright, bringing in more impact, bringing in more investigative stories, because now if you write very critical stories, the next morning you are dead. It has become very challenging to predict the future. Because of such restrictions, because of such fear, intimidation, and the real act of killings... If such environment will continue for a long time, then journalism in Tanzania would be more peer kind of journalism. (Journalist 2)

Journalist 5 never did investigative journalism, but she saw it as challenging, and sometimes costing the life of the journalist and being generally unsafe. She did not always consider her work safe, and sometimes when she revealed something that were not wanted to be public, she received threats. She also considered the environment in Tanzania to be challenging for a woman. She felt that right now they were on a rough road, but believed that her future would be bright. Journalist 1 said that even though working on investigative journalism will not be safe, she will find the safest way to do it, and she will find stories that are safe. Journalist 4 was sure that she would not put herself in danger but was keen on making journalism that would make a difference.

Possible outcomes? Death. Threats. Jail. You know, they can twist the truth. And in the end, I don't know what they do it when it comes to law. I don't know, it's just, you just end up in jail. (Journalist 4)

I'll never do investigative journalism, here in Tanzania in my entire life. I will just do things that will make a difference in a positive way. Not investigative journalism. Big up to those ladies out there, but not me. (Journalist 4)

6.7. Self-Censorship

The threats and rumours of disappeared or dead investigative journalists had clearly affected the journalists, who seemed to be very aware of the negative consequences of practicing investigative journalism in Tanzania. Such awareness may lead to self-censorship. Most of the journalists did not feel their work to be safe, and Journalist 4 said she only felt that it was safe because she did not work with controversial topics. According to Journalist 2, practicing journalism was previously very safe in Tanzania, but for the past four years it had become

highly challenging. Especially when covering a story or issues relating to the government. Journalist 2 said that the level of impunity from the government's side was very high, so when stories were written about the government they made sure that the text praised rather than criticized their leaders. She said that everyone had been forced to be pro-government but writing about other sectors was still safe. Journalist 4 told me that she wanted to produce a show about different cases that had happened, but she faced warnings from her peers that she would be killed:

Prominent figures, who used lots of money to kill that news or to kill the case, and then you're going to raise it up, they're going to kill you. They said: "If you want to do the show, you must do it in a positive way. To praise, OK the minister once did this but then again, it did not work out because of" - what do you call this, sugarcoating the whole thing. So I said that is not the main purpose of the show, so I just let it go. (Journalist 4)

Journalist 6 agreed that investigative journalism was not safe to work with in Tanzania. She said that the word 'safe' did not apply to her life. She said she had done investigative journalism on women's and children's health, including maternity health, but there were times when her life was not safe because of what she was doing.

Journalist 6: There are stories which were killed because of safety, security. This journalism for me, it's not safe, really! And I didn't know.

Interviewer: How do you feel about it?

Journalist 6: I proceed with what I'm doing. And now specifically, I'm doing more or just daily stories rather than investigative news because of that. (Journalist 6)

She continued that she had tried to change her style of reporting because there were people with power who would come after anyone who crossed them. She feared such situations, despite being supported by two or three people and media consultants.

But they also say: "your life is more than the story; you see that you are in danger. Please leave that story. If you see it will endanger your life. Report that your editor, maybe they can give it to another person who can also handle it in another way. And leave it and do something else." That's what I am doing. (Journalist 6)

6.2. Document analysis: Media-related laws

The interviews conducted brought up multiple references to legislative actions that have muzzled journalists and restricted their possibilities to publish critical journalism. Therefore, it was very clear from the beginning of the study that the answers of the journalists could not be analyzed without an analysis of the laws and acts they perform under. Based on a publication by MCT (2020), Compendium of analyzes of media related laws in Tanzania, and practical notions of Tanzania Media Laws: A guidebook for practitioners by development project Baresha Habari (USAID et al., 2019), I will provide a brief analysis of the legislation that affects journalistic work in Tanzania in order to come up with conclusions that take into consideration the practical atmosphere of the workspace which journalists must navigate.

In Compendium of analyzes of media related laws in Tanzania (MCT, 2020), the legislation governing media is introduced and critically analyzed against the established international standards on freedom of expression and access to information. According to the compendium, there are five principal new acts and a number of regulations that have been instated to ensure the implementation of the principal legislation:

- The Media Services Act, No. 12 of 2016 and The Media Services Regulations, 2017
- The Access to Information Act, No. 6 of 2016 and The Access to Information Regulations, 2017
- The Electronic and Postal Communications Act, No. 3 of 2010 and The Electronic and Postal Communications (licensing) Regulations, 2018, as well as The Electronic and Postal Communications (Radio and Television Broadcasting content) Regulations, 2018
- The Cybercrimes Act, No. 14 of 2015
- The Statistics Act, No. 9 of 2015 (MCT, 2020:3)

In the summary of the analysis, the writers of the compendium note: "The Media Service regulations vest enormous powers to the Director, Accreditation board and minister in regulating various matters in the media industry. Therefore, the government seems to have an upper hand in regulating the media. Thus the long cherished tradition of media self-regulation, which Tanzania has enjoyed for more than twenty years, may die an unnatural death." (MCT, 2020:82) The notion might seem dramatic, but so seems to be the situation. In the following section, I will introduce and analyze the acts that are relevant to the notions of

my empirical research and in comparison, to the academic discussion. I have based my conclusions to the notions of the MCT and Tanzania Media Laws: Handbook for practitioners, to try to make sure that my arguments align with the common notions of media workers who have practical understanding of the legislation and work environment in Tanzania.

