

**NEWSPAPERS NAVIGATION OF THE DYNAMICS POSED BY MEDIA
CONVERGENCE: A STUDY OF MAINSTREAM PRINT MEDIA IN
KENYA.**

**BY
GITONGA ELIZABETH N.M.**

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ELDORET**

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DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE:

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a doctorate degree in any other university.

Gitonga Elizabeth N.M. Signature:.....Date
SHRD/DPHIL/06/14

DECLARATION BY THE SUPERVISORS:

This Thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors:

Prof. Charles Ong'ondo Signature:.....Date
 Associate Professor,
 Department of Curriculum, Instruction and Educational Media,
 School of Education,
 Moi University, Kenya.

Dr. Erneo Nyakundi Signature: Date
 Lecturer,
 Department of Publishing, Journalism and Communication Studies,
 School of Information Sciences,
 Moi University, Kenya.

ABSTRACT

The media landscape has changed the world over in the past two decades as a result of the development of the Internet and new media technologies. The print media in Kenya followed the trend taken by others in the developed world to adopt new media technologies in what is called *media convergence*. A review of relevant literature; however, shows that minimal research has emerged on the subject of *media convergence* in Kenya and Africa. Hence, the overall objective of this study was to investigate print media in Kenya – the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star* – responses to the disruptions occasioned by media convergence. The study sought to find out the media managers and journalists' perceptions of the impact of convergence in news gathering, production and distribution. The study site was Nairobi where the headquarters of the three media houses are situated. The specific research questions were: What are the print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies? How do print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies? What are the perceptions of journalists on the opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use? This study hinged on the Theory of Media Convergence, the Diffusion of Innovations Theory and the Convergence Continuum Model as the theoretical frameworks that guided the discussion of the findings. The relativist-interpretivist research paradigm and the qualitative multiple case study design were adopted for this study. Data were generated using in-depth interviews, observation and document analysis. A sample size of 21 respondents from a population of 200 journalists who included managers, editors and reporters was selected purposively from the three newspapers and drawn from both the print and online teams. Data were analysed thematically and presented in a narrative form. Ethical considerations of confidentiality and privacy of participants were adhered to. Findings were as follows: Print media managers perceived continuous innovations in adoption of new technologies and content creation as a necessity. However, due to the nature of new technologies to change very fast, coupled with their prohibitive cost, print media was finding it difficult to fully implement convergence. Print media policies and practices have variously adjusted to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. Some practices of doing journalism in the digital era have been implemented, while others have not; tools for verification of news have been partially adopted for use by journalists yet fake news is a big threat. Journalists perceive new media platforms as powerful tools of trade with Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp as the most preferred. However, journalists were not adequately equipped with the necessary skills to handle new technologies. Based on the findings, it is concluded that the pace of adoption and use of innovations was slow and inconsistent to make it possible for print media in Kenya to fully reap the benefits of *convergence journalism*. Arising from the study, it is recommended that print media houses ought to put in place mechanisms that will speed up use of new media technologies in newsrooms. There is a need to equip journalists with relevant technological equipment and skills to function effectively in modern newsrooms.

DEDICATION

In memory of my father, Pascal Gitonga.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAK	Communications Authority of Kenya
CNN	Cable News Network
CMS	Content Management System
NMG	Nation Media Group
SG	The Standard Group
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MSNBC	Microsoft and the National Broadcasting Company
RSS	Really Simple Syndication
RQ1	Research Question 1
RQ2	Research Question 2
RQ3	Research Question 3
SNS	Social Networking Sites
SEO	Search Engine Optimisation
UGC	User Generated Content

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Media convergence/convergence journalism/multimedia journalism: This is the merger of newspapers and internet-enabled new media technologies in media operations. Newspapers have gained from adopting new media which allow collaborations and content sharing with audiences.

New Media: These are internet-enabled technologies increasingly adopted by print media. Examples include social networking sites.

Old Media: Also referred to as traditional media that existed before the Internet-enabled ones – newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

Web 2.0 technologies: A variety of applications that allow anyone to create and share information online. Examples are Wikipedia, MySpace, Facebook and YouTube, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram, etc. It was preceded by Web 1.0 technology, the first stage in the World Wide Web, which did not allow interaction between the website and the user – the Web user uploaded content to a website for many others to read but the communication ended there.

Multi-skilled journalists: They produce for more than one platform for example print, online and TV. They possess the skills to use new media.

Legacy journalist: These are old established print journalists.

Day Two Journalism: This is news that is published in the print newspaper the following day after the news organisations has already shared the same in real time in social media platforms. Day Two stories are more analytical, incisive and detailed.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the background to the study on the newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. It explains the context within which this study was conceived, states the research problem and presents the research questions that were addressed.

1.2 Context of the Study

This sub-section discusses the academic and social contexts of the research. In the academic context it offers a glimpse of the studies related to the present study appreciating what has been done internationally, regionally and locally with regard to media convergence. In the social context, the state of media in Kenya in the wake of digital revolution is described

1.2.1 Academic Context

This study is about print journalism, specifically how newspapers struggle to survive in the age of digital revolution. With the advent of the Internet towards the end of 20th century and the emergence of new media technologies like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and other social networking sites in the first decade of the 21st century, print media faced the challenge of maintaining its audience who were increasingly turning to Internet-enabled platforms for news. To survive, print media the world over started adopting new media technologies in news gathering and distribution. This is what is referred to as media convergence; the coming together of old and new media technologies. Jenkins

(2006) defines convergence as the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries and the migratory behaviour of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want.

Alejandro (2010) argues that the Internet and the availability of smartphones and computers have given rise to a new age for journalism. Media audiences are increasingly accessing news and information using these gadgets, while shunning traditional media like print, radio and television Alejandro (2010). As a result of these developments, new media technologies have become a challenge to traditional media (radio, television and print) as the preferred platform for accessing news and information. The audiences are now inseparable from social media platforms which enable interactive communication (Nyabuga, 2011).

This study is about print media responses to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. This area of study has emerged as a distinct academic discipline in the recent years because technology has significantly changed the practice of journalism from linear communication in a single platform like newspapers to more interactive sharing of news via multiple platforms. Newspapers are thus undergoing a revolution that has caught the attention of media scholars who have studied the phenomena, especially because of the impact that has been felt in so many ways; first, the loss of revenue due to dwindling circulation and advertising. The audience and advertisers have increasingly turned online for news and adverts display respectively.

Secondly, the editorial model for print newspapers has changed due to digital revolution. The survival of print newspapers depends on innovative ways editors come up with of reaching out to audiences. Thirdly, print media had to adopt new policies and practices that aligned with changing times. As they adopted new media technologies the policies and practices changed. Fourth, there has been an interest in the strategies that print media has employed to survive in the digital age of communication.

Emphasis on this discipline has been necessitated by the changing roles and responsibilities for the print media managers and journalists. The journalist in the print newsroom today is expected to take on new roles in gathering and reporting news and to be able to deliver content for multiple platforms (Alejandro, 2010). Editors and managers too are confronted with new responsibilities in editing for multimedia platforms and managing multimedia newsrooms respectively. It is also necessitated by the changing nature of news. News on social media platforms is fast, short and to the point. Besides, it is delivered and consumed in real time.

Media convergence started in the 2000s as print revenues continued to decline in the US, Europe and Asia. In 2000, Media General's Tampa News Centre in the USA was the first to start media convergence bringing a newspaper, TV station, and online operation under one roof (Dupagne et al., 2006). Kolodzy (2006) notes that the convergence trend started in America and Europe. The MSNBC, the Tampa Tribune, the BBC, the Wall Street Journal and the *New York Times* were among the first to adopt structures and processes for relaying news to their audiences where, when and how the audiences preferred using different new media platforms. Globally, a lot of other media organisations have adopted

social media. For example, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began integrating social media in 2006 (Media Council of Kenya, 2016). The same scenario was witnessed in major newspapers around the world where the focus shifted to adoption of new media technologies to strengthen their online platforms as well as retain their print editions.

Rich Gordon identified five forms of convergence common in the USA (cited in Quinn & Filak, 2005). These are; Ownership convergence, where two previously separate newsrooms in a news organisation are merged for easier coordination and collaboration in newsgathering, packaging and production for various platforms. Tactical convergence involves content sharing and partnership between different companies. Structural convergence is about changes in newsgathering and distribution, such as creating or hiring new teams to repackage content for various platforms. In information-gathering convergence, media companies require reporters to have multiple skills to deliver for different platforms; and finally in storytelling or presentation convergence management is required to provide journalists with appropriate equipment – portable newsgathering devices as they go out in the field.

In Africa, convergence may have lagged behind due to slow Internet penetration but in recent years, it is taking shape in major newspapers. Pew Research, which conducted the study in 40 countries across the globe in 2015 using telephone and face-to-face interviews, ranked Kenya second behind South Africa in terms of the size of population having access to the Internet. Four out of every 10 Kenyan adults use the Internet at least daily, behind South Africa where 42 per cent of the adult populace has access to the web, according to findings by Pew Research Centre (citizentv.co.ke). In Africa, the majority of

newspapers started convergence much later after major newspapers from around the world. The Pew research (2015) confirm that most of those with Internet and own smartphones use their devices to access news from various platforms – the Web 2.0 technologies like Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp, among others.

