NEWS PRODUCTION IN THE CONTEXT OF PERIPHERAL JOURNALISM:

A STUDY OF NEWS SOURCING PRACTICES IN

MAINSTREAM PRINT MEDIA IN KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late parents Jennifer Atieno and Dalmas Mitiro for their selfless sacrifices to keep me in school.

May your souls Rest in Peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

Peripheral journalism continues to influence news production globally. This study explored its adverse effects on traditional news production in Kenya and examine how the mainstream print media have countered its influences through their news-sourcing practices. In this study, peripheral journalism is defined as the gathering, processing, and dissemination of news by people outside the legacy media. The following questions guided the study: How has peripheral journalism influenced news sourcing in mainstream print media in Kenya? What practices do the print media use to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism? How do journalists in Kenya perceive print media news-sourcing practices used in the context of peripheral journalism? The study embraced gatekeeping and source credibility theories for their fundamental roles in understanding traditional news production, as they are key pillars defining news sourcing practice. Methodologically, the qualitative research approach and case study research method and were adopted to answer the research questions. Purposive sampling was used to identify 22 journalists from two print media organizations in Kenya who participated in the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data, and thematic analysis was relied on to interpret the data through open, axial, and selective coding. The study found that peripheral journalism has compromised news sourcing in print media in Kenya in terms of information newsworthiness and quality. The instantaneous sharing of news on social media has made it more difficult for journalists to decide what information is novel while misinformation and disinformation from peripheral actors continue to affect the quality of ideas and information gathered. Peripheral journalism has also introduced new information-sourcing channels, including TikTok, and safety concerns, such as cyberbullying, that make it difficult for journalists to source quality information. It has also negatively impacted on the relationship between journalists and sources, leading to pestering. In response to these influences, the study found that mainstream print media in Kenya had strengthened their news sourcing practices by enhancing information verification mechanisms, diversifying information sources, and improving relations with primary news sources. They also rely on early planning, including early submission of dockets, and day-two journalism strategies, such as in-depth and contextual information sourcing, to maneuver the accelerated news processes. Additionally, they have embraced improved accountability measures, such as the careful selection of sources, and are contextually managing relevant editorial resources, including journalists. The study concludes that the print media in Kenya has developed robust response mechanisms to avert negative peripheral journalism influences. However, they should continue to monitor influences of the peripheral actors on traditional news production and remain responsive to readers' needs.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0. BACKGROUND OF STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to launch the study foundation, which offers context for subsequent chapters. It presents underlying issues upon which this thesis is based. The chapter begins by providing context for the study then gives statement of the problem. It outlines research questions that were sought to be answered and presents the scope of the study. Further, it provides significance of the study.

1.2. CONTEXT OF STUDY

This study investigates how mainstream print media in Kenya has responded to the rise of peripheral journalism, particularly its influence on news sourcing practices. Peripheral journalism generally refers to the production of news content by ordinary citizens, facilitated by new media technologies. In the context of Kenya's print media, this study also examines how the growing presence of peripheral journalism, fueled by advancements in internet connectivity and digital platforms across the country, is reshaping the mainstream traditional news production practices.

In this study, peripheral journalism is defined as a multifaceted journalistic practice that manifests outside the confines of traditional media (Tandoc Jr., 2019; Cheruiyot et al., 2021; Maares & Hanusch, 2023; Hanusch & Löhmann, 2023). It is not merely the coverage of non-essential topics and events, although it often highlights less prominent issues. The conceptualization of peripheral journalism as a bordering practice is informed by Pierre

Bourdieu's field-theoretical perspective, which delineates journalism into a core (mainstream media) and a periphery (anywhere else) (Maares & Hanusch, 2023). Peripheral journalism is commonly practiced by actors who do not meet the conventional criteria of professional journalists, such as bloggers, activists, and programmers (Tandoc Jr., 2019). It also involves other actors like data scientists, fact-checkers, communal storytellers, musicians, poets, dancers, and algorithm-driven platforms (Cheruiyot et al., 2021). However, this study does not focus on peripheral journalism as practiced by specific groups of actors but rather on how their activities generally influence traditional news production.

Peripheral journalism has a long history, with its early manifestations dating back to the 17th and 18th century Europe and the United-States (U.S.) (Jurrat, 2011). Citizens in these regions used brochures and pamphlets to highlight injustices committed by local authorities. However, the phenomenon gained global attention in 2005 after the London bombing, when those affected shared images and text messages through the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (Hermida & Thurman, 2008). Earlier, similar instances of citizen reporting were noted during the 2001 Pentagon attacks in the U.S. and the 2004 Asian Tsunami, where online eyewitness accounts were later picked up by traditional media outlets such as the Cable News Network (CNN) (Jurrat, 2011).

Since the year 2000, the rise of peripheral journalism has been closely tied to the growth of internet connectivity and the availability of new media technologies. These tools, according to Miller (2019), have enabled more convenient and low-cost dissemination of content by ordinary citizens. Eldridge and Frankline (2019) also attributes the growth of peripheral journalism to the vibrancy of online interactions and the instantaneous nature of new

media's information spread, facilitated by live-streaming and chat features. Some scholars argue that peripheral journalism's ostensible independence from state control and influence by high society actors (i.e. political parties and civil society groups) has also contributed to its expansion (Tunc, 2014; Ritonga & Syahputa, 2019).

The rapid rise of peripheral journalism has spurred debates on its impact on traditional media. Scholars have speculated that the phenomenon might undermine the dominance of traditional media in public discourse, particularly print media. Studies around the year 2000 reported a decline in trust levels for traditional media news. For instance, a 2004 report from the Project for Excellence in Journalism found a decline in newspaper trust in South Korea from 80 percent in 1985 to 59 percent in 2003 (Kim & Johnson, 2009). A U.S. survey also showed that perceived news credibility was higher for online news compared to newspapers and television (Abdulla et al., 2002). Similar trends have been observed across Africa (Wasserman & Madrid-Morale, 2019).

Despite these concerns, traditional media has shown resilience. Therefore, this study sought to explore how mainstream print media in Kenya has responded to the rise of peripheral journalism, focusing specifically on the impact on news sourcing practices, an area underexplored in existing literature. As noted under rationale for the study in Chapter Two of this thesis, most studies have concentrated on the broader impact of peripheral journalism on traditional media's role in public discourse, in terms of its news production practices and commercial interests, with a focus on its incorporation of new media technologies and platforms such as Facebook, X, and WhatsApp.

1.2.1. Academic Context

There are diverse definitions of peripheral journalism providing evidence that literature on the phenomenon have focused on different aspects about it thereby demonstrating a vast academic context with regard to how it relates to traditional news production. For example, there are studies that present peripheral journalism as a democratic tool that unlike traditional media expands ordinary citizens' freedom of expression in the society (Schapals, Maares, & Hanusch, 2019; Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018; Baack, Cheruiyot, & Ferrer-Conill, 2022). Also, there are scholarly works that highlight the origin of peripheral journalism, its evolution over time, manifestations in different parts of the world, and influence on traditional news production (Baack, Cheruiyot, & Ferrer-Conill, 2022; Hamady, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Radsch, 2013; Jurrat, 2011). However, as earlier stated, this study sought to present traditional news production within the context of peripheral journalism by highlighting news sourcing practices in print media in Kenya.

As part of the academic context, it is important to note that peripheral journalism is one of five models of journalism including public, interactive, participatory, and traditional journalism. According to Nip (2006), peripheral journalism exhibits traits of all the other models except for traditional journalism. By definition, traditional journalism is activities that practitioners in traditional news media, including newspaper, television, and radio, engage in in the process of news production (Sturgis, 2012). According to Nip (2006), gatekeeping is one of the key pillars of traditional journalism. She observes that traditional media audiences do not play a significant role in news production except serve as news sources. Also, traditional media journalists set the news agenda by conceiving ideas they think are important, gathering relevant information, editing, and publishing the same based

on their own worldviews. The scholar claims that as far as traditional news production is concerned, the elite who are citizens with titles in the society such as government officials are more important. Overhosler & Jameison (2005) holds the same view that traditional journalism is characterized by its focus on powerful individuals in the society for news.

Traditional media journalists, according to Overhosler & Jameison (2005) and Nip (2006), also rely for news ideas and information on analytical and factual reports by experts in the society. Sibanda (2019), however identifies traditional journalism by the inverted pyramid style of news writing, which quotes sources perceived as most important first followed by the ordinary citizens.

Gatekeeping is however not the only important element of traditional journalism. In terms of audience interactivity, traditional news production is viewed as a monologue of sorts characterized by frequent interruptions in the form of commercial breaks for radio and television and advertisements for newspapers (Barnes, 2012). Traditional news production is also highly regulated by editorial policies, legal responsibilities, and a code of ethics that include, among others, accuracy, truthfulness, factuality, objectivity, impartiality, respect for sources, limitation of harm to vulnerable groups, and accountability to the public (Frost, 2015; Barry, 2016). With regard to the topic, the study examined how traditional media in Kenya select news sources amidst the many voices available thanks to peripheral journalism. Similarly, the study enquired how traditional media ensures their stories are factual and objective amidst the vast new media content.

Compared to peripheral journalism, where ordinary citizens assume an active role in news production (Nip, 2006), traditional journalism depicts them as passive consumers. In peripheral journalism, citizens not only contribute to news creation but also influence the

agenda (Weaver & Willnat, 2016). This form of communication is bottom-up; it starts with ordinary citizens and ascends to societal elites (Jurrat, 2011; Hermida et al., 2014), making it more interactive than traditional media (Nip, 2006). Unlike traditional media, which exercises control over content, peripheral journalism allows for unrestricted expression (Barnes, 2012). Ethically, scholars argue that peripheral journalism lacks the training necessary to adhere to journalistic principles, leading to biased content (Barnes, 2012). Critics contend that objectivity and accuracy are unattainable in peripheral journalism due to the absence of accountability and corroboration (Barnes, 2012, p. 20).

1.2.2. Social Context

The sharing of experiences of the Pentagon and London bomb attacks as well as events succeeding the Tsunami in Asia by ordinary citizens using images and text messages via traditional news media organizations like CNN and the BBC was a milestone in the development of peripheral journalism, socially. Unlike its earlier manifestations, in the 17th and 18th centuries, peripheral journalism got ordinary people beyond the traditional media gates into the mainstream newsrooms. The events present peripheral journalism at a global level as a democratic tool that allows ordinary citizens to play watchdog (i.e. hold their respective local governments to account). The events also present peripheral journalism as the key that unlocks traditional media newsrooms, which are a bigger platform for ordinary citizens' participation in democracy. Additionally, the events present peripheral journalism as an alternate route for ordinary citizens to express themselves and be heard.

In the context that peripheral journalism is a democratic tool, Oladepo (2011) describes the phenomenon as the Messiah of Africa. While it is frequently argued that the continent suffers an unfair negative global perception with regard to the concept of democracy, the

scholar's claim that the phenomenon has the potential to promote citizen participation in local governance has come to pass. For instance, in Egypt, young pro-democracy activists, armed with smartphones, used new media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to share information that triggered a revolution that led to the removal from office Hosni Mubarak who was in his later years as president considered a dictator (Onodera, 2011; Radsch, 2016). Peripheral journalism has also promoted democracy in South Africa (Bosch, 2010; Riaz & Pasha, 2011), Zimbabwe (Mutsvairo & Columbus, 2012; Mujere & Mwatwara, 2016) and Ethiopia (Skjardel, 2011; Ademo, 2011) and other African countries.

Peripheral journalism has rapidly globally spread and has been integrated in various traditional media. In the U.S., Cable News Network (CNN) created a segment called iReport that allows audiences to share unedited content, submissions that are published on the official page CNN.com once deemed newsworthy (Channel, 2010). In Europe, people continue to use new media platforms such as YouTube, Myspace, and Wikipedia to publish own content including texts, photos, and videos that are later picked and used by traditional media (Thurman & Hermida, 2008). In Sri Lanka, ordinary citizens share their news experiences via www.groundsview.org. Similarly, in Pakistan, members of the public use www.citizeneye.com to highlight their plight. By investigating news sourcing in local mainstream print media, the researcher hoped to open doors for further inquiries into Kenya's traditional media's commitment to the promotion of democracy.

1.2.3. Kenyan Context

Kenya is a democratic country. The constitution, in article 34, guarantees media freedom and independence, including the right to produce, broadcast, circulate, and or disseminate

information by any medium without state control or interference. The constitution also, in article 33, guarantees citizens the freedom of expression, including the right to seek, receive, and share information. Further, the constitution, in article 35, guarantees citizens, including journalists, the right to access information held by the state or any person in a position of authority. As a result, Kenya has a vibrant media industry with many traditional and peripheral platforms, including print, radio, television, multi-media channels, and digital news outlets (Wekesa, Mberia, & Nyakundi, 2024).

Compared to other countries', Kenya's traditional news media industry can be described in terms of freedom and independence, using classical theories of the press, as socially responsible. While on one hand, it does not compare to the liberal West, on the other, it is nothing like the communist East. Boosted by a deep smartphone penetration over 90% (ABC, 2019) and a high internet access rate about 96% (CAK, 2019), the country has peripheral journalism deeply entrenched, especially in its political culture which peaks every five years during general elections. For instance, in 2007, there was a post-election ethnic violence in Kenya, which led to the death of over 1100 persons and the displacement of several others (Waki, 2008). The conflict was partly blamed on the traditional media and the rising peripheral journalism influence on traditional news production.

According to Krigler (2008), Kenya's traditional news producers were in 2007 divided between profit making and ethical journalism. Also, some of the country's traditional media owners were aligned to different competing political parties, which promoted the fear that they could be influencing news content as vernacular print and radio news outlets covertly spread propaganda. Peripheral journalism therefore emerged to fill in the information gaps, especially for Kenyans who lived abroad and wanted to know what was

happening in the country (Banda, 2010). As some people took arms and fought, some stayed away from the chaos while others used their cell-phones to take pictures and record short videos, which they later shared online. At the same time, some traditional media journalists, joined by other tech-savvy Kenyans, created platforms such as "Ushahidi" that were used to disseminate stories not governed by editorial policies (Banda, 2010).

While Kenya has generally remained peaceful, the past three general elections have been hotly contested. The 2017 general election was particularly highly divisive with pockets of violence witnessed in parts of the country after the elections on August 8th. As was the case in 2007, ethnic division and political tension across the country were blamed on negative aspects characterizing the growth of peripheral journalism in the country, which includes fake news and propaganda (Ajao, 2021). Kenya held another general election in 2022 and while there were aspects of fake news and propaganda on various social media platforms within the public sphere, the country largely remained peaceful and there has been a feeling among mainstream media critics that the traditional news media are on course in developing mechanisms to handle the negative aspects of peripheral journalism usually linked to ethnic division and political tension. Therefore, the Kenyan context offers a good opportunity to study news production in the context of peripheral journalism.

1.3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Peripheral journalism characterizes mass communication today and greatly influences traditional news production. To begin with, traditional media's gatekeeping role is affected by a "publish then filter" style of reporting driven by the rush to publish news online (Bruns, 2018). Peripheral journalism has also affected traditional media's gatekeeping role

through user generated content (UGC) that has found its way into newsrooms and challenged editorial policies as observed in Zimbabwe (Sibanda, 2019). The phenomenon has also affected traditional media's gatekeeping role by allowing into newsrooms multiple non-traditional sources, although this is considered a positive attribute as it expands ordinary citizens' democratic rights to freely express themselves and comment on contemporary issues, including local governance (Chua & Duffy, 2019). Given UGC's uncontrolled nature, traditional media's news credibility is now in doubt (Bruns, 2018).

According to Onyango (2013), who conducted her study in Kenya, reports by ordinary citizens are often inaccurate and difficult to verify. She claims that while peripheral journalism has made information easily accessible, it has negatively affected the traditional media audiences' trust level for news by crowding the news space with too much information from too many sources. "Since peripheral actors are by definition amateurs, they do not abide by the same guidelines as professionals and there are questions concerning the objectivity, accuracy, fairness, and overall credibility of citizen journalism," (Onyango, 2013, p. 53). She further claims that traditional news media's need to first break stories is also linked to inaccurate and unverified reports characterized by one-sided narrations and the professional journalists' temptation to plagiarize published stories.

Peripheral journalism has also affected traditional news production by challenging news values. For instance, according to Bruns (2018), it has qualified as news emotive issues such as reports on ordinarily private individual's sexual relationships, marital issues, and health concerns. Also, it continues to challenge how news is defined by affording prominence non-traditional stories through user ratings and website rankings promotion (Bruns, 2018). Further, peripheral journalism has affected traditional news production by

challenging the inverted pyramid style of writing that begins with most important information followed by the supporting set of facts (Sibanda, 2019). As discussed, the problem that prompts this study is negative peripheral journalism influence on traditional news production, which has consequently ignited the concern among scholars that traditional media maybe struggling to effectively respond to the phenomenon (Wall, 2018).

1.4. AIM OF STUDY

The aim of the study was to explore the diverse effects of peripheral journalism on traditional news production in Kenya, and how the mainstream print media have countered this in their news sourcing practices.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In view of the background established herein, this study sought to answer the following questions**:**

a) How has peripheral journalism influenced news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya?

b) What practices do the print media in Kenya use to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism?

c) How do journalists in Kenya perceive print media news sourcing practices used in response to peripheral journalism?

1.6. SCOPE OF STUDY

According to Simon & Goes (2013), scope refers to parameters under which a particular study operates. I prefer to think of it as boundaries of knowledge creation within which a

particular knowledge maybe considered credible and acceptable in a given discipline. As such, this study sought to generate new knowledge on traditional news production in the context of peripheral journalism by specifically examining news sourcing practices in Kenya's print media. The study first sought to highlight how peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya then present the mechanisms adopted by the media houses to enhance their news sourcing practices in context. Finally, it sought to reveal how the news sourcing practices adopted in response to peripheral journalism are perceived by journalists in legacy media.

1.7. JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

Kenya's traditional media has been previously accused of fueling political tension and ethnic divide during elections leading to violence in parts of the country (Kriegler, 2008) by spreading, among others, fake news and propaganda (Asuela, 2018). As witnessed during the 2017 general elections, some traditional media news reporters were physically attacked by audiences on suspicion of bias and harassed by the government, which was led by one of the main presidential contestants, through police officers over similar claims (Mutahi, 2020). In defense of the country's traditional media, Kimutai (2017) notes that social media was during the 2017 general election period active with false reports. She claims that photos from the 2007 post-election violence were widely circulated. Consequently, the audiences, including some of the government officials, felt that some mainstream traditional media did not tell the truth in their coverage of the election.

The claim that negative peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production are part of the problem leading to political tension and ethnic divide in Kenya during elections

is shared by media practitioners in the country and has been reported by different scholars (See Ismael & Deane, 2008; Onyango, 2013; Ogola, 2015; Muindi, 2018), which indicated the need to study traditional news production in Kenya in response to the phenomenon. By asking the question how peripheral journalism has altered news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya, this study sought to promote awareness on influences of peripheral journalism on traditional news production. By asking what mechanisms have been adopted by Kenya's print media to enhance news sourcing practices in the context of peripheral journalism, the study sought to highlight how the country's traditional media is handling negative influences on its newsroom operations by the peripheral actors and to challenge traditional news media managers to transform or further improve their news production practices. Also, by asking what perceptions traditional media journalists share regarding the adopted news sourcing practices, the study sought to reveal their awareness on peripheral journalism influences on their work and their willingness to embrace relevant changes.

1.8. SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

As stated under justification of the study, this study was considered important to traditional media practitioners because it sought to promote their awareness on peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production. Besides highlighting mechanisms already put in place by the traditional media in handling negative peripheral journalism influences on their work, this study sought to provoke the media practitioners to think more on how better to transform their news production practices. The study also sought to reveal whether traditional media journalists appreciated the traditional news production changes made in

the context of peripheral journalism and their willingness to embrace them as well as any other that maybe effected in the future. The study is also informative of better collaboration with peripheral actors as emerging news sources.

For government, learning institutions, and policy change advocates, the study informs the design of courses for theoretical knowledge and training of professional journalists to enhance their understanding of both forms of journalism hence improve their practice. By understanding news sourcing practices adopted in traditional media in response to peripheral journalism, the students are informed on how to maintain professional standards in their work while navigating potential negative peripheral journalism influences. On the other hand, aspiring peripheral actors were expected to appreciate the need for careful news sourcing to avoid, among others, fake news and propaganda. Also, the study sought to inform production of education materials to promote public knowledge and awareness on news production intricacies to avoid incidences where some of them, including law enforcers, attack journalists. Further, the study was expected to shape public communication policy development drawing from an understanding of both forms of journalism.

1.9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This study focuses on traditional news production in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism. It investigates how peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya. It then explores mechanisms adopted by the country's print media to enhance news sourcing practices in the context of peripheral journalism. Finally, the study reveals how the news sourcing practices adopted in response

to peripheral journalism are perceived by the Kenyan print media journalists. As highlighted in this chapter, the problem that prompted the study is negative peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production. In terms of scope, this study was conducted in two mainstream print media in Kenya guided by the research questions. Justification for the study is that local traditional news media have been accused of fueling political tension and ethnic divide during elections leading to violence in parts of the country, which is linked to negative peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production. The study is considered important because, as explained under significance of study, it sought to inspire, among others, traditional news production changes and training of both traditional and peripheral journalists.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In the context of the study background established in chapter one above, this chapter aims to highlight published scholarly work on the subject with the goal of identifying a gap in literature. It begins by explaining significance of the study topic to my academic program then provides the theories that guided data collection and findings interpretation with regard to the research questions. This chapter then provides a detailed review of recent relevant literature on the subject from which rationale of the study is drawn. It ends with a summary of all the highlighted issues.

2.2. **SITUATING STUDY WITHIN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE**

This study sought to investigate news production in the context of peripheral journalism by examining news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya. News sourcing is situated within the journalism component of my academic program. The study subject is discussed below.

2.2.1. NEWS SOURCING

News sourcing is defined as the search for individuals, documents, and organizations with relevant information for news production. According to Helberger (2021), it involves making decisions on who is included or excluded as a participant in public discourse. For this study, I defined it simply as a journalistic routine that involves collecting/gathering relevant information for news production. As such, I included in the definition new media

platforms or technologies, such as Facebook and Twitter, that equally afford journalists relevant information for news production.

The above provided definitions demonstrate that news sourcing is an element of news production. According to Zelizer (2005), journalism can be defined as a set of practices or evolving skills, routines, and conventions that involve gathering, presenting, and disseminating news. Since news production is the fundamental business of journalism, the study of news sourcing is rightly situated within the field. It helps us understand actors involved in shaping our society through public discourse. With regard to traditional media's response to peripheral journalism, the study allows us to examine whether the phenomenon, through new media technologies, has expanded the range of actors involved in shaping our society (Hermida et al., 2014). Additionally, it helps us understand source diversification and balancing in mainstream traditional media (Tiffen et al., 2014).

One commonly discussed issue about news sourcing as a journalistic concept is source selection factors. Through this study, I tried to uncover how this traditional news media dogma is handled in response to peripheral journalism. According to Meadows et al. (2005), traditional media primarily rely on news values including conflict, impact, relevance, prominence, timeliness, proximity, and currency in selecting sources. The other factor that determines selection of sources by journalists is source risk perception. This is one's ability to be trusted to provide reliable information for news (Swain, 2012). According to Tuchman (1978), journalists often rely on a small group of dependable sources as opposed to seeking sources for every new story. The ideal source is reliable, trustworthy, authoritative, and articulate (Gans, 1980). The other issue is source-media relations (Mathews, 2010). How do traditional media journalists relate with sources today?

2.3. REVIEW OF RELEVANT THEORIES

This study was guided by two theories: gatekeeping theory and source credibility theory. Various tenets of these theories, their evolution as explored by different scholars, and their specific application in this study are discussed below. Together, the theories provide a strong foundation for understanding news sourcing practices. Gatekeeping and source credibility are fundamental pillars of traditional news production (Nip, 2006). The notion of multiple gatekeeping, a central concept within gatekeeping theory (McNelly, 1959), was particularly relevant to this study. It highlights the various individuals involved in gatekeeping in the newsroom, from junior reporters to senior editors, who collectively determine what constitutes news in mainstream media. Public mistrust being a key component of the problem under investigation (Schiffrin, 2019; Wasserman & Madrid-Morale, 2019; Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019), how print media journalists evaluate the credibility of sources in the context of peripheral journalism was considered important, hence the selection of the source credibility theory. Alternative theories considered include news framing theory and the heuristic systematic model. However, the researcher found their use more aligned to understanding news processing and news dissemination practices respectively, hence their exclusion (D'Angelo, 2019; Tewksburry & Scheufele, 2019; Kaye & Johnson, 2021; Van Dalen, 2019).

2.3.1. Gatekeeping Theory

Gatekeeping is generally defined as the process through which information is filtered by news media organizations for dissemination. According to Shoemaker & Vos (2009), it is one of the media's central roles in public life involving crafting countless bits of

information into a limited number of messages that reach people. The theory was first propagated by Kurt Lewin in 1943 and has since then been developed by other scholars. It holds that news media organizations receive from multiple sources many stories but only a few get published (Lewin, 1943). According to Shoemaker & Vos (2009), the decision to publish one story at the expense of another is based on economic needs of news media houses, their policies, news values, and beliefs regarding their obligation to the public. According to the scholars, this decision is often made by editors and producers but this study holds the view that the decision is also made by reporters who, according to McNelly (1959), decide at source whether or not a particular piece of information is important. Bass (1969) supports this view with the argument that gatekeeping studies should pay more attention to news sourcing as unreported stories do not reach the point where they are processed.