6.2.1. The Media Services Act

The Media Services Act of 2016 and Media Services regulations of 2017 were passed by the parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania and the President in 2016. The act promotes professionalism in the media industry, establishing the Journalists' Accreditation Board and a framework for the regulation of media services. The act defines a journalist, and to be recognized as a journalist one must be accredited by the Journalists' Accreditation Board. Also, foreign journalists must be accredited, with the maximum 90-day period, which can be extended by 21 more days. Cancellation of accreditation can be done when "a journalist commits gross professional misconduct as prescribed in the code of ethics for a journalist's profession" or "when a foreign journalist does not pursue the purpose under which accreditation was granted" (MCT, 2020:5-7). After obtaining the licence, media houses and journalists are entitled to the following rights: "Freedom to collect and gather information from various sources" and "Freedom to process and edit information in accordance with the professional ethics governing journalists" as well as "Freedom to publish or broadcast news". (MCT, 2020:8-9.)

The obligations for the Public Media houses holding the Media Service Licences include:

- *To observe the universal service obligation.*
- *To provide media services to the Public and the Government.*
- *To uphold a professional code of ethics.*
- *To enhance communication within the Government and between the Government and the public.*
- *To provide public awareness on development matters from the Government and public sector.*
- *Maintain accountability and transparency in funding.*

The obligations for the Private Media houses holding the Media Service Licences include:

- *To provide media services to the public in accordance with the licenced services area.*

- *To uphold a professional code of ethics.*
- *To promote public awareness in various issues of national interest through information dissemination.*
- *To broadcast or publish news or issues of national importance as the Government may direct.*
- *Maintain accountability and transparency in funding.* (MCT, 2020:9)

A media house is also required to ensure that:

"In the execution of its obligations, the information issued does not undermine the security of the country, lawful investigation conducted by the lawful enforcement agency, endanger life of a person, involve unwarranted invasion of the privacy, constitute hate speeches, facilitate the commission of the offence, disclose proceedings of the cabinet or infringe lawful commercial interests, hinder or cause substantial harm to the Government to manage economy or damage the information holder position in any actual or contemplated legal proceedings or infringe professional privilege" (MCT, 2020:9).

Bodies which are responsible to regulate licences are the Director of Information Services Department, Journalist Accreditation Board and Independent Media Council. (MCT, 2020:10.) The Minister has powers to sanction or prohibit publication of any content which he sees to jeopardise national security or public safety. (MCT, 2020:14.) The act lists multiple offences, that can lead to various terms of imprisonment and fines. Guidebook for practitioners (USAID et al., 2019) points out that the legislation gives authorities inordinate power to control the operations and publications of media houses. These powers especially infringe upon the independence and editorial policy of private media outlets, diminishing their rights to media freedom and expression of free speech. This also affects the public, denying its right to access information from a wide range of sources and varied opinions. On top of this, police officers have been granted broad search and seizure powers. (USAID et al., 2019:19.) Needless to say, the powers yielded to the Minister to discredit content are problematic. This keeps the possibility open for the Minister to restrict the importation and publication of critical information or material that the government would find uncomfortable.

One of the offences listed in the act is defamation, as well as sedition. Defamation can be considered unlawful unless it is true, and it was for public benefit that the information was published. If the defamatory matter was published unknowingly and is offered to be amended

by the publisher, and the offer is accepted by the defamed person, there shall not be legal actions toward the publishing person. (MCT, 2020:14-15.)

The publication or statement is said to be seditious if:

- *It brings into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection against the lawful authority of the Government of the United Republic.*
- *It excites any of the inhabitants of the United Republic to attempt to procure the alteration, otherwise than by lawful means, of any other matter in the United Republic as by law established.*
- *It brings into hatred, contempt or excites disaffection against the administration of justice in the United Republic.*
- *It raises discontent or disaffection amongst the people or section of the people of the United Republic.*
- *It promotes feelings of ill will and hostility between different categories of the population of the United Republic.* (MCT, 2020:15)

The criminalizing of defamation and sedition makes it difficult for journalists to write freely. The act does not provide clear guidance on what kind of content could be defamatory or seditious, making it challenging for media practitioners to regulate their operations accordingly so that they do not break the law. Journalists could unwittingly publish content that could be seen as seditious, or the authorities might deem a publication seditious afterwards, if the information does not please them. (USAID et al., 2019:21.) The Media Services Act is seen as more repressive than the previous legislation, introducing direct sanctions such as large fines or imprisonment. According to the Media Services Act, journalists cannot practice journalism without promising to not write anything that could be interpreted negatively about the government or practically any person who feels that they are not represented properly.

On March 28th, 2019 the East African Court of Justice unanimously held that numerous provisions in Tanzania's Media Services Act violated the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community as they infringed upon the right to freedom of expression. (Global Freedom of Expression, 2019.) Three non-governmental organizations in Tanzania brought the case as they were concerned that the legislation's use of criminal offences for defamation, publication, and other conduct of the media as well as the requirement of the media's accreditation seriously infringed upon media freedom and freedom of expression in Tanzania.