In Kenya access to smartphones and the availability of Internet led to increased use of new media platforms. Kiguta (2018) notes that millions of Kenya own smartphones which enable them to access news anywhere anytime as long as they are in an area covered by internet or they have the power to purchase bundles. According to Media Council of Kenya report (2016), Kenya's social media growth has been on the rise from the 2007 General Election. The 2007-2008 post-election violence triggered a thirst for information that was not forthcoming from the mainstream media. This gap in the dissemination of news saw a group of Kenyans decide to use social media to share any information they received. The 2013 general elections also saw more Kenyans using social media. Ndlela (2016) says citizens used social media to monitor and share information about the elections. Media Council of Kenya report (2016) points out that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) used social media to update the public on the events before the elections, during the elections and after and so did the media.

According to Mudhai (2012), in Kenya, both The Standard Group (SG), which publishes *The Standard* newspaper and Nation Media Group (NMG), which published the *Daily Nation*, adopted structural convergence by creating special web teams – mostly for repurposing print material for the web. SG and NMG even created a senior post of

managing editor in charge of media convergence. Nairobi's Capital FM also launched its Digital Media Division to distribute content via their website and mobile phone. Mudhai (2012) adds that in Kenya, concerns have been raised especially coming from the trade unions about the information gathering and story-telling convergence in terms of quality of news produced and packaged in the era of social media where emphasis is on who is the first to post or break news. Further, one journalist is required to file stories for multiple platforms and this may compromise on quality. "In some parts of the world, this presents the most controversial form of convergence as people debate whether one person can successfully produce quality content in all forms of media" (Quinn and Filak, 2005, p.6, citing Gordon).

Hence this study becomes an important issue of research because digital systems have transformed print journalism in Kenya in major ways – the new systems allow journalists to share data (audio, video and text) for various platforms with increasing versatility. At integrated newsrooms, multi-skilled journalists produce news for at least more than two platforms: print, radio, television, mobile devices and the Internet – a complete transformation from what print journalism used to be several years back. This varied work for several platforms may lead to more creative journalistic storytelling but also to a growing pressure on editors and reporters (Meier, 2009). More discussions on the academic context shall be expanded in the Literature Review chapter. In the next section, I present the social context of this study.

1.2.2 Social Context

This sub-section discusses the state of the media in Kenya in the age of digital revolution.

Before the advent of the internet and development of new technologies, Kenyans relied on traditional media – newspapers, radio and TV – for information and news. But with the development of social media networks, more people are going online for news. While the print media in the US, Europe and Asia started adopting new media technologies in the 2000s, in Kenya news organisations started transitioning to multiplatform publishing almost a decade later. The appropriation of new media technologies by media houses in Kenya gained momentum after 2009 as the Internet steadily permeated everyday life. As such, technology began having a big impact on professional journalism as data bundles became affordable, and more people turned to online platforms to read and contribute to news.

According to a 2010 policy briefing by the BBC World Service Trust, Kenya's media was one of the most respected, thriving, sophisticated and innovative in Africa (BBC, 2010). Kenyans moved to embrace the digital technologies as (Rubin, 2012) shows by the fourth quarter of 2011, Kenya was the second most active African country on Twitter with 2,476,800 tweets posted on the social network site. Technology has, therefore, enabled the practice of online journalism (Bosire, 2012).

Kenya experienced a major technological shift from the year 2001, where the Internet use grew rapidly due to introduction of broadband and marine cable technology. At that time, publics embraced the use of mobile devices for Internet access (Bosire, 2012). However, print media continued to have a glorious time until the circulation started dwindling due to massive penetration of mobile phones and cheaper internet allowing more people initially targeted by print media to turn to online news. By 2010, Kenya had the highest

number of Internet users in the East African region, with approximately 8.8 million people accessing the Web (Society for International Development, 2012). Technology has since grown rapidly as Kenya provides one of the largest markets in East Africa (Mbatia, B. K., Busienei, J. & Ndonge, M.M, 2014).

The media in Kenya has experienced rapid growth in use of social media as a result of Internet connectivity. The Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK) 2011/2012 Annual Report estimated the number of Internet users at 14,032 million in 2012, representing a penetration of 35.5 per cent compared to 21.2 per cent in 2011. The CAK attributed growth in Internet usage to increased access to smartphones and social networking applications, particularly among urban youth. It should be noted these were the figures at around the time media organisations in Kenya were beginning to integrate new media technologies. Further, a CAK report covering July to September 2017 shows the number of Kenyans accessing and using the Internet was on the rise. According to CAK, the Internet penetration in Kenya was estimated at 112.7 per cent.

When the media organisations started adopting digital technologies, newsroom operations changed. New technologies were being integrated within the old entrenched traditional media systems (Juma, 2013). In the case of the Nation Media Group, the company convened a meeting of all the Editorial – predominantly newspaper – staff in Nairobi in June 2012 to launch convergence journalism. The organisation cited television networks like the CNN and the BBC; and newspapers like the *New York Times*, the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Daily Telegraph* as some of the media giants that had seen the future and adopted converged newsrooms for reporting “everything, for everybody, all the time” (NMG

Convergence Presentation, 2012). In addition, Nation Media Group came up with a Social Media Policy to guide the journalists on how to use social media tools and above all everyone was expected to open Twitter and Facebook accounts to interact with the audiences. Besides, the company set up its official Facebook and Twitter accounts with the aim of using these digital platforms to attract audiences to the news organisation's traditional platforms – the print (Daily Nation), radio (Easy FM) and TV (NTV) news – through sharing of story links.

The Standard Group, on the other hand, had even launched convergence journalism earlier in 2009 and appointed a managing editor in charge of convergence. Capital Group Limited also launched its Digital Media Division to distribute content via their website, mobile phone and the radio station. Radio Africa Group (RAG), which publishes *The Star*, started integrating new media technologies in 2016 (Kiguta, 2018). The Standard Group, Nation Media Group, Mediamax and Radio Africa Group are some of the media organisations in Kenya that have integrated new media. All the aforementioned media organisations have on several occasions laid off staff and carried out newsroom restructuring in order to align themselves with technological changes and convergence. Kiguta (2018) observes that in early 2016, *The Star* retrenched a number of staff in a bid to streamline operations amid declining revenues from the newspaper.

Capital FM is perhaps the first media house to experiment with new media technologies. While Capital Group Limited started out as a radio station, its website was developed around 2006. Capital Digital Media is a section within the Capital FM that deals with online and digital media presence. This includes digital sales and advertising, web

development, video production and social media strategy. The group also has a presence on YouTube through Capital FM Kenya (CapitalFM.com). Nyabuga & Booker (2013) point out that traditional media in Kenya has integrated new media in disseminating information, news is today reported faster and audiences appreciate the immediacy.

Due to increased ease of access to different technological platforms that distribute news by the public, a converged or integrated newsroom – employing both old and new media – has become necessary in print media houses that were the focus of this study. A new generation of content ‘prosumers’ (producer-consumer) want to be able to access information on the move and at their convenience quickly (Quinn & Filak, 2005 as cited in Mabweazara et al, 2014). In the era of the Internet, journalists get a good number of story leads from what is trending online on social media platforms (Media Council of Kenya, 2016). These mostly provide breaking news and scanty information and that is why it becomes necessary for the print journalist to research thoroughly and write balanced and factual stories, which then go to the print newspaper the following day – the Day Two Journalism. However, adoption and use of new technologies has brought with it challenges and as per my research questions, this study sought to find out how the print media in Kenya has navigated some of those challenges posed by new media.

Mbatia et al, (2014) note that over the past few years, social media has emerged as a powerful tool for mass communication and the media in Kenya has experienced rapid technological convergence. Therefore, media organisations have to rethink new strategies to reach their tech savvy audience. “Media producers must respond to newly empowered consumers” (Mbatia et al, 2014 p.714). “Unlike traditional media, which is one-sided,

social media is more interactive and provides the opportunity to receive instant feedback on any messages put across to audiences. This has created the need for more intentional and relevant communication” (Mbatia et al, 2014 p.715).

However, the concept of media convergence is not well entrenched, or understood, within traditional Kenyan media. As Githaiga et al, (2011) argue, a number of media houses have set up convergence desks, or appointed senior managers tasked with convergence but implementation of the concept as a journalistic practice remains irregular. Research is scanty on how the traditional media has managed the integration; the ups and downs of doing things differently from gathering news using digital tools to production in a variety of formats and distribution of news in multiple platforms.

This led me to a study that sought to find out how the three newspapers – the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star* – have navigated the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. Research Question 3 aims to investigate journalists’ perceptions on opportunities for integration of various new media technologies for professional use. From a journalistic perspective, digital revolution introduces fundamental changes in news production and organisation. New media technologies allow journalists to share data (audio, video and text) and to produce content for various platforms – for mobile, online and print.

Mbatia et al (2014) point out that whatever the print media has to do with new media, it should be from the consumer's point of view. The present study, therefore, explored print media organisations response to the dynamics brought about by convergence of old and new media technologies. This leads to the main problem that this study addressed: What

are the perceptions of the three print media houses in Kenya on the dynamics posed by new media technologies? How have newsroom operations changed as a result of integration of new media? What are journalists' perceptions of the changing media landscape? This chapter will also present the statement of the problem and the research questions. Next, I present the statement of the problem.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The problem that prompted this study is conceptualised at three levels; the *academic* problem, the *social* problem and the *contextual* problem.