In 1950, David Manning added the concept of subjectivity to the theory. According to the Boston university professor, some stories submitted for publication get rejected based on the editor's experiences, attitudes, and or expectations (White, 1950). In 1956, a study by Gieber, involving 16 wire editors, revealed that gatekeeping decisions are also influenced by the editors' surroundings including organizational factors such as deadlines, work routines in their immediate environment as well as the community, a view that suggests that traditional media considers important what the community deems imperative but I imagine that this may have been difficult to establish before the age of new media technologies as it was difficult for individual community members to publicly self-represent. According to Dimmick (1974), gatekeepers should have a criterion that defines news to reduce uncertainty among professional journalists, consequent to peripheral

journalism. Other important theories that developed from gatekeeping theory include, among others, agenda setting, semantics and use of language, and framing theory (Roberts, 2005).

Gatekeeping theory was considered important to this study because the decision to allow some stories through the traditional media gates and keep out others, according to DeFleur & DeFleur (2016), limits, controls, and obviously affects the public's account of contemporary events. For the past three decades, peripheral journalism has tended to knock down these gates, create its own account of present-day events, and influence the traditional mainstream media narrative. The emergence of peripheral journalism has led to a number of developments of the theory, including the fact that audiences no longer simply receive news but also produce it hence gatekeepers in their own right (Schiffer, 2007; Singer 2014; Somaiya, 2014). Also, gatekeeping theory applied to this study in the sense that it suggested who to interview with regard to the study research questions. For example, the concept of multiple gatekeepers by McNelly (1959) suggested that I interview different traditional news production actors, not only editors. The theory also suggested some of the questions to ask during data collection in line with the study research questions. For example, has peripheral journalism changed information journalists in print media deem important for news?

Another suggested question was how has peripheral journalism affected factors that journalists in print media consider during source selection? The finding by Gieber (1959) that gatekeeping decisions are influenced by surrounding factors further suggested that this study should look into how the phenomenon, through influences such as tight stories submission deadlines, has changed news sourcing practices in the print media. As indicated

in chapter one under problem statement, gatekeeping is one of the pillars of traditional journalism that has suffered negative peripheral journalism influence. The theory helps us understand what the concept of gatekeeping is and its various tenets thus affords us better insight on the traditional media's response to the phenomenon.

2.3.2. Source Credibility Theory

Credibility is a perceptual phenomenon (Gass, 2015). According to Umeogu (2012), source credibility is when message believability is dependent on credibility status of the sender in the minds of the audience. Ohanian (1990) defines source credibility as one's personal attributes that affect the acceptance of his/her persuasive message by an audience. To demonstrate this, Gueguen & Pichot (2001) established that while shoppers, in a music store, were 10% likely to report and or confront a well-dressed shop-lifter, they were 39% willing to do the same against a poorly dressed one. The concept of source credibility originates from Aristotle's works whereby the success of a persuasive message is attributed to three interlinked elements: ethos (speaker's credibility), pathos (emotional connection with the audience), and logos (message characteristics) (Rapp, 2011). Of the three, Aristotle argued that ethos plays the most important role with regard to influencing audiences' thoughts. Therefore, source credibility theory holds that audiences are more likely to be persuaded by a message whose source is presented as credible (Umeogu, 2012).

Source credibility theory was developed by Hovland, Janis, and Kelly in 1953 and has been advanced by other scholars. According to McCroskey et al. (1975, p. 175), five elements that constitute a source's credibility include competence, character, sociability, composure, and extroversion. Of the five, the scholar submits that competence, character, and sociability are the most important. Competence, according to the scholar, constitutes a

source's qualification with regard to the message being delivered, his/her expertise, reliability, believability, open-mindedness, and currency. Character, on the other hand, constitutes kindness, empathy, selflessness, and virtue. Sociability, the other important element of one's credibility, comprises friendliness, cheer, and temperament. Corman et al. (2006) also submits three key elements that constitute a source's credibility, which includes: trustworthiness, competence, and goodwill, adding that the three can as easily be created, managed, and or cultivated as they can be destroyed.

Buhlmann and Gisler (2006) add three more dynamics to the source credibility theory. The scholars posit that a new source to an audience is credited initial credibility, which is often lower than a familiar source's. In the course of one's interaction with an audience, s/he is credited transactional credibility, which is created and managed in various ways including through depiction of confidence by the source. Depending on how a source creates and or manages transactional credibility, s/he creates terminal credibility, which is what the audiences take away once the engagement is concluded. Terminal credibility is therefore high if the source established good credibility status in the minds of his/her audience in line with the factors listed in both McCroskey et al. (1975, p. 175) and Corman et al. (2006). However, if a source shows poor character, incompetence, and unsociability, his/her terminal credibility will be low. Also, if not well managed, high terminal credibility can easily diminish, which calls upon the source to employ the source credibility elements listed in McCroskey et al. (1975, p. 175) and Corman et al. (2006).

Source credibility theory was considered important to this study because traditional media credibility is a key element of traditional news production and has suffered negative peripheral journalism influence (Bruns, 2018; Onyango, 2013). According to Salaudeen &

Onyechi (2020), traditional media credibility is the perceived believability of a particular news media organization by its audiences, which, according to Adeyanju (2015, May), also involves personal characteristics of the selected news sources. Source credibility theory was therefore helpful in the formulation of field questions on news sourcing in traditional media. It informed, for instance, questions on factors that print media journalists in Kenya consider today, in the era of peripheral journalism, during source selection. Also, the factors they look at to ensure they quote credible sources? Further, do they do background search on potential sources? If so, what do they look into?

2.4. REVIEW OF RECENT RELEVANT LITERATURE

This review of recent relevant literature explores the evolving relationship between traditional news production and the rise of peripheral journalism, particularly through social media. It seeks to address three core research questions: how peripheral journalism influences traditional news production, how mainstream media has responded to these influences, and how journalists perceive the impact of peripheral journalism on their work. By examining these questions, the review considers the global landscape of peripheral journalism, with case studies from the U.S., Europe, Africa, and Asia, to analyze how traditional media navigates the opportunities and challenges presented by peripheral actors, real-time news dissemination, and shifts in public trust.

2.4.1. Peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production

Peripheral journalism has significantly impacted traditional news production globally, introducing both opportunities and challenges. Journalists in the U.S., for example, increasingly use platforms like X (formerly Twitter) to source news, which allows them to

interact with sources in real time and socially construct news stories (Barnard, 2016). This shift away from conventional methods, such as relying solely on phone calls or press releases, highlights the growing importance of social media in news production. Scholars such as Boczkowski (2010) have also noted that tighter deadlines have pushed journalists to depend more on social media as a secondary source of information. This is echoed by Hermida (2012), who points out that peripheral journalism enables traditional media to gather timely eye-witness reports to fill information gaps when stories break.

However, the incorporation of peripheral journalism has raised concerns about the trade-off between speed and accuracy. Weaver and Willnat (2016) found that the rush to keep up with social media has led to a decline in accuracy in some cases. In the U.S., for instance, Wu and Wall (2019) observed that content from peripheral journalism, such as user-generated content (UGC), was often sensationalized and difficult to verify. This is not unique to the U.S., as Roberts (2019) and others have noted similar issues globally, including in China, where non-official sources were perceived as more credible than government or traditional media during the Tianjin blasts (Zeng et al., 2019b).

In countries like India, where traditional media still dominate the public agenda, peripheral journalism has had a less prominent role, largely due to the newness of high-speed internet and the entrenched credibility of traditional media (Noor, 2017). In Southeast Asia, countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, and Vietnam, peripheral journalism faces suppression in the name of political stability, with actors often facing threats and harassment (Quackenbush et al., 2018; Zeng et al. 2019a). In contrast, in countries like Pakistan, the rise of peripheral journalism has led to a growing culture of fake news, with traditional media sometimes using unverified content sourced from social media (Jamil & Appiah-

Adjei, 2019). Participants in Jamil & Appiah-Adjei (2019) reported that many mainstream media journalists in Pakistan had a habit of generating stories or using photos from online sources without verification and the peripheral actors linked to the government and political parties also created stories, which mainstream journalists were forced to use unedited.

Africa has also seen a shift, with peripheral journalism influencing the traditional media landscape. In Nigeria, for instance, a significant portion of the population, over 80%, relies on social media for news, raising questions about how traditional media are adapting to meet the informational needs of their audiences (Elijah et al., 2018). Misinformation and disinformation are also key concerns, with studies in Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa showing that exposure to disinformation has eroded trust in the traditional media (Wasserman & Madrid-Morales, 2019). Mpofu (2019) also reports that South Africans are increasingly using social media to challenge popular political narratives in traditional media from the government and political party officials.

In Zimbabwe, Moyo (2009) highlights how peripheral journalism played a critical role during the 2008 elections, keeping information flowing amidst a mainstream media blackout. Since Zimbabwe has had contested and sometimes violent elections similar to Kenya, this finding raises pertinent questions about how the traditional media in Kenya manage the parallel flow of information from peripheral actors, particularly during elections. For example, do the traditional media incorporate peripheral actors as news sources? How do they do that? And, what mechanisms do they have in place to handle the mixture of truths, half-truths, and untruths emanating from the peripheral actors? Similar concerns about the influence of peripheral journalism on public discourse have been raised

across Sub-Saharan Africa, where gatekeeping practices in traditional media struggle to cope with fake news and the volume of information from online sources (Mare et al., 2019).

According to Moyo et al. (2019), gatekeeping in the traditional media houses is affected by peripheral journalism in the sense that "questions of which stories to pursue, from what angle, and with what emphasis are more and more dependent upon analytics information gathered about audiences" (Moyo et al., 2019: 11). In this regard, the scholars posit that news gathering is less about having the nose for news as the saying goes or facts of concern to the public in courts, parliament, and other government offices but more about discussions in morning news conferences influenced by trending topics on social media as presented by the digital/web teams. "Various social media feeds now play such an important role that journalists and editors have to find out what is trending on these platforms before they come into the newsroom," Moyo et al. (2019: 11).

In Kenya, the interplay between traditional and peripheral journalism is particularly vibrant. Scholars like Obuya and Ong'ondo (2019) note that traditional media are under increasing pressure to incorporate peripheral journalism while maintaining accountability. The adoption of social media tools like X and WhatsApp has become commonplace among journalists in Kenya, allowing them to find and interact with sources quickly, though this has sometimes led to a reliance on officialdom that can limit the diversity of news sources (Muindi, 2018). Additionally, platforms like Ushahidi have emerged as key players in Kenya's peripheral journalism scene, highlighting the need for traditional media to adapt to this alternative public sphere (Ogola & Owuor, 2016).

Across Africa, the rise of peripheral journalism has also led to increased criticism of traditional media, with audiences often expressing distrust in their coverage (Cheruiyot, 2022), as seen during Kenya's 2017 elections (Mutahi, 2020; Ugangu, 2020a). To remain competitive, many traditional media organizations have adapted their news production process but the challenge of maintaining credibility remains, particularly as some online sources are difficult to verify (Koga, 2021; Tully, 2021; Gitonga et al., 2020). Overall, the relationship between traditional media and peripheral journalism continues to evolve, as both compete for audience trust and relevance in the digital age.

2.4.2. Mainstream media response to peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production?

Mainstream media's response to the influences of peripheral journalism, particularly through social media and user-generated content (UGC), has been multifaceted and evolving, reflecting both adaptation and resistance to these new dynamics. Despite significant changes in news production globally, traditional journalistic norms such as accuracy, objectivity, and ethical standards remain deeply rooted within professional journalism (Boczkowski, 2010; Ezinne et al. 2022). This adherence to core values is evident even as journalists increasingly rely on social media platforms for generation of story ideas, news sourcing, news processing, and news dissemination.

In the U.S., studies by Lysak et al. (2012) and Weaver & Willnat (2016) found that social media has become an integral tool for journalists, allowing them to connect with communities, check news from other media outlets, and identify breaking stories. Social media platforms have facilitated a faster exchange of information and a broader range of voices in the news ecosystem, yet many journalists remain bound by their organization's

policies regarding personal biases and professional conduct online (Adornato & Lysac, 2017). As peripheral journalism gains momentum, especially through platforms like Facebook, X, and WhatsApp, its influence has been more pronounced in smaller media outlets and regions lacking sufficient resources. Studies in the U.S. by Nah et al. (2015) revealed that newspapers in heterogeneous communities were more likely to collaborate with peripheral actors due to their openness to diverse ideas and a need for cost-effective content generation. This flexibility, however, comes with risks, as it can amplify voices with more resources and power, potentially extending marginalization of the less privileged groups.

Globally, similar patterns are observed. In Russia, many top, middle, and junior level editors start their day by scanning through social media, which helps to identify emerging stories or issues worth exploring (Simons, 2016). In China, Xin (2010) found that traditional journalists occasionally used social media for sourcing news. In India, Zeng et al. (2019a) reported growing recognition of peripheral journalism, with traditional media incorporating it to expand their news reach. In Pakistan, Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2019) highlighted the shift toward mobile journalism, where smartphones and social media enable quicker, cheaper, and more efficient news gathering. In Kenya, the traditional media's adoption of social media is an ongoing process, though studies suggest that it is happening more at an individual, journalist level (Kiguta, 2018; Mwongela, 2015).

This collaboration between traditional and peripheral journalism seems to be growing globally (Wall, 2015) and there are three tiers to it (Sienkiewicz, 2014). The first tier involves the peripheral actors generating raw content. The second tier involves traditional media identifying and using the content. The third tier involves a group of peripheral actors

acting as a link between the first and second tiers by investigating a topic hence providing more information about it or highlighting an aspect of it that may have been left out in initial reports. Sienkiewicz (2014) refers to this third tier as the interpreter group and claims that it comprises semi-professional journalists with a reputation to lose in case of less credible stories. To successfully operate within the third tier, participants need a wealth of contacts with both the peripheral actors and the mainstream media journalists, up to date information on events around the particular topic of interest, and interactive tools, such as wiki-maps, open newsroom forums, Facebook, and X among others, for active collaboration.

However, the rise of peripheral journalism has also triggered challenges, such as the proliferation of fake news, forcing traditional media to adapt in innovative ways. In Kenya, some traditional media organizations have established digital departments, integrating new media technologies into traditional newsrooms, but these departments operate semi-autonomously (Mwongela, 2015). Journalists in Kenya use platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp to connect with audiences and gather news, but there are ongoing tensions between maintaining professional standards and responding to the fast-paced nature of peripheral journalism (Koga, 2021; Gitonga et al., 2020). According to Moyo et al. (2019), this trend is recurrent across Africa. The traditional media are increasingly incorporating audience engagement metrics and social media analytics into news production, fundamentally altering editorial decision-making. This shift further highlights the influence of peripheral journalism, as the digital teams, sometimes without professional journalism training, dictate what stories are prioritized based on online audience behavior (Moyo et al., 2019).

The traditional media in some countries across Africa however struggle to incorporate peripheral journalism, especially social media use, in their news production processes. In Zambia and Ethiopia, the traditional media's response to peripheral journalism seems to be hindered by limited public access to social media, high internet costs, and the lack of institutional policies on social media use (Mambwe, 2019; Kalo, 2015). Despite these challenges, journalists in both countries rely on social media for news sourcing, with a preference for platforms like Facebook and X.

Resistance to the growing influence of peripheral journalism exists as well. A historical literature review on peripheral journalism rise and its influences on traditional news production by Roberts (2019) indicates that the mainstream media have reacted to peripheral journalism by embracing social media, building huge followings using their established brand names and vast audience bases hence re-establishing their power and dominance in public discourse. Consequently, the mainstream media are making it difficult for peripheral actors, including ordinary citizens at individual level and the civil society groups to be heard outside the traditional news media realm. In Kenya, traditional media defend their gatekeeping roles by maintaining editorial independence and emphasizing journalistic integrity, even while responding to public pressure to adapt (Obuya & Ong'ondo, 2019). Cheruiyot (2022) outlines four ways in which the traditional media in Kenya respond to peripheral journalism: consolidation, filtering, rationalization, and counter-discourse, reflecting the media's efforts to protect their credibility and navigate the chaotic digital landscape.

In conclusion, the mainstream media's response to peripheral journalism and its influences on traditional news production is characterized by a mix of adaptation, collaboration, and

resistance. Traditional media across the globe continues to uphold long-standing journalistic values while increasingly incorporating elements of peripheral journalism into their news production processes. As digital platforms evolve and audiences continue to demand more immediacy, interaction, representation, personalization, and accountability in news reporting, the traditional media must find ways to balance these pressures with their responsibility to maintain journalistic standards.

2.4.3. Perceptions by mainstream media journalists on peripheral journalism and its influences on traditional news production

Mainstream media journalists hold varied perceptions about peripheral journalism regarding its influence on traditional news production. They are cautious, appreciative, and skeptical about its influences on their everyday news practices. Studies across different contexts offer insights into these varied perceptions. In the U.S., Barnard (2016) reports that journalists positively perceived peripheral journalism, through social media, as an opportunity to interact with audiences in real time and socially construct news. Similarly, Hermida (2012) reports that peripheral journalism was perceived to enable the traditional media gather timely eye-witness reports to fill information gaps when stories break. However, a study in Texas showed that journalists cautiously interacted with peripheral actors, with many journalists preferring to use humor to subtly pass messages on platform like X, while staying mindful that what they shared could reflect positively or negatively on them. According to Molyneux (2015), political journalists were particularly more focused on building specific followings, a practice that aligned with the policies of their news organizations.

Weaver & Willnat (2016) found that traditional journalists believe peripheral journalism sacrifices accuracy for speed. This sentiment was echoed by Nah et al. (2015), who noted that user-generated content (UGC) and user-submitted stories (USS) from peripheral actors, though dynamic, were often unreliable. Nonetheless, more experienced editors tended to incorporate such content into their stories, recognizing the importance of citizens' participation in news production. This inclusion of peripheral content was seen as a way to diversify traditional news, though some traditional media outlets aimed to control its influence by labeling it as unethical or untrustworthy (Wall, 2015).

Across Europe, traditional media journalists have downplayed the impact of peripheral journalism on their work, but still acknowledged its value. According to Ornebring (2013), journalists in the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, Italy, Poland, Estonia, and Sweden viewed peripheral journalism as a useful source of information that highlights issues often ignored by mainstream outlets. However, they criticized peripheral actors for lacking the resources and teamwork required for proper news verification. Despite these shortcomings, the competition posed by peripheral actors has pushed traditional journalists to be more thorough in their reporting. In a historical review about citizen journalism, Roberts (2019) highlighted how peripheral journalism, through social media, enhances democratic participation by giving citizens the power to influence the news agenda. She emphasized how self-representation in peripheral journalism has reshaped news production through the framing of stories that may not otherwise gain attention in traditional media.

Similarly, studies in China and India reveal the complicated relationship between traditional newsrooms and peripheral actors. In China, Luo & Harrison (2019) observed that peripheral journalism on social media played a crucial role in fostering dissent and

offering citizens a way to hold the government accountable, despite state efforts to suppress this content. However, concerns were raised that peripheral journalism could introduce biases, as these platforms are often dominated by pro-nationalist voices and government officials. In India, Zeng et al. (2019a) noted that peripheral journalism had widened access to justice and government services, yet traditional journalists remained skeptical of its credibility. The absence of meaningful partnerships between the two types of journalism in India suggests tension between them. Whereas some traditional news producers perceive peripheral journalism as less credible (Chadha & Steiner, 2015), others argue that peripheral journalism has, in various ways, impacted lives of ordinary Indians by broadening the doorway to legal redress, government services, overcoming bureaucratic hurdles, speaking out against corruption, enforcing basic rights, and access to justice (Zeng et al., 2019a).

In Africa, Mapudzi & Osunkunle (2017) argued that peripheral journalism fills significant gaps in news coverage, especially in under-resourced areas where traditional media struggle to maintain a presence. They also noted that peripheral actors have become vital in public discourse, pushing traditional media to reconsider their role as the sole gatekeepers of news. In Kenya, Ogola (2015) observed a similar trend, where social media and peripheral journalism are seen as alternative public spheres. While traditional journalists remain wary of the influence of peripheral actors on their work, they acknowledge the importance of citizen engagement in shaping the news agenda. Ogola (2015) also noted that new media technologies are challenging traditional gatekeeping processes, allowing for more inclusive discourse. However, he cautioned that the adoption of peripheral

journalism could be a move by legacy media to manage its influence rather than fully embrace it.

WhatsApp, as a tool for news production, illustrates the evolving integration of peripheral journalism into traditional newsrooms. Koga (2021) found that journalists in mainstream media in Kenya appreciated the affordability, accessibility, and user-friendliness of WhatsApp for work-related communication among journalists and with sources, but also warned that its use could sometimes lead to a lack of context in reporting. Nevertheless, the platform has positively impacted traditional news production by facilitating real-time updates and feedback between journalists and editors.

Despite traditional news production changes consequent to peripheral journalism growth, peripheral journalism is still perceived as a double-edged sword in many parts of the world. On the one hand, it democratizes news production by allowing citizens to self-represent. On the other hand, its credibility and accuracy are often questioned, leading many traditional journalists to approach it with caution. In Kenya, as in other regions, mainstream journalists are grappling with how to incorporate this emerging form of journalism without undermining their own professional standards. Despite the positive perceptions, Kiguta (2018) reports that some editors in mainstream media in Kenya are yet hesitant to adopt media convergence for traditional news production. In conclusion, the perceptions of peripheral journalism among mainstream journalists are shaped by its dual role as both a valuable source of diverse perspectives and a potential threat to the integrity of traditional news production. While peripheral journalism undeniably influences how news is sourced, processed (i.e. written and framed), and disseminated, mainstream journalists often struggle to balance its benefits with the risks it poses to accuracy, objectivity, and professionalism.

2.5. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The above review shows that studies on peripheral journalism have advanced from its exponential growth in the age of new media technologies, its affordances to ordinary citizens most notably enhanced democracy due to their increased participation in news production, to its continued challenge of legacy media's public sphere dominance. The literature also shows peripheral journalism influence on traditional news production norms such as gatekeeping and practices such as news verification. It also shows new/social media adoption by traditional media organizations and their use in mainstream media newsrooms by journalists across the globe partly for personal gratifications and partly as a response mechanism towards increased prominence of peripheral journalism, consequent to ubiquity of new media technologies. More recent studies on the subject discuss the emerging peripheral journalism practices embedded in mainstream traditional media.

The literature review findings include, in summary, based on the research questions, increased participation of peripheral actors in news production as sources, increased need for use of social media as a news sourcing channel, affected news values characterized by broadened public discourse and need for contextual and in-depth news sourcing, as well as negatively affected news quality that is largely attributed to the shortened news copy deadlines and increased competition for both sources and audiences. The literature also indicates that there is increased demand among peripheral actors for traditional media accountability characterized by a declining public trust and that the largely linear relationship between traditional media and their audiences is also affected.

One of the reported traditional media response mechanisms to the above highlighted peripheral journalism influences include; diversified information sourcing and dissemination methods characterized by use of various digital/social media platforms, social media use policies enactment, audience-informed news sourcing, increased armchair journalism tolerance, and incorporation of user-generated and user-submitted stories. The literature also indicates that traditional media have overall enhanced their information verification mechanisms for better-quality news and improved their accountability systems, including imposing fines, demotions, and social media access bans for journalists whose social media posts do not align with the editorial policies and ethical standards.

Research question three findings from the literature review can be summarized as follows; positive peripheral journalism perceptions, negative peripheral journalism perceptions, and peripheral journalism influence level perceptions on traditional media. The positive perceptions include, among others, the view that peripheral journalism encourages social interaction with audiences, fills information gaps, provides breaking news tips and insights on audience interests and competitor coverage, connects traditional media with local communities leading to more personalized news, and promotes democracy by providing an alternative avenue for civil action and through increased participation of ordinary citizens in news production. The negative perceptions include the view that peripheral journalism promotes misinformation, disinformation, plagiarism, sensationalism, elitism, and is a threat to job security of journalists. Regarding influence level perceptions, there were views in some countries that peripheral journalism has a major influence on traditional news production and that it is inconsequential in other countries.

The above summary shows that research on peripheral journalism in the context of traditional news production has focused more on its influences on traditional journalistic practices than mainstream media responses to it. Consequently, there is dearth in literature on how specific peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production, such as increased legacy media criticism (flak), news agenda reconstruction and framing by audiences, reduced physical meetings with sources, secondary news sourcing alongside primary news sourcing, and content diversification need as a result of the broadening public sphere are handled by legacy media. The literature review also shows an overenthusiastic focus on the adoption and use of new media technologies, the various social media platforms, by the traditional media, by journalists both at institutional and individual level, as a response mechanism to the growing peripheral journalism ubiquity in cyberspace. Consequently, there is little focus on implementation of other traditional media responses to peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production such as the peripheral actors' recruitment as news correspondents, the creation of digital journalism departments, third tier peripheral actors' engagement, and the incorporation of UGC in news by the traditional media.

The literature further shows that there has been a lot of focus on journalists' perceptions on influence of peripheral journalism on traditional news production than on the journalists' perceptions on mainstream media response mechanisms. Consequently, there is a gap in literature on journalists' perceptions on the mechanisms adopted to enhance news sourcing in traditional media, beyond social media use, in the context of negative peripheral journalism influences.