The Court found that the Tanzanian government had failed to demonstrate the legitimacy of the limitations to the law and held that the impugned provisions violated the treaty by infringing upon the right to freedom of expression protected by the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. The Court directed Tanzania to bring the Act into compliance with the Treaty. They found multiple parts of the law too vague or broadly stated, leaving too much room for interpretation. (Global Freedom of Expression, 2019.) Within the time of the study there were no significant changes to the act, however, and in May 2021, according to a news piece in All Africa (Quorro, 2021), the government has stated that the Media Accreditation Board is being formed and the act is coming into affect later in 2021.

6.2.2. *The Electronic and Postal Communications Act*

The Electronic and Postal Communications Act was enacted by the parliament on the 29th of January and assented by the president on the 20th of March in 2010. (MCT, 2020.) The purpose of the act is:

"Regulating a comprehensive regime for postal and electronic communication service providers, to establish the central equipment identification register for registration of detachable SIM card and to provide duties of electronic communications and postal licenses, agents and customers, content regulation, issuance of postal communication licences and to regulate competitions and practices" (MCT, 2020:21).

The act was supplemented in 2018 with Electronic and Postal Communications Regulations, for Licensing, Radio and Television Broadcasting and Online Content. (MCT, 2020:21.) In practice, Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority is empowered to licence electronic communication which includes radio and television broadcasting, and persons operating without a licence may face fines or imprisonment. The obligations are different for public broadcasters, commercial broadcasters, and community broadcasters. For commercial broadcasters there is an obligation "to provide programs that promote national peace, unity, and tranquility and that do not endanger national security" as well as "to avoid defamation and blasphemy". Community broadcasters' obligations involve being able:

"To operate withing the parameters of a non-profit making broadcasting station; not to be constituted on the basis of political affiliations; to undertake to promote national unity, peace, tranquillity, social stability and cultural identity; to ensure that the provided content adheres to public interest with reference to public policy, national safety and national

cohesion; to broadcast news, news briefs or headlines at regular intervals as determined by the Authority" (MCT, 2020:21).

Some of the restrictions of the regulations are justifiable to the freedom of expression and media rights, as they limit the influence of sponsors in certain situations and ensure balanced coverage during election periods and urge fair reporting of news. However, there are mandatory broadcasting requirements that endanger the independence of the media and editorial choices, particularly for private media. Again, the law contains vague phrases that are open to be interpreted in multiple different ways, which makes it difficult for the broadcasters and journalists to know when they are following the regulations. The demand upon broadcast programs that uphold national sovereignty, unity, national interests, and national security is difficult to implement, as these are not judged by objective standards. This leaves media practitioners no other options than to self-censor out of caution and to avoid sanctions. (USAID et al., 2019:37.) The Online Content Regulations of the act require registration and responsibilities for online content. The Authority (TCRA) has the same regulatory powers to register bloggers, online forums, online radio, and online television and to take action against offences. The TCRA's right to refuse registration means that voices and opinions on the internet can be effectively curated and limited. It can be used to silence journalists and other critical voices. (USAID et al., 2019:29.) The content regulations hold social media users responsible and accountable for the information they publish on social media. Online content providers must ensure that prohibited content is removed within twelve hours of being notified. (USAID et al., 2019:30.)

Article 19 is a British human rights organization with a specific mandate and focus on defending freedom of information and expression worldwide, taking inspiration for its name from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The organisation has analyzed the Online Content Regulations and found them so flawed in terms of international standards of freedom of expression that it declared they should be withdrawn entirely (Article 19, 2018). The revised regulations were published in July 2020 but were still considered problematic. While the regulations published in 2018 were seen as problematic for their condemnation of a wide range of content with excessively vague descriptions, the regulations published in 2020 went even further, seemingly taking aim toward the upcoming election in October 2020 and the

ongoing coronavirus pandemic. Article 19 published a statement commenting on the new regulations a month after the publication of the regulations:

"ARTICLE 19 EA is extremely concerned by the long list of prohibited content. These include:

- Content related to 'homosexuality', with implications for the LGBTQIA+ community, as well as content related to 'adultery and prostitution.'
- Explicit prohibition of the publication of information relating to 'demonstrations, marches or the like which may lead to public disorder' will undermine the right to protest.
- Explicit prohibition of publication on 'deadly or contagious diseases in the country or elsewhere without the approval of the respective authorities', will likely prevent journalists from freely reporting on the coronavirus pandemic.
- Prohibition on the publication of 'news of official confidential communications or military affairs' and 'content against the State and public order', all of which will make it even harder to hold the authorities to account. (Article 19, 2020.)

The statement points out that the prohibitions fail to acknowledge public interest reporting and affect the right to freedom of assembly and associations online and offline, as well as whistleblowers and investigative journalists who expose issues such as corruption and abuse of power at the state level. Again, the definitions of the new regulations fail to meet international human rights standards and law. Hate speech is defined as "any portrayal in words, speech, pictures, etc., which denigrates, defames or otherwise devalues a person or group on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion or disability" (Article 19, 2020). The organisation brings up that the current definition restricts legitimate expression even further and is inadequate, subjective, and inconsistent with international human rights law. The law mixes defamation and hate speech, which should be addressed in law separately, as they are different concepts. (Article 19, 2020.) When discussing hate speech, the regulations should be inclusive of the broadest range of protected characteristics, which appear under the broader non-discrimination articles of international human rights law. These could be race, skin color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions, national or social origin, property, birth, indigenous origin or identity, disability, migrant or refugee status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or intersex status. So-called "indecent" material is prohibited, but it is not clear in the regulations what that adjective constitutes. The terms of the definition are vague and subjective: "material which is offensive, morally improper and against current standards of

accepted behaviour which includes nudity and sex" (Article 19, 2020). It is not possible to objectively interpret the terms. As the statement points out, the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and on Violence Against Women warned against legislative work like the regulations in 2017:

"Vaguely formulated laws and regulations that prohibit nudity or obscenity could have a significant and chilling effect on critical discussions about sexuality, gender and reproductive health. Discriminatory enforcement of terms of service on social media and other platforms could also disproportionately affect women and other users" (Kaye & Šimonović, 2017).