1.3.1 Academic Problem

Literature on print media responses to the dynamics of convergence of old and new media technologies is scanty. While there is enormous literature on media convergence in Europe and the US, little research has emerged from the African perspective specifically the Kenyan context. As Larkin (2008) argues, the challenge has been for media organisations to successfully move online to cope in the new media landscape. Previous studies around the topic of print media convergence in Kenya are few and they mostly focus on the impact of adoption of social media on print media. In addition, previous studies have focused mainly on the impact of the Internet of journalists. Few studies have captured the perceptions of print managers on integration of new media in their news organisations. Print media managers are key players in the convergence efforts at their news organisations. They make decision on adoption of new technologies for newsgathering, production and distribution. Besides, print media managers were used to supervising newsgathering, production and distribution for a single platform but with

adoption of new media there are more dynamic vehicles for the conveyance of information. Therefore, it was necessary to investigate the perceptions of print media managers on media convergence practices in their newsrooms. This study, therefore, sought to fill the gap in knowledge on the perceptions of print media managers and the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies.

Studies have shown that newspapers that have failed to adopt new media technologies have been driven out of circulation or they have experienced reduced audiences and their advertising revenues have plummeted (Alejandro, 2010). The changing media landscape thus poses an academic problem that calls for research to examine how print media in Kenya has responded to the dynamics of converging old and new media technologies. Hence, it was necessary to investigate print media convergence of old and new media technologies in order to contribute to the body of literature from the Kenyan perspective.

Reporters are also at the centre of convergence processes happening at their news organisations. They have to gather news for more platforms than they were used to before integration. They have to endure deadlines pressures and increased responsibilities in delivering content for multiple platforms. Previous studies have focused on perceptions of journalists in single media houses only a few years after print media in Kenya started media convergence practices. There was need for scholarly investigation on journalists' experiences in the field as they gather news and their perceptions on adoption and use of new media technologies. As Quinn (2005) argues, convergence efforts at media organisations become successful if reporters believe and support them. Furthermore,

previous studies have only focused on single media organisations. This study combines three print media houses to understand better their media convergence practices.

1.3.2 Social Problem

Concerns have been raised on the accuracy and reliability of social media platforms as sources of news. While journalists tend to focus on trusted sources, information coming from social media platforms may be manipulated, and cannot entirely be trusted to be factual. Journalists use a variety of social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter to source for news. Alejandro (2010) argues that while the current technological landscape shows tremendous promise and presents numerous opportunities for print media and its practitioners, there are also potential pitfalls.

Social media platforms provide awesome possibilities and at the same time a high risk for errors. So journalists can easily use information sourced on these platforms and it turns out to be inaccurate if not verified. The fact that new technologies have made it easier for journalists to gather and distribute news points to a social problem since not all news that is shared via new media platforms is verified. It is a problem that needs to be addressed through research as journalists increasingly turn to social media for sources of news. Besides, there are demands for the comment section in print news organisations website to be vetted to ensure what readers write is acceptable morally and in line with journalistic ethics. Technology has made gate-keeping not only tricky, but quite difficult. Obuya (2015) argues that one of the challenges for print news organisations is how to respond to online comments as some have been found to be defamatory and unethical and authors of such content anonymous. Nyabuga & Booker (2013) point out that comments

allowed on newspapers' online sites are sometimes inaccurate and abusive. The greatest challenge is perhaps the threat these new technologies pose to the principles and ethics that guide the profession of journalism. Some of the challenges include:

1.3.3 Contextual Problem

Due to increased Internet connectivity, it was inevitable for the print media in Kenya to follow the trend of major newspapers in the developed world to integrate new media technologies for use in newsgathering and distribution in order to sustain their publications. Most media houses jumped onto the convergence bandwagon from 2009 with Nation Media Group, the Standard Group, Radio Africa Group and Mediamax experimenting with the system. The media houses that will be the focus of this study are;

Nation Media Group

The Aga Khan founded the Nation group in 1959 by acquiring a Swahili newspaper *Taifa* (Oriare 2010 cited in Muteji, 2012). He aimed at championing the rights of the black African majority agitating for independence from colonial rule. The Nation, a daily English newspaper, was launched in 1960. It has gone on to become the flagship of the company (Oriare 2010). A decision by the Aga Khan to include locals in the company led to the public listing of the company on the securities exchange in 1973. The company started convergence journalism in 2012.

The Standard Group

The media house publishes the Standard stable of newspapers and runs Kenya's premier TV station – KTN, and Radio Maisha. Founded in 1902 by A.M. Jevanjee, The East African Standard is the oldest mass circulating newspaper in Kenya (Oriare 2010 cited in

Mutegi, 2012). Its ownership has changed over the years. At one point of its existence, it was the most influential publication in colonial East Africa. In 1967, Lonrho conglomerate acquired *The East African Standard*. With time, the name changed to *The Standard*. In the mid-1990s the reorganisation at the Lonrho headquarters in London, *The Standard* once again was sold to a group of Kenyan political businessmen and the company became The Standard Group.

The SG was perhaps the first print media house in Kenya to attempt convergence journalism in 2009 with the appointment of a Managing Editor in charge of convergence (*The Standard*, June 12, 2009). SG also designed social media policies to guide how employees were to interact and work with the companies' social media profiles and with the outside world on their own social media handles (Kamenchu, 2015).

Radio Africa Group

Radio Africa Group owns *The Star* newspaper, Kiss TV, and a number of radio stations including the hugely popular Classic 105, Kiss FM, Radio Jambo, X-FM and East FM. *The Star* was launched in 2007 with the newspaper selling some 15,000–20,000 copies a day in 2010 compared with a low of 5,000–8,000 when it was launched (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013). The company began restructuring in early 2016 with a changed business model that embraced convergence was embraced. Staff would no longer work for a particular platform but across its print, digital, radio and TV businesses (*Business Today*, January 12, 2016).

Journalists were categorised in three groups of Super Desk consisting of news hounds who deliver breaking news; Analytical Desk that analyses news for print; and the Leaders Desk which comprises mainly top editors who think and plan. *The Star* embarked on changing its business model to include new media technologies in news gathering and distribution in order to reverse a fall in its readership and boost its digital edition.

1.4 Aim of Study

The aim of this research study was to investigate the media managers and journalists' perceptions on convergence of old and new media technologies at three print media organisations – the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star* – in order to provide a snapshot of the dynamics of media convergence practices and make a contribution on strategies to improve the practice of journalism in the era of the Internet.

1.5 Research Questions

Therefore, this study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies?
2. How do print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies?
3. What are the perceptions of journalists on the opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use?

1.6 Scope of Study

The scope of study is discussed in three aspects; *content* scope, *contextual* scope and *methodological* scope.

1.6.1 Content Scope

As per my Research question 1, I sought to find out the print media managers constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies. My study sought the managers' perceptions on the changes in newsroom operations after each of the media houses started media convergence. I sought to find out the opportunities and challenges of convergence.

In line with Research question 2, I investigated how print media policies and practices have changed as a result convergence of old and new media technologies. I specifically sought to find out how media convergence changed a. the policies and b. the practices especially on newsroom operations. Print media culture is different from that of online. This certainly means newspapers have to introduce new policies and practices on how to run digital newsrooms. I, therefore, sought to find out how changing newsrooms have compelled three major newspapers in Kenya to adjust their policies and practices. I asked questions such as; How do you use the new technologies in news gathering? What new skills have emerged? What determines in which platform a story will be distributed?

And in Research question 3, I investigated the perceptions of journalists at the three newspapers – the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard*, and *The Star* – on opportunities for integration of various new media platforms for professional use. I investigated i. the perceptions of journalists on the opportunities for use of new media technologies in their reporting. ii. the inhibitors of integration of the new technologies for professional use.

1.6.2 Contextual Scope

The site of this study was three print media houses in Kenya – the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star*. Since they have experimented with converged newsrooms, they were in a good position to give a picture of the scenario after convergence of old and new media technologies. The three that were the subject of this study occupy a prominent position in the country's media landscape. They are based in the city of Nairobi but have offices across the country. However, the study targeted journalists stationed in Nairobi only since these are the headquarters of the news companies where major decisions are made on policy issues and especially on convergence of old and new media technologies. Nairobi is the nerve centre of all of the organisations' operations. This explains why this study did not involve journalists from bureaus. Besides, it was deliberate to target journalists in Nairobi offices because this is where convergence desks have been set up and there is increased use of new media platforms. Also, documents to be reviewed were more likely to be found in the Nairobi offices than in the bureaus.

1.6.3 Methodological Scope

This being a qualitative study I adopted the relativist-interpretivist research paradigm. Three print media organisations were investigated meaning I employed a multiple case study design. A multiple case study allowed triangulation of data sources to gain deeper understanding of media convergence efforts at three leading print media houses in Kenya. A sample of 21 from a population of 200 journalists – who included managers, editors, and reporters – from each of the three newspapers were interviewed. These were drawn from both the print and online teams. I generated data by conducting in-depth interviews, analysed documents and observed the participants in their natural environment. Data was

analysed thematically and results presented in a narrative form. To find out more about this, go to Chapter Three.