This study sought to fill the identified empirical gap by examining how the traditional media in Kenya has responded to, with regard to news sourcing, besides the adoption and use of various social media platforms in newsrooms, peripheral journalism influences on news production practices. The study also sought to enquire from professional journalists in Kenya their perceptions on various news sourcing practices adopted in legacy media in response to peripheral journalism. Since not all the identified peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production are established to be affecting the traditional media in Kenya, this study began by finding out how the phenomenon has influenced news sourcing practices in the mainstream print media, which complements similar studies and highlights other uncovered influences. While I admit that the empirical scope of this study is not narrow enough to discuss in detail each response mechanism by the legacy media to peripheral journalism influence on traditional news production, I believe the study is important because it acts as a reference point for future research seeking to examine the specific responses, for instance, how the traditional media is handling increased criticism.

Furthermore, the above reviewed literature was largely quantitative. The studies recommended social media use in newsrooms, stiffer gatekeeping of user generated content, and journalism ethics re-training among other measures to be adopted by the traditional media as a way of dealing with negative peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production. Therefore, the overarching gap in the literature was that it barely presented in the findings reasons why some of the measures needed to be taken. Also, the studies seemed to lack the nuance on how to go about achieving some of the recommended changes. It was the researcher's view that traditional news production is inherently a social science phenomenon and more qualitative research is needed to

understand it and how it relates to peripheral journalism. Additionally, the researcher found the literature reviewed to be largely based in the global West, which presented an opportunity for more research about the phenomenon in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa. This is supported by Cornan et al. (2006) who argue that it is important to extend the understanding of news practice beyond western cultures. Clausen (2004) and Hannerz (2012) also assert that there is need for research on the everyday newsroom experiences of professional journalists in different cultural contexts in order to better understand the emerging global journalistic practices, which would equally help counter the continued extrapolation of Anglo-American experiences as global norms.

2.7. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter began by situating the study topic within the researcher's academic discipline. News sourcing was thus discussed in the broader context of journalism and established that since news production is the fundamental business of journalism, the study of news sourcing is appropriately placed within the field. It was defined simply as a journalistic routine that involves gathering relevant information for news production and also involves selecting who participates in public discourse within a society. Two theories, gatekeeping and source credibility, were also discussed as potentially key contributors to data collection, analysis, and interpretation of the study findings.

After a detailed review of recent relevant literature, rationale for the study was drawn based on the study research questions. It was established that there was a dearth in literature on how specific peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production are handled by traditional media. It was also established there has been little scholarly focus, beyond

adoption and use of new media technologies, on implementation of other traditional media responses to peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production. Finally, it was established that there is a gap in literature on journalists' perceptions on mechanisms adopted to enhance news sourcing in traditional media. The review of recent relevant literature also established a geographical and methodological gap.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter answers the question how was the study conducted. It begins with a declaration of the philosophical paradigm that guided the researcher and provides the specific methods that were preferred for data collection and analysis. The chapter also discusses the sampling technique that was used to identify the study participants and explains how trustworthiness was achieved. Finally, it provides ethical considerations that guided the researcher and explains on how they were met.

3.2. RESEARCH PARADIGM

For this study, I leaned towards the belief that new knowledge is created through human relations. This view is situated within the interpretive-constructivist research paradigm where reality is subject to perceptions and or actions of its social actors (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). According to Hua (2015), scholars relying on this paradigm believe that reality cannot be isolated as an abstract entity but can be constructed through interpretation within the context of its existence. The scholar also claims that knowledge exists in the form of details, meanings, actions, and relationships and can also be captured through observations and descriptions. According to Patton (1990), research participants are assumed to be reflective thinkers of reality. Whereas there is an element of co-creation of knowledge in interpretive-constructivism where a researcher's subjective influence is considered inevitable thus cautioned, it is believed that researcher-participant relationships created in

the course of continued interactions produce depth hence useful (Haverkamp & Young, 2007).

Relying on the interpretive-constructivist paradigm, I proceeded to the field for data collection with an open mind to interact with the study participants to understand the study subject as it exists in their minds. The study, for instance, sought to explore how peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya. It also sought to highlight mechanisms adopted by the print media to enhance their news sourcing practices in the context of peripheral journalism. Additionally, it sought to reveal traditional media journalists' perceptions on news sourcing practices adopted in print media in Kenya in response to peripheral journalism. I believe that the research questions were answered within the paradigm as defined by Guba & Lincoln (1994) and Hua (2015) to the extent that the participants provided detailed narrations of their professional experiences with peripheral journalism and shared on its influence on their work.

3.3. RESEARCH APPROACH

In line with the interpretive-constructivist research paradigm, I adopted qualitative approach for data collection, analysis, and findings reporting. This is an in-depth approach to research that involves generating data from participants in their natural and unique settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Litchman, 2006). It is also the understanding of how people construct reality in the context of a particular phenomenon and interpret their experiences with it (Merriam, 2009). I considered this approach to research relevant for this study primarily because it fit the study research questions, which focused on professional journalists' experiences with peripheral journalism. According to Harper (2011), one of the

reasons for choosing qualitative research approach, besides its ability to provide scientifically acceptable answers to certain research questions, is its focus on subjective experiences and processes of social phenomena. In this context, the aim of this study was to generate rich descriptions of the study participants' interaction with peripheral journalism through their subjective interpretations of its influences on their work triggering various responses and also their subjective perceptions on the adopted response mechanisms by their media houses.

The qualitative research approach is also consistent with the preferred above provided epistemological framework. As explained, interpretive-constructivism assumes that reality is subject to perceptions and actions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) and can be constructed through interpretations in the form of details and subjective meanings (Hua, 2015), which can thus be obtained in words unlike the alternative approach that tends to quantify reality (Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011). Additionally, I considered this approach relevant for my professional development as I had worked more than five years as a consultant in various research-based organizations where I mostly performed qualitative data analysis. Whereas I had interests in mixed methods research, I believed at the moment that successfully completing the study would solidify my claim as a qualitative research professional, a field that was experiencing substantial growth at the time in Kenya due to the rise of human-centered research design. This position is supported by Priebe & Slade (2006) who argue that, beside research questions, the choice of research approach can be based on the researcher's scientific interests, methods preferences, expertise, and also popularity of the method.

3.4. RESEARCH METHOD

Case study research method was used for this study. Case studies, according to Gagnon (2010), provide in-depth understanding about phenomena and their constructive processes, which fit the aim of the study to explore in detail traditional news production in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism. Also, case studies are understood as empirical inquiries that investigate phenomena within their real-life contexts (Yin, 2009) thus my decision to collect data within two mainstream print media organizations in the country. This allowed me to study news sourcing as experienced in both contexts, without equating its occurrence in one context vis-à-vis another, in order to generate a wide, strong, and reliable understanding of the phenomenon (Gustafson, 2017).

3.5. SAMPLING

Purposive sampling was used to identify traditional media organizations where the study was based. According to Given (2008), this type of sampling affords researchers the benefits of depth and variety during data collection. It was considered relevant for this study since the topic as explained under the preferred research approach required use of a manageable sample with relevant detailed information to answer the research questions (Mason, 2007). Nation Media Group and The Standard Group were considered due to their popularity in Kenya, the fact that their print publications were the most widely read across the country, and that the two traditional media organizations are the oldest in terms of history. According to *Status of the Media Report* by the Media Council of Kenya in 2020, *Nation Daily* was the most widely read newspaper in Kenya at 47% followed by *The Standard* at 27%. Information on their websites indicated that Standard Group was formed

in 1902 while Nation Media was founded in 1959. The two media organizations had thus lived through the growth of peripheral journalism in the country and had put in place different mechanisms in response to the phenomenon's influences on traditional news production.

Purposive sampling was also used to identify participants for the study. The first consideration was news type specialization. Borrowing from Othman & Tiung (2009: 207) and Van Dijk (2013: 43), the study adopted the following 11 news type categories: domestic politics, crime, human interests, including arts and culture, accidents and disasters, Science, including health and agriculture, education, economics, including business and trade, sports, foreign relations, op-eds, and others. Data saturation was used to determine the number of interviews. This is a point in qualitative inquiries when no additional interview is adding insight to the collected data (Bryman, 2012). Based on news type categories, 22 print media journalists were interviewed for the study, 11 from each of the two media organizations. The participants were selected across job cadres (correspondents, reporters, sub-editors, and editors). Age, sex, and career level in terms of years of experience, where below 5 is early career, between 5-15 is mid-career, and above 15 is late career, were considered (Ornebring, 2013). Snowball sampling was used to reach the study participants whereby I contacted one journalist who fits the sampling criteria in each media house. The first participants then recommended colleagues who also fit the criteria (Parker et al., 2019).

3.6. DATA COLLECTION

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted using two interview guides. Semi-structured interviews comprise key questions that help to explore a phenomenon by allowing the study participants to discuss in detail its various key components (Britten, 2006). In-depth interviews are conversations between researchers and individual informants that focus on the informants' perceptions of self, life, and experiences expressed in their own words (Valenzuela & Shrivastava, 2002). The data collection method was preferred for the study due to the detailed nature of data that was required in line with the researcher's preferred research approach and study methods. The guides were designed to target journalists with varying levels of experience and roles within the newsrooms. One guide focused on newsroom interns, contributors, correspondents, and reporters, assuming their firsthand knowledge of daily news collection practices. The other guide was tailored for journalists at the management level, who were expected to be shaping relevant policies.

Both interview guides were reviewed and approved by two university supervisors who are well versed with qualitative data collection methods. The university supervisors ensured the validity, reliability, and ethical soundness of the guides, which explored the typical day of a journalist in terms of news sourcing practices, the sources of news ideas, the media relied upon for news sourcing, the type of people interviewed or quoted, and the impact of peripheral journalism on these aspects of news sourcing. The complete interview guides are in the appendices for reference.

3.7. DATA ANALYSIS

Considering the data collected for this study, thematic analysis was used to help answer the research questions. This is a systematic way of identifying, organizing, analyzing, and reporting repeated patterns in a given set of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It was considered relevant for this study because of its epistemological flexibility and consistent use in qualitative inquiries. This analysis method involves reading sample transcripts from which a codebook is generated and applying the codebook iteratively to the other transcripts. The procedure involves open, axial, and selective coding as described by (Williams & Moser, 2019). Dedoose was used to code the data. This was useful in organizing the data based on themes as captured in the codebook. The software also helped with unique references and illustrative quotes generation to support findings writing.

3.8. TRUSTWORTHINESS

According to Guba (1981), trustworthiness can be achieved in qualitative studies by ensuring the methodology is credible, transferable, dependable, and conformable. For this study, I sought to achieve this by applying data collection, interpretation, and reporting methods consistent with similar studies. For example, since qualitative research, unlike quantitative research, involves use of words, semi-structured interviews were employed to collect data from the participants who in their own words expressed what they know, believe, and or feel is the reality about the study topic.

According to Shenton (2004), transferability can be achieved by providing sufficient detail of the study context in a way that readers are able to relate the findings with similar studies. In line with this suggestion, the study adopted the consolidated criteria for reporting

qualitative research (COREQ) in its narration of the study methods, which generally emphasizes detailed study reports.

To achieve dependability, Yin (2003) suggests that study methods are made clear and easy to follow to the extent that whoever wishes to conduct similar studies may replicate the procedures used and hopefully arrive at similar findings. Again, to achieve this, I applied the COREQ checklist and provided clear descriptions of the study methods as recommended by Jwan & Ong'ondo (2011). Finally, to achieve confirmability, Shenton (2004) holds that qualitative researchers must demonstrate that study findings represent the participants' views - not their own, which I endeavored to achieve using illustrative quotes and references generated using Dedoose software.

3.9. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics in research involves three fundamental principles this study intended to live up to. The first one is respect for choices and decisions of study participants. To achieve this, while obtaining consent during data collection, I introduced the study aim and context and the participants' right of choice not to respond to any of the questions was respected. The second ethical issue regards ensuring safety and well-being of the study participants, which I endeavored to achieve by ensuring no personal identifiers or information that could ease identification of the participants was included in the interview transcripts. The third principle this study intended to live up to regards freely availing to the participants' benefits that accrue out of the study, which in this case is information in the form of a report copy submitted to the participating news media organizations.

In addition to the above, the study proposal was submitted for research ethics evaluation by the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI). Further, to ensure the study is conducted with the highest ethical standards, as the researcher, I undertook an online research ethics certificate course offered by *Family Health International* (*FHI360*) to equip myself with fresh ethical demands for research involving humans before proceeding for data collection.

3.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This study was guided by the constructivist-interpretive research paradigm and broadly adopted qualitative research approach. The study applied case study research method and relied on semi-structured in-depth interviews for data collection. Purposive sampling was used to identify the participating news media organizations and participants for the study. Data representation guided the inclusion-exclusion criterion for participation. Data saturation dictated the number of participants interviewed. Thematic analysis was used for data interpretation and description. Dedoose was used for data organization and illustrative quotes selection. The researcher took appropriate measures, including obtaining relevant ethics research permit from NACOSTI, to ensure the study is conducted with the highest ethical standards. Once the data was collected and appropriately analyzed, COREQ checklist was used, in among other ways, to guide reporting of the study context, methods, and findings to assure its trustworthiness. Additionally, the journalists' right not to participate and participants' right not to respond to any of the questions was respected.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter presents the study findings in narrative form and discusses the findings in relation to relevant theories and literature reviewed in chapter two. The findings and discussion are organized according to the study research questions. It begins with a summary of the study participants' characteristics, provides a summary of the study findings, and concludes with the chapter summary.

4.2. PARTICIPANTS' CHARACTERISTICS

Out of the 22 print media journalists interviewed, 13 were male and 9 were female. Their mean age was 32.77, ranging between 22 and 45 years. Their mean experience level, in terms of number years in the newsroom, was 7.75, ranging between 0.25 and 17 years. Majority (15) were mid-career journalists with between 5-15 years of experience; six were early career journalists with below 5 years of experience; and one was a late career journalist with above 15 years of experience. Two of the participants had attained post-graduate level education. The rest (20) were first degree holders. Out of the 22 interviewees, seven specialized in political news while the rest were spread across 9 other news beats, including education, health, other sciences, court, crime, sports, business, lifestyle, and features. Some print media journalists work across the news beats and are therefore categorized as general. Characteristics of each participant are shown in Table 3 below.

Table 1. *Characteristics of the study participants*

Participant Number	Sex	Age	Highest level of education	Designation/News type specialization	Experience level (Yrs.)
1	Male	28	Degree	Correspondent/Politics	5
2	Male	33	Degree	Reporter/Politics	9
3	Male	40	Degree	Reporter/Politics	12
4	Female	31	Degree	Reporter/Crime	6
5	Male	26	Degree	Reporter/Lifestyle	3
6	Male	34	Degree	Reporter/Politics	10
7	Female	31	Degree	Reporter/Court	6
8	Male	32	Degree	Correspondent/Education	6
9	Male	31	Masters	Editor/Politics	11
10	Male	24	Degree	Intern/General	3 months
11	Male	34	Degree	Editor/Sciences	9 Years
12	Male	29	Degree	Correspondent/Health	4
13	Female	35	Degree	Reporter/Health	8
14	Male	45	Degree	Reporter/Sports	14
15	Female	33	Degree	Reporter/Education	8
16	Male	28	Degree	Correspondent/Business	4
17	Female	34	Degree	Reporter/Crime	8
18	Male	37	Degree	Reporter/Court	12
19	Female	27	Degree	Correspondent/Lifestyle	3
20	Female	42	Masters	Editor/General	15
21	Female	22	Degree	General/Intern	3 Months
22	Female	45	Degree	Editor/Features	17 Years

4.3. PERIPHERAL JOURNALISM INFLUENCES ON NEWS SOURCING

This section answers the first research question. The findings are presented under six themes that emerged from the participants' in-depth narrations of their news sourcing experiences in the context of peripheral journalism. The themes are: information newsworthiness, information sources, information channels, information quality, sourcing safety, and relationship with sources.

4.3.1. Information Newsworthiness

Participants reported that peripheral journalism has had an impact on news values, including novelty, timeliness, significance, and prominence. They narrated that the instantaneous sharing of news by peripheral actors on social media and other digital platforms frequently makes it difficult for them to decide what information is fresh and worthwhile exploring for readers who access newspapers the next morning. They also expressed frustration with immediate sharing of news items and events by peripheral actors in terms of timeliness, a problem that equally affects their submission of stories to the newsroom for digital publications. According to one of the participants,

> Unless you are following up on a scandal in a ministry, the kind of news that is abrupt, as they say, novelty… before you get back to the newsroom you realize that the news is already all over the place. And that has been quite a challenge because news is only news when it is new.

- *A 32-year-old correspondent with 6 years of experience*

Participants also mentioned that peripheral actors tend to contest information significance through social media trends, particularly on X, where they often seem to express their preferred news items, events, and themes. Peripheral actors also express their news preferences through news articles rating; websites ranking; and news items' sharing, liking, and commenting. There was also an indication that peripheral journalism has influenced prominence through social media popularity. Participants shared that while their decision on who to approach for information was mainly determined by relevance alongside credibility, reliability, and accountability, there was almost a new source everyday as more ordinary citizens shared content online, sometimes claiming expertise on various issues, rewarded through likes, comments, and shares. One participant stated:

Peripheral actors have the tendency to push for stories they want instead of stories either in public interest or a policy perspective that would be very important to their lives. But journalism also involves informing the society, for example, saying that you also need to look at this policy that might affect you rather than what celebrity XYZ is doing on social media.

- *A 42-year-old editor with 15 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

If you are doing a lifestyle cover of the most followed TikTok star speaking about cooking, you find that they are not experts in it, but they are more popular than the best chefs in town.

- *A 28-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

4.3.2. Information Sources

Peripheral actors emerged as an important new avenue for news ideas and information, complementing conventional sources, particularly for hard to get information such as confidential reports. Some participants reported that they had made it a routine to scroll through popular social media handles and pages, especially on X and Facebook. One of the participants indicated that he often does this in the evening while returning home and in the morning while reporting to work. Whereas many participants said they only get news tips from peripheral actors, others reported a more intimate relationship where the peripheral actors are informers. The print media journalists also reported enriching their stories with additional newsworthy information from online narrations by the peripheral actors, which also afford them unique insights that they later explore for news through conventional sources. They also shared that the peripheral actors are useful where print media houses have no presence and when news events break at night. One participant said:

There is a very crucial platform called "Mathree" on X. They look at the traffic situation in Nairobi and report incidences such as accidents and other very newsworthy happenings. When I spot something on that platform I take it up as an alert and go ahead and try to verify.

- *A 40-year-old reporter with 12 years of experience*

Participants also indicated that peripheral actors often trigger their journalistic instincts by bringing to their attention events they are unaware of. Peripheral actors also magnify topical issues that the print media journalists ordinarily ignore. By going through social media and other digital platforms, journalists also get ideas on how to approach their stories, questions to ask during interviews, and sources to follow regarding particular stories. Participants also reported that they often engage peripheral actors when news sourcing either actively by sending them direct messages (DMs) on social media or passively by scrolling through their handles. One participant said:

> We initially relied on the police, the courts, and organizations to tell us what was going on but then people started posting these things all over, which trigger your news instincts. You start looking at the information critically; you start taking them a bit more seriously than you used to. Maybe you would say that "ooh… they are just sensationalizing things." But with time, we started relying on them because they… sought of lead you into getting the real news.

- *A 31-year-old reporter with 6 years of experience*

Some print media journalists admitted to giving serious consideration information from peripheral actors who have consistently posted on a particular subject, especially where claims made in previous posts have proven true. They also presented scenarios in which they quoted peripheral actors. For instance, where they are the first form of journalism to arrive at breaking news events and are therefore able to, besides breaking the story, narrate their experience(s) or give a witness's perspective. Peripheral actors are also quoted where their accounts seem crucial but run contrary to authority voices. Consequently, peripheral journalism has afforded more ordinary citizens a chance to contribute to mainstream media news but are cautiously engaged. One participant stated:

I can quote them if I speak to them and if the information is… especially if they are giving a first account of what they saw but then I have to get an authority to verify what they are saying.

- *A 31-year-old reporter with 6 years of experience*

4.3.3. Information Channels

WhatsApp, TikTok, and Instagram emerged as important new avenues used by some print media journalists to gather ideas and information for news, alongside other social media, including Facebook, YouTube, and X. Participants, especially those specializing in lifestyle news, indicated that they get tips, hints, and alerts from these platforms. They also reported that these platforms allow them to spot potential new sources who they engage through direct messages (DMs), which sometimes leads to informational interviews. The print media journalists however shared that they often struggle to identify reliable sources on TikTok and Instagram, unlike Facebook and X, which have account verification features. There was also an indication that WhatsApp use in newsrooms is increasingly becoming popular for its end-to-end encryption, which allows sharing of confidential information. WhatsApp alongside other social media platforms also afford print media journalists a less costly way of getting ideas and information for news, compared to phone calls and physically attending news events that involves transportation costs. One participant narrated:

There was a lifestyle cover story I published last week on Sunday, about a former rugby player from Kenya who I knew through TikTok... I am still new on the platform but at least I know a thing or two about how to use it to source news information, except I am still struggling with verification of content… That is how I do it because for lifestyle you really can't source stories from any other place. That's where people share their experiences, majorly on social media.

- *A 26-year-old reporter with 3 years of experience*

4.3.4. Information Quality

Participants expressed concerns that peripheral journalism has compromised the quality of information by introducing alternative sources, such as the peripheral actors, and unconventional avenues for news sourcing, like TikTok. Among fears expressed by participants, the risk of misinformation and disinformation was particularly prominent. They pointed out that peripheral actors often shared incorrect information, especially through unverified social media accounts. Participants also raised concerns about the threat of social media accounts' hacking, which undermines their accurate information sourcing. Furthermore, they noted that peripheral actors tend to share processed information, which hinders their access to truth. The sharing of processed information by peripheral actors was also identified as a potential source of misleading content as the information shared often lacks context. The journalists also voiced concerns about the risk of conveyor belt sourcing from peripheral actors who are sometimes influenced by high society actors, including some government agencies, political parties, and civil society groups, to disseminate fake news. This concern was also linked to the observation that some journalists prioritize nurturing sources, which forces them to push personal agendas. A participant remarked:

> We're living in an era when people share a lot of un-sifted information and you're likely to run into the temptation, if you do not follow the due process, of publishing fake news. We've had instances where you get a completely different story on the ground from what was shared by peripheral actors online. It helps audiences if you investigate to find the truth… Also we'd like to get the raw information because the moment you are sharing something with me, you have processed it already and it is likely that you've left out what you think may not be important. What if I move with that and yet there's something more important that could help my story?

> - *A 34-year-old correspondent with 9 years of experience*

Participants also indicated that peripheral journalism promotes plagiarism in mainstream print media, as some of their colleagues pick easily available information online and

occasionally borrow stories from friends working in other media organizations to meet tight submission deadlines. They also expressed frustration that peripheral journalism drives the need for fast processing and publishing of news, leaving them with insufficient time for sourcing high-quality information. In fact, some of them admitted to recycling quotes from sources. There was also an indication that the pressure to compete peripheral actors and other news outlets for audience attention and revenue is leading to sensational information sourcing in print media. One participant said:

> With peripheral journalism… plagiarism is rife and… I have come across lots of instances in our organization where someone borrowed a story and failed to edit… Also, remember we are in business and are competing other news media for the audiences. We want to get more views on social media platforms and the temptation to sensationalize things for the sake of numbers hangs in the atmosphere all the time. The more sensational you become in this age and time the more numbers and subscribers you accrue… hence revenue in terms online advertisements.
>
> **-** *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

Although participants acknowledged the importance of practicing source balancing for quality news, some of them admitted to occasionally single sourcing, particularly when working on breaking or developing stories that require quick online publication. Participants also expressed a preference for physically attending news events but admitted to occasionally resorting to armchair sourcing where content was readily available on social media and other digital platforms. The participants mentioned that armchair sourcing is favored to save time and resources. Furthermore, they noted that peripheral journalism has had an impact on the revenues of traditional news media organizations, which, according to them, has led to compromised news quality. One of them stated:

> The quality of news sourcing by print media houses in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism is debatable but I think it has largely gone down because of the alternatives offered through the various social media that have somehow perpetuated arm-chair or lazy journalism.
>
> **-** *A 45-year-old reporter with 14 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

> The transformation in print media occasioned by peripheral journalism is affecting revenue, which means the organizations may not invest so much in getting quality work. They go for cheap… some media houses are actually almost remaining empty because you look at, for instance, the qualification and experience that this person has and you find that the media house cannot sustain it so they are left to relieve someone who is earning maybe KES 200,000 and they pick a replacement with someone who can take KES 30,000, but the quality is different.

- *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

There was also an indication that peripheral journalism has compromised the quality of information print media journalists gather for news through increased pressure to submit dockets and file stories early. Participants also reported that there is growing pressure in newsrooms for journalists to provide new and unique content for readers who have access to news through social media and other digital platforms. They explained that the increased pressure, resulting from enhanced information perishability linked to peripheral journalism, often forces journalists to abandon potential news stories if additional information cannot be found or if relevant sources are not immediately available. Some participants even instruct their sources not to engage or share information with their colleagues and the peripheral actors, by discrediting their authenticity. One participant said:

> You may have a very juicy or interesting story but maybe it is coming from one person so you will have to get other people also confirming that particular information before you can say that "ok this is what is being planned…" The problem is that everyone is rushing against time in the newsroom because they have to give a docket of what they are working on for the day. This also depends on how aggressive you're but you can see the impact of peripheral journalism.