6.2.3. The Cybercrimes Act

The Cybercrimes Act, enacted by Parliament on April 1st and assented by the president on April 25th in 2015, is an act that is a hinderance for investigative journalists especially. (MCT, 2020.) The act criminalizes offences related to information communication technologies and computer systems, as well as the investigation, collection, and use of electronic evidence and related matters. Any person who:

“Publishes information or data presented in a text, picture, symbol, or any other form in a computer system knowing that such information or data is false, deceptive, misleading, or inaccurate and with intend to defame, threaten, abuse, insult, or mislead commits an offence and shall, if convicted, be liable for a fine or imprisonment” (MCT, 2020:25).

The act criminalizes initiating, transmitting, relaying, or retransmitting unsolicited messages as well as “falsifying header information in unsolicited messages” and prohibits cyber bullying; “sending any electronic communication using a computer system to a person with intent to coerce, intimidate, harass, or cause emotional distress”. Offences and penalties relating to computer systems are “unlawful and intentional access, interception, possession, circumvention, and interference of a computer system or data”. (USAID et al., 2019:38.)

This law could be used to punish journalists and monitoring organisations. Provisions impose liability for actions also when there is no criminal intent or no serious harm. Use of computer data is criminalized. As journalists rely on the exchange of information, they may be found liable for “receiving or transmitting unauthorized computer data in the belief that they are authorized to use the data or without knowing the circumstances by which the data has been

transmitted” (USAID et al., 2019:38-39). Criticism against individuals or the authorities could be deemed to have 'insulted' them or to have published 'deceptive', 'misleading', or 'inaccurate' information. Another set of vague terms makes it difficult to predict what actions are criminalized. There is a danger of this resulting in targeting journalists, as well as self-censorship for fear of being arrested. (USAID et al., 2019:39.) The act makes it very difficult to take care of source security as law enforcement officers are given power to issue orders authorizing entry, search, or seizure of devices and computer systems and to secure accessed computer data, if they have a reason to believe that the computer system may be used as evidence of an offence or is the result of an offence. Journalists and media practitioners may possess or have access to information that might be of interest to law enforcement agents. The law does not provide proper judicial oversight to protect the rights of journalists to effectively exercise their media freedoms and protect their sources. (USAID et al., 2019:40.)

6.3.1. Document analysis: Freedom of information

I will separately introduce the laws that affect freedom of information, as this legislation applies especially to journalists' ability to do background research, find evidence, and be able to produce stories that give the public new information. Freedom of information laws are essential for investigative journalists, evidence is necessary when providing findings or controversial investigations. While legislation in Tanzania keeps it almost impossible to do investigative journalism in a safe manner, it seems that under certain legislative acts the most important protection for journalists is to have enough evidential information to prove that their case is objectively true. It must be noted, though, that the publication may still be denied or taken down if it is considered to be against "public interest".

6.3.2. *The Access to Information Act*

The Access to Information Act was passed by the parliament on September 7th and by the president on September 23rd in 2016. The law provides access to information, promotes transparency and accountability of the information holders, and defines what kind of information the public has the right to access. The act provides that every person shall have the right to access information which is under the information holder's control. The entire

public has the right of access to information; however, the law applies only to the citizens of the United Republic of Tanzania. (MCT, 2020:16-17.) The information can be denied from foreign journalists. (USAID et al., 2019:22.) While legislative work that grants access to information can be considered a step further for journalists, the Access to Information Act has some exceptions that make the law in some situations very much useless or even problematic for journalists. As the act applies to "information holders" – such as public authorities and private bodies registered under any written law – which utilize public funds or are in possession of information that is of significant public interest, private media houses may also be required to disclose information. The term "public interest" is again not defined properly, so it would lead to disclosure of a different kind, including private and personal information. (USAID et al., 2019:22.) The law could be used against journalists to gain information on sources or employees of the media house and vice versa; it is still unclear to journalists what kind of information they are allowed to access or disclose. Not all information is accessed either. Information holders may withhold information if such information is exempted, and if disclosure is not justified in the public interest. (MCT, 2020:18.) Other types of information declared exempt include information that is likely to:

“Undermine defence, national security, and international relations; impede due process of the law or endangers the life of any person; undermine lawful investigation; facilitate or encourage the commission of an offence; involve unwarranted invasion of an individual's privacy; infringe upon lawful commercial interests; hinder or cause substantial harm to the Government to manage the economy; undermine Cabinet records; or distort or dramatize courtroom data before the conclusion of the case” (MCT, 2020:18).

Penalties of imprisonment are imposed for the distortion, alteration, or defacement of information and disclosure of the exempt information. There is no protection from prosecution for disclosures made in good faith. The Access to Information Act can be seen to limit the public's constitutional freedom to receive impartial information, as it is difficult for journalists to evaluate the situation in which they can publish information without imprisonment or other sanctions. The law also contains broad exemptions of what information may be withheld and grants wide power to information holders to determine what information is or is not justified in the public interest. The vague and undefined language of the Act can prevent the disclosure of a wide range of documents. (USAID et al., 2019:23-24.)