1.7 Rationale for the Study

In this sub-section, I cover the twin and sometimes overlapping issues of justification and significance of the study. The study is about newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. Use of new media technologies for communication has become part of human life. That does not exclude the print media. Studies have shown that print media was compelled to adopt new media technologies because its audiences were migrating to online platforms for news (Mbatia et al, 2014). Print media is thus compelled to follow audiences where they are, provide content they want and at whatever time they want that content (Mbatia et al, 2014; Nyabuga, 2011). Use of new media technologies has, therefore, become commonplace in print media newsrooms.

I investigated journalists from three print media houses in Kenya on their perceptions on opportunities for integration of the new media technologies for professional journalism. I also interviewed managers of print media organisation on their perceptions of integration. This study was justified because previous research in this area of convergence journalism has not particularly addressed the print media manager's views on media convergence. There is a growing body of research on the impact of Internet-enabled technologies on print journalism but studies rare on managers' perceptions on convergence of old and new media technologies.

In Kenya, new media effect on print media has only been thoroughly examined after 2009 with studies carried out by graduate students or scholars contributing in academic journals. Gaps exist from the works of a few scholars in the area of convergence journalism. For instance, Kamenchu Ferdinand Mwongela's study on how social media usage has changed newsroom operations in Kenya only focused on two leading print newspapers in Kenya – the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Findings of his Masters research titled, “A Study on how social media have changed newsroom operations in Kenya: A case study of the Standard Group and Nation Media Group” revealed that journalists have embraced the use of social media in newsgathering and dissemination with 90 per cent having used social media to get in touch with news sources at one time or other. He concluded that despite the use of social media by journalists in the course of their daily work, there were misgivings about the reliability of information gathered from such media. Kamenchu (2015) noted that respondents expressed reservations even when using official social media handles. The level of verification was inadequate or not well executed in online platforms compared to print. In his recommendations, every journalist should strive to get acquainted with new media technologies as they are here to stay and will enable their respective organisations to stay ahead of competitors and there was need for the media to invest more in improving verification practices in their social media accounts.

There is a gap in Kamenchu's research that my study attempted to fill. From his recommendations, not all journalists had embraced new media technologies for newsgathering, packaging and distribution as at 2015 when he conducted his study. Besides, unverified news sourced from social media platforms was a big threat for

journalism practice. This study captured some of those issues like – news verification practices, use of new media by legacy journalists – to confirm if the situation had changed three years later. My study sought to find out if the organisations in their reorganisation process to accommodate new media had trained everyone on their usage. It also sought to find out how the practices had adjusted, like verification of news, with adoption of new media.

Nyamboga (2014) in a journal article titled “Social Media in Kenya Journalism: Benefits, Opportunities and Challenges” argues even though Kenyans relied on their country’s mainstream media for information for a long time, the internet made it possible to turn to social media for quick and frequently updated news. As such, the journalism industry in Kenya, just like in the rest of the world, has been undergoing a transformation after the emergence of numerous social media platforms that journalists use for newsgathering and dissemination. Nyamboga observes that websites, blogs, email and social networking sites have made it much easier for journalists to gather news, connect and collaborate with other online users. This study saw this as a gap that can be explored about journalists’ experiences with social media tools in their work – how they use them in their news gathering activities.

A few other scholars other have researched on the challenges of adoption of new technologies by print media in Kenya. Juma (2013) investigated the challenges that Nation Media Group experienced as it implemented convergence journalism. There is a gap in that his study focused on a single case only within a year after the company began its convergence process. My study sought to fill the gap of what has been achieved since

2012 when the company started using new media technologies in professional journalism. Still, there has been research on cyber journalism regulation in relation to media freedom in Kenya (Bosire, 2012). As noted, cyber journalism posed great challenges to media law and regulatory framework not only in Kenya, but in many states worldwide. There is a gap identified in Bosire's study that this new study sought to fill – how the print media has responded to the need to verify information that is gathered or distributed online. New technologies have made it easier for journalists to find sources and news online yet not all such information is accurate. No doubt, such studies have contributed to an understanding of new problems presented to print media by the new media and which would need to be tackled.

Other studies have merely scratched the surface on the newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. These studies have not adequately explained how newsrooms have changed their operations to accommodate new media. Literature from such studies is thin or scanty. The subject of media convergence is understudied in Kenya. Little research has emerged from on this issue in Kenya and Africa in general. Therefore, this study is expected to make useful contribution to knowledge in the field of Communication and Journalism. Finally, from methodological perspective this study uses the qualitative approach. Studies of this nature have frequently used the quantitative approach while the former is yet to gain acceptance in Kenya.

Findings of this study will be useful to several sectors. This study builds a body of knowledge by creating literature on the subject that will inform subsequent researches in

the area of convergence journalism. The academia can benefit by observing the conclusion and recommendations made in this study to enable them identify potential study areas. The study investigates journalists' attitudes towards media convergence. Findings are likely to give important insights on journalists' experiences in the field. Therefore, this study will also be useful to print media managers to understand issues and concerns of journalists who go to the field to gather news. The issues raised then will inform strategies the managers will adopt for successful implementation of convergence in their newsrooms.

Managers could also use the findings to adjust their future plans and implementation strategies. Studies can also help them plan adequately on implementation and to better determine the strategies to use for successful convergence starting with providing the necessary equipment, digital tools and systems that allow newsgathering and distribution on multiple platforms. The study may also shed light on the factors that determine use, or lack of use, of new media technologies by legacy journalists. This again can inform management on the strategies to ensure legacy journalists are not left out of the convergence bandwagon. Therefore, findings of this study are important to the management of the three newspapers at both editorial level and at policy level. The findings inform them on the best practices to adopt in adopting new media tools. Policy formulation is likely to be guided by the findings of this study.

Findings of this study will be useful to other newspapers in Kenya integrating new media technologies. They can benefit from the findings and conclusions as they draw up their own strategies for integration and implementation of convergence. The universities and

other institutions that offer Communication and Media Studies also stand to benefit from the findings of this study in identifying the key areas they will need to incorporate in their curriculum in order to produce journalists who are skilled and meet the requirements of modern day multimedia newsrooms. The industry regulators who play the watchdog role over print media organisations will also benefit from the findings of this study especially on issues surrounding the threat of fake news and verification of news in order to come up with ways to improve the declining quality of journalism. Findings will also be useful to the relevant government ministries especially as they seek to implement laws on cybercrimes and fake news.

1.8 Summary

As stated earlier, the aim of this study was to investigate newspapers navigation of dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. In this chapter, I have presented the contextual as well as the academic background that underpins this study. The key issues arising from this discussion are summarised in the table below. This leads me to the next chapter where literature around the subject of print media experience with new media technologies internationally and locally is reviewed. Relevant theories that serve as lens to focus this study are discussed. The theories were also used in understanding and interpretation of data that emerged from the study.

Table 1.1: Summary of Key Issues in Chapter One

- The developments in the Internet and new media technologies led pioneer scholars in the US and Europe to develop an interest in research around the topic of convergence journalism. Studies on the impact of the Internet on journalism in the developed world are enormous.
- Convergence studies in the African context was slowed down by the poor Internet penetration even though many areas are today well-connected.
- Studies on impact of the Internet on print media in Kenya have only emerged after 2009 when the first newspaper – *The Standard* – started the process of adoption of new media technologies.
- The mainstream print media in Kenya has adopted new media technologies. However, challenges of adoption have been cited in previous studies, which provide a gap that needed to be filled by undertaking this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a review of relevant literature on the issues underlying media convergence. The chapter also situates the study within the field of communication studies. It also reviews two theories; Theory of Media Convergence and Diffusion of Innovations Theory to provide the lens that shaped the generation of relevant data, interpretation of that data and the explanations for outcomes of the study. The chapter also reviews previous studies on convergence journalism explaining their relevance to my study. Finally, the chapter gives the rationale for the study based on the gaps that exist in the literature reviewed.

2.2 Definition of Key Concepts

This study is about print media's general responses to adoption of new technologies. The section below contains definition of key concepts.

2.2.1 New Media Technologies

In this study, new media is taken to mean social media networks and other new technological devices that aid in gathering, production and distribution of news digitally. Lister, Dovey, Giddings, Grant & Kelly (2009) describe new media as computer-mediated communications: email, chat rooms, voice image transmissions, the World Wide Web, blogs etc., social networking sites, and mobile telephony. The scholars also add that new media technologies present new ways of distributing and consuming media texts characterised by interactivity and hyper textual formats (Lister et al. 2009). Some

defining characteristics are that new media are digital, interactive, hypertextual, virtual, and networked. These characteristics have made communication two-way.

Manovich (2001) argues that the popular understanding of new media identifies it with the use of a computer for distribution and exhibition rather than production. New media was made possible by the development of the Internet. Tim Berners-Lee's development of the World Wide Web in 1990 opened and created new possibilities for journalism never witnessed before. The World Wide Web (WWW) is a global electronic publishing medium accessible via the Internet. It is perhaps the most important and fastest-growing part of the Internet (Pavlik 2001).

Therefore, in this study new media technologies are taken to mean the new technological platforms and gadgets that utilise the Internet. Some of these new technologies are social networking sites, websites, chart beats, technologies for news verification, smartphones, digital recorders, content management systems. These platforms have presented new ways that print media can utilise to communicate and network with the audience.

2.2.2 Media Convergence

In this study, I define media convergence as the merger of the print newspaper with Internet-enabled new media technologies like social networking sites. Examples of these are Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, SnapChat, Instagram and Telegram, etc. The new media technologies allow for collaborations and sharing of information hence useful to print media.