- *A 26-year-old reporter with 3 years of experience*

4.3.5. Information Sourcing Safety

Since peripheral journalism is linked to online information sourcing, one participant expressed fear that print media journalists risk being targeted or associated with cybercrime

in the process of looking for relevant ideas and information. He stated that criminals, including terrorists, also have social media accounts, which participants, in the process of online sourcing, may like, comment on, or send direct messages to hence either get lured into terrorism or get kidnapped. The narrations also revealed increased print media criticism linked to peripheral journalism growth manifested through trolling/bullying of journalists, which is sometimes personal. One of the participants said:

> Another influence of these platforms is that some are used by terrorist organizations that if you are not careful might land you into problems, especially for the crime/security beat journalists. Terrorists also have those handles on social media… usually they conceal their real names and when you click the like button you risk being recruited. The security people may also do their investigations and find that you follow them then link you to their activities.
>
> *- A 40-year-old reporter with 12 years of experience*

4.3.6. Journalist-Source Relations

Participants reported that the rush to submit dockets and file stories early compels them to pester sources who are not readily available to provide relevant information. They noted that due to sources' fear of backlash from peripheral actors associated with increased misinformation and disinformation, as well as sensational reporting, some of them have become more cautious and are slow to respond to texts and calls from journalists. Some sources also show guardedness through apprehension sharing certain information over phone calls and digital platforms like WhatsApp, despite the end-to-end encryption. The journalists' need for evidence of communication exchange with sources also faces resistance from the sources' fear of audio recordings and precautionary measures such as activation of WhatsApp's disappearing messages. Consequently, participants emphasized the need for trust establishment between them and sources. One participant said:

> You cannot record someone… they are informed when the call is being recorded. If they hear this, they hang up and will now not trust you. Before all these issues of

peripheral journalism, we could record the conversations and forward to the editor…. With new WhatsApp improvements, some sources turn on disappearing messages so that after 24 hours whatever s/he had shared with you has disappeared so you won't have it unless you took a screenshot.

- A 29-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience

4.4. NEWS SOURCING PRACTICES IN THE CONTEXT OF PERIPHERAL JOURNALISM

This section answers the second research question. What practices do the print media in Kenya use to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism? The findings are presented under six themes that emerged from participants' narrations of what they did to improve information sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. The themes are: coping mechanisms for handling deadline pressures, enhanced information verification, improved accountability, diversified information sourcing methods, strengthening of the relationships between journalists and sources, and effective management of relevant resources. Although many of these findings are not entirely new with regard to print media's news production practices, their application was presented as crucial for enhancing news sourcing in print media in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism.

4.4.1. Deadline coping mechanisms

Participants shared the following newsroom practices used by the print media to enhance news sourcing in the context of increased information perishability linked to peripheral journalism. They mentioned early planning, which they indicated is achieved through early dockets submission and filing of stories. Although some participants still submit their dockets for daily newspapers in the morning, the narrations indicated preference for evening submission. For weekend newspapers, this begins as early as Tuesday. Early dockets submission affords print media journalists more time to look for relevant sources

as early filing of stories frees them up for breaking news events and also allows editors more time to brainstorm and gather background information for editorial guidance. Due to increased workload, considering there are more publications to write for, including digital newspaper copies, early dockets submission and filing of stories also ensures that all stories are submitted within the required timelines. Participants also shared that early planning is achieved through frequent editorial meetings, conducted over new media technologies such as WhatsApp, that lead to timely decision making for improved news sourcing. One participant said:

> It is a fast paced news environment now and you cannot afford to begin planning in the morning for stories that you are working on for submission the same day… Compared to before, when we used to have only the print newspaper to produce the next morning so it makes sense because we also have the digital platforms now to docket stories for.

> **-** *A 42-year-old editor with 15 years' experience*

There were also narrations of in-depth and contextual information sourcing for day-two stories in response to the need to look for something new for the benefit of readers who access newspapers the following morning after news has already been shared. Participants also indicated that some of them escape the rush to beat tight dockets and stories submission deadlines by avoiding news events coverage and embracing ideas journalism characterized by follow-up and analysis stories where they fill information gaps and present news-related trends. According to one of the participants, this is encouraged by some print media houses during editorial meetings, where ideas are freely deliberated and refined through questioning. According to one of the study participants:

> People will not spend their KES 60 to buy a newspaper with stories they already have on the internet. So you always have to look for something new… Give them the perspective of things they will not find online the next day… We are always told to write something that if we were on the other side we would buy… I don't know if you have realized, many headlines nowadays don't read like "Politician X had a meeting at Kamukunji". Instead, you will see headlines like: "Intrigues behind X's Kamukunji

meeting" or "Why the president made "Y" decision". It is like news has already been broken and the question is what new thing are you telling people?

- *A 31-year-old reporter with 6 years of experience*

Participants also mentioned that they are encouraged to have a pool of sources from which they are able to get alternative voices in order to beat the tight submission deadlines where their regular and or key sources are not immediately available. Some participants also shared that their organizations purposely delay breaking news to allow information verification even when they risk being scooped. There was also an indication that tight dockets and stories' submission deadlines is irrelevant where journalists have access to exclusive information. One participant said:

Moving from one event to another may not give you the exclusive content that mainstream media needs now… Traditional media require someone who has sources almost everywhere.

- A 33-year-old reporter with 9 years of experience

4.4.2. Enhanced news verification

Participants reported that print media organizations have enhanced news sourcing vigilance to ensure the credibility of their published stories in response to the growing risk of misinformation and disinformation linked to peripheral journalism. They achieve this by mandatorily verifying information from social media and other digital platforms. Participants shared that they verify the authenticity of social media content by checking the comments section to see if anyone has labeled a particular post as a lie. They also check if the author and those commenting identify themselves using their actual names and if they can identify any of them. Sometimes, they send direct messages to those who comment that they are familiar with to inquire about the author's reliability. Additionally, they check factors such as the recentness of an account, the author's consistency, and the number of followers. Participants also mentioned that they assess the official or formal appearance of

a post author through their profile photo. They also verify if the social media account is verified, indicated by a blue badge. Grammatical errors and spelling mistakes are considered indicators of an inauthentic post. Furthermore, participants reported being attentive to account username spellings and being vigilant against any form of manipulation. One of them remarked:

> The position is that any post on social media is subject to further investigation. One thing about Kenyans, we call them Twitter watchdogs, nothing escapes their attention. If you spot something on X, a quick way of verifying it is by checking the comments. You also look at the consistency of the account because no child is born today and they begin walking the same day. Somebody cannot just come from nowhere and have very good content the next day. You also check when the person joined the platform and the number of followers they have, even the kind of friends they have. You find out if there's someone you know in that circle of friends, what we call echo-chamber… There are also websites that if somebody has posted something and you think the story is newsworthy then you can access them even if they are deleted. One of them is called web archive where you just type whatever you want and it will give you.

- *A 26-year-old reporter with 3 years of experience*

Participants also mentioned that print media houses actively avoid publishing stories lacking authority voices. These are individuals in relevant positions of influence. For instance, if an incident on a specific road is reported by a peripheral actor, one participant indicated that they confirm the details by contacting the nearest police post commandant for a comment. Participants also emphasized that information verification at news sourcing stage is assured by editors, in the context of peripheral journalism, by checking for inconsistencies in narration and information gaps in submitted stories, especially those sourced online. Editors also verify evidence of engagement between journalists and sources. Some print media use verification accountability tools or software that track every step of a story's transformation during the editing process, from submission to publication, which ensures that both editors and reporters handing a particular story are responsible for its accuracy and credibility. Editors also assign relevant correspondents and contributors

attached to various media house bureaus across the country the responsibility of confirming the truthfulness of specific newsworthy posts on the ground, as presented online. One participant said:

> It is a practice here that if you have a document, you have to share it with your editor. Let's say there is a special gazette notice and you have filed a story from that. The first thing if the editors have not gotten it is to ask you to send a copy. A good example is when I did the story about (…), you know no one got a response from the company, but I managed. Before the story was run the issue was… "give us screenshots of your conversation or forward to us that email" so that's one way… they will check for themselves and say that this is not a cooked response.
>
> - *A 29-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

Some print media actively train journalists and encourage mentorship programs focused on independent information verification in the context of peripheral journalism while emphasizing its significance both to the individual journalists and to the organizations. Participants also shared the observation that some editors encourage independent information verification by demonstrating trust in writers, assuming that they are professionals who understand the elements of a good story, including the importance of sourcing accurate and credible information online. Participants reported that these practices are informed by the shared belief that the process of news verification begins at the information-sourcing stage. For example, if there is a breaking news event and information is rapidly spreading on social media, one editor mentioned that they share the different pieces of information with their field team, trusting them to verify the facts and bring back to the newsroom an accurate and credible story. Participants also revealed that editors emphasize the need for sources to provide proof or evidence to support their claims. According to one participant,

> At the desk, you have to believe that the person on the ground is your eye so whatever s/he gives you is accurate… Often you would find yourself just depending or waiting on your team… If they are stuck somewhere in traffic, on their way to a news event,

and you have a report of the same event on your phone, you tell them to go online wherever they are; "that scene you are going to is already live on ABCD, can you verify that, or are you able to see it?"

- *A 31-year-old editor with 11 years of experience*

Another participant said:

Evidence is what helps me as a journalist who engages peripheral actors a lot online due to the many crime incidences reported on social media. If you tell me that you were beaten by a cop, you have to give me some proof of that, for instance, a medical report showing you were treated and or an occurrence book (OB) number showing that you reported the matter to the authorities.

- *A 31-year-old reporter with 6 years of experience*

4.4.3. Improved accountability

Participants highlighted different accountability measures implemented at the news sourcing level by print media in the context of increased accountability demand by peripheral actors, reduced revenues linked to peripheral journalism, and the increased risk of misinformation and disinformation on social media and other digital platforms promoted by peripheral journalism. For instance, one of the participants shared that there are individuals in newsrooms that are making significant efforts to ensure editorial independence, despite the challenges the print media face in balancing commercial and public interest due to the negative peripheral journalism influence on their revenue. He said:

Media houses are also in business, they are owned by people who are aiming at making profit, despite the fact that, for instance, newspapers' circulation is going down partly because of peripheral journalism, but there is also public interest. The feeling in the newsroom, and we have discussed this a few times, is that if there is a leading company that advertises with us and they are involved in corruption that directly affects the public, then what we expect is that the media house will stand with the public regardless of what that portends to our revenues.

- *A 34-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Participants also reported that despite the growing temptation in print media organizations to practice sensational sourcing, some journalists have managed to resist this through responsible journalism. For instance, they mentioned that some journalists actively avoid writing stories that could have adverse impacts on the lives of those unfavorably mentioned. The narrations also indicated that some journalists deliberately avoid conveyor belt sourcing to protect audiences from potential negative effects of disinformation linked to peripheral journalism. Some participants further mentioned that they consciously refrain from relying on sources who propagate political tension and ethnic division on social media, as it could compromise the country's sense of security and unity. This practice was connected to the careful selection of sources, with a focus on obtaining independent views on issues of public interest, particularly from experts. Additionally, there were accounts of censorship of biased peripheral actors, who openly display their partiality. One participant stated:

> There are sponsored trends on X. You have to be careful not to just pick those because you could be helping peripheral actors, some of whom are paid by politicians and other powerful people in the society, to shape public opinion. Yes, we rely on them for news ideas and information but when they say something we counter-check with the opinions of other people so that we don't end up being conveyor belt journalists who helps them to push their agenda.
>
> - *A 34-year-old reporter with 10 years of experience*

Participants also indicated that the print media demonstrates responsible journalism by embracing audience interests through actively reviewing comments made by peripheral actors on published stories, including criticism, as well as their likes, ratings, and news item shares, to inform changes in news sourcing. For instance, they shared that public editors often receive online inquiries from peripheral actors asking them to explain alleged inaccuracies in their reports. In response, the organizations sometimes offer clarifications

where no wrongdoing is deemed. However, in cases where news sourcing mistakes such as misinformation are detected, disclaimer statements and apologies are published. Meanwhile, the responsible journalists involved are either warned or dismissed, a fate that usually also faces those who are found to have plagiarized content, whether from a peripheral actor or a colleague in another print media. Plagiarized news materials are promptly removed once discovered. Participants noted that the print media have a strict policy against plagiarism, which some of them sign along with their employment contracts and they are occasionally reminded of during editorial meetings and through emails. The participants shared that the print media actively encourages proper attribution of sources and the use of raw recordings when journalists source relevant information online or from colleagues. One participant remarked,

> The print media are diversifying… because of social media there is instant feedback indicating that perhaps that is the type of content the audiences want… so social media is one way newsrooms conduct surveys and find out the type of stories people are looking for… Content is now audience driven. If they are only interested in sports, then you give them that.

> - *A 35-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

> It is part of the editorial policy that you should not plagiarize, but you can attribute, paraphrase, or quote what people are saying. This is something you would be told often in the newsroom so that you are not tempted because peripheral journalism has sort of made this easy for writers.

> - *A 42-year-old editor with 15 years of experience*

Participants revealed that there is an ongoing strengthening of news quality assurance system in the print media to counteract the negative influences of peripheral journalism on news sourcing, including sensational information sourcing and misinformation and disinformation. They reported that journalists are being sensitized to take ownership of

their stories, which motivates them to ensure that their submissions meet the required standards. As a result, there was an indication that some journalists write high-quality stories to enhance their own branding. They also achieve individual-level quality assurance by carefully balancing their sources and conducting credibility and reliability checks. There was also an indication that news quality assurance is achieved in the print media through editorial guidance particularly on day-two information sourcing, which is important due to increased news perishability associated with peripheral journalism. Participants also shared that some print media have hired content editors whose role involve, among others, ensuring that stories meet relevant quality assurance standards before publication. One participant stated:

> The editors talk about two principles, integrity and quality. On the integrity aspect, the process of news starts with you on the ground as it is you who knows your sources and there is no room for mistakes like a situation where you claim that you spoke to a source and it is not true… We have a specific (content) editor here that does quality checks on stories. They check if the story has met all the parameters of publication like if you have talked to relevant authorities or have beefed up the story to a standard that is acceptable and that the sources are credible…. so there is that gatekeeping, which has been strengthened due to the increase of peripheral journalism.

> - *A 29-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

Whereas there were narrations of story ratings indicating poor quality news sourcing linked to the need for sensationalism associated with peripheral journalism, participants indicated that quality is not pegged on ratings alone, which allows them to focus on delivering high impact stories. Also, whereas some participants revealed that there are bonus payments for top rated stories by some news media organizations, they indicated that other factors, including how long website visitors take reading a particular story, the kind of comments they leave, and the number of times the stories are shared, are also considered. The fact that some journalists are allowed to spend more time working on certain stories such as features

also indicates that while ratings are considered important, quality news sourcing remains highly regarded. According to one of the participants,

> I appreciate that our editors do not use that (story ratings) as a measure of good journalism. While sensational stories are liked because they get traffic to the website, there are also… other parameters that are looked into…. We do get rewards every quarter but it is not just based on the ratings… So that even if you see that the ratings for your stories are not that good it doesn't bother you.

> **-** *A 33-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Participants also mentioned that they are guided by journalistic ethics and code of conduct, which ensures they remain accountable to audiences despite the various negative peripheral journalism influences on news sourcing. There was a view that the code of conduct is partly what distinguishes print media journalists from peripheral actors hence their commitment to upholding it. Some of the participants mentioned that they adhere to the code of conduct to ensure they have a good reputation, especially on social media where they are keen to build their own brands. They also indicated that journalistic ethics and code of conduct is their defense whenever they are accused of bias, especially by peripheral actors. It is also their comfort in instances where their stories are not highly rated on social media and other digital platforms, which motivates them to continue ensuring high quality in their work and also to focus on positive impact stories. The fact that the code of conduct was presented by participants as the basis upon which the print news media are regulated also indicated its significance as an accountability mechanism. One participant stated:

> The code of conduct is the thing that makes the print media stand out against peripheral actors. Since they are not regulated, they can just wake up and say "so and so did 1,2,3" and disappear but as a print media journalists or organization, people (sources) know very well that there is a way they can retaliate in case you mess up, through the media council of Kenya, …. I keep on referring to the journalistic ethics and code of conduct because if you do everything right as it prescribes then you don't have to worry about social media criticism or sensationalism. - *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

4.4.4. Diversified information sourcing

Participants indicated that the print media in Kenya have embraced online information sourcing characterized by engagement of peripheral actors and guided by social media use policies to enhance their news sourcing practice in response to peripheral journalism. This was illustrated by narrations of participants getting ideas and information for news from social media and other digital platforms. It was also illustrated by narrations of online interaction between sources and print media journalists. There were also narrations of newsroom digital teams informing their print editorial colleagues about breaking newsworthy stories online for follow-up. Participants also reported that the media organizations are promoting online sourcing by enabling internet access through Wi-Fi and Airtime provision, which helps them to access information and interact with sources as well as promptly file stories due to increased submission deadlines. Print media organizations also promote online sourcing by facilitating training of journalists on crowdsourcing and relevant other online information sourcing techniques. According to one of the participants,

> We have had instances where I get into social media, for instance, and I see a post that an accident has happened in Katito when I am in Kisumu. And I can see whoever has posted it and I have some of my sources there… so you ask some of the people… to give you an account that you corroborate with the police from that area because these are quick stories. The question is, why do I have to leave Kisumu and drive 45 minutes away to Katito while I can get that information and relay it quick? We are in an era where information moves very fast.

> - *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

Participants also reported that the print media in Kenya promote online information sourcing by encouraging interaction with peripheral actors, as ideas and information sources, by sharing their social media handles, especially on X, alongside their by-lines in published stories. They also shared that this practice is guided by the news media

organizations through social media use policies. The policies caution against solely relying on peripheral actors as sources and instead encouraging thorough verification of newsworthy information received through social media and other digital platforms. They also inspire participants to be mindful of their organizations' reputation, which demands being formal and respectful to sources. Additionally, the policies reinforce journalistic ethics and code of conduct, in the form of duty of care, which requires them to protect their sources from harm arising from online information exchange. One participant said:

> Journalists are not only encouraged to interact with citizen journalists but are helped to do that through their social media platforms. One big way that happens is that once a story is done, if I've done a story the media would ask for my social media handle and post the same alongside the story by-line so that readers are then able to link the story with the author. We have had very successful cases where journalists use social media to crowd source and get sources and obviously social media has helped alert us to stories and also to point us to big projects.

> **-** *A 31-year-old editor with 11 years of experience*

Participants also mentioned that the social media use policies guide their postings on social media, specifying what they can and cannot post. For instance, some participants stated that they are prohibited from posting anything that portrays themselves and the media organizations they work for as partisan. Others mentioned that they are not allowed to disclose or discuss information about their employers with sources online. The policies also forbid criticizing stories written by colleagues and breaking stories on personal social media handles without first sharing them with the editorial desk for verification. While many participants acknowledged the existence of social media use policies in their respective media houses, some expressed a lack of awareness regarding their existence and use. Those who were aware of the policies mentioned that they are communicated as terms of employment during recruitment and are frequently reiterated through email reminders and during editorial meetings. Some journalists stated that the policies are documented in

written forms, such as booklets and published website blogs, while others mentioned that the policies are not fully formulated and only exist as statements of guidance that are frequently updated to accommodate the dynamic nature of social media use by participants. According to one participant,

> The policy specifies things that we can and cannot post like we can't give information about the organization or speak negatively about it. We can also not discredit a story online that has been done by our organization. About how we relate with sources is, it has to be respectful and there is something called duty of care where you are not allowed to traumatize or re-traumatize sources with the information we seek from them on social media… We have a document for that and the policy is also often shared on our emails as a reminder.
>
> - *A 33-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

> For instance, if I am doing a story today about banditry attacks in Kerio Rift Valley, I cannot use the same footage for my YouTube account…. The only time I can post what I have done on social media is when the story has gone through the system and has been published and has the company logo… They will tell you that is conflict of interest.
>
> - *A 27-year-old correspondent with 5 years of experience*

There was also an indication of audience driven information sourcing characterized by news digitization, social media trends monitoring, readership surveys, and engagement analysis of stories' likes, shares, comments, and ratings. For instance, participants reported that they gather punchy quotes for social media sharing by readers. They also reported that they gather short audio and video clips for podcasts and TikTok, respectively. Some of them shared that they gather unconfirmed reports and information that are soft in nature such as scandals involving leaders and celebrities for tabloid news outlets that have become more prominent due to peripheral journalism as they serve interest of readers who have shown a liking for such news. One participant narrated:

> Gossip stories have been established to do well and really trend. For example, you will hear that so and so slept with somebody's wife. So, the print media have been forced to

diversify… because of social media there is instant feedback indicating the type of content the audiences want… it is a way… one way newsrooms conduct surveys and find out the type of stories people are looking for… Content is now audience driven. Once you understand what they want through story ratings, likes, shares, and other forms of internal research then as a journalist you know what to collect and as a media house you know where to put your resources.

- *A 33-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Participants also shared that the print media have in the past recruited peripheral actors, especially from remote parts of the country and as photographers, but noted that most of them experienced frustration in the newsrooms and quit over time. This is partly because they could not be promoted due to lack of relevant academic qualifications and the fact that at some point they began to struggle against media convergence, which requires that print media journalists have writing, photography, and videography skills. Participants also shared that others acquired the requisite academic qualifications for recognition as professional journalists and are no longer identified as peripheral actors. The idea of recruiting peripheral actors to enhance news sourcing in print media in the context of peripheral journalism is still fancied by some participants who stated that many of the peripheral actors have shown passion through their work and also seem to have contacts of key potential new sources and that they can get confidential information. One participant said that:

If you look at the newsrooms today, I don't see anyone who has never stepped in a journalism class. Print media used to have such people before but with time they quit because you are rendered useless or become frustrated when other people are promoted but you stagnate. You are asked for academic papers you don't have so you disappear. This used to happen to people working in mashinani (remote areas) like in Turkana or Wesk Pokot (North Kenya counties).

- *A 29-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

There was an indicated that the print media have also embraced user generated content (UGC) to enhance their news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism as participants reported that it forces them to source more in-depth information for news. There were also narrations that UGC enhances news sourcing in print media by allowing audiences to convey their preferred news events and topics, which are presented in editorial meetings by the public and or audience editors. One participant stated:

> User generated content platforms like UReport have affected us because now the editors want us to do more complex stories because a simple one like someone dying by suicide is a brief thing that you will find a peripheral actor has already reported on.

- A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience

4.4.5. Journalist-source relations strengthening

There was an indication that journalists at individual level and the news media organizations at institutional level also enhance their news sourcing practice in the context of peripheral journalism through initiatives that strengthen their relationship with sources. For instance, participants reported that the news media organizations encourage newly recruited journalists to maintain sources by earning their trust, which they mentioned is achieved through physically interacting with them and also by keeping confidential their identities especially when reporting sensitive stories. This was expressed as important particularly due to the need to report something new and or additional that peripheral actors may not have already shared. This was also illustrated by narrations that peripheral journalism affects communication between journalists and sources whereby, for instance, the need to have evidence of conversation with sources is met by their fear of being recorded. One participant said:

> In most cases you will be encouraged to interact with your sources, just physical interaction, because that way you build trust unlike talking on phone as they may not trust you often.
>
> - *A 29-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

Participants also shared that they strengthen their relationships with sources by practicing the art of general conversation, which often leads to exclusive or additional information in their inquiries. For instance, they pull aside sources after news events conclude and inquire about their well-being before asking specific questions or seeking clarifications. They also mentioned visiting sources in informal settings outside of the office, where they take note of newsworthy off-the-cuff remarks during general conversations and follow up on them later. Additionally, they reported categorizing sources' preferred communication channels to strengthen their relationships by reducing pestering, which is common in the context of peripheral journalism, where many people reach out to the same sources for information on various issues. Some sources prefer text messages over calls, while others prefer calls instead of text messages. There are also sources who, for various reasons, prefer chatting and or making phone calls through WhatsApp. This is illustrated by the following quote:

> You can even grab the source aside and ask "Mheshimiwa (honorable), you seem gloomy today, What's-up?" This is besides what was said earlier and the person will open up and you get much more information about the subject matter, which helps to spice your story… I will say "Mheshimiwa, how are you today? How is life and family?" So you start with a preamble. You start by skirting around with greetings. Then after you have done that… the question will come at the tail-end of our conversation and I will have known if something is true or not.
>
> - *A 40-year-old reporter with 12 years of experience*

4.4.6. Resources management

Participants indicated that the print media in Kenya also enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism through management of relevant resources, aligning with information sourcing influences associated with peripheral journalism such as

compromised information quality linked to reduced revenue and gaps in news sourcing skills and tools. The narrations highlighted the demand for new skills such as information sourcing via TikTok, WhatsApp, and Instagram, which require the recruitment and training of new talents. Some participants shared that they have recently received training on crowdsourcing, which helps them to obtain new, unique, and in-depth ideas and information for news from citizen journalists and other sources. Others mentioned undergoing training on information verification and fact-checking to reduce the risk of reproducing misinformation and disinformation, especially from peripheral actors. While some media houses provide in-house training for their journalists, others collaborate with relevant institutions like local private universities to offer customized courses. There were also reports that the journalists are connected to training opportunities that are free, fully funded, or subsidized, and that they are also encouraged to pursue them at an individual level. For some journalists, these trainings have served as a tool for promotion. One of the participants illustrated this, stating that:

> This is something that every journalist has to be trained on, even those who came earlier. They have to be trained on new digital techniques so that the newsroom is in tandem with the current state of affairs… For instance, reporters are taught on digital programs, including those ones for fact checking so that, for instance, if somebody shares a photo and says it was taken in Kisumu (Kenya) then you can use the site to check if the photograph was actually taken there.
> - *A 34-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Participants also shared that some print media are downsizing, particularly targeting journalists who do not demonstrate their quick mastery of the necessary new skills for online information sourcing and verification. The ever-changing nature of required digital skills was also presented as a threat to employment stability in print media. The reported situation of retrenchments also appears to discourage potential new talents, such as

editorial interns, who question the desirability of a future in the newsroom. The impact of peripheral journalism on print media revenue further exacerbates the situation. There were also reports of some print media asking their employees, including print media journalists, to resign or opt for early retirement. One participant remarked,

> There is a whole generation that has moved to digital platforms and apparently that is where the numbers are and business is. So as a journalist you cannot be static. You also have to evolve and try and catch up with the changing times to remain relevant. To be fair, that has dealt a blow to the numbers of people you will find in the newsroom.
> - *A 27-year-old correspondent with 5 years of experience*

Participants also reported that the print media houses in Kenya have made attempts to diversify their revenue sources. For example, they have tried to monetize digital news by implementing paywalls to restrict access to certain website content. However, this strategy seems to have failed, as some peripheral actors pay to access the news and then share it for free on their own platforms. As a result, some print media have resorted to blocking the sharing of their website content. Additionally, some media houses have explored alternative revenue diversification by publishing ads from other platforms, such as "mygov," at a significantly lower cost compared to their usual advertising rates. There was also an indication that print media houses are compelled to reduce the number of stories they pursue due to reduced revenues. This has an impact on news sourcing, as they are sometimes forced to prioritize commercial interests over public interest. For instance, they may focus on sourcing sensational information for the sake of garnering likes and comments, rather than pursuing in-depth and investigative stories. One participant narrated:

> My employer tried a pay wall, where if you click on a story you are required to pay for it and what was witnessed is people running away from our products because they were not ready to buy bundles and also buy stories so you find that some peripheral journalism platforms were subscribing to the newspaper, taking the stories, and offering the same for free to the public… and my employer was forced to review that decision so nowadays the content is offered freely.