6.3.3. The Statistics Act

The Statistics Act was enacted by the Parliament on 26th March and assented by the president on 25th April in 2015. It is about the national statistics system and established an independent bureau that regulates Tanzania's statistics. (MCT, 2020:26.) At the time, the act required that before any person or organisation released data publicly, it needed to be approved by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). It was also a crime to disseminate statistics that "invalidate, distort or discredit" the official statistics. This was amended in the second half of 2019. It is no longer illegal to publish statistical information without prior government authorisation, yet official statistics continue to require NBS approval (MISA & FES, 2019). Even though the most troubling part of the legislation was amended, the act is still problematic. It requires persons to provide full and complete answers for all returns, forms, or other documents left with or sent to them. Persons are required to answer any question or inquiry put to them. This could be used to force businesses and organisations to disclose information, which in case of journalism could threaten the protection of the sources. (USAID et al., 2019:46.)

According to the United Nations Statistics Division (n.d.), the Conference of European Statisticians developed and adopted the Fundamental Principles of Official Statistics in 1991, which were subsequently adopted in 1992. This led to statisticians in other parts of the world to realize that the principles were of global significance. After an international consultation process, the United Nations Statistical Commission at its Special Session on 11th – 15th of April 1994 adopted the very same set of principles with a revised preamble as the United Nations Fundamental Principles of Official Statistics. United Nations' Handbook of Statistical organization states:

"In order for the public to trust official statistics, a statistical agency must have a set of fundamental values and principles that earn the respect of the public. These include independence, relevance, and credibility as well as respect for the rights of respondents. These principles are codified in the Fundamental Principles of Official Statistics" (UNSD, 2003:5).

According to the handbook, a widely acknowledged position of independence is necessary for a statistical agency to have credibility and to carry out its function to provide a flow of useful,

high-quality information for the public and policy makers. If the statistical agency loses the credibility of its independence, users may lose trust in the accuracy and objectivity of their data, and data providers may become less willing to cooperate with agency requests. (UNSD, 2003:5.) In Tanzania this has been taken into consideration, not necessarily in the best possible way, by making it criminal to not cooperate with agency requests. Most importantly the handbook states:

"In essence, a statistical agency should be distinct from those parts of the Government that carry out enforcement and policy-making activities. It should be impartial and avoid even the appearance that its collection, analysis and reporting processes might be manipulated for political purposes or that individually identifiable data might be turned over for administrative, regulatory or enforcement purposes" (UN, 2003:5).

Even though the amendment of the Statistics Act made the law more reasonable for journalists, universities, organisations, and all the other users of the data, it still seems that the official statistics are nonetheless in governmental control by legislation.

7 Analysis

Implemented Acts and regulations in Tanzania could be said to especially affect the perceived professional identities (Deuze, 2005) of Tanzanian journalists in the topics of public service, objectivity, and autonomy. An ethical perspective must be included as well, especially when journalists consider themselves as public servants but are struggling to provide unbiased information to the public. As Wiik (2010) noted, objectivity is gaining ground as an ideological perspective among Tanzanian media professionals, to which my results also attest. Even though two of the interviewed journalists were working in a media company controlled by the government, none of the interviewees had interests connected to a political party, even though it would seem the social capital provided by the participation of said group could be beneficial. If a journalist was working in governmental media, it seemed to affect the amount of information they were getting from officials. This could mean they acquire more social capital by belonging to a media house that is in governmental control, or that they worked more closely with topics where the data was provided by the government. On the other hand, some of the journalists had decided to not use the social capital they could gain by having strong connections in the ruling party or working directly in favor of the government.

The Accreditation process of the Media Services Act is going to be implemented in 2022. The journalists are said to be able to be accredited in two ways; by education or established career. According to Journalist 6 of the interviewees, this is a troubling issue, as not all journalists have the time or resources to educate themselves and gain diplomas on top of their work. Travelling to schools from another parts of Tanzania can be difficult for working journalists. This might lead to a great number of journalists dropping out of the field. It can of course be that the accreditation applies if work experience is counted as well, but the formatting of the legislation is still open for interpretation for anyone to be denied the right to practice journalism. It seems that the local journalists and media organizations do not trust that they would be accredited without diplomas. Even if they were, it is nonetheless possible that the accreditation could be taken away from them if they do not work according to the will of the officials. According to MCT (2020) demanding accreditation for journalists to work diminishes people's possibilities of entering the field of journalism. As journalists need institutionalized cultural capital to be recognized as professionals, many may lose years of

gathering cultural capital in work experience. If the work experience that equals to institutional cultural capital cannot be measured as cultural capital in a certain form, a lot of cultural capital embodied in the journalistic workforce without institutional degrees might be lost from the professional field, if they are not accredited in the future. Historically, according to Sturmer (1998:172-174), journalists and the public of Tanzania have already resisted similar legislation in 1993. At that time, then-Minister of Information and Broadcasting, William Shija, made an attempt to regulate private press with the Media Professions Regulation Bill. The bill included a process of registration of news people and the establishment of a media council, just as the Media Services Act does. In the Media Professions Regulation Bill, anyone employed with a media organization had to be registered, and therefore the journalists should be suitably qualified. This meant education in an appropriate field – and one might still be denied the possibility to practice journalism if the person did not seem fit to be registered. Sturmer wrote that the Media Professions Regulation Bill was never implemented since "the Tanzanian public was not willing to accept another draconian law while politicians were talking about the advancements of the democratization process." (1998:172-174.) The bill ended up being strongly criticized by parliamentarians and academics, as it seemed to be an attempt to curb the independent media. According to Sturmer (1998), withdrawing the Media Professions Bill in September 1993 was the first time in the history of Tanzania that the government gave way to public demands. It seems that this time Tanzania is instead moving toward strengthening its authoritarian system in 2021.