2.2.3 Media Dynamics

Dynamics is about change. The dictionary defines dynamics as a process or system characterised by constant change, a force that stimulates change or progress within a system or process. Dynamics is also defined as something that causes change or growth in something. When things are dynamic, there is a lot going on. In the Internet-age, several aspects of the media are changing – there is the emergence of new media formats, new business models and new ways of producing and distribution of media messages. This study recognises that the growth of the Internet and the emerging new media technologies are behind the changes happening in the print media sector. According to Kung cited in Storsul and Krumsvik (2013), change is synonymous with innovation. She argues that with the emergence of new technologies, print media is forced to innovate or change the way the way things are done. Media dynamics, therefore, for the purpose of this study is about change.

2.2.4 Restructuring of Media Operations

Wamalwa (2016) writes that print media have resulted to reorganisation of newsrooms as they integrate new media technologies. Reorganisation of newsroom operations in this study was taken to mean creating new teams to create and manage content for distribution across multiple platforms as opposed to previous single line of reporting in print version. It also means restructuring to have previously separate newsrooms merging to allow for cooperation in creation and sharing of information to be distributed in different formats.

According to the Media Council of Kenya (2016) report, as a convergence strategy the merging of desks does not only involve changes of newsroom organisation and structure,

but also affects how news is gathered and produced. Reorganisation of newsrooms is supported by Kung (cited in Storsul & Krumsvik, 2013) who argue that “legacy media have an opportunity to grow, but this requires innovation, which in turn requires organisational change” (p.12). Storsul and Krumsvik (2013) observe it is all about how a media company is organised, and whether it operates as an integrated company or with separate departments. Arthofer et al (2016) also argue that many print media companies are forced to restructure to get the right talent at the right place. They have also hired people who understand what kind of stories the consumer wants. For example, understanding which topics and formats work in which distribution channels as well as which stories the audiences are taking a keen interest in has become important for print media looking to increase engagement. The data analysts provide this crucial information (Arthofer et al, 2016).

Based on Research Question 2, this study sought to investigate how three main newspapers have adjusted their policies and practices especially on newsroom operations after integration of new media. It was necessary to investigate the new policies and practices that guide newsroom operations in the digital era at three newspapers in Kenya.

2.3 Situating the Study in the Field of Communication Studies

Communications Studies is an academic discipline that deals with the study of processes of communication in relationships. It encompasses face-to-face interaction and mass media communication. Littlejohn & Foss (2011) say communication is central to human life and that every aspect of our daily lives is affected by our communication with others,

as well as by the messages we receive from people not known to us, whether they are near to us or in distant locations. Communication Studies is an interdisciplinary field that cuts across different subject areas and, therefore, it has several definitions that serve different functions and enable scholars in whatever they are investigating. Someone interested in media studies, for instance, may think of it as a mediated source that transmits messages to large audiences that result in certain effects.

Besides, the discipline encompasses a range of categories, some of which are intertwined.

Rubin et al. (2010) identify nine major content categories namely;

1. Communication and Technology, which deals with mediated communication, that is, use of technologies such as computers, mobile phones, MP3 players and digital video cameras.
2. Group communication: This covers communication in groups of three or more people.
3. Health communication, which includes communication of all aspects of illness and wellness, communication campaigns, etc.
4. Intercultural and international communication, which is about how people from different cultures communicate.
5. Interpersonal communication, which is about people and their interactions; verbal and nonverbal messages.
6. Language and symbolic codes, which cover verbal and nonverbal communication codes.

7. Mass communication, which focuses on communication from a source (news organisation) to many people using mediated channels such as television, radio or newspapers.
8. Organisational communication is concerned with communication that takes place within organisations.
9. Public communication covers communication in public settings from one person to large audience.

From the listed nine disciplines in the field of Communication Studies, this study falls within five categories. These are; communication and technology, group communication, intercultural and international communication, interpersonal communication and mass communication.

As stated in Chapter One, this study investigated newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. Communication and technology is thus a domain of Communication Studies in which this study is situated. It examines how print media uses new technologies. New media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, among others, are increasingly being used for communication. Alejandro (2010) argues that what makes these new media platforms of particular interest to journalism is how they have become influential for communication and as news-breaking tools.

Group communication is also happening with new media technologies like in the case of WhatsApp and Facebook. People with similar interests are forming WhatsApp and Facebook groups to discuss matters that concern them. Print media are also using these

channels in news gathering and driving of traffic to their traditional platforms. Whatsapp, for instance, is being used for newsgathering and also to distribute content for pay. Similarly, intercultural and international communication is also a domain that applies in this study. One defining feature of the new media technologies is that they allow transmission of information to people who are not in the same geographical location. Through Facebook, Twitter, SnapChat and YouTube videos, among others, information travels miles away in a matter of seconds. People of different cultural backgrounds can learn about what happens in other communities through sharing of information via new media platforms.

This study also falls within interpersonal communication. Interpersonal communication is the process of exchanging messages between people whose lives mutually influence one another in unique ways in relation to social and cultural norms. Social media networks make it possible for two or more people to build a unique bond based on the larger social and cultural contexts to which they belong. Besides, new technologies have made media messages more interpersonal and personalised. Mass communication involves transmitting messages to many people through print or electronic media (Gaylord, et al., 2009). In personalised contexts, Whatsapp and Facebook can be both for mass communication or communication between two or more people.

Therefore, in the context of this study, these categories of communication are important for print media as they confront the reality of digital technology and how it has affected the way news newsrooms operate. The availability of the new media technologies does not mean all print media have adopted them. Yet there is no doubt they have had an

enormous influence on the audience that was previously and almost solely served by traditional media like newspapers. New media have the ability to reach several million people at the same time – the more reason media companies must utilise these technologies to attract new audiences and to maintain those they already have.

Whether it is interpersonal communication between two close friends or group communication between people with similar interests (common with Whatsapp messaging app) or communication for general public (media to audience) social media tools are being employed as distribution channels for news.

2.4 A Model used for Study of Convergence in Newsrooms

One perspective that has been used to study convergence processes in news organisations is the Convergence Continuum Model. This model is relevant to my study as it has been used to determine the degree of interaction and cooperation between staff of previously separate departments (print and online) in their convergence process (Dailey et al, 2003). This is discussed below;

2.4.1 The Convergence Continuum Model (Dailey et al., 2003)

I reviewed the Convergence Continuum Model in relation to media convergence. The model is relevant to this study because it defines the various stages a news organisation is likely to be at in its convergence process. Studies have shown that news organisations had to converge their newsrooms operations including merging previously separate departments (in this case print and online sections) in terms of planning and news production as well as cross-publishing of same content in different platforms (Gordon cited in Quinn & Filak, 2005).

Dailey et al (2003) define news convergence as a series of activities illustrating the interaction and cooperation stages of staff members at newspapers, TV stations and online. The news organisations that I studied have print, online and TV platforms. The continuum's components help print media professionals to assess the stage they are at as they converge previously separate departments as print and online (Dailey et al., 2003). The model further helps to measure the varying degrees of cooperation and interaction by staff as they work to gather, produce and distribute news via multiple platforms.

Converging previously separate sections, therefore, makes it easier for coordination and collaboration in newsgathering, packaging and production for various platforms. The inclusion of the model in this study is thus justified because it helped to determine critical issues and questions to ask as regards media convergence.

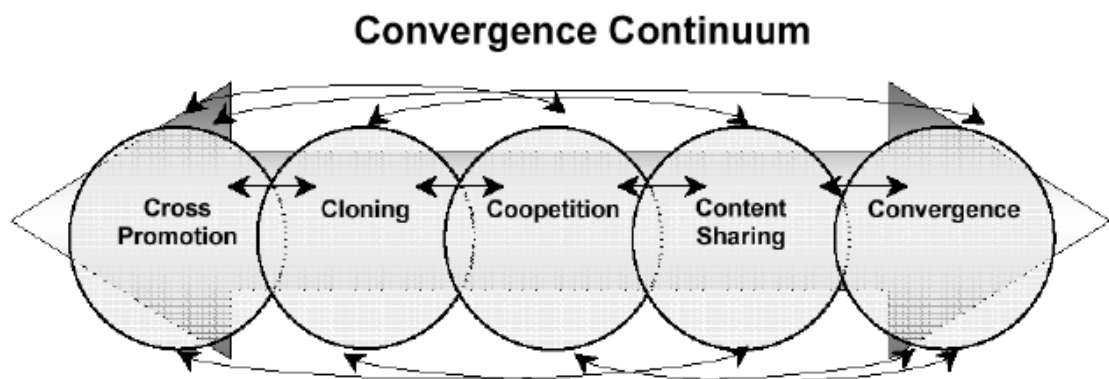


Figure1: Convergence Continuum

Convergence Continuum (Dailey et al., 2003)

According to (Dailey et al., 2003), the five circles on the continuum illustrate behaviours at each level as the degree of interaction and cooperation increases. As the arrows illustrate, a partner's place on the model is not fixed; it can move back and forth depending on the nature of news or the commitment to convergence by workers and managers. For example, certain projects – like election coverage – attract a higher degree of cooperation than others.