-   A 34-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience

Another participant remarked:

> If our resources cannot help us achieve what we want then we say "Ok, we would rather leave that one" …. So it is true that it affects the quality of content. Sometimes the media has no choice. They are like "ok, can we look at the quality verses the cost" and sometimes they say "if we have to look at quality without looking at the cost then we might run down."
>
> **-**   *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

The journalists also reported being issued devices such as laptops, tablets, and voice recorders when they proceed to the field, which facilitates their work in line with news sourcing practices associated with the phenomenon, despite the reported revenue challenges linked to peripheral journalism affecting news sourcing in print media. They also mentioned being enabled to have crowdsourcing tools such as Buzzfeed and IQ builder, which provide them relevant insights on top searches by audiences and other news media organizations, hence informing their news sourcing. Some participants shared that they are facilitated to have fact checking tools that boosts their information verification at news sourcing stage. Additionally, some print media houses also have enterprise resource planning (ERP) systems, which automate their editorial, advertisement, finance, and circulation processes for improved transparency and accountability that in turn strengthens their news production processes, including information sourcing. One participant said:

> Media houses have invested a lot in equipment… For the newspaper, they availed portable news collection devises such as laptops, notepads, and tablets. At least nowadays I see they go to the field with those, we didn't have such before… So you find that nowadays while reporters are on their way back to the office, they already have their first story filed and by the time they arrive there they will have sent in the second one so that sometimes they don't even return to the office, they drop off to other news functions because information gathering is made easier.

> **-**   *A 31-year-old reporter with 6 years of experience*

4.5. PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTS ON PRACTICES USED TO ENHANCE NEWS SOURCING IN THE CONTEXT OF PERIPHERAL JOURNALISM

This section presents the findings of how print media journalists in Kenya perceive mainstream news sourcing practices used in the context of peripheral journalism, addressing the third research question. The findings are aligned with the themes identified under research question two, including coping mechanisms for stories submission deadlines pressure, enhanced information verification, improved accountability, diversified information sourcing, strengthening of relationships between journalists and sources, and print media management of resources relevant for enhanced news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. This section also presents participants' views on some of their reported individual strategies for coping with peripheral journalism when news sourcing, such as information plagiarism, single sourcing, and quotes reuse.

4.5.1. Information perishability coping mechanisms

Participants expressed the following diverse views on the various mechanisms implemented by the print media in Kenya to navigate around the issue of tight dockets and stories submission deadlines, which they shared characterizes newsrooms today due to peripheral journalism. Many participants positively viewed early dockets submission, highlighting its several benefits. They mentioned that it affords them more time to look for relevant sources, ensuring they have more complete stories. It also frees them up for breaking news events, which require fast reaction. Moreover, it allows editors more time to reflect and gather relevant background information on pitches, which affords the print media journalists effective editorial guidance on how to approach particular stories,

thematic areas to focus on, and sources to interview. It also allows editors to gauge viability of pitches in terms of significance, impact in society, and resources required for execution. Participants also expressed appreciation of the fact that early dockets submission allows timely delivery of stories, which they mentioned is important due to the increasing number of publications to write for, including digital newspaper copies. According to one of the participants,

> I file the docket a day before the material date the story is required. This is evening before I go home, around 6PM. I do it earlier to enable the editor look at it and gauge its weight because in the morning the news and managing editors usually have a meeting in the morning, around 9AM. They meet, look at the docket, gauge the weight of each and every story and then decide which pages to place them. This therefore gives my editor ample time to digest my story idea.

- *A 40-year-old reporter with 12 years of experience*

Some participants indicated that they find in-depth information sourcing easy to do since they have always done it even before the reported peripheral journalism manifestations on print media news sourcing. Perceived benefits of in-depth information sourcing include the fact that it affords audiences background information on stories that audiences may have already accessed on social media and other digital platforms. It also allows audiences to gain insights into other important aspects of a particular story, such as expert opinions. Participants also expressed their appreciation of the fact that the practice of in-depth information sourcing offers value for money for audiences since it provides them additional information. This was emphasized by one participant who said:

> I will go back to what I said. We are in the business of making money. Why give you content that you already have somewhere else, for free? If you find a paper on the streets tomorrow, why buy it when it has the same story you saw on Facebook the previous day?

- *A 28-year-old correspondent with 5 years of experience*

Participants favorably viewed other reported stories submission deadline coping mechanisms, including contextual information sourcing, ideas sourcing/idea journalism, and delayed breaking news. For instance, idea journalism is perceived as less stressful since it involves little or no pressure to beat tight stories submission deadlines characterizing the alternative, events-based journalism. Contextual information sourcing is positively viewed as an opportunity to set things right regarding controversial information that audiences may have already accessed on social media and other digital platforms. This is illustrated in the following comment from a participant:

> Sometimes peripheral actors get it wrong but other times they might only miss the context or history in a particular news story and that is where the journalistic aspect of putting it into the right context and verifying information comes in.
>
> - *A 31-year-old correspondent with 11 years of experience*

4.5.2. Enhanced news verification

Participants appreciated the significance of enhanced news verification as an integral part of news sourcing. They showed awareness that mainstream media practitioners face more severe consequences, such as expensive legal suits and fines, compared to peripheral actors with regard to publishing unverified news. Participants also acknowledged the heightened importance of news verification in the era of peripheral journalism, where people are more critical of legacy media news and openly express their concerns. They recognized that failure to verify news can potentially damage the reputation of their media organizations. Additionally, participants viewed enhanced news verification as a personal responsibility that contributes to building their professional brands and fulfilling their duties as members of a regulated professional industry guided by ethics, regulations, and a code of conduct. These views were emphasized by one participant who said:

> We have young journalists in our organization and we always reiterate the aspect of verification. As trained journalists working for reputable bodies, we put the face of the organization in jeopardy when we deal in some type of information so it is always important to have the verification aspect so that when a story is out there you find out that it is really the correct perspective.

- *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

Participants expressed the view that information verification is easy to do and costs nothing. They criticized colleagues who fail to do it, labeling them as lazy. This was supported by the view that news verification should be easier for them compared to peripheral actors as it is their full-time job in the print media and that they have privileged access to authority voices. Conversely, other participants argued that peripheral actors play a vital role in news verification. They highlighted how the peripheral actors often point out issues to be cautious about through their comments on social media and other platforms. The importance of fact-checking in the context of peripheral journalism was also emphasized, as journalists rely on it for news sourcing. Participants suggested that newsrooms without fact-checking desks should consider establishing them, while those already equipped should increase the number of dedicated staff. Moreover, participants stressed the need for frequent training on new techniques for fact-checking desk staff and other journalists. They recognized the evolving nature of misinformation and disinformation methods, particularly due to the proliferation of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies. One participant particularly emphasized the need for continuous training of journalists due to these advancements. He said:

> Mis-and disinformation behaves like Corona, you handle it this way and another waves comes where you are told it has mutated into this so you deal with that meanwhile disinformation and fake news continue. They mutate on a daily basis and this time with artificial intelligence it will be more complex. The only avenue of dealing with it is being up to date with the latest trends.

- *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

4.5.3. Improved accountability

There were diverse views on the various accountability measures put in place by the print media in response to the issue of increased demand for accountability linked to peripheral journalism. Quality assurance was, for instance, positively viewed by participants who expressed awareness that print media houses enhance their news credibility by ensuring the right sources are quoted. Participants also shared that the print media provide their audiences more complete stories by ensuring there are no information gaps, which are filled through additional information sourcing. Participants also expressed awareness of the fact that through quality assurance, print media houses are able to avoid legal suits linked to misinformation and disinformation associated with peripheral journalism. Regarding the robustness of the quality assurance measures put in place by the print media, participants acknowledged that they have had a few instances where stories that fall short of the laid out quality standards have slipped through their editorial processes. However, they find the measures satisfactory considering that they publish every day. One of the participants said:

> The editors check if the story has met all the parameters of publication: "Have you talked to relevant authorities, have you beefed it up to a standard that is acceptable and are the sources credible?" You cannot say, for example, that a blogger has said… If the person you are quoting is one of the former cabinet secretaries, then it makes sense, it enhances credibility of the story.
>
> - *A 45-year-old reporter with 14 years of experience*

Participants also expressed the view that editorial independence is good and desirable, considering the difficulty the print media face in balancing between public interest and their commercial needs affected by peripheral journalism through interrupted revenue. However, there was a view that attaining editorial independence is challenging due to inherent human biases that shape news at different stages of production. Participants also

expressed awareness that journalistic ethics and code of conduct are part of the regulations guiding their practice and the basis upon which they are held accountable, especially by the various regulatory authorities on behalf of audiences. It was positively viewed as a dissimilarity between print media and peripheral journalism, with emphasis that the former is more credible. It was also positively viewed as the basis upon which a good story is judged and therefore a point of relief for journalists at a times when stories are rated based on likes, comments, and shares. This was emphasized by one of the participants, who said:

> We rely on journalistic ethics and code of conduct for guidance because it is part of the laws that regulate how we work, unlike citizen journalism… Sources also give us tips but the code of conduct guides us in terms of how valid the information is… because we know that while audiences are king, we also have parameters that guide our operations so we just try to balance.

> - *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

Regarding online comments review for feedback that informs information sourcing for news**,** there were views that some comments are sponsored by high society actors such as political parties to mainstream certain agenda in public discourse therefore reviewing them in the name of accountability is encouraging conveyor belt journalism. Some participants also negatively perceived some comments as expressed with the intention to malign the reputation of professional journalists and print news media organizations therefore are not worth reviewing. There were also contrary views that some comments are genuine and worth looking into for relevant news ideas and information sourcing improvements. The fact that comments are made on certain news stories was also positively viewed by some participants as evidence of readership. One participant stated:

> Criticism is not entirely a bad thing. It is part of the growth and it helps a media company grow. Come to think of it, what if you are running a newspaper that doesn't have criticism, it tells you there are no people who are reading what you are doing. Critics sometimes criticize you with good will. They want you to get better but there

are those that are doing it with underlying ill-motives. Those in charge in the media know what is worth responding to and to be ignored.

- *A 32-year-old correspondent with 6 years of experience*

The nature and number of comments on a particular story also suggested to participants how newsworthy it is hence the review is positively viewed as informative of, among other things, resources allocation for relevant follow-up information sourcing. This view was supported by the perception that online comments on stories is a form of feedback to print media houses on audiences' news preferences and expectations, which some of them concur can be captured through a review process. The fact that online comments seem effective at pointing out information gaps, contextual issues, and factual inaccuracies among other errors in stories also suggested to participants that their evaluation is good for relevant news sourcing corrections. One participant remarked:

> If there is a story you did that you thought spoke to something else and the feedback is completely different, that tells you that your contextualization was wrong or it might be you thought the story was worth a brief that didn't matter and then the feedback is like this story is big so that makes you think that maybe you need to throw in a lot more resources into it to tell a bigger story.

- *A 31-year-old editor with 11 years of experience*

Another participant said**:**

> If we claim to write for people they should have the opportunity to say something about the stories, whether they are truthful, factual, or even to say whether the stories are fair. That immediacy in the feedback helps in not only making sure that our journalism is not only up to par but also that we are also able to correct our mistakes. There have been cases where that happens. You send out a story and the audiences point out to you the inaccuracies, which informs your decision to either to pull it down, contextualize it, or to give the right of reply.

- *A 42-year-old editor with 15 years of experience*

Sources censorship was perceived to be done by print media houses to protect their credibility as the censored sources mentioned include people who are maybe charged in

court with criminal offenses such as murder. Participants also indicated that the print media, through sources censorship, are sticking to relevance alongside credibility, reliability, and accountability, despite peripheral journalism pressure to give room for social media popularity. One participant stated:

> The media house can also take a position about certain individuals that for whatever reasons they can provide information that seem credible but we are not going to quote them, so we speak to other people… because maybe someone has a court case and therefore for purposes of credibility of the paper you are not going to maybe quote a suspect or a convict.

> - *A 33-year-old reporter with 9 years of experience*

4.5.4. Diversified information sourcing

There were diverse views about online information sourcing, audience-informed information sourcing, peripheral actors' recruitment, and user generated content as enhanced news sourcing methods used in print media in the context of peripheral journalism. Regarding online information sourcing, participants expressed their acknowledgement of the fact that social media affords them ideas for news and that it allows them to get news tips (alerts) about events breaking at night and from remote areas. There was also a perception that online sourcing supplements other avenues for news ideas and information as it allows print media journalists to get authentic information from conventional sources as well as content-rich and contextual information from unconventional sources such as peripheral actors. The narrations also revealed that online sourcing is a costs saving measure for journalists at individual level as well as to the print media organizations as it reduces movement and the number of journalists required to execute a story. One participant stated:

You are aware of our resource challenges so we are not everywhere we want to be at and that is where live scenes by the peripheral actors help… You find that you are asking yourself, do I send this journalist to a story that is breaking 20 kilometers away or it would a better use of resources for them to break the story then go on site.

- *A 31-year-old editor with 11 years of experience*

Participants also expressed online sourcing reservations including the fact that misinformation and disinformation is common on social media and other digital platforms. This view was supported by narrations that some social media trends are sponsored by politicians, political parties, government agencies, and other groups interested in controlling public discourse. Some participants expressed fear that sourcing from and or quoting untrustworthy peripheral actors carries the consequence of low perceived credibility in print media. Fears of conveyor-belt sourcing linked to online information sourcing were allayed by arguments that journalists now practice day-two journalism and are not thus influenced by peripheral journalism. One participant remarked:

There are stories you cannot just pick from peripheral actors and trust them. We are in the era of mis- and disinformation. Most of the peripheral actors are people who want to drive certain agenda especially in politics so they practice disinformation. If you move too fast with what they post you are likely to help them in propagating disinformation and in pushing their agenda.

- *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

Some bloggers are controversial so, for purposes of credibility of a national newspaper, they may give you information but because they don't seem credible you ignore them because by giving them a chance you are questioned why your information is based on people who can't be trusted.

- *A 33-year-old reporter with 9 years of experience*

There were also views that online information sourcing promotes armchair journalism. This was supported by narrations indicating that it affords journalists convenience. Many participants however expressed preference for physically attending news events, which was

associated with benefits such as access to less prominent sources and the fact that it allows print media journalists to capture information not presented during live events streaming. Participants also indicated that journalists prefer physically attending news events due to inconsistencies of online sourcing such as power outages. Similar views presented include the feeling that physically attending news events promotes bonding with sources, which allows the print media journalists to get additional information in the form of off the cuff remarks. The other view that emerged from the narrations about online sourcing is the need for journalists to mind their safety. One participant said:

> Live coverage only focuses on prominent or the top most people. For example, an event where the president attends they will only bring live the coverage when s/he is about to speak. So I personally prefer to physically go there because I can get several ideas.

> - *A 24-year-old intern with 3 months of experience*

Participants described social media policies as crucial and important for the print media for purposes of enhancing news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. Perceived benefits include the view that it helps the organizations to relate well with different groups in the society. Participants also expressed awareness that their posts on social media and other platforms can be wrongly interpreted as their employers' positions on various issues in public discourse. They also shared that it is not right to disrepute their organizations, for instance, by discrediting stories done by their colleagues. The need to formally and professionally engage both sources and audiences on social media and other platforms seemed appreciated by narrations indicating participants' awareness that they do so on behalf of their media organizations. One of the participants remarked:

> Remember that if I'm engaging a source first I have to introduce myself that I work for a particular media house because it is on that basis that I am... At the end of the day you must also remember to remain professional. If it gets informal then you have to drop the tag that you are doing this because you work with media house A or X... Anything unethical will land you in trouble**.**

- *A 32-year-old correspondent with 6 years of experience*

Some participants expressed the belief that they access news materials courtesy of their media organization's and conveyed awareness of conflict of interest involved in posting the same on their personal social media handles without first submitting them to their editors. A similar argument was provided for the belief that print media journalists who spend a lot of time building their personal social media brands have divided loyalty. Information verification for print media credibility also emerged as a perceived benefit of sending breaking news items to the newsroom and not breaking the same on personal social media handles. However, there was a view that some of the social media policies in print media censor journalists. This view was supported by the belief that some of the policies are outdated and do not reflect the need for dynamic social media interactions between print media journalists and both sources and audiences. One participant said:

> My employer has a social media policy although it is outdated. It was written sometime in 2007 or 2010 I think and to some extent it is gagging reporters from commenting or doing anything online. Times have changed. It's one thing employers have to deal with. People get to know you when you engage them on the digital platforms. The policies should be dynamic.

- *A 26-year-old reporter with 3 years of experience*

Participants also expressed awareness that peripheral journalism has prompted them to serve diverse interests of their audiences through audience-informed information sourcing. For instance, they mentioned that audiences' feedback assessed through stories ratings among other content engagement analytics have led to more resources allocation for tabloid news outlets, which comprise soft news, including scandals involving politicians, religious leaders, and celebrities. However, there was a view that tabloid news is not "serious" content and some print media journalists are not keen to have their personal brands associated with it. This view was expressed alongside the belief that although tabloid news

is popular with some audiences, it is a distraction from more "serious" news that needs to be prioritized. One participant emphasized this, stating:

> As much as we need to give audiences what they want, I don't see them (tabloid news) as serious stories. Mostly you will get rumors, issues touching on sex. As a reporter, I don't want people to know that whenever my name is in the paper it is about sex. That can compromise many things to me as an individual. We should give audiences something that is helping them.

> - *A 22-year-old intern correspondent with 3 months of experience*

Participants also commented on readership surveys and stories' ratings used by the print media to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. Some of them said they are useful in understanding audiences in terms of their news type and access preferences. They expressed the belief that readership surveys and stories' ratings are used by the audiences to set the news agenda for the print media. For instance, there was a perception that they are used by peripheral actors to negotiate for priming of entertainment stories over informative and educational news. While there were views that stories ratings are particularly not regarded as a measure of good journalism by print media organizations, participants shared that some of their colleagues feel bad whenever their stories do not appear among the top rated during quarterly performance reviews. Consequently, they shared that there are temptations among colleagues to look for sensational information. The print media journalists also expressed their awareness of the need by their employers to attract advertisers hence more tolerant to sensational information sourcing. One participant explained:

> Readership surveys help us to know how differently our audiences need to served. The media houses are racing against time to find out which kind of stories are selling. On the other hand, stories ratings are like having an internal research… that tells us what types of stories to get. For instance, if the ratings for a particular environment story is high, we are challenged to source more of that. However, sometimes it is a bad thing in

the sense that there comes the tendency to push for stories that audiences want instead of those in public interest like policies.

- *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

Another participant said:

I don't feel good because I know that a good story is one that is talked about and they get a lot of likes in the social media space unlike the dull stories but I also look at the flipside of that and console myself that next time I will get a good story that matches the ratings so long as I have served my purpose... I have informed, educated, and that I have answered the 5Ws (What, When, Where, Who, and Whom). Remember we are in business and are competing for the audiences and advertisers. We want to get more views on social media so the temptation to look for sensational information for the sake of numbers hangs in the atmosphere all the time.

- *A 45-year-old reporter with 14 years of experience*

Some print media journalists expressed the belief that sensational information sourcing is simply an approach to news production, just like responsible journalism. Those who held positive views about it expressed the belief that it reflects the truth in the society hence not bad as long as the information reported is true. On the other hand, those who held negative perceptions about it expressed fear that it is a path to gradual loss of credibility for print media that adopt it. Some narrated that sensational information sourcing affords their employers an alternative revenue source through social media popularity. Despite this perceived benefit, the participants expressed preferentialism for the alternative, responsible information sourcing. One of the participants stated:

It happens and I don't know whether to call it sensational information sourcing or simply an approach to reporting because it gets down to the audience. The question is who are you targeting? The other question is, is it the truth because it may appear sensationalism but that is what it is. Media is the mirror of the society. If that is what is happening why do you blame them? If you look at yourself in the mirror and see a frowning face, you can't blame the mirror.

- *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

> Peripheral journalism has really affected us. Peripheral actors are sensational. Traditional media that tries to be like them end up losing credibility because in the process of reporting sensational news they end up spreading misinformation and disinformation. - *A 45-year-old reporter with 14 years of experience*

Regarding social media trends**,** there was a view that it is a more immediate form of feedback to print media organizations than other avenues, such as letters to the editor, through which audiences get to express their views on news and news production processes. This view was expressed alongside the belief that it also allows print media organizations to know audiences' preferred news topics and items. Participants admission that they get ideas for news from social media through trending conversations was also expressed besides the view that it shapes what journalists write. Participants also shared that there are popular peripheral actors who shape public discourse by starting social media trends hence affecting print media's agenda setting role. One participant stated:

> It is either we did not get the full story or the other side of it so that immediacy of feedback through social media trends helps us add what is needed. This is not there in the traditional print centric news production error. I work with them (citizen journalists) and they shape the news we collect. It is like a topic is trending on social media and you realize that it is actually drawing public interest so you want to give the public this same information in a better way.

- *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

There was a counter argument that peripheral actors need print media to mainstream and continue their conversations in order to successfully set agenda for public debate. This was supported by the view that some social media platforms, such a X, are elitist and are not accessed or used by the vast majority of the population. Some participants also expressed the observation that print media organizations are fighting to regain their public discourse agenda setting dominance by gaining social media popularity using their already established credibility. There was also a view that peripheral actors through social media

trends compromise print media news quality by spreading misinformation and disinformation, which is at times difficult to verify. One participant stated:

> There are individuals who are bigger (more popular) than some news media organizations. When they post something today it makes news and it is talked about by everyone but it is the traditional media that sustains the discussion… Members of the public rely on us (print media journalists) to make clarifications on what is posted on social media… We bridge the gap for peripheral actors to reach out to some of the people who're not elitist…. Also, since people normally go for what is trending, you find that maybe the intention is to popularize politician X or organization Y so it ends up compromising on the quality of news in the print media.

> - *A 27-year-old correspondent with 5 years of experience*

Some participants supported the idea of peripheral actors' recruitment in print media to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism arguing that many of them are connected (have relevant sources) and have shown they are passionate about their work hence would be useful in newsrooms. Participants also expressed the view that it is difficult to find qualified journalists in remote parts of the country. However, there was a counter argument that since media convergence requires journalists to also have photography and video production skills, the question recruited peripheral actors and those yearning to work in print news media organizations have to ask themselves is what other value(s) are they bringing to the company? One participant remarked:

> I won't say peripheral actors are recruited in print media to neutralize their influence or eliminate competition with them but one thing every media house is looking for now is how networked you are to ensure that they can get exclusive stories so sometimes when they get such people they are glad… journalism is also about passion so you can develop skills towards it.

> - *A 45-year-old reporter with 17 years of experience*

Participants who believed that user generated content affects their work argued that it pushes them to think of more complex ideas and to source more in-depth information to avoid competition with peripheral actors. Some of them positively perceived this as a

challenge for them to be critical thinkers. The fact that user generated content is shared by people who are not trained on news verification was mentioned by participants who seemed to believe that it lowers print media credibility. Those who held the belief that user generated content does not affect their work expressed the belief that it is merely opinions hence nothing serious. One participant stated:

> User generated content affected me then because the editor seemed to now want me to do more complex stories… and as an editor now I would like to see a journalist write something more serious to avoid competing with the peripheral actors who are sending in user generated content. So it gives us now the opportunity to move a step or two ahead of the peripheral actors.