While journalists in Tanzania lack social capital in a way that would be exchangeable for funds, health, or freedom, female journalists are not lacking in cultural capital, i.e. education, but the social capital by their gender – therefore in investigative journalism they could face a double threat for not only being a journalist, but being a woman as well. The results of my research as well as the former literature suggest that female journalists are not seen as equal to men practicing journalism in Tanzania. However, I want to point out that Ginwala, the first editor of The Standard when it was taken over as a national newspaper in Tanzania, was a female journalist. She serves as an example that women have not been excluded from the profession and have been practicing editorial positions. Ginwala's will to establish an autonomous lead in the paper could be seen as an example of how women journalists have had to hold strong ideological values to compensate for their gender in journalism. If female

journalists use their professional identity over gender identity at newsrooms as a protection against the unequal masculine newsroom culture, as Wiik (2010) has noted, in the study Journalist 1 seemed to set up an example of the behavior – she was educated, not only in journalism but specialized in investigative journalism. She underlined how, as journalists, women needed to be the best, professional and tough, to avoid being sexually harassed in their workplace. She valued a strong professional identity and referred to women who exchanged sexual favors to maintain their profession as 'weak'. If a female journalist then gathers enough cultural capital and gains social capital as a talented professional, they do not need to gain social capital by exchange of sexual favors. From Wiik's (2010) notions and the interviewee's experience it could be concluded that having strong professional ideals can be a survival strategy to maintain a position in the field – something male journalists do not necessarily need to do or even think about.

Another strategy for the women to maintain their positions in the profession, according to Djerf-Pierre (2007), is specialization. As women specialize in women-specific topics, they become assets to the newsrooms: there needs to be women producing journalism about women, as they have collected cultural capital of lived experiences of the gender. This development could be seen when looking at the topics the interviewed journalists had written and wanted to write about. Many of them did not only work a lot with female-specific topics, but also brought up the strong motivation to advance the positions of women in the media and in society, and increase the representation of women and children in the news. They did not seem to think themselves to be unfit for investigate topics that could be considered "hard news", other than safety-wise. There was no strong separation of topics they were thinking of making themselves compared to topics they felt should be investigated – some of the topics entwined, different journalists wanting to investigate similar topics on which some others had been already producing stories of.

One of the journalists talked about how she was thankful, at the age of 35, that she was too late to have children, because otherwise she would not be able to complete her studies in journalism. She had discontinued a career in journalism after her family told her not to pursue it, but then entered the field again as she felt that it was her passion, but was careful with controversial topics to keep herself safe. This seems to add up to the findings of the study of

women in newsrooms by MCT (2019) and shows that women can be pressured not to practice journalism, as well as held back in their careers because they are considered responsible for the household and children. On the other hand, other interviewees did not express discomfort in that area, so it cannot be said that all women would experience this. In the case of education, all journalists seemed to feel educated enough to work in their current position. Some of them operated multiple different media platforms, such as online writing, broadcasting, and social media.

When it came to technical skills related to investigative journalism – which in this study concern, at minimum, safeguarding source security, data, and personal digital security – it seems that there is room for development. While one journalist talked about securing data so that officials could not get to it, and another about how in Tanzania journalists do not have proper knowledge of the issue, the other four people interviewed did not express a strong understanding for the need to take care of their digital security, other than not feeling threatened on social media. This is understandable, though, for journalists lacking education in investigative methods. It could be argued though, when looking at the legislation of the Cybercrime Act and other restrictive acts, that it would be beneficial for every journalist in Tanzania to take care of their digital security, as the government has a wide set of ways to intrude upon newsrooms and demand data. The knowledge of operating technology used in broadcasting or producing news applies to journalists' embodied cultural capital, making them part of a specialized group, and could be a form of cultural capital that would add to the social capital of female journalists in the long run. As many of the journalists did not feel their skills to be adequate enough to operate with technology, it could be possible that they do not even offer to trade their skills in the field, leaving them out of the professional exchange that could advance their social capital.

The interviewed journalists said they did not feel able to operate freely. All mentioned the current situation for journalists being difficult in Tanzania. Some felt more hopeful of the future. One journalist was sure she would find ways to work on investigative journalism in the future, while two other journalists had decided that they would not pursue investigative stories. The journalists felt it was dangerous, and killings, disappearances, and kidnappings came up during the discussion in at least two discussions without the interviewer asking about

these sorts of incidents. The examples of investigative journalists getting in trouble or losing their life seemed to have clearly affected the journalists' sense of whether it was beneficial for them to work on investigative topics or not. This seems to confirm the notion of Mills and Sarikakis (2016), that government using strong measures to control journalists or keeping the threat of violence lingering over their heads leads to self-censorship. By writing critical or investigative stories journalists in Tanzania would take a big risk in losing all the social and cultural capital they had gathered, as the punishment could be being banned from practicing the profession entirely.