The levels of the model

1. **Cross-promotion:** There is least amount of cooperation and interaction between different teams – print and online. The different sections like newspaper and website promote each other's content through use of words or visual elements. The teams, however, do not work together to produce content.
2. **Cloning:** One partner republishes the other's content with little editing. For example, content from newspaper is published on the website. However, there is little interaction between the two sections and they do not discuss their newsgathering plans.
3. **Coopetition:** The partners both cooperate and compete. Staff members of separate newsrooms promote and share information about some stories on which they are working on but not all stories since there still exists an element of distrust that limits the degree of cooperation and interaction between the partners.
4. **Content sharing:** Newsrooms regularly (but not always) share news gathered by the partner and publish it after repackaging to suit their platform. At this stage, they may also share budgets (pool cars, drivers) or attend partner's planning

sessions, or collaborate on investigative pieces. However, teams still work separately for their stories.

5. Full convergence: There is increased cooperation in newsgathering and distribution. Separate newsrooms plan and produce a story and decide on which platform – print or online – it would be told most effectively.

Dailey et al., (2003) explain that this model is best suited when determining content sharing between separate sections or newsrooms, and is of little relevance to other types of convergence processes.

2.5 Review of Relevant Theories

Everett Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovations and Henry Jenkins (2006) Theory of Media Convergence are the theoretical foundations that I used to examine the technological changes affecting the mainstream print media in Kenya. I reviewed Diffusion of Innovations Theory and Theory of Media Convergence in relation to convergence practices at the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star*.

2.5.1 Diffusion of Innovations Theory

Diffusion of Innovations Theory (Rogers, 1995) Diffusion of Innovations Theory is relevant to this study because it explains why and how organisations adopt new technologies. The theory has been widely applied in research as a theoretical foundation in many social sciences including communication to examine how new innovations are adopted. In the case of the media industry, the emergence of new media technologies which allow for new ways of distribution of news to audiences have disrupted print media operations. Print newspaper readers have turned to these new media platforms for

news. The media industry has been forced to adopt new technologies to remain relevant. Users adopt new technologies according to a need that need to be satisfied (Rogers, 1995).

Studies have shown that news organisations, for instance, face threat of being rendered ineffective if they do not adopt new technologies. Newspapers in the west and in Europe had already signaled that failure for print media to adopt new media technologies would lead to death of newspapers (Alejandro, 2010). Newspapers in the west had set the trend in adoption of new technologies as a strategy for survival in the changing media landscape occasioned by digital revolution. Diffusion of Innovation Theory is thus relevant to this study because it provides the basic criteria against which success of adoption of new media technologies can be determined. Besides, I have used the theory in my data analysis to interrogate the findings of the study.

Rogers' (1995) model has been used to study change within a variety of contexts. It labels types of adopters within categories where diffusion is assessed using an S-shaped curve over time. The adoption process involves five major stages; awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and the adoption (Lowery and Defleur, 1999 in Lipschultz, 2018). Rogers' theory proposed five groups of adopters that roughly fit a normal distribution curve. These are; the innovators, early adopters; early majority, late majority and the laggards.

Rogers identifies the characteristics that define each category. The first category, the innovators, are venturesome, daring and willing to take risks because they also have the financial muscle to absorb possible loss from investments in the innovation. Besides,

‘innovators’ can cope with a high degree of uncertainty about an innovation at the time of adoption. On the other hand, Rogers identified the ‘early adopters’ as the opinion leaders who are also role models for other members of society (Rogers, 2003). Rogers described the ‘early majority’ as the group that form the one-third of a system. Members of this group do not necessarily wish to be the first adopters of new technologies or ideas but prefer to deliberate for some time before making a decision to adopt. They frequently interact with peers, yet seldom hold positions of opinion leadership. They are neither the first to adopt and neither are they the last (Rogers, 2003).

Similarly, the ‘late majority’, according to Rogers, form one-third of a system. They are skeptical and cautious about the benefits of adoption, and wait until most of the community members have adopted the innovation before they adopt. Sometimes they face social pressure to adopt an innovation, but in other cases, economic necessity motivates them (Rogers, 2003).

Lastly, according to Rogers, the ‘laggards’ is an isolated group whose members possess no opinion leadership; they can either be very traditional or be isolates in their social system. If they are traditional, they are suspicious of innovations and often interact with those with similar feelings. And if they are isolates, it means they don’t interact a lot with others thus decreasing their awareness of an innovation's demonstrated benefits. Rogers (2003) notes that the laggards take too long to adopt a technology and by the time they do so, the rest of the society has moved on and the innovation has become outdated.

The categories by Rogers were used in this study to assess the patterns of adoption of innovations – the new media technologies – for both the print media organisations that were studied and their staff. Rogers’ arguments are applicable as media organisations embrace the internet and social media tools. Initially use of internet and social media platforms in reporting news was not as widespread as it is today. Print media started realising it could not function without the innovations – therefore, there was a perceived problem that needed to be solved. Reporters who do not embrace change to adopt new media in their news gathering activities are also rendered irrelevant in modern newsrooms. Review of the theory is thus justified.

2.5.2 Theory of Media Convergence

Media convergence refers to a range of media – old and new – merging into one. Media convergence involves the interconnection of mediums – those that existed before the internet and those enabled by the internet. In Theory of Media Convergence, Jenkins (2006) posits that new technologies bring together different mediums and consequently redefine the media environment. Digital revolution pushed the media industry to adopt new media technologies and use them to reach out to audiences in multiple platforms.

Jenkins defines convergence as the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behaviour of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want. In the world of media convergence, stories are gathered and distributed across multiple media platforms. News organisations have to present news and content in different media formats and not just in text and still images as they were

used to doing. Audiences are looking for short videos, audios, slideshows, and graphics to explain the news better for those who not want to read text. With the Internet came the Web 2.0 technologies which allowed the two-way communication. New media allows two-way communication, collaborations and sharing. Jenkins see media convergence as bringing together different mediums hence redefining the media environment.

New technology redefines how media gathers, produces and distributes news. My study examines the print newspapers responses to adoption of new media technologies for news gathering, production and distribution. Jenkins theory redefines the new media environment hence applicable in this study. Jenkins believes that a medium's audience may change and its social status may rise and fall, but once a medium establishes itself, it continues to be part of the media ecosystem. Here, Jenkins is referring to old/traditional media. He says it will not die but will evolves in a new form. For example, radio programmes are now being distributed as audio files known as podcasts that one can listen to at a convenient time. Overall, Jenkins describes media convergence as the coming together of the old and new media. This collision has an effect not only on the audience but the news organisation as well.

The Theory of Media Convergence is thus relevant to this study because it provides the basic criteria against which success of media convergence practices at three mainstream newspapers can be determined. The media industry seek to produce and publish a variety of media content through tools and technological infrastructure in order to reach a diverse audience in multiple platforms.

Jenkins divides convergence into five areas namely; technological, economic, social or organic, cultural and global convergence. Technological convergence is the digitalization of all media content, economic convergence deals with the integration of the entertainment industry and the social or organic version of the process handles the consumers' multitasking strategies for navigating the new information environment. According to Jenkins, cultural convergence is the explosion of new forms of creativity at the intersections of various media technologies, industries and consumers. Finally, global convergence is the cultural hybridity that results from the international circulation of media content.

2.6 Review of Related Previous Studies

The following section discusses some of the researches related to my area of study on convergence journalism.

2.6.1 Previous studies on Re-organization of Newsrooms and Media Convergence:

The Global Perspective

The growth of the Internet sparked off an interest in media convergence studies all over the world from the early 2000. In the US, media convergence began in the first years of the 21st Century where newspapers, radio and TV stations – who previously operated separately – formed partnerships to share content and promote each other's products (Criado & Kraeplin, 2003; Duhe, Mortimer & Chow, 2004). However, the partnerships in the US and other countries did not necessarily lead to full convergence (Dailey, Demo & Spillman, 2005; Dupagne & Garrison, 2006). The opening of Media General's Tampa News Centre in 2000 in the US, where a newspaper (The Tampa Tribune), a television

station (WFLA-TV), and an online service (Tampa Bay Online service) were put under one roof marked the beginning of convergence journalism.

This phenomenon attracted the attention from media scholars with studies examining the actual changes inside newsrooms and effects of a converged environment on reporters as well as the best media convergence practices in integration of new media (Lawson-Borders, G., 2003; Huang, Rademakers, Fayemiwo & Dunlap, 2003; Dupagne M., & Garrison B., 2006). Tampa News Centre previously had the print, broadcast and online occupying separate parts of the building (Thelen, 2003). The three platforms, however, cooperated fully in use of new technologies combined with the old ones in newsgathering and they also shared information freely. One partner was strengthened by contributions from the other partner (Thelen, 2003).

There were other case studies of the Tampa News Centre (Huang, Davidson, Shreve, Davis, Bettendorf & Nair, 2003; Singer, 2004a; Cassidy, 2005). Three years after opening the Tampa News Centre, a case study of convergence practices revealed that convergence was an on-going process at the media organisation. Huang et al. (2003) concluded that three years of convergence practice at the News Centre may not have been sufficient to show a complete picture of the changed landscape. Many other case studies have revealed the same; newsrooms are in transition and it is rare to find fully converged newsrooms today.

Quinn (2005) considers a newsroom fully converged when it has one shared news desk where editors from different divisions sit to assess news events and assign the most appropriate staff to cover the stories. At this news desk, several multimedia editors would

decide which medium is the most appropriate for telling the story. Quinn explains that with some stories, an individual could carry multimedia tools, but that at other times teams are assigned to gather stories for multimedia distribution. Teams could provide content with different angles, report on big breaking news stories from different places, and supply the news desk with multimedia content.