> - *A 33-year-old reporter with 9 years of experience*

Another participant said:

> We are not sure if the incident being reported happened and has been confirmed because as an individual I can just sit somewhere and post something. User generated content is not good because our main focus as journalists is to confirm and verify news before you post so whenever they (print media) allow such content it compromises on the quality of their news.

> - *A 22-year-old intern correspondent with 3 months of experience*

4.5.5. Journalists and sources relations strengthening

Different perceptions were expressed under mechanisms implemented by print media organizations and journalists, at individual level, with regard to how they relate with sources in the context of peripheral journalism. This section highlights two of the mechanisms that were prominently discussed. Regarding trust, participants expressed their awareness of the fact that sources mind their reputation on social media and other digital platforms, therefore understand their need for confidentiality and not to be misquoted or misrepresented. This was supported by narrations that sometimes sources avoid the print media journalists' calls and or text messages due to lack of trust. The art of general conversation was also mentioned as a way of fostering a good relationship with sources for

improved news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. Perceived benefits of engaging in the art of general conversation with sources and establishing a trustworthy relationship with them include confidential and detailed information sharing characterized by newsworthy off the cuff remarks that enrich stories**.** One of the participants stated:

> There is a gentleman I am meeting this afternoon, one of the permanent secretaries. Usually, when we meet outside his office, he gives me a lot of stories and details. For example, we recently talked at length about what took place at a cabinet retreat with the president, just out of general conversation.

> **-** *A 29-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

4.5.6. Resources management

Participants expressed diverse perceptions on the different mechanisms implemented by the print media to manage the various resource requirements for enhanced news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. This section presents views on revenue sources diversification, acquisition of new news ideas and information sourcing tools, as well as diversified information sourcing training. Regarding diversified revenue sources, participants expressed awareness of its necessity by linking job losses by some of their colleagues to dwindling fortunes for the print media due to negative influences of peripheral journalism on traditional news production and consumption. Consequently, diversified revenue efforts were positively viewed as a promise of job security. Participants also recognized the dilemma their employers face with regard to revenue sources diversification as they narrated, for instance, how attempts to have readers pay for news accessed online via news websites using paywalls have previously failed. One of the participants remarked:

> When a company is doing badly, dismissals are prone to be witnessed. When the company I work for is not making profit, my job is also at risk because I can be sent home anytime.

> - *A 34-year-old reporter with 8 years of experience*

Participants appreciated the purchase of new tools and technologies by the print media for enhanced news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. However, there was a view that relevant print media journalists should be trained on how to better make use of them for informed news sourcing decisions. This was supported by the view that news sourcing is dynamic as its elements such as information verification, including fact checking, keep changing. Recognition of the fact that trainings are used as a factor of promotion by some print media was also expressed. The participants emphasized that online sourcing trainings should be continuous. One participant stated:

> I mostly do what my bosses say but due to technology verses age factor I don't think some of them understand these new things as we do because I think they use data to analyze everything. Instead of being data informed, they are data driven. For example, if a survey reveals that 90% of audiences read news on their phones, it means that as a media house we need to avail content there. What some of them don't seem to understand is that even how we gather information for news needs to change.

> - *A 28-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

Another participant stated:

> There needs to be consistent training on the evolution of disinformation because previously you could find someone publishing a story that so and so said this then you find that with technology someone can take your video and then replaces the audio with another, which communicates a completely different thing. And they would match it with the movement of the lips.

> - *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

4.5.7. Individual response mechanisms

This section presents participants' views on coping mechanisms used by print media journalists at individual level to navigate influences of peripheral journalism on news

sourcing such as increased information perishability. The coping mechanisms include armchair sourcing, information plagiarism, sources "fencing", single sourcing, and recycling of quotes. Regarding armchair sourcing, there was a view that both conventional and unconventional sources are accessible online. The belief that physically attending news events and interacting with sources is superior was rebutted by the view that intimate relations for news gathering purposes can also be established online. The belief that armchair sourcing limits access to additional, confidential, and or exclusive information was also rebutted by the view that a journalist can get all that in the newsroom as long as s/he is trusted by the source and that there are secure information exchange platforms such as WhatsApp. Perceived significance of armchair sourcing was illustrated by the view that it supplements other news sourcing methods as journalists are able to, for instance, ask the sources they engage online for physical interviews. An argument that some print news media journalists operate mostly from their desks and still get more stories published, including splash articles, was also offered in defense of armchair sourcing. These views are illustrated in the following remarks:

> Arm-chair journalism is a soft way of telling you that you are lazy but we also tell them that it is not about being lazy because these are people we know. They are our online communities and you can meet them online and offline as well… and also if you trust your sources like if you have worked with them before then you don't need to go to the field.
>
> - *A 28-year-old correspondent with 4 years of experience*

> We're moving away from live events, even the so called peripheral actors can get information from such… so armchair journalism is not an issue. It only becomes a problem if you are not filing stories. If I'm doing a story and I'm able to get you a splash (first page news) from what you are calling my chair, what then is your problem with me not going out?
>
> - *A 28-year-old reporter with 5 years of experience*

Participants also reported that conveyor-belt information sourcing happens in scenarios where print media journalists physically attend news events, especially due to the increased pressure to nurture sources for confidential, in-depth, and or exclusive stories, hence not unique to armchair sourcing. The feeling of being misled by peripheral actors online through disinformation was also rebutted by participants who argued that armchair sourcing does not stop them from seeking clarification on stories through phone calls, text messages, and other information exchange avenues. There was also a view that information sourcing for news is guided by journalistic ethics and code of conduct, which if met, it matters not if sourcing has been done by physically attending a news event or sitting behind the desk. Armchair sourcing also seemed positively perceived by participants who argued that it is a cost effective way of getting information at a time when the print media is struggling to stay profitable. A participant noted that armchair sourcing preference in print media differ from one editor to another as some prefer to see journalists behind their desks. One participant said:

> I think previously people thought that getting out there is what journalism is and sitting down in the office and doing a story that is armchair journalism, which is euphemism for lazy journalism. There are tenets of journalistic work. For me, if all the tenets are met then I have no problem where you sit to do the story. While there is obviously that need for journalists to be where the stories are happening but there are things that make it impossible for that to happen and one of them is resources. You find that you are asking yourself, do I send this journalist to a story that is breaking 20 kilometers away or it would a better use of resources for them to break the story then go on site to find something else we might be able to add on this story later. When those questions are asked. It would definitely lead to armchair sourcing.

- *A 31-year-old editor with 11 years of experience*

Despite the highlighted positive views shared by the journalists on armchair sourcing, the narrations even by participants who seemed to defend it revealed a predominantly negative perception about it in print media newsrooms, including the belief that it is a lazy method

of news information sourcing. Participants who did not seem to fancy it emphasized the belief that one cannot access certain information online and through phone calls and text messages hence newsworthiness of information accessed through it remains limited. They also emphasized the belief that physically interacting with sources allows journalists access to both confidential and exclusive information, which are highly needed due to peripheral journalism. One participant said:

> The media house I work for discourages that because it smacks on indolence and laziness and not knowing the beauty of journalism, which is being with the news source. With a source you get so much information that you cannot get when seated in the office following the source through social media platforms, including YouTube. Another very important aspect of being with the source is that… you can even get a story from the source's body language, like the mood, movements, facial expressions… these matter a lot and they help you beef your story.
>
> - *A 45-year-old reporter with 14 years of experience*

Participants also expressed their awareness of the fact that information plagiarism goes against the code of ethics and conduct of journalists and is therefore punishable after a disciplinary process. They also expressed their awareness of the fact that engaging in it negatively affects one's upward career mobility both in the newsroom and in the profession. The print media journalists also expressed awareness that picking and using content online or otherwise is not intellectual theft if the source is properly attributed. This view was supported by participants who argued that they are allowed to use published materials as background information in their stories. One participant said:

> What we do is buttress or provide background to our stories. We are encouraged to do that unless it is not necessary… and if we get content from another media house we rightly say that the content is lifted from… That shows forthrightness. It is not intellectual theft or plagiarism if you acknowledge the source. Some journalists have also decided to intentionally just take online content and plagiarize as you put it and have gotten away with it. And it also depends on first of all on you as a journalist whether you want to grow or just be lazy.
>
> - *A 45-year-old reporter with 14 years of experience*

There was an argument that information plagiarism is a mistake that journalists unintentionally commit. There was also an argument that peripheral actors are actually the ones who plagiarize published news items in mainstream print media. Participants who expressed this view shared that it is painful for colleagues in the newsroom to find news items they have spent enormous amounts of time and other resources putting together shared on social media and other peripheral journalism platforms without due attribution. Whereas some print media journalists expressed the view that information plagiarism is just laziness by colleagues who are not necessarily negatively influenced by peripheral journalism, others shared that it is common when breaking news due to the rush to beat submission deadlines and the hope to be the first to publish. One of the participants said,

> I don't know if really peripheral journalism has promoted plagiarism. I think a lazy journalist or writer just copy paste things whether written by another media house or… I would not really blame it on peripheral journalism … because a lot of peripheral actors don't even know how to write in a structured way like print media journalists do… they don't understand the style.

- *A 31-year-old reporter with 6 years of experience*

Another participant said:

> The bureaucracy of processing stories in the mainstream media arrests plagiarism before it gets out but there is one time in our organization where a story got published including using the name, the byline of a journalist from the competitor… the reporter in that area borrowed a script from the other media house and didn't even change the introduction so such things happen especially with breaking news towards deadline when things are moving very fast.

- *A 34-year-old editor with 9 years of experience*

One of the reasons provided for quotes recycling is the fact that some sources do not respond to phone calls and or text messages on time before stories are filed. The other reason is that some sources, especially politicians, often repeat themselves and the recycled quotes are sometimes their best catch phrases. However, one of the editors pointed out that

this is a bad practice by colleagues as opinions change over time hence sources deserve to

be given an opportunity to comment on news items and or events as and when they happen.

One participant admitted to doing this, stating:

> This one has really touched me… because I have done that not once or twice. Maybe this was the best catch phrase on the issue and I still see it very relevant because if it is a politician, that is maybe their trend of talking or the way they relay information, it is usually always the same. I don't find it difficult to use the quotes rather than make calls because at times they are also busy like you call once or twice and they don't pick so you just use the quote you used earlier.
>
> - *A 22-year-old intern correspondent with 3 months of experience*

Regarding single sourcing, participants expressed their appreciation of the need to evaluate

claims made by sources against those adversely mentioned. This was illustrated by the

view that first narrations are believable hence the need for journalists to balance sources

instead of presenting reactions in their follow-up stories. However, there was a view that

journalists cannot force sources to respond to claims, especially where their delays seem

deliberate in order to have the stories not published either because of time constraints or

lack of fairness. There was also a view that since the print media are struggling to stay

profitable amidst negative peripheral journalism influences on their revenues, some of them

are tempted to fast publish single sourced stories in order to increase their social media

popularity through clicks, likes, comments, shares, and followers. A participant also

revealed that some print media organizations run single sourced stories where the

information provided is exclusive and also where the sources are, for instance, powerful

government officials. Single sourcing was also equated by some participants to lazy

journalism. One participant said:

> There is also the principle of first narration is believable. In fact, the first story is the basis (inaudible)… What comes after that is a developing story. So if you don't get the foundation right you are going to find it rough bringing audiences back to the truth,

which is why it is important to ensure in the first story you tell that you have done all that is needed to balance it.

- *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

Regarding sources "fencing", one of the participants expressed the view that is a futile endeavor as information can no longer remain hidden due to the proliferation of new media technologies. Another participant expressed the view that sources "fencing" denies audiences important information that can be retrieved by other journalists. Participants who held similar views to this one expressed the belief that they diversely interpret newsworthy information hence end up with different story angles that are all important. Below is a quote by one of the print media journalists.

Journalists tell their sources that peripheral actors are not authentic as a way of owning that information but we are in a world where information is everywhere so you cannot hide it. What I always do because I know that I can do my angle of the story so I can even give you my source and I know the story you are going to do is different from the one that I also will do.

- *A 45-year-old editor with 17 years of experience*

4.6. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The table below summarizes key findings of the study that are discussed in the subsequent section.

Table 2. *Summary of the study key findings*

Findings	**Research Question 1:** How has peripheral journalism influenced news sourcing in mainstream print media in Kenya? • Compromised news values involving difficulty choosing newsworthy information for readers who already have access to the news on social media and other digital platforms, which affects novelty. Other affected news values are significance, timeliness, and prominence. • Peripheral actors emerging as alternative sources of news ideas and information, complementing conventional sources such as government officials, politicians, subject matter experts, and civil society group leaders, corporate heads and communication officers among others. • Unconventional information sourcing methods use, including social media platforms such as TikTok, WhatsApp, and Instagram that are increasingly becoming popular in print media besides Facebook, YouTube, and X. • Compromised information quality characterized by misinformation and disinformation linked to increased journalists' reliance on alternative ideas and information sources as well as avenues such as TikTok. Other information quality concerns include plagiarism, reuse of quotes, single sourcing, and sensational information sourcing. • New information sourcing safety concerns such as cyberbullying in the form of social media trolls. The other concern is cybercrime targeting by criminals or wrongful linkage to it by security agencies. • Compromised relationship between journalists and sources characterized by communication challenges manifested through wariness by the sources. **Research Question 2:** What practices do the print media in Kenya use to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism? • Coping mechanisms to enhanced dockets and stories submission deadlines pressure through early planning, day-two journalism, ideas journalism, use of alternative sources, breaking news delay, and exclusive information access. • Enhanced information verification characterized by mandatory verification of information from social media and other digital platforms, self-verification sensitization, officialdom, & emphasis on evidence to claims. • Improved accountability characterized by quality assurance, adherence to journalistic code of conduct, audience feedback review by the public editor, public interest prioritization through editorial independence and responsible journalism. • Diversified information sourcing characterized by online sourcing, audience-informed sourcing, recruitment of peripheral actors and accommodation of user generated content. • Strengthening of the relationship between journalists and sources

characterized by emphasis on trust establishment and the art of general conversation.

- Management of relevant news sourcing resources in the context of peripheral journalism e.g. recruitment of new talent, staff training, revenue diversification, and purchase of new tools.

Research Question 3: How do journalists in Kenya perceive print media news sourcing practices used in the context of peripheral journalism?

- There were diverse views on news sourcing enhancement measures reported in research question two. For example:
  - Early dockets submission is beneficial because it affords print media journalists more time to look for sources to ensure they have complete stories.
  - Enhanced news verification positively perceived due to increased online criticism by peripheral actors. Also viewed as crucial for personal professional growth and recognition.
  - Editorial independence as an element of improved accountability was viewed as desirable especially due to reduced revenues linked to peripheral journalism influence on print media but difficult to achieve due to inherent human biases that shape traditional news production.
  - Adherence to journalistic ethics and code of conduct was also positively viewed as the basis upon which a good story is judged hence a point of relief for print media journalists considering that stories are rated based on likes, comments, and shares.
  - Soft news sourcing for tabloid publications as an element of audience-informed information sourcing viewed by some journalists as necessary due to competition for audiences but perceived by others as a distraction from real news.
  - Stories ratings review by print media as another measure of audience-informed information sourcing was viewed as a form of agenda setting for mainstream media and a driver of sensational information sourcing in traditional media.
  - Online information sourcing positively viewed as a cost saving measure, convenient approach, and useful method for getting hard to get information from remote and dangerous areas but negatively perceived as a promoter of misinformation and disinformation in mainstream print media.
  - Perceived benefits of establishing a trustworthy relationship with sources include confidential and detailed information sharing as well as free engagement that sometimes brings out newsworthy off the cuff remarks.
  - Diversified revenue sources as resource management element was positively viewed as a job security measure.

4.7. DISCUSSION

This is among the first studies to comprehensively report on traditional news production in the context of peripheral journalism with regard to news sourcing in mainstream print media in Kenya. The study answers three research questions. It begins by highlighting peripheral journalism influences on news sourcing in the print media. It then presents the response mechanisms used by the print media to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. The report also gives journalists' perceptions on the reported response measures used by the news organizations.

This section discusses key findings under each of the three research questions. For research question one, I have discussed traditional news quality, self-representation, news democratization, and source and channel selection factors in line the theories guiding the study reviewed in chapter two. I have also discussed news sourcing safety and journalist-source relationships in the context of peripheral journalism. For research question two, I have discussed print media response mechanisms to peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production with regard to news quality enhancement, gatekeeping practices, and strengthening of journalist-source relational dynamics. Further, I have discussed journalists' views on their news enhancement measures in the context of peripheral journalism as presented in chapter four above under research question three. The discussions are informed by gatekeeping and source-credibility theories and relevant literature.

4.7.1. Peripheral journalism influences on news sourcing

The quality of information that print media journalists gather is influenced by the rise of peripheral journalism, which contributes to news quality concerns by audiences. Participants highlighted the impact of peripheral actors on news values such as novelty, timeliness, significance, and prominence. Although the instantaneous sharing of news by peripheral actors on social media is not reported to have negatively influenced the quality of information that journalists access, it is an emerging news quality concern for audiences when journalists struggle to find fresh and valuable information to report. This finding reifies the view that it has become increasingly difficult for print media to break news given the rapid discursive and disseminative nature of events in the cyberspace (Paterson, 2019) but is more importantly undoubtedly a news quality concern.

The study also reports that journalists are under intense pressure to submit their dockets and stories on time due to competition with peripheral actors and other print media in the cyberspace. According to Kiguta (2018), competition in cyberspace in Kenya, consequent to peripheral journalism ubiquity in the country, has influenced some journalists to abandon important traditional news production norms such as sources balancing and news verification. According to Obuya & Ong'ondo (2019), the rush to beat stories submission deadlines negatively affects print media accountability. Gitonga et al. (2020), Tully (2021), and Wasserman and Madrid-Morales (2019) also claim that audiences are exposed to misinformation and disinformation due to limited information verification time. Other reported consequences of submission deadline pressure linked to peripheral journalism include abandoning potentially newsworthy stories, plagiarism, armchair journalism, single sourcing, sensational sourcing, conveyor-belt sourcing, and quotes recycling.

Through peripheral actors and social media platforms, peripheral journalism has in various ways also impacted traditional news quality. Positively, it adds contextual information to news. However, it also negatively affects news quality. Peripheral actors, for instance, contest information significance through social media trends and engagement with published stories, diverting resources from investigative news to the more sensationalist tabloid stories. It also challenges traditional notions of information value determination through social media popularity, interfering with established norms such as relevance, credibility, and reliability. Whereas peripheral actors add value to traditional news, they are not considered credible since many of them (e.g. bloggers) are used by high society actors to shape public discourse (Wall, 2015; Muindi, 2018; Roberts, 2019) and although fake news is an age-old phenomenon in Africa, it seems amplified by peripheral journalism (Mare et al., 2019). Through content creation, many peripheral actors seem to be chasing popularity hence a lot of false information characterized by the creation of many pseudo social media accounts (Gitonga et al., 2020). The fact that many peripheral actors have unverified accounts coupled with accounts hacking is also reported as a news quality concern.

This study also links negatively affected print media revenue to poor quality news sourcing. Save for conveyor-belt sourcing risk and quotes recycling, which are emerging concerns with regard to news sourcing in print media in the context of peripheral journalism, this study mirrors findings by Kiguta (2018) who noted that newspapers in Kenya are struggling to balance important journalistic values such as accuracy, fairness, and objectivity with the need to increase revenue as readers continue to receive fake news due to, among other factors, increased digital news sources. Additionally, the study reports

that traditional news quality is affected by the weakening relationship between journalists and sources characterized by communication challenges such as pestering of sources, often witnessed when journalists are pressed for time to submit their dockets.

Gatekeeping theory is an important element of traditional news production (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). It holds that traditional news organizations receive stories from multiple sources but only a few get published (Lewin, 1943). The theory is often presented as a processing component of news production, performed mainly by editors (Gieber, 1959). This study applies gatekeeping theory to understand news sourcing practices in the context of peripheral journalism, consequent to the view that journalists decide at source what information is important and who should be relied on as the source (McNelly, 1959) and the assertion that gatekeeping studies should pay more attention to news sourcing as unreported stories do not reach the point where they are processed (Bass, 1969). Using the gatekeeping theory together with the source credibility theory, this study explored news values and source selection factors in print media in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism. The study has therefore highlighted peripheral journalism influences on news values, including novelty, timeliness, significance, and prominence. Similarly, the study has highlighted the rise of social media popularity as a source selection factor, alongside relevance, credibility, and reliability.

Besides the elevation of traditional news quality concerns by audiences, peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production, in the context of gatekeeping theory, include enhanced self-representation and news democratization through traditional news agenda setting and framing. The fact that peripheral actors no longer simply consume news, are able to create their own account of contemporary events, and influence the

mainstream traditional media narratives is an indication of the enhanced self-representation and news democratization. According to Schiffer (2007), Singer (2014), and Somaiya (2014), peripheral actors have become gatekeepers in their own right hence a shift in news sourcing practices allowing journalists to source news from social media (Simons, 2016). According to Roberts (2019), the inclusion of peripheral actors in news creation promotes democracy by enhancing accountability in government and other institutions. However, skepticism exists regarding the intent, extent, and outcome of citizen inclusion in news production. Some scholars have found that peripheral actors are used by authorities to spread propaganda hence shape democracy (Wall, 2015; Muindi, 2018). Despite these reservations, this study identifies with the claim that peripheral journalism remains a vital tool for ordinary citizens to engage in mainstream news production and shape the agenda (Mare et al., 2019; Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019).

Still on peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production in the context of gatekeeping, the study revealed that peripheral actors have the tendency of mainstreaming overlooked issues in society hence promoting the representation of marginalized groups, a finding similarly reported by Ornebring (2013). The study also affirms that traditional news production practices are influenced by factors surrounding mainstream media journalists, including communal perspectives and work deadlines. Consequently, this study supports the claim that traditional media considers important what local communities deem imperative (Gieber, 1956). The finding that peripheral journalism influence on print media revenue negatively affects news quality also supports the assertion by Shoemaker & Vos (2009) that the decision to publish one story at the expense of another is affected by the

economic needs of the mainstream traditional media despite the organization's editorial policies, news values, and beliefs regarding its obligation to the public.

Source credibility theory also informed this study. The theory holds that personal attributes of sources determine their inclusion in news (Ohanian, 1990). Therefore, the theory led to, among other issues, the exploration of factors that journalists in print media in Kenya consider today, in the era of peripheral journalism, when selecting sources. Broadly, social media popularity emerged as an important source selection factor alongside relevance, credibility, and reliability. As a result, peripheral actors emerged in this study as an important new information source for print media, complementing conventional sources and avenues, such as corporate heads, political leaders, government administration officials, communication practitioners, community focal persons, colleagues through radio and television programs, news agencies, friends within and outside newsrooms, anonymous callers, and relevant documents such as press releases and gazette notices.

This study also adds to the findings by previous similar studies that social media is used as an additional avenue through which journalists receive ideas and information for news in the context of peripheral journalism. Platforms used by journalists in print media in Kenya, according to Muindi (2018), Gitonga et al. (2020), Koga (2021), Tully (2021), and Mwongela (2015) among others, include, Facebook, X, WhatsApp, and YouTube. Consequently, this study adds to this list Instagram and TikTok, which can be used by journalists across all news beats but were reported to be used particularly by those who specialize in lifestyle news. While Facebook and X are still the most favored for news sourcing by journalists, WhatsApp use seems to be growing due to its end-to-end encryption, which allows sharing of confidential information, a finding similarly reported

by Koga (2021) that journalists find the social media platform easier and more affordable to use. The finding that journalists in print media in Kenya use social media to engage sources and that they continue to get news tips, hints, and alerts from the different platforms has also been reported by Mwongela (2015), Muindi (2018), Kiguta (2018), and Gitonga et al. (2020) among others.

Whereas the study reports prominent use of social media in print media in Kenya for news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism, it does not suggest that other information channels, including phone calls and text messages, are not actively employed by the journalists. According to Barnard (2016), social media use by traditional media journalists ought to help them avoid overly relying on phone calls, text messages, news conferences, and hard-copy press releases. As such, the study indicates that we can yet describe news sourcing in print media in Kenya as remarkably free from conventional information sourcing methods. In fact, this study reports that physically attending news events is yet more preferred by the print media journalists as it affords them detailed and contextual news ideas and information. Other reported perceived benefits of physically attending news events, unlike online information sourcing, in the context of peripheral journalism, is the creation of a less formal environment, good for general conversations, that encourage sources to share confidential information and often leads to crucial off-the-cuff remarks.

One of the emerging print media newsrooms concerns with regard to news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism is safety of journalists, which seems to be an understudied area. Extant literature presents various other contexts such as war and conflicts reporting. This observation is similarly expressed by Lohner et al. (2016) who note, in their study of journalistic practices, role perceptions, and ethics in democratization conflicts in Egypt,

Kenya, Serbia, and South Africa, that news digitization poses a threat to the safety of journalists. In the study, the scholars found that traditional media journalists are insulted, intimidated, and threatened at individual level by powerful government officials through security organs and ordinary citizens through different organized groups. At organizational level, the study found that the print media face legal suits and' withdrawal of advertisement. The study thus indicates response mechanism gaps including lack of relevant news sourcing safety policies in the newsrooms, sufficient news sourcing safety training, news sourcing safety gear, institutional support, psychological remedies, and industrial solidarity.