From the freedom of information point of view, the observations of the journalists seemed to align with the legislative problems of the Right to Information and Statistics acts. Some had faced problems with officials denying information, and some felt the Acts had made it easier to gain information from governmental offices. The answers depended on whether the person was working in governmental media or not. As the National Bureau of Statistics controls much of the data, the journalists had noticed data being cooked or one-sided. This means that the journalists cannot properly trust the data provided to them. The social capital of the journalist could rise, making it easier to produce stories, if they worked in media that was more in favor of the governmental party. One interviewer told me an example of a media house that lost most of their connections because the owner of the media house was seen to be in favor of the opposing party, as the people interviewed were afraid that they would be seen as partial and against government politics. But when the presenters working for the media showed strong professional ideals in interviews, they gained back the social capital from individuals interviewed and the connections were restored.

Hugo de Burgh (2000:19) lists qualities that are important to investigative journalists, one of them being the wit to doorstep and to go undercover if necessary. One interviewed journalist had done undercover reporting multiple times, and held womanhood as an asset, because women were not considered usually to be journalists, especially investigative types. This could provide a possibility for women to specialize in investigative journalism and use the stereotypical attitudes in society as a strategy to minimize risks in reporting sensitive issues. This could mean the social capital of female journalists shifting in the long run, unless stories are published anonymously, keeping the name and gender of the journalist hidden.

This, nonetheless, might prove meaningless if the regulations enable the government to ban publications of their choosing. When looking into the topics the interviewed journalists would be curious to investigate, quite many of them are still related to issues that the public would need information on. While discussing development journalism, Faringer (1991:95) points out that instead of only reporting positive news, people could be informed through context and evaluation of processes. It seems that the journalists I interviewed have possibly applied this attitude, as their chosen topics seem to look for process instead of current news and to inform people, rather than going against the government. Hugo de Burgh (2000:67) writes: "Journalists have not always been content with exercising it as informant and broker; they have chosen to set the agenda. Investigative journalists can be seen as trying to change the agenda by identifying certain events and issues as priorities regardless of what the authorities think". As journalism, especially investigative journalism, can therefore seem rebellious from the developmental point of view, it seems that the Tanzanian government will hold onto its authoritarian approach to the press and wishes to keep journalists controlled, despite journalists forming strategies to publish stories with developmental ideals.

To gain social capital, journalists need networks of their own, as they often hold professional ideals of objectivity and are not able to use connections of certain groups in their work. Organisations such as MCT and Tanzania Media Women's Association can provide social capital in the form of collegial connections and further education. If a majority of the students in Tanzania's journalistic field are women, female journalists could gradually start having more connections between professionals who do not hold stereotypes against their gender or demand sexual favors in exchange for social capital and the possibility to work. This would of course be possible, if enough of those women stay in the field after graduation.

8 Conclusion

The biggest threat to freedom of speech and women journalists working in the field in Tanzania seems to be self-censorship due to the restrictive legislation of the government. As female journalists acquire less social capital than men by their gender, and the social expectations toward women are different than toward men in the society, they must prove their professionalism with stronger efforts and hold higher professional standards to be respected by their colleagues or employers. They are not necessarily encouraged to work in the field and might also face pressure from their families and loved ones to stop working altogether or change to a less demanding or dangerous profession. Legislation may close media houses for basically any form of investigative journalism. Approving investigative journalism as an editor is high risk, with possibly no reward.

These findings are not an exception to the previous, multiple studies and reports of the situation of press freedom in Tanzania. The results of my research seem to align with the earlier literature. Some of the observations that can be concluded from this study are novel and can add to the discussion of the situation of journalists in Tanzania. As legislation restricts journalists from writing critically or from multiple points of view, the journalists interviewed seem to have their minds set on the other agenda that is close to them, the representation of women in the public discussion. They have high standards of objectivity, but the wellbeing of the public, especially women and children, motivates them to work in the field despite the compromises and hardships that they seem to face. On another note, it does not seem that the journalists interviewed suffered from very low professional self-esteem. The reasons for them not working in investigative journalism were practical, as in, protecting themselves and avoiding injury, instead of considering themselves unable to produce investigative stories. They were aware of the stereotype toward women, but it seems that practicing journalism itself is an act against the gendered stereotypes they face. In some situations, the women were able to use the assumptions of gender in journalism to their benefit, such as by gathering information undercover or publishing a story anonymously and letting the public assume it has been written by a male journalist. Journalists would possibly need more technical skills to secure their data and sources to work with investigative journalism under such strict surveillance.

The answers to my research questions therefore are:

How do female journalists in Tanzania see their possibilities in pursuing investigative journalism? There are female journalists producing investigative journalism in Tanzania who consider the work possible with their level of competence, but there is a strong degree of self-censorship among the professionals because of the legislation created to hinder journalism.

Q1. What are the working conditions for journalists in Tanzania?

Journalists in Tanzania need to gather enough cultural and social capital to work in their field, as they need to have education or established works of journalism. Journalists need to work in favor of the government, or they risk being banned, fined, or imprisoned. Some information has gotten easier to access because of the Right to Information Act, but as it has wide range of conditions, and much information is still difficult to find. There are multiple laws that the State can use to search, spy on, or control journalists and media houses. This has led to self-censorship in newsrooms. Journalists also face difficulties inside their newsrooms, as their colleagues may take bribes and let the hostile subjects of a story know the name of the journalist who produced it. There is a fear of violence among journalists.

Q2. What are the gender-specific conditions for female journalists working in Tanzania?