Other media scholars have studied newsroom convergence at media companies that were at the time implementing convergence strategies in the US (Singer, 2004; Sullivan, 2005; Silcock & Keith, 2006), while others have examined news production in cross-platform arrangements – for instance web and print – focusing on the challenges encountered and the tensions between journalists from different newsrooms (Huang & Heider, 2007; Singer, 2003).

In the early 2000s, Rich Gordon (cited in Kawamoto, 2003) identified at least five forms of convergence common in the USA namely; ownership convergence, tactical convergence, structural convergence, information-gathering convergence and storytelling or presentation convergence. He studied the happenings at several news organisations at the time to come up with his different forms of convergence. Gordon also made predictions of future of news organisations. According to Gordon, ownership convergence means ownership of multiple content or distribution channels. This applies to media companies that own all the three – newspaper, television, and website. Gordon observed this trend in the major news organisations in the United States notably the Tribune Company, Belo Corporation and Hearst Corporation. These news organisations operated a newspaper, television, and website. Ownership convergence is also

characterised by mergers of previously separate media companies or previously separate departments of the same company.

In tactical convergence, Gordon writes this kind of convergence encourages content-sharing and partnership between different companies. In the area of content and promoting each other's work, the most common model was a partnership between a TV station and a newspaper, under separate ownership. The primary motivation for these partnerships was thus promotional. The partnership assumed that cross-promotion would drive newspaper readers to watch the local news and TV viewers to read the newspaper. The TV viewer would hear about a story in the following day's paper. According to Gordon, structural convergence involves changes in newsgathering and distribution, as well as creating or hiring new teams to repackage content for various platforms. When media companies are aggressive in their convergence efforts, it affects jobs descriptions and organisational structures which are altered to fit the changing media landscape. However, Gordon noted that journalists working for media companies where TV, newspaper or online operations collaborated focused their energies more on the primary platform they worked for.

As for information-gathering convergence, media companies require reporters to have multiple skills to deliver for different platforms. In the early 2000s, Gordon witnessed the debates on the ability of an individual journalist to report a story using multiple media tools. The subject was particularly controversial for print reporters, who did not see themselves carrying video cameras or audio recorders at news events to report news.

Gordon observed that backpack journalists may have been fewer in the early years of convergence but the expectations were that in the future the numbers would increase.

In presentation (storytelling) convergence, management is required to provide the journalist with appropriate equipment – portable newsgathering devices. Gordon notes that new formats of storytelling have some unique capabilities namely:

- Unlimited space and time so journalists are no longer constrained by column inches in the newspaper, or minutes on the air.
- They allow interaction with readers and viewers, giving the audience an opportunity to comment on or to shape the content, or even to create content themselves.
- They can deliver content in multiple media formats: text, photographs, graphics, audio, video and animation.
- The user has great control over the content, deciding what to view, in what order, and for how long.

Enabled by new technologies at chicagotribune.com and the *New York Times*, Gordon observed that journalists started to experiment with new storytelling forms by creating packages that incorporated text, photos, audios and videos. He witnessed many other news sites that experimented with a new storytelling tool: a slideshow of still photographs sometimes accompanied by music and audios.

Lawson-Borders (2003) also studied three leading news organisations in the US – Tribune Company, Belo Corp and Media General – at their integrated business units in Chicago, Dallas, and Tampa, Florida. The three were selected for study because they

were some of the convergence pioneers in the US. The three news organisations are touted, in scholarly works, as best examples of organisational commitment to convergence practices (Lawson-Borders, 2003). Lawson-Borders (2003) identified seven observations of convergence that form the best practices that the three news organisations implementing convergence used as strategies to measure success. The seven observed elements of convergence were; communication, commitment, cooperation, compensation, culture, competition and customer.

Communication is important for journalists involved in the gathering and distribution of content. They must be involved in the ongoing conversation about convergence (Lawson-Borders, 2003).

Second, commitment was required for news organisations that were adopting new media technologies. Lawson-Borders (2003) noted that this entailed economic commitment as well as equipping the workers with the necessary training and skills to handle new technologies. Third, the scholar noted cooperation is of necessity for editors, managers, reporters, and photographers. For convergence to be successful, they have to work together daily in a cooperative manner to share stories and ideas.

Fourth, compensation for journalists working in multimedia newsrooms was equally important. Lawson-Borders observes that convergence cannot effectively take place without compensating journalists for the additional skills and expertise expected of their new roles. Fifth, she noted cultural changes happened with implementation of convergence. There are different cultures for journalists working in print, broadcast and

online. Therefore, every media house adopting new media should acknowledge that the difference in the language used and methods of production for print and online.

Sixth, competition is from other news organisations implementing convergence is expected. She observed the news organisations under study approached competition differently – it was no longer about competition between traditional newsrooms of different companies, or within the same company but with online platforms. New media technologies and their power to deliver news round the clock had become another competitor for print media. Any media organisation with an online presence must be committed to immediacy through constant updates of news throughout the day. Lastly, she noted the customer in the new media environment is central to convergence. It is in fact, why newspapers the world over have adopted new technologies for newsgathering and delivery. All the 7Cs were used to assess convergence practices at the three main print media houses in Kenya that were the focus of my study.

Singer (2004) also conducted a study on media convergence in America. Singer studied four news organisations to determine how they were implementing convergence; and the effect of convergence on the employees and employers (Singer, 2004). The researcher visited each of the four news organisations to observe how each newsroom operated after convergence. She attended the daily newsroom news meetings. Singer also interviewed journalists about convergence practices that were happening at their news organisations.

Singer concluded that even though most journalists did not fully immerse themselves in convergence practices, many appreciated the experience. According to Singer, many journalists appreciated the new story formats and did not quite view them as distracting.

“Journalists also had access to expanded resources and avenues for storytelling, which enhanced the public service value of local media, and they agreed with the questionnaire statement ‘My company is better able to serve our audience because of our decision to converge news operation’” (Singer, 2004, p. 10). Singer’s study, therefore, shows there are many opportunities for journalists and their media houses in integrating new media platforms. The current study sought to find out how the mainstream print media in Kenya has exploited the opportunities that come with integration of new media.

2.6.2 Previous Studies on Multimedia Content

Jacobson (2010) conducted a study on multimedia stories used on nytimes.com website published in 2010. Jacobson evaluated 45 multimedia stories that were “published on *The New York Times* website produced between January 1, 2000, and October 23, 2007” (Jacobson, 2010, p. 65). The packages were chosen based on a search of multimedia stories on nytimes.com, which yielded more than 17,000 results for the time period. In her study, she sought to answer four research questions: (Jacobson, 2010).

1. What formal media elements and interface schemes are present in the story?
2. Whose perspective is the multimedia story told from?
3. To what extent, if any, are hyper textual narratives structures present in the package?
4. What is the relationship between the online multimedia content and material published in the printed edition of the *New York Times*?

Questions 2 and 4 particularly informed the current study in terms of how the growth of the internet has changed content sourcing, production and distribution in various outlets and how content is repurposed to suit each platform.

2.6.3 Previous Studies on Print Media Innovations and use of Social Media

Alejandro (2010) conducted a study titled 'Journalism in the age of Social Media' in 2010. She conducted two surveys. The first one, a survey about social media usage in news operations, focused on selected chief editors from different parts of the world. The second one was a global survey on the journalist's usage of social media. The study revealed that Twitter, Facebook and blogs were used the most. Five out of six editors surveyed said speed or immediacy was the aspect of social media that helped them best in receiving news. Most of the editors surveyed believe social media helps them best in distributing news stories.

They cited the main risks in use of social media for newsgathering and distribution failure for audiences to disclose their identities. People hide behind the anonymity afforded by the Internet. Secondly, accuracy (the need for verification and corroboration of facts) was another issue the editors pointed out. Editors also reported feeling the loss of control over the information once it gets out via various platforms as people were bound to condense, distort, interpret and comment on variations of the original report. As for the main ways their newsrooms used social media networks, the findings were: branding and making a presence in the social media sphere, driving traffic to the company's news website and breaking news. Most respondents were agreed social media improves the work of a journalist as well as allowing them to understand what issues people really care about.

The second survey, which focused on journalists, revealed that traditional roles (reporter, editor, soundman, cameraman, photographer, photo editor) were converging. Journalists

could produce content for various platforms. From Alejandro's study, over 100 respondents admitted to learning digital skills because it was becoming necessary in the new media landscape. The researcher found out that journalists used social media for getting tips or leads, following sources in one's beat, booking interviews for a story and for verifying facts. Journalists also revealed that having a social media account was quite necessary and that they could quote a source directly from a posting in Facebook or Twitter. Alejandro concluded that a journalist is a one-man band who carries a video camera that also allows for still photos, an audio recorder, notebook and a pen to a news event.

In Europe, Storsul and Krumsvik (2013) edited a volume comprising chapters based on researches carried out by several scholars on the current developments in the media landscape. The volume comprises the best papers presented at the 1st International Symposium on Media Innovations at the University of Oslo in April 2012, hosted by the Centre of Research on Media Innovations (CeRMI) at the Department of Media and Communication. One hundred and forty scholars, editors, producers and executives from 26 countries converged at the Norwegian capital to discuss how changing technologies, and changing modes of usage and engagement with media, bring about media innovation and the transformation of the media sector.