The other emerging finding with regard to news sourcing for print media in the context of peripheral journalism is strained relationship between journalists and sources characterized by communication challenges. For instance, the study reports that the rush to submit dockets and file stories early forces journalists to pester sources who seem hesitant sharing information, especially over digital platforms, partly due to fear of the information spilling over to social media. The study also reports that increased need for evidence of information exchange between journalists and sources as an accountability measure seems to be met by audio recording fear of the sources and their other vigilant measures such as activation of WhatsApp disappearing messages. Although the link of relationship between journalists and sources to peripheral journalism seems new and under-researched, I find the explanation by Fisher (2018) plausible that social media and other digital platforms have ominously disrupted the mutually dependent relationship between journalists and sources as the boundary between their roles has blurred in the sense that sources no longer need traditional media journalists to pass across their messages to audiences the same way. The

scholar claims that sources have the choice to opt in and out of the relationship anytime since they can bypass journalists who are struggling with the power shift that threatens to render them irrelevant.

4.7.2. Response mechanisms to reported peripheral journalism influences on news sourcing

This study reports robust response mechanisms to peripheral journalism influences on news sourcing in mainstream print media in Kenya. Early planning, day two journalism, idea journalism, in-depth and contextual information sourcing are mechanisms the print media in Kenya use to enhance news quality in the context of peripheral journalism. Journalists also enhance news quality in print media in Kenya at news sourcing stage through improved information verification and accountability, as well as effective management of relevant resources required for effective news sourcing. The study also reports that the print media employ diversified information sourcing strategies, including audience-informed news sourcing, aligned with gatekeeping changes to traditional news production linked to peripheral journalism. Additionally, print media journalists in Kenya apply diverse measures, including ideal communication channel categorization and the art of general conversation, to uphold trust between them and sources for effective news sourcing.

Regarding concerns of compromised novelty, significance, timeliness, and prominence coupled with tight stories submission deadlines, it emerged that the print media practice early planning involving early dockets submission and filing of stories that afford journalists more time for quality news sourcing and to enrich their ideas through editorial consultations and background information research. According to Koga (2021), this is similarly achieved in Kenya through the adoption of new media technologies such as

WhatsApp that allow timely filing of ideas and information. Mwongela (2015) similarly reports that some print media provide their journalists smartphones and facilitate their access to the internet through WiFi and Airtime bundles for fast filing of stories.

The study also indicates that some print media journalists practice day-two journalism whereby they source detailed and contextual information in response to the need to look for something new for the benefit of readers who access newspapers after the news is already shared online. This is also reported by Kiguta (2018) who shares that print media journalists in Kenya cope with the rapid disseminative nature of events in the cyberspace by writing detailed and analytical stories. According to Paterson (2019), print media reporters and editors in Africa are forced to provide alternative angles and in-depth analysis of stories already broken on social media and other digital platforms as it has become increasingly difficult for newspapers across the continent to break stories given the rapid nature of sharing of news events in the cyberspace. It also emerged that print media journalists in Kenya practice idea journalism, which allows them to escape the rush to beat tight dockets and stories submission deadlines by avoiding news events coverage and instead writing trends, follow up, and analysis reports. Other reported mechanisms include exclusive content sourcing, amplified sources networking for alternative voices, and delayed breaking news.

While this study does not disabuse the findings by Gitonga (2020) and Mare et al. (2019) that traditional news organizations across Africa are struggling to cope with the veracity of peripheral journalism, it reports enhanced news verification measures implemented by the print media in Kenya to ensure that stories published are accurate and credible as a response mechanism to the growing risk of misinformation and disinformation linked to

peripheral journalism. This is broadly achieved by ensuring information reliability, sources reliability, relevant editorial policies change, news verification training and accountability, and creation of dedicated information verification teams. The media houses ensure information reliability by making sure that sources back-up their claims with evidence. This is also achieved through facts confirmation by correspondents at the bureaus level. Some editors also assure information reliability by ensuring that journalists actually engaged sources. It is further achieved through sources triangulation, reported by Gitonga (2020), fact checking, documents authentication, and by the editors through examining information gaps.

Sources reliability is also ensured by print media in Kenya through background checks, which involves looking at whether sources have fully identified themselves online as well as their social media echo chamber (circle of friends). Although Tully (2021) reports from a different context, how audiences in Kenya use news and handle misinformation on social media, her findings are similar to the extent that features such as text, font, color, websites logo and design, and social media users' identification, and accounts verification status are used to determine reliability. This is also determined by the print media in Kenya through selective sourcing, which involves getting information from people who hold positions of influence (authority voices) in the society. This is also reported by Gitonga et al. (2020) who claim that traditional media journalists in Kenya are encouraged to predominantly source from government officials and parastatal heads. According to Jamil & Appiah-Adjei (2019) and Mare et al. (2019), officialdom is considered trustworthy and helpful in avoiding publishing fake news. However, this view and some of the sources reliability determination mechanisms are contested by Wall (2015), Muindi (2018), and Roberts

(2018) who argue that print media journalists oversight crucial information from reliable alternative sources.

Regarding misinformation and disinformation, the study reports that the print media in Kenya forbid journalists from using information sourced from social media and other digital platforms without verification. It also reports that the journalists are occasionally trained and are also encouraged to individually take up news verification courses, especially on fact checking. It also emerged that some of the print media have invested in technologies that promote news verification accountability through transparency whereby a story is tracked from the moment it is submitted by a contributor, correspondent, or reporter to the point it is ready for press, which leaves a trail of all its edits. These findings show the extent to which the print media has gone to discourage misinformation and disinformation such that although fake news still finds its way in mainstream news in the country, the instances are more isolated than the norm. The findings also contest assertions by Ornebring (2013) and others who claim that traditional media journalists reproduce peripheral journalism "filth" by sending their editors unverified information from social media.

This study also reports robust measures implemented by the print media in Kenya that suggest their improved accountability amidst concerns expressed by peripheral actors such as unfair coverage, sensational sourcing, partisan ownership, and bribery of journalists among others. I perceive this as an alternative, not an antithetical, view from previous similar reports such as Kiguta (2018), Gitonga et al. (2020), Wasserman & Madrid-Morales (2019), and Obuya & Ong'ondo (2019) that hold that legacy media are generally struggling with peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production. According to Kiguta

(2018), traditional media in Kenya, particularly newspapers, are struggling to balance journalistic values such as accuracy, fairness, and objectivity with the need to increase revenue. Similarly, Obuya & Ongondo (2019) claim that the traditional media is caught between a rock and a hard place as far as accountability is concerned in the context of peripheral journalism. Broadly, this study reports that print media in Kenya practice accountability through editorial independence, responsible journalism, news quality assurance, adherence to journalistic ethics and code of conduct, and the creation of a public editorial desk that tries to incorporate audiences' feedback into their news production processes.

Responsible journalism measures implemented by the print media in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism, include stories' impact evaluation, careful sources selection, and avoidance of conveyor-belt sourcing. Other measures are sources censorship, disciplinary action against journalists, audiences' feedback review, public apologies, disclaimer statements, transparency to audiences, and withdrawal or pulling down of "controversial" stories. Obuya & Ong'ondo (2019) explain that disciplinary action against journalists in print media in Kenya happens through reprimands, warnings, suspensions, and dismissals. According to Cheruiyot (2022), audiences' feedback review by print media in Kenya is done through filtering, which involves publicly rejecting critics while internally reflecting on their comments for improved news production; rationalization, which involves public criticisms appreciation, admission of errors, and corrective action(s) taking; and counter-discourse that involves discursively engaging critics by providing clarification in defense of editorial decision(s). Cheruiyot (2022) explains that public admission of errors and corrective action(s) taking is done in a way that minimizes damage, which mirrors the

claim by Obuya & Ong'ondo (2019) that the print media have an egotistic attitude towards accountability in the sense that they rather run a correction piece on a story than make an apology.

The study reports that quality assurance in print media in Kenya begins at news ideation stage where dockets are discussed and approved. It then moves to news sourcing level where journalists are encouraged to have a sense of ownership of their stories and consequently ensure that they meet the required quality standards including information and sources credibility. According to Gitonga et al. (2020), information credibility is ensured through sources triangulation and reliance on authority voices. While the study indicates that the print media monitors stories' ratings by audiences on social media and other digital platforms to establish their preferences, it reports that news quality is judged using several other parameters, which allow journalists to focus on positive impact stories. It is also reported that some journalists are allowed enough time to deliver high quality stories such as investigative reports. While the study also indicates, in agreement with Kiguta (2018), that stories that seem to undermine business interests of the print media continue to be "killed" at editorial level, it reports significant efforts by the media houses to remain independent and ensure that public interest stories are prioritized. The organizations also ensure their accountability by creating newsroom awareness on journalistic ethics and code of conduct.

It also emerged that the print media practices diversified information sourcing, comprising, among others, online information sourcing and audience-informed sourcing guided by social media use policies to counter peripheral journalism influences on traditional news quality and source and channel selection factors. The finding that journalists in print media

in Kenya use social media is consistent with Gitonga et al. (2020) who noted that Facebook, X, and WhatsApp are the most commonly used platforms. Gitonga et al. (2020) similarly reported that journalists use social media platforms to follow potential news sources, discover news story ideas, communicate with known sources, and perform background information research on stories they are working on. Unlike previous similar studies, this study reports that the print media journalists in Kenya also use TikTok and Instagram to source ideas and information for news. There are also newsroom digital staff who alert their editorial colleagues about breaking news on social media and other digital platforms for follow-up. Moyo (2019) similarly reports that print media across Africa have created newsroom environments that allow easy sharing of information between digital and editorial teams.

The finding that print media in Kenya practice audience-informed news sourcing informed by readership surveys and analysis of audiences' engagement with stories is also reported by Mwongela (2015) who notes that the news organizations have created digital news departments that perform, among other roles, analysis of stories performance on the digital platforms. This is also consistent with the finding by Moyo (2019) in South Africa that print media support journalists in tracking the social media performance of their stories by sending them weekly updates. According to Moyo (2019) use of readership surveys and stories performance or content engagement analysis often negatively impact news sourcing quality in print media as they tend to advocate for the inclusion in editorial decisions peripheral issues such as stories ratings that affect news information priming, selection, and resources allocation. This study supports this claim to the extent that it links stories ratings to sensational sourcing and promotion of tabloid news outlets.

This study also reports that print media in Kenya promote user generated content (UGC) in the context of peripheral journalism by publishing letters to the editor, allowing readers to comment on their stories published on social media and other digital platforms, and creating websites dedicated to UGC. This is also reported in the U.S. by Nah et al. (2015) who claim that many digital newspaper editors are inclined to using UGC hoping to provide more dynamic content for their readers and increasing their readership by fostering a relationship with the local communities.

Regarding the recruitment of peripheral actors by the print media for news sourcing enhancement in the context of peripheral journalism, this study reports that many peripheral actors initially recruited by the print media in Kenya have since exited the newsrooms. Although this finding does not support the assertion by Paterson (2019) that print media across Africa employ peripheral actors, the report agrees with the scholar that the peripheral actors are useful to the news organizations as they can help expand their news sourcing reach and reduce their breaking news response time, especially due to limited resources. Reporting from a qualitative study conducted in Nigeria and South Africa, Mapudzi & Osunkunle (2017) also advocate for increased peripheral actors' incorporation in traditional news production arguing that they are capable of collecting never-before-seen images of breaking news. Reported concerns with regard to peripheral actors' recruitment in print media in Kenya include fear that they are not used to working under regulations and may thus not enjoy newsrooms routines, such as timely dockets submission and stories filing.

In line with the argument by Fisher (2018) that peripheral journalism through new media technologies has altered the relationship between journalists and sources whereby the

traditional media journalists are seen to be losing their stranglehold over news publication, this study reports that print media journalists in Kenya are paying more attention to how they relate with sources especially due to the need to report something new and or additional that peripheral actors may not already have. As a result, the study notes that there is emphasis in the print media newsrooms on trust building between journalists and sources. It also reports that some print media journalists use the art of general conversation preferably outside formal environments to keep their sources. These are reported to allow conversation recordings and exclusive content and or sensitive information sharing, which have apparently become more relevant today due to peripheral journalism. The study also reports that some print media journalists categorize sources' preferred communication channels as a way of strengthening their relationship with the sources, reducing pestering, and improving their chances of getting quick feedback for their news sourcing questions.

This study also reports various resource management measures implemented by the print media in Kenya to enhance their news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. For instance, the media houses are recruiting journalists with relevant new skills such as crowdsourcing (Mwongela, 2015). The news organizations also train their staff on information verification techniques, particularly fact checking. The print media are also diversifying their revenue as circulation and other conventional sources of income remain negatively affected by peripheral journalism (Kiguta, 2018; Tonui, 2020). It is also reported that the print media are forced to prioritize stories to investigate as they have to decide which ones to invest in and those to postpone and or abandon, even if they are public interest stories. Some of the print media are also reported to be retrenching journalists. The media houses are also forced to acquire new tools such as laptops, tablets,

voice recorders, Buzzfeed, IQ builder, and enterprise resource planning (ERP) systems among others.

4.7.3. Journalists' perceptions on print media response mechanisms to peripheral journalism

This section discusses views that journalists in Kenya hold on the various response mechanisms that the print media use to enhance news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. Regarding the concern of tight submission deadlines for stories, the study reports that print media journalists have a positive view of the different coping mechanisms, including early submission of dockets and filing of stories, sourcing of in-depth and contextual information, ideas journalism, and the tactic of delaying breaking news in favor of enhanced information verification. The study reports several perceived benefits of each mechanism. For instance, it reports that the early planning routine including early submission of dockets and filing of stories is beneficial because it affords the journalists more time to look for relevant sources and ensure they have more complete stories as it also frees them up during the day for breaking news events, which require fast reaction. This perception can be juxtaposed with the finding by Weaver and Willnat (2016) that mainstream media journalists believe peripheral journalism is sacrificing accuracy for speed in traditional media.

The study also reports that print media journalists in Kenya perceive idea journalism as less stressful since it involves little or no pressure to beat the tight stories submission deadlines characterizing the alternative, events-based journalism. The journalists also positively perceive contextual information sourcing as an opportunity to set a straight record

regarding controversial news that audiences may already have received from social media and other digital platforms. The issue of delaying breaking news in favor of relevant information verification is also positively viewed by the journalists who expressed their understanding of the fact that publishing unverified information can be costly to themselves and the organizations, in terms of litigation suites, fines, and other consequences. Contrary to the finding by Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2019) in Pakistan that print media journalists have a habit of using images and photos from online sources without verification, this study suggests that print media journalists in Kenya are striving to resist the habit.

While this study reports that the print media in Kenya faces information verification difficulties in light of peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production, it reports that journalists appreciate the need for enhanced news verification. This finding seems contrary to the view that traditional media in sub-Saharan Africa are struggling to cope with the veracity of peripheral journalism (Mare et al., 2019). The reported perceptions on enhanced news verification include awareness of the fact that publishing unverified news has harsher consequences the for the print media, including expensive legal suits, and that it is more important now to perform information verification due to increased traditional media criticism (Ugangu, 2020a; Waisbord, 2020a).

The study also reports that some of the journalists perceive enhanced news verification as a personal responsibility that is important for their own professional branding (Molyneux, 2015) and also as a duty as members of a professional industry guided by regulations, ethics, and a code of conduct. According to Wasserman and Madrid-Morales (2019), adherence to the journalistic code of conduct is particularly important in the context of raising audiences' trust in traditional media. The view that news verification is easy and

that colleagues who submit unverified information are lazy since it is their full time job and that they also have easier access to authority voices mirrors the finding by Ornebring (2013) that mainstream media journalists perceive peripheral actors as lacking the ability, expertise, and resources to filter news and assure other aspects of news information quality. Fact checking is also reportedly positively perceived by the journalists in Kenya who expressed the view that the print media should invest more in it by availing more tools, recruiting more fact checkers, and also initiating or sponsoring relevant training for journalists. Despite the reported positive attitude in print media newsrooms in Kenya towards enhanced news verification, Gitonga et al. (2020) warn that fear of scoops among editors continues to frustrate it.

This study also reports diverse professional journalists' perceptions on improved accountability measures implemented by the print media in Kenya in response to peripheral journalism. For instance, the study reports that the journalists believe that quality assurance allows the print media to enhance their credibility (Kiguta, 2018), ensure their audiences receive complete stories, and avoid legal suits linked to misinformation and disinformation (Tully, 2021; Wasserman and Madrid-Morales, 2019). The study also reports that print media journalists are aware of the fact that their employers are struggling to balance between business and public interest (Obuya & Ong'ondo, 2019) considering the phenomenon's interruption on their revenue sources (Kiguta, 2018; Tonui, 2020) and that editorial independence is also difficult to achieve at personal level due to inherent biases that shape news production at different stages. The journalists also expressed their awareness of the fact that their practice is guided by journalistic ethics and a code of conduct, which forms the basis upon which their stories are judged as either good or bad by

regulatory authorities (Obuya & Ong'ondo, 2019; Mwongela, 2015). Further, the study reports that journalists perceive sources censorship a way of also protecting their credibility against openly bias sources.

Regarding online comments' review as an accountability measure implemented by the print media in Kenya in response to peripheral journalism, the study positively reports that it is a way of getting audience feedback on their news experiences and expectations thereby informing relevant news production corrections (Cheruiyot, 2022) and negatively that it encourages conveyor belt sourcing (Roberts, 2019). The view that some social media comments are expressed with the intention to malign the reputation of professional journalists and legacy news organizations therefore are not worth reviewing is also alluded to by Gitonga et al. (2020) who claims that some peripheral actors create pseudo-accounts and deliberately circulate fake stories in order to control public discourse.

The study also reports participants' awareness of significance of readership surveys and stories performance analysis with regard to enhanced news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism, including the fact that it helps media organizations to understand their audiences in terms of news items and access preferences. For instance, there were views that, through stories ratings, audiences reveal what kind of news they prefer hence shape news sourcing by print media journalists, which implies that audiences set the news agenda (Luo & Harrison, 2019). Counter arguments to this view are also presented that stories ratings promote sensational sourcing and seems to negotiate for priming of entertainment news over informative and educational items (Moyo et al., 2019). The study also reports that the print media journalists are aware of the fact they need to develop new news sourcing skills for their job security (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019).

This study also reports diverse perceptions by print media journalists about the various ways peripheral actors are engaged by the print media in Kenya in response to peripheral journalism, besides the view that their incorporation in traditional news production promotes democracy (Barnard, 2016; Ornebring, 2013; Simons, 2016; Zeng at al., 2019a; Roberts, 2019). For instance, the study reports acknowledgement of online sourcing as a supplementary method of getting relevant ideas and information for news and that it affords print media access to breaking news events at night and from remote areas (Parterson, 2019; Gitonga et al., 2020; Mapudzi & Osunkunle, 2017) as well as the view that it saves the print media expenses related to news sourcing movement (Koga, 2021; Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019). The study also reports online sourcing reservations including the fact that it promotes misinformation and disinformation (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019; Xin, 2010; Roberts, 2019) and that compromises credibility of print media news, partly illustrated by the belief that it fuels fake news, armchair sourcing, and plagiarism (Gitonga et al., 2020; Mudliar et al., 2012; Chadha & Steiner, 2015; Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2019).

Whereas the study generally reports that print media journalists in Kenya positively regard social media policies instituted by their employers in response to peripheral journalism, it indicates that some of the journalists, like their counterparts in Zambia (Mambwe, 2019), consider them a form of censorship and outdated in the sense that they are not dynamic and responsive to the fast changing nature of influences of peripheral journalism on traditional news production. The study also reports the perception that the policies are helpful in relating well with community members, which is similarly reported by Lysak et al. (2012) in the U.S., considering the fact that personal social media posts can be interpreted as the news media organization's position in public discourse.

The study also reports that print media journalists in Kenya who believe that user generated content (UGC) affects their work argue that it pushes them to do more complex stories to avoid competition with peripheral actors while those who hold the belief that it does not affect their work think of it merely as audiences publicly expressing their opinions hence has no bearing on traditional news production. This adds to the finding by Nah et al. (2015) that UGC lowers traditional media news credibility as it involves people who are not trained on news verification and (Kiguta, 2018) that they favor it because it enables them to provide more dynamic content for their readers and that that it can potentially increase their newspapers readership. However, according to Wall (2015), UGC and other forms of peripheral journalism integration are attempts by legacy media to control peripheral actors' participation and domination over contemporary discourse in the public sphere.

In the context of a compromised relationship between legacy media journalists and sources linked to peripheral journalism (Fisher, 2018), this study reports the professional journalists' perceptions on mechanisms implemented in print media in Kenya to improve their relationship for enriched news sourcing, including trust establishment promotion and awareness creation on the art of conversations that are associated with detailed and confidential information sharing as well as newsworthy off-the-cuff remarks. The relationship strengthening mechanisms reported encourage sources to open up and promote their free engagement with journalists. Artful conversations are delightful, polite, brief, honest, interesting, and characterized by fair use of humor, rules of engagement including sincerity, and attentive actors who have control over their ego (Dutra, 2022).

This study also reports diverse mainstream media journalists' perceptions on the different mechanisms implemented by the print media in Kenya to manage the various resource

demands for quality news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. One of the mechanisms is revenue sources diversification, which is linked to job security at a time when print media journalists are negatively affected by resource challenges experienced by their employers due to peripheral journalism (Kiguta, 2018; Tonui, 2020). The other mechanism is acquisition of new tools and technologies for news sourcing, including laptops, tablets, and voice recorders. These are appreciated by the journalists who also recommend training on their effective use. According to Mwongela (2015), some print media in Kenya facilitate their journalists with airtime and smartphones for online news sourcing in line with news production changes linked to peripheral journalism. Online sourcing training is also appreciated by the journalists who, like their colleagues in Zambia (Mambwe, 2019), understand that news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism is dynamic as its elements such as information verification, including fact checking, keep changing. As such, the journalists agree that online sourcing trainings should be continuous.

Print media journalists in Kenya also commented on their individual-level coping mechanisms to peripheral journalism. The journalists expressed their awareness of the fact that while they are allowed to use published material to background stories, plagiarism is not acceptable under journalistic ethics and code of conduct and is therefore punishable following a disciplinary process. This finding is important because whereas Kiguta (2018) and Mudliar et al. (2012) report that peripheral journalism is promoting plagiarism, there is hope that the vice will not grow in the print media in Kenya because it is discouraged. Also, whereas there were many arguments in support of armchair sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism, the journalists seemed to agree that it is a lazy method of gathering

ideas and information for news and that physically attending news events remains the better option, allowing them to build a good rapport with sources and to access additional, confidential, and exclusive information limited under the option of armchair sourcing.

This study also reports that whereas quotes recycling is sometimes unavoidable when sources do not respond to phone calls and or text messages on time, it is a bad practice as opinions change over time hence sources deserve to be given an opportunity to comment on every new news item. Also, whereas the journalists mentioned that they cannot force sources to comment on stories, the study reports their awareness of the fact that single sourcing goes against the ethics and code of conduct for journalists, which promotes fairness. As a result, the journalists expressed their appreciation of the need to evaluate claims made by sources against those adversely mentioned. This is important because it confirms the struggle that print media journalists currently face at a time when their relationship with sources continue to suffer due to the fact that sources have the option to bypass them and directly reach the audiences through peripheral actors (Fisher, 2018). Additionally, whereas it emerged that it is increasingly tempting to collude with sources not to divulge certain information to colleagues, the study also reports the view that this denies audiences important insights and information that can be retrieved by other journalists and also that it is a futile endeavor in the era of new media technologies as information can no longer remain hidden.

4.8. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presents the study findings and discusses the findings based on the study research questions. It begins by providing participants' characteristics and gives an in-depth report of their narrations. With regard to research question one, the chapter provides a detailed account of the reported influences of peripheral journalism on elements of information newsworthiness, including novelty, significance, timeliness, and prominence. The chapter also highlights how the phenomenon has influenced news ideas and information sources, sourcing channels and safety, information quality, and relationship between journalists and sources. About research question two, the chapter presents various print media response mechanisms to the reported influences of peripheral journalism on news sourcing. The mechanisms include coping with news perishability, enhanced news verification, improved accountability, diversified information sourcing, strengthening of relationship between print media journalists and sources, as well as management of relevant news sourcing resources. Additionally, the chapter presents diverse views of the study participants on the reported news sourcing enhancement measures implemented by the print media in the context of peripheral journalism. The discussion is guided by relevant theories and literature.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter concludes the study and gives recommendations for enhancement of news sourcing in print media in the context of peripheral journalism. Further, it provides areas of further enquiry.

5.2. CONCLUSION

The findings show that peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing in print media in Kenya. They also show that the print media have put in place a robust response mechanism to reduce its negative influences on traditional news quality. The findings also show great support among print media journalists for the reported mechanisms used by the news media organizations to enhance traditional news quality in the context of peripheral journalism. While some of the reported response mechanisms such as early planning and day two journalism are typical traditional news sourcing practices, others such as audience-informed news sourcing and effective management of news sourcing-related resources are specific to peripheral journalism and continue to be reviewed in line with relevant news production changes. The study concludes that the print media, must engage in research and other activities that improve their awareness on peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production, particularly news sourcing, in order to effectively mitigate the negative peripheral journalism influences and aptly serve their audiences.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study holds that traditional news production concerns not just the professional journalists and traditional news organizations but the society at large through different actors including government, civil society, and journalism training institutions. The following recommendations from the findings are therefore categorized and presented in line with the identified stakeholders.