The situation above refers to all genders, but female journalists must hold their professionalism to a higher standard to protect themselves from inappropriate demands. Women in journalism generally write more about 'soft topics', but they can also work as news reporters who cover all possible topics. Tanzanian female journalists seem to use the strategy of specialization and cover topics related to womanhood and gender issues especially. They may experience pressure from their families to give up their profession or to manage family responsibilities while practicing it.

8.1. Limitations

The research here presented aims to provide a glimpse into the attitudes of female journalists working under a very authoritarian regime. The study does not try to compare the attitudes between male and female journalists working in Tanzania. The topic in hand can be perceived from multiple scientific angles, and this study most certainly has not been able to take into consideration all the notions that may be argued through sciences of law, anthropology,

development, media, and gender. There are limitations to the possibilities and knowledge to fully research and understand all the aspects of the situation, not least because of the cultural differences and the limited angle of a Western researcher. De Burgh (2000:116) notes that the "difficulty to access non-Western sources and protagonists is compounded by an over-dependence on official sources and sources from nations which are Anglo-American or Western friendly". I see that this applies to scientific research as well, as I have had to rely very much on sources written in English, and I have come across criticism in Tanzanian media outlets by Westerners judging the politics in Tanzania without knowing any better. I have tried to focus on finding African news sources and using certain academic sources where the writers have a better understanding of Tanzanian society overall. As the reporting is actively being hindered and journalists cannot be asked questions over internet connections in a way that it would not endanger them, it would be important to get more research and information from within Tanzania and analyzed by professionals or media researchers themselves.

Färdigh et al. (2011:21) note in their research that in countries with a weak electoral democracy, the level of press freedom has relatively little impact in fighting corruption, as countries like these are rather in need of well-functioning legal systems "before they can indulge in luxuries such as a free and independent press". Gunilla Faringer points out that:

“Civil liberties such as Freedom of the press are not natural but obtained rights, achieved during a certain developmental phase of Western industrialized countries. The idea of a press separated from government originated in the libertarian ideology, which embraces this kind of equality and equal educational opportunities and representation in government.”
(Faringer, 1991:114.)

This does not mean that civil rights can be achieved only one way, and African nations have established parliamentarism and other innovations during their time of independence, even though the historical development has differed from events that in Western nations have led to the same institutions. (Faringer, 1991.)

8.2. Further research

While it is easy to find stories and examples of women who have worked in investigative journalism throughout the centuries, globally speaking the gender-specific research on investigative journalism seems to be quite a narrow field of study. Investigative journalism is often presented as a footnote under gender-specific research of journalism if it is mentioned at all. Academic discourse agrees that investigative journalism is a prestige form of journalism that is held higher than other forms of journalism and holds masculine ideals. As investigative journalism is considered to be an essential part of journalists' setting the agenda in the public discussion and the moral compass of society, it would be relevant to see whether the gender viewpoint provides any sort of lens to reflect the agendas of the investigative journalists. Is the future of investigative journalism gender neutral? Is investigative journalism gender neutral now in any journalistic culture? Are there feminine traits and strategies that are left out of the methods of investigative journalism, if it holds its masculine standards despite the development of gender equality in different countries? The representation of the first female president could offer an interesting starting point for future research of gender and representation in Tanzania. If the accreditation system of journalists is adopted in 2021, it would be beneficial to study how it affects the field of journalism. What are the professional identities of Tanzanian journalists and how will these efforts, which have been deemed draconian, influence them? Similar research could be conducted on male journalists in Tanzania to compare the results and aspirations of the journalists. The situation of female journalists in rural and urban areas of the country could be researched and compared as well.

While I was writing this study, the situation in Tanzania has kept evolving, with former president Magufuli denying journalists possibilities to report freely on the COVID-19 pandemic, and his female successor Samia Suluhu Hassan lifting some bans that had been issued to media houses. On the other hand, on August 10th Hassan said in an interview with the BBC (2021) that journalists "were free to work as long as they followed the country's laws".

Overall, the discussion of the political system, legislation, and press freedom all linked together should continue with further analysis on how Tanzanian journalists could work freely under legislation that may punish them arbitrarily.

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Appendix: Questions

Introduction, clarification of the meaning of the interview, and small talk.

Background

What is your educational background?
How old are you?
Where have you worked?
What is your tribe/ethnicity/religion? (Optional)
Do you have any political views? (Optional)
What is your family situation?

Presence

Where do you work now?
How is the salary? (Optional)
Describe your working situation? (Contract, benefits, possibilities to advance)
Describe your work. (Regular working day, methods used, subjects)

Theme: Investigative journalism, sources

Do you work with sources or interviewees?
Do you have the trust of your sources or interviewees?
Do you have the respect of your sources or interviewees?

Theme: Investigative journalism, digital security

Describe your technical skills.
Do you work with topics that demand source security?
How do you take care of source security?
How do you take care of your digital security?

Theme: Investigative journalism, research

Do you have access to information when doing background research for the story? (Statistics, Contracts, other evidence)
Do you have the respect of the officials working with the data you need?
Are you provided data when you ask for it?

Theme: Investigative journalism, security

How do you get your stories published?
Do you have support when your story is published? (Security, legal issues, online harassment)
Can you describe possible outcomes of publishing an investigative story?
Can you name 3-5 subjects that should be investigated?
Can you name 3-5 subjects that you would want to investigate?

Describe your thoughts about male journalists working with investigative journalism in Tanzania.

Describe your thoughts about female journalists working with investigative journalism in Tanzania.

Why do you work in journalism?