The scholars argue that in order to understand and explain current developments in the media landscape, using the lens of innovation and innovation theory adds value to media research. In the opening chapter, which summarises the contributions made by scholars in the book, Storsul and Krumsvik (2013) expound on the meaning of media innovations.

The scholars argue that media innovation can include change in several aspects of the media landscape – from the development of new media platforms, to new business models, to new ways of producing media texts. Their take is that there are many ways of conceptualising what kinds of change media innovation involve.

Storsul and Krumsvik (2013) say that the Internet, and the attendant social networking sites, are good examples of disruptive innovations. This is an important part of the setting, where the existing media industry knows that the rules of the game are changing, and in order to survive they must innovate their products, processes, positions or even their paradigms. The scholars argue that some other key influences of innovation in the media today are technology, market opportunities and user behaviour, behaviour of competitors, regulation, industry norms, company strategy, leadership and vision, organisational structure, capacity and resources, and culture and creativity. These are elaborated below;

Technology. The emergence of new technologies opens new opportunities for print media and leads to new products and services. At the same time, it also takes away the traditional business models disrupted by new technology, giving them new opportunities to explore other ways of doing things.

Market opportunities and user behaviour these are made possible by the new technologies but which the traditional media industry tend to ignore at first, resulting in disruptive innovations from outsiders. For instance, Küng (2008) notes that Apple, as an outsider, was the first organisation to find a commercially successful answer to the digital downloading of music.

The behaviour of competitors these are capable of inducing media organisations to innovate both products and services. The scholars say the uncertainty brought about by the rapid development of online newspapers in 1995 became the driving force for the media industry when they plunged into the online adventure without established any business models to refer to.

Regulation. Media industries are regulated by the state within which they operate and the owners of the company. The scholars argue that some state regulations can be a hindrance to innovation in the media industries.

Industry norms determine how the media industry innovates. Journalistic norms are influenced by commercial considerations in operations. The scholars argue that the media organisations that resist market changes become less innovative.

Company strategy determines a media organisations' approach towards innovation. Some are quick to adapt, while others are not able to respond effectively.

Leadership and vision. The vision of the top leadership of an organisation does matter. The scholars cite the late Apple CEO Steve Jobs as an example of the visionary innovator number one.

Organisational structure. The scholars recognise that in order to respond effectively to the disruptive technologies, there is need for media to create new organisational structures where teams have to be physically located together as they work on new projects.

The capacity and resources available in the editorial, production and distribution departments of media organisations affect their ability for innovation.

Culture and creativity. The scholars argue that the shared beliefs and cultures of members of an organisation can hinder any attempts for change or facilitate creativity and innovation.

2.6.4 Previous Studies of Media Convergence in Africa

Bibuli (2014) studied the usage of social media for news dissemination in Uganda. Bibuli (2014) notes the adoption of social media practices in Uganda is largely generational issue given that the majority of users are young people. Social media platforms, however, freely available in Uganda with Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and blogs ranking among the top websites in Uganda.

Bibuli observes that media outlets like the *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* often feature blogs on their websites to allow for the flow of stories across numerous modalities. They have also embraced social media by inviting readers, listeners or viewers to follow their activities on Facebook or Twitter. These platforms are used to make readers aware of the news content in the publications. They also provide real time updates on unfolding events in the country and are popular with the young segment of the population.

Social media has also helped the media actors to circumvent state control, interference and intimidation. In May 2013 the government shut down the Monitor Publications but the paper continued providing news updates on Facebook, Twitter and the website. Bibuli argues that social media has also been instrumental in highlighting human rights violations by state machinery especially helping the media to circumvent state control,

interference and intimidation. The growth and popularity of social media outperforms the *Daily Monitor's* circulation figures of 30,000 copies for instance in comparison to the 100,000 likes on their Facebook page. In conclusion, the scholar says social media remains a force to reckon with in news conveyance.

Mwidima & Nyoni (2019) studied the contributions made by social media as “sources of information” to the newspapers in Tanzania. Specifically, their study examined the extent through which social media had contributed news stories for the selected newspapers in the country. Lastly, they investigated the nature of stories retrieved from the social media by the three selected newspapers namely; *Mwananchi*, *Daily News*, and *the Citizen*.

The study found out that social media played a key role in providing news stories for the newspapers in Tanzania. It further suggested that of all social media used, Twitter was the number one social media which provided more news stories to the newspapers in Tanzania. Their study also revealed that most of the news stories retrieved from social media were political stories, entertainment, and sports. The scholars concluded that Twitter had gained prominent reputations in Tanzania amongst other social media because it has been used by most of the prominent figures across the world. Besides Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram were also frequently used by the mainstream media in Tanzania. They were key sources of information for newspapers.

Ekwo (2019) studied the influence of media convergence on Nigeria's democracy in relation to freedom of expression, transparency, and political participation. He argued that delivery of information using multiple platforms has wide implications for the emergence of a truly democratic culture characterised by freedom of expression, freedom

of the press, transparency, and political participation. Ekwo concluded that freedom of expression, political participation, and transparency thrive under a converged media environment. The study also confirmed the infrastructural unpreparedness of the Nigerian media to tap into full convergence journalism.

Several other studies on media organisations and use of new media technologies have been carried out in other countries in Africa. These studies have shown that several media organisations have integrated new technologies though the challenge has been keeping up the pace of providing content via multiple platforms in real time.

2.6.5 Previous Studies on Appropriation of New Media Technologies in Kenya

Literature on media convergence in Kenya remains scanty slightly over a decade after the mainstream print media started adoption of new technologies in 2009. In Kenya, studies on media convergence have mainly been carried out by graduate students with a few coming from industry regulators like the Media Council of Kenya and local researchers supported by non-governmental organisations with an interest in media.

Juma (2013) studied the adoption of new convergence technologies in journalism in Kenya. His case study focused on Nation Media Group's (NMG) experience as it implemented use of new media technologies in its journalism. The study looked at convergence efforts one year after NMG had started integrating new media technologies. The study found out that journalists understood the concept of convergence journalism and agreed that it was necessary for the media company to introduce it. A majority had also adopted the new media technologies in their journalistic practice, though not all had done so. The study recommended that the attitudes of employees needed to change in

order for them to fully embrace new media technologies in their work. The company also needed to improve the resources (provide necessary digital equipment for newsgathering) to make it easier for journalists to embrace new technologies.

Juma's recommended further studies on other media organisations that had adopted new media. This study sought to take the recommendations forward by investigating more cases – three newspapers – on the subject on convergence journalism. Besides, Juma carried out his study only one year after NMG embarked on convergence efforts. This study sought to find out the developments since the company started convergence journalism from 2012.

Korir (2013) studied the effects of multiplatform delivery and adherence to the code of conduct for the practice of journalism at *Daily Nation*. The other objective of his study was to establish how convergence through multiplatform delivery of *Daily Nation* newspaper affected content diversity. The study findings show that multiplatform media convergence had resulted in media content diversity although not to an advanced level. The online platforms of the *Daily Nation* had adopted the use of videos, info-graphics and more pictorial presentations and even the profiling of its reporters/columnist as part of its content. The web-edition and the Facebook Page had at least tried to provide its audience with extra enhanced news content in its news stories – a factor that promoted interactivity.

Korir's study also noted that the level of adherence to the code of conduct for the practice of journalism also decreased to some extent on the online platforms of the *Daily Nation* compared with the print newspaper. Accuracy and fairness was lacking, obscenity, taste

and tone of reporting, among others, were observed in online reporting. From his findings, the editing of news stories for online platforms was not strict. In his recommendations, Korir (2013) suggested that the media should invest in multiplatform delivery to enhance media content diversity and most importantly to reach more readers especially those previously isolated by traditional media. Also, adherence to the code of conduct for the practice of journalism to be upheld regardless of the platform where the news story is published. Korir (2013) makes an important contribution in the subject of media convergence but he focuses on a single media house. My study sought to investigate three newspapers in Kenya for a better insight of print media's perception of the dynamics of integration of new media.

Muindi (2018) carried out a study on the use of Twitter as journalistic tool at the Daily Nation Newspaper for newsgathering, production and distribution. He also studied how journalists strike the balance between speed and credibility of news distributed on this platform. The study found out that by adopting Twitter in their daily routines, journalists had increased the speed of sharing news. The findings also showed that not all news shared on Twitter is credible (Muindi, 2018). The study recommended a need for mainstream media in Kenya to find ways of ensuring news obtained and distributed on Twitter is credible.

The Media Council of Kenya (2016) conducted a study to determine how the media in Kenya operate in the digital era. The study aimed at finding out the impact of digital technologies on journalistic practices particularly concerning the values of pluralism and

diversity, transparency and accountability, editorial independence, freedom of expression and information, public service, and professional standards.

Findings from the study showed that print media houses had started convergence journalism with varying results. Journalists for media organisations that have more than one platform – radio, TV, newspaper, and online – were required to file stories and other multimedia content for all the platforms but again this was not happening with all the journalists. Findings also showed that verification of news was minimal in online platforms. The need to balance being the first to break news and verification before publishing were raised by interviewees in the study with the unanimous agreement that the ethics of the profession of accuracy, facts and truth were being sacrificed when the media houses resulted to