5.3.1. Print media journalists

This study recommends that professional journalists should take personal initiative to acquire knowledge on new news production practices in line with changes linked to peripheral journalism influences on their work. This recommendation is informed by the finding that there is need to keep up with new news verification techniques, including fact checking, as misinformation and disinformation promoted by peripheral journalism continue to evolve. It is also informed by the finding that traditional media are progressively diversifying news and are now embracing online information sourcing (crowd-sourcing) as well as audience-driven sourcing, requiring new skills.

This study also adopts the recommendation by some of the participants who expressed the feeling that they need to have many and diverse sources in order to avoid frequently quoting one or a few sources and also to benefit from marginalized voices in the society. This recommendation is also informed by the finding that there is need for alternative voices from a pool of sources as a way of beating the tight dockets and stories submission deadlines. It is also informed by the increasing relevance of day-two journalism that require expert opinions for in-depth and contextual stories.

It is also emerging from the findings, especially the aspect of increased competition with peripheral actors for sources, that it is not enough to master the journalistic ethics and code of conduct and to know how to write a good news story. It is therefore important to have sources that can afford the mainstream print media additional, detailed, contextual, and exclusive information. Hence, this study recommends that print media journalists must deliberately build connections by networking.

This study again borrows the recommendation by some participants who expressed the concern that their colleagues are preferring armchair information sourcing over field-based journalism instead of using it as a complementary news sourcing method. Whereas there were many benefits associated with armchair sourcing as an element of online sourcing, which is increasingly being embraced in the print media, participants seemed to agree that going out to the field offers more in terms of getting quality news ideas and information as it is also a way of bonding with sources.

5.3.2. Print media organizations

Since it was apparent that news quality is affected by reduced revenues linked to peripheral journalism, this study recommends that efforts to diversify income such as digital content monetization should be supported by relevant stakeholders, including the traditional media shareholders, boards of management, and the government through relevant public institutions. Relevant research can be done to identify sustainable methods since similar strategies such as paywalls have not been successful. While there were suggestions that industry players such as the Media Council of Kenya, Editors' Guild, and Media Owners' Association can negotiate with the government for a favorable review of its advertisement

policies, this study holds that the revenue diversification initiatives should aim to reduce dependency on government and major corporations.

This study also highlights several suggestions provided by participants regarding investment in quality news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism. Firstly, there is a recommendation to allocate more editorial resources towards promoting in-depth and investigative stories. By doing so, the print media can enhance the sourcing of comprehensive and well-researched content. Secondly, increasing and rationalizing payments to journalists is advised in order to retain talented individuals and boost their morale, ultimately encouraging them to go the extra mile when it comes to news sourcing. Additionally, expanding the size of newspapers to accommodate long-form stories that provide better compensation for journalists is suggested as a means to incentivize quality sourcing. Furthermore, investing in news sourcing technologies, such as fact-checking tools, is deemed essential to keep pace with the rapid changes in news production associated with peripheral journalism. By implementing these recommendations, news organizations can enhance the quality and credibility of news while fostering a positive work environment for the journalists.

The study participants also made the following suggestion with regard to news quality assurance. Firstly, working with peripheral actors to find unique stories that interest them. Relevant research can reveal important insights on this. Secondly, embracing 360-degree journalism. For instance, by increasing investment in investigative and feature stories. There was also a suggestion to continuously train editorial teams on news production changes linked to peripheral journalism. The other suggestion was to encourage careful sources' selection with emphasis on credibility. Also, there is need to entrench fact-

checking at news sourcing level partly by empowering editorial teams. The other suggestion made was to increase the number of staff in fact checking desks and to frequently train them. The study participants also expressed the need to embed a researcher in the newsroom to frequently conduct applied research for insights on audiences' information needs.

To further improve the relationship with sources, it is recommended that the print media should provide training for journalists, specifically editors, to appreciate the importance of ordinary citizens' involvement in the news production process. Additionally, supporting editorial independence is deemed crucial as it serves as an accountability measure to audiences in the context of peripheral journalism where the print media business interest seems to compete public interest. It was argued that by maintaining autonomy and integrity, the print media can achieve a sense of trust and credibility in the minds of their readers. There was also a suggestion to recognize and motivate journalists who consistently produce high-quality stories by creating formal avenues on the website where members of the public can tip or appreciate their work. Such recognition serves as an encouragement and incentive for journalists to continue delivering exceptional stories.

This study also recommends suggestions by some of the participants regarding ways to restructure particularly print media operations in light of news production alterations linked to peripheral journalism. There was a view that it is time to reconsider daily newspapers circulation in favor of weekly or other less frequent releases. This is informed by the emerging need to provide detailed news. The suggestion was presented alongside the belief that readers would not mind to pay more for a newspaper with a lot more content than what is currently offered and that journalists would have ample time for quality ideas and

information sourcing. There was also a view that professional journalists, unlike peripheral actors, do not interact enough with ordinary citizens at the community level and that they leave behind newsworthy stories as they rush to report to the office. Consequently, this study recommends use of new media technologies such as WhatsApp and video-conferencing tools to restructure news production routines in favor of hybrid and similar work arrangements. Additionally, the study recommends frequent traditional media editorial policies review in line with the rapid news production changes connected to peripheral journalism.

5.3.3. Journalism training institutions

There were concerns that journalism training in colleges are not responsive to the evolving nature of news production skills in print media. One participants particularly stated that he does not remember sitting in a class in his undergraduate level to be taught how to fact check. He claimed the syllabus is outdated, so much that he worries for his colleagues who have not yet found jobs and those who are complacent because things are changing fast. Based on similar concerns, the study recommends incorporating into the curriculum crowdsourcing with subunits on fundamental programming languages and content management technologies like Python, R, Java, and SQL. The recommendation is informed by the reported increased significance of news verification, including fact-checking, in light of the growing reliance on social media for ideas and information.

The study also recommends including in the curriculum a course focusing on sourcing relevant news ideas and information from social media and other digital platforms. Moreover, emerging concerns such as establishing effective relationship with sources for improved news sourcing in the context of peripheral journalism should also be considered

for inclusion in the curriculum. This study also recommends emphasis on critical thinking training in line with ideas journalism, which is emerging as a coping strategy against information perishability linked to peripheral journalism.

5.3.4. Government and civil society

This study recommends resource mobilization for public literacy enhancement, which would not only enable traditional media audiences to appreciate the news production process and exercise informed criticism but also to empower them to vigilantly protect the media against regulations that impact the quality of mainstream media news, especially advertisements. This is informed by the finding that traditional media is increasingly facing criticism, especially on social media, where some comments show a lack of awareness, for instance, on newsroom routines, including stories submission deadlines, and journalistic ethics and code of conduct that underline news verification.

This study also recommends public financial support for print media organizations in the form of content subscriptions or mandatory advertisement allocations by government through applicable procurement laws. This should in part help reduce over-reliance on the business model for revenues. This is informed by the finding that peripheral journalism has negatively impacted the print media income such as newspapers' circulation, which has consequently compromised news credibility in terms of sourcing quality ideas and information and also public interest prioritization.

This study also recommends advocacy for the formulation of safe news sourcing routines and training by the traditional media accompanied by the enactment of relevant policies by government, through MCK as the industry regulator, to protect journalists from

cyberbullying. This recommendation is informed by the study participants' expressed fear of targeting by criminal groups such as terrorists and also the finding that there is increased traditional media flak from peripheral actors, including audiences, that suggests adverse psychological effects on journalists.

There were concerns that peripheral actors too need to be bound by a code of conduct and ethics for news gathering, processing, and dissemination. Relevant government agencies are therefore encouraged to enforce social media use policies such as the Cybercrime Act to ensure responsible peripheral journalism. "We need to have stringent measures not to gag the citizens from sharing information but to shape how they give particular information," said one of the study participants.

5.3.5. Recommendations for further enquiry

This was a qualitative study on traditional news production in the context of peripheral journalism. It reveals that peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing in print media in Kenya. It is possible that a similar study of quantitative nature would determine the extent of the reported influences. The study was limited in terms of scope to print media; it is possible that similar studies in radio and television can reveal different and or additional findings. Moreover, the study suggests that peripheral journalism has negatively affected print media revenues leading to compromised news quality. I suggest further studies on the phenomenon impact on traditional media revenue. It also emerged that the relationship between journalists and sources is negatively affected by the phenomenon, suggesting need for research on how journalists relate with sources in the digital age.

Unlike previous similar studies, this study revealed that print media journalists in Kenya use TikTok, Instagram, and WhatsApp to source news. Consequently, there is need for relevant in-depth investigation on how exactly these platforms are used for news sourcing by print media journalists in Kenya and elsewhere. Other studies can focus on how WhatsApp and video-conferencing tools, such as Zoom, Teams, KENET and others, are changing traditional news production routines in legacy media. Also, this study found that there is need for continuous news verification training, including fact checking, due to the dynamic nature of misinformation and disinformation in the cyberspace, which suggests need for periodic investigation on the nature of disinformation by peripheral actors in Kenya and elsewhere. In addition to the above suggestions, this study recommends an enquiry on news sourcing safety in the context of peripheral journalism.

5.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter concludes the study and gives stakeholder-relevant recommendations, including further inquiry, for enhancing news sourcing in traditional media in the context of peripheral journalism. The study emphasizes action by the traditional media to monitor influences of peripheral journalism on traditional news production and adapt to the audiences' emerging needs.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of study: Traditional news production in the context of peripheral journalism: A study of news sourcing practices in print media in Kenya.

Introduction: My name is Domnick Onyango Mitiro and I am kindly requesting you to participate in a study investigating news sourcing practices in print media in Kenya applied in the context of peripheral journalism. I am a student at Moi University and I am undertaking this study as part of the requirements for the award of a Masters of Science degree in Communication and Journalism.

Background information

The traditional media in Kenya have, in recent years, been accused of fueling political tension and ethnic divide, leading to violence in parts of the country, by giving room misinformation (fake news) and disinformation (propaganda) propelled through peripheral journalism. Some traditional media news reporters have also been attacked, even physically and for the same reasons, by their audiences and harassed by government through police officers. The problem that prompts this study is negative peripheral journalism influence on traditional news production, which has consequently ignited the concern that the traditional news organizations are failing to effectively respond to the phenomenon. This problem is commonly witnessed in Kenya after every five years during general elections when mainstream media houses are accused of fanning ethnic divide, political hatred, and violence across the country. However, the 2022 general election was largely peaceful

despite prominence of elements of fake news and propaganda in the public sphere hence the belief that legacy media are on course in developing mechanisms to handle negative aspects of peripheral journalism influences on traditional news production usually linked to ethnic division and political tension in the country. By investigating the news sourcing habits adopted in response to the peripheral journalism, this study will provide relevant insights on the local news industry and will help, among other potential beneficiaries, the traditional media managers in designing news production policies that will guide professional journalists' interaction with peripheral journalism, while seeking to avoid losing the traditional media reputation as credible news sources.

Data collection procedures

The study interviewer will ask questions and allow you to freely share in an interactive manner your experiences and opinions on the subject. With your permission, the discussion proceedings will be audio recorded to ensure the accurate capture of your views. The interviewer will also take notes during the discussion to summarize key issues covered. Please feel free to use Kiswahili or English languages. The interview will take between 45 minutes to 1 hour 20 minutes of your time.

Participation risks and benefits

Participation in this study shall not expose you to any harm and your statements during the study shall not be held against you. It is possible that you might not be willing to share your views or experiences on certain aspects of this study during the discussion. Please note that the interviewer will respect your choice to refrain from answering some of the questions. However, I wish to assure you that by co-signing this form, the interviewer

commits to holding all the information discussed here, including anything categorized as trade secrets, in confidence. In order to further protect you as a participant, the interviewer will assign you a unique identifier before the discussion begins and will avoid using your names during the discussion. By so doing, no one will be able to link the voices in the audio file to your real identity. Kindly inform the interviewer if you feel distressed during the discussion. No financial benefit is associated with participation in this study. A copy of the report may however be presented to the news media organization if permitted by the university.

Participation confidentiality

The hard-copy records of this research will be locked away. The soft copy materials will be kept on a password protected computer accessed only by the investigator, supervisors, University review board responsible for protecting human participants, and the regulatory agencies. Also, the reports published under this study shall not reveal your true identity and details as the participant.

Voluntary nature of study

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your choice not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the researcher, the university supervisors, and other parties involved. Also, there is no penalty or loss of benefits for not participating or discontinuing your participation.

Contacts for Questions

The investigator in this study is Domnick O. Mitiro and he can be reached via telephone +**254 (0) 700540034** and email **mitirodomnick91@gmail.com** in case of any questions,

additional responses, interview participant referrals, and or concerns regarding how the study was conducted.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact:

Name: Dr. Jared Obuya

Address: Moi University, Nairobi Campus, P.O Box 63056 - 00200 Nairobi.

Email: jaredobuya@hotmail.com

OR

Name: Dr. Abraham Mulwo

Address: Moi University, Main Campus, P.O Box 3900 - 30100, Eldoret.

Email: abraham.mulwo@gmailmail.com

Statement of consent

I have read the above information. I am at least 18 years of age. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. And I consent to participate in this interview and to be audio recorded.

Signature of Participant: _____Date: _____

Name of Researcher: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____Date:_____

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE 1 – NEWS REPORTERS AND CORRESPONDENTS

Study Title: Traditional news production in the context of peripheral journalism: A study of news sourcing practices in print media in Kenya.

Introduction of study to participants

- The interviewer will give an overview of the study and explain the purpose of the interview

- S/he will explain the consent form and guide the participant on how to fill it if in agreement

- S/he will thank participant for turning up and for consenting to participate in the interview

- S/he will capture the participant's socio-demographic details as indicated in the table below

- S/he will remind the participant of his or her rights as stipulated in the signed consent form

- S/he will turn on the recorder and test it then proceed with the interview

- S/he will give the participant a chance to introduce him or herself using a unique identifier

Participant socio-demographics

Participant Number	Sex	Age	Highest Level of Education	Designation/News type specialization	Years of Experience
1					

Questions

Part 1. How peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya and the response mechanisms.

Section A – Individual level

- What is your typical day with regard to news sourcing as a print media journalist in Kenya? (How do you get ideas? What media do you rely on? What type of people do you quote? How has peripheral journalism affected these elements of news sourcing?).

- Does your interaction with ordinary Kenyans on X and other SM, including peripheral actors (bloggers), shape what you write as news? How? Do you quote them in your stories? What informs this decision? (familiarity, fame, communication style, or reliability)

- Do you write stories from live events published on social media (e.g. Facebook or YouTube)? How do you find that helpful? When presented with a choice between attending an event and writing a story at your desk following a live event, what do you choose? Why?

o How have short copy deadlines due to competition with peripheral actors online affected the way you source news?

o How do you ensure your sources are reliable amidst the challenge of propaganda promoted through peripheral journalism?

o Peripheral actors are said to influence ideas professional journalists work on today for news. Is this true for you and your colleagues? How so? How does this typically happen?

Section B – Institutional Level

o What is your media house position on news sourcing and interaction with sources on SM? (I.e. If you quote a post by a source on Facebook or Twitter, what does the editor say/do?)

o Some editors say that writing stories from the office, especially using available content online, is arm-chair (lazy) journalism. What is your media house position on this issue?

o Peripheral journalism is said to promote plagiarism as a way of news sourcing among journalists. Have you come across it among your colleagues in print? How is your media house or other print media in Kenya responding to this trend? Is there a policy against it?

o How is reliability of sources used for stories in newspapers assured by your organization in the context of peripheral journalism?

o How in your view is your organization handling the issue of low audiences trust for legacy media news consequent to negative peripheral journalism influences?

- o What mechanisms have been put in place by your media house to help you beat deadlines?

- o How is your media house handling the issue of need to diversify content beyond hard news?

- o With peripheral journalism, there's increased demand for accountability by the traditional media. How, in your view, is your organization and other print media handling this issue?

- o The issue of breaking news is increasingly becoming a concern for traditional news media. How, in your view, is your organization and other print media in Kenya handling this issue?

- o With peripheral journalism, there is a lot of information competing for the same audiences' attention. How, in your view, is your organization and other print news media handling it?

- o There is the issue of increased legacy media criticism partly by peripheral actors online. How do you personally deal with this? What is your organization's response mechanism?

NB: Overall, as a professional journalist, in what ways, not mentioned, has peripheral journalism affected who your sources are, the media you use, and routines at individual and institutional level?

Part 2. Perceptions on adopted news sourcing mechanisms in mainstream print media in response to peripheral journalism.

o   User generated content (UGC) is getting embraced as a source of news for newspapers (e.g. u-Report in Standard Group). What do you think about it? How does it affect your work?

o   What do you think about the concern that peripheral journalism has turned traditional news production into a populism contest measured through news story ratings and web rankings?

o   What do you think about the concern that the news agenda in some legacy media is set by audiences through trends, which some editors benchmark with during editorial meetings?

o   Traditional news organizations are increasingly embracing the idea of going digital as a response mechanism to competition with peripheral actors. What do you think about this?

o   Peripheral journalism is said to be fueling one-sided story sourcing in traditional media. What do you think about this? How can the newspapers effectively deal with this concern?

o   Many traditional media have embraced new/social media use in newsrooms for news sourcing. Some are encouraging their journalists to engage audiences and are supporting this by issuing Airtime for bundles and offering Wi-Fi. What do you think about this?

o   Fact checking is a growing practice as a response mechanism against fake news and propaganda. Is your organization doing this? How? What do you think about it?

- o Some legacy media are employing as correspondents some of the best peripheral actors. Can you say this is done by the print media in Kenya? If so, what do you think about it?

- o Some legacy media have developed social media use policies that guide on, among other things, journalist-source relationships. Is this happening here? What do you think about it?

- o There are also some legacy media managers that verbally threaten, fine, demote, suspend, and or reprimand journalists for posting on social media content that appears to be against their social media use guidelines and other editorial content. Would you say this is happening in print news media organizations in Kenya? If so, what do you think about it?

Thank participant. Invite final contribution. Ask overall view on news sourcing quality by print media journalists in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism? Also, how newspapers are ensuring quality news sourcing? And how to strengthen the news production policies and norms?

_ End_

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE 2 – JOURNALISTS IN MANAGEMENT

Study Title: Traditional news production in the context of peripheral journalism: A study of news sourcing practices in print media in Kenya

Introduction of study to participants

- The interviewer will give an overview of the study and explain the purpose of the interview

- S/he will explain the consent form and guide the participant on how to fill it if in agreement

- S/he will thank participant for turning up and for consenting to participate in the interview

- S/he will capture the participant's socio-demographic details as indicated in the table below

- S/he will remind the participant of his or her rights as stipulated in the signed consent form

- S/he will turn on the recorder and test it then proceed with the interview

- S/he will give the participant a chance to introduce him or herself using a unique identifier

Participant socio-demographics

Participant Number	Sex	Age	Highest Level of Education	Designation/News type specialization	Experience
1					

Questions and probes

Part 1. How peripheral journalism has influenced news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya and the response mechanisms.

Section A

o As an editor, what do you do when you wake up or report to the newsroom, with regard to news sourcing? (**Probe** – Scan through social media? What do you look for? Whose handles do you look at? Why?)

o How has peripheral journalism affected how you source information for your stories? (I.e. Has there been any change with regard to how ideas are generated, the type of sources quoted, and media used for information sourcing, that you can attribute to citizen journalism?)

o With peripheral journalism, everybody has an opinion. How do you balance these sources?

o What would make a peripheral actor (e.g. bloggers) newsworthy? (**Probe -** expertise, familiarity with audiences, number of followers, communication style, reliability).

o What do you tell young journalists seeking your guidance on how to find credible sources considering the challenge of fake news and propaganda that is fueled by peripheral journalism?

Section B

o As an editor, what media do you consider a good source of information for news? (I.e. Calls, texts, reports, press releases, social media posts (Facebook, X, Instagram, LinkedIn) - Why?

o Does your organization have social media handles for the newspaper? How are they managed? Do they in any way help with news sourcing? What guides how they are used?

o Do you encourage your reporters and or correspondents to have personal social media handles or build a following on SM? Why? Since when? Does this help with news sourcing? How?

o Do you have a media house policy guiding your journalists' interaction with sources on X and other SM platforms? Do you think these interactions with sources shape the news? How?

o Do you encourage reporters to follow live events on social media for news? How do you choose between sending a team out to the field or having them write the story from the office?

o How do you treat information already on social media that is similar to what your team is working on?

Section C

o Peripheral actors are said to influence, in various ways, ideas traditional media journalists work on today for news. Can you say this is true for your reporters and or correspondents? How so?

o As an editor, have you come across plagiarized stories submitted for news? What do you do? How is your organization handling this? Is there a policy about it?

o As a media house, how do you ensure your sources are reliable amidst the challenge of fake news and propaganda promoted by peripheral journalism? Has there been any policy change?

o How is your organization handling the issue of low audiences trust for legacy media news?

o What mechanisms have been put in place by the organization to help writers beat deadlines?

o How is your media house handling the issue of need to diversify content beyond hard news?

o With peripheral journalism, there's increased demand for accountability by the traditional media. How is the organization and or other print media in Kenya handling this issue?

o Peripheral journalism is said to have made difficult for newspapers the whole concept of breaking news. How, in your view, is your organization and other print media in Kenya handling this?

o With peripheral journalism, there is a lot of information competing for the same audiences' attention. How is your organization and or other print news media in Kenya handling it?

o There is the issue of increased legacy media criticism (flak) partly by peripheral actors online. How does the organization deal with this? What is your organization's response mechanism?

Part 2. Perceptions on adopted news sourcing practices in mainstream print media in Kenya in response to peripheral journalism.

o What do you think about peripheral actors' promotion of increased inclusion of ordinary voices in mainstream media news? (There is a view that quoting ordinary

citizens in stories lowers credibility of news and legacy media, including newspapers?)

o User generated content (UGC) is getting embraced as a source of news for newspapers (e.g. u-Report in Standard Group). What do you think about it? How does it affect your work?

o What do you think about the concern that peripheral journalism has turned traditional news production into a populism contest measured through news story ratings and web rankings?

o Traditional news organizations are increasingly embracing the idea of going digital as a response mechanism to competition with peripheral actors. What do you think about this?

o Many traditional media have embraced new/social media use in newsrooms for news sourcing. Some are encouraging their journalists to engage audiences and are supporting this by issuing Airtime for bundles and offering Wi-Fi. Does it happen? What do you think?

o Fact checking is a growing practice as a response mechanism against fake news and propaganda. Is your organization doing this? How? What do you think about the practice?

o Some legacy media are employing as correspondents some of the best peripheral actors partly to weaken the competition. Does this happen in Kenya? If so, what do you think?

- o Some legacy media have developed social media use policies that guide on, among other things, journalist-source relationships. Is this happening here? What do you think about it?

Thank participant. Invite final contribution. Ask overall view on news sourcing quality by print media in Kenya in the context of peripheral journalism? Also, how newspapers are ensuring quality news sourcing? And how to strengthen existing traditional news production policies and norms?

_ End_

APPENDIX IV: NACOSTI RESEARCH PERMIT

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APPENDIX VI: DATA ANALYSIS CODEBOOK

Category	Theme	Sub-Theme	Descriptor	Exemplar
	Information newsworthiness	Novelty	Apply to narrations indicating a struggle to find what is **new** for news as events are rapidly shared online via social media	R: *"For instance, the trade union has just announced that they want the government to increase the minimum wage by 20% and that workers will go on strike if that doesn't happen. If the presser was at 6PM, by 7PM everyone will have known that the trade union secretary general has issued a strike notice... this is where we the print media have a lot of work to do."* **a 45 years old reporter with 14 years of experience**
		Significance	Use for narrations indicating citizen journalists seemingly negotiating **important** news beats and events for audiences, especially through story likes, ratings, comments and or social media trends	R: *"Citizen journalists have the tendency to push for stories they want instead of stories either in public interest or policy perspectives that would be very important to their lives... journalism also involves informing and saying that probably you also look at this policy that might affect you rather than what celebrity XYZ is doing on social media."* **A 42 years old editor with 15 years of experience**
		Prominence	Apply to narrations indicating the existence of **new subjects** worth covering in news i.e. social media celebrities	R: *"If you are doing the lifestyle cover of the most followed TikTok star speaking about cooking, like they are not experts in it, but they are popular than the best chefs in town so that would make a story. They would be able to speak about it and comment on it. Something about popularity."* **A 42 years old editor with 15 years of experience**
		Conventional sources	Use code for participants saying that they get news ideas and information by engaging their sources. Include who the participants mention as their typical sources	R: "R: Ideas we get mainly from news sources. As a political writer my main sources are politicians, analysts, including university professors and lecturers, governance experts, political parties and government officials, members of parliament, governors, senators. Essentially, people whose main jobs and or activities are related to politics," IDI06_IO_34yo_Reporter_10yrs_06022023.
		Anonymous calls	Apply to narrations indicating that participants get anonymous calls with tips for news	R: "Somebody has just given you a call. Sometimes we get anonymous calls. Somebody just calls and asks "are you so and so... you work for (media house name redacted) and you say "yes, I do." And they say "this and this is happening or has happened..." so sometimes you are even the one who briefs the police and tell them," IDI07_MO_31yo_Reporter_6yrs_06022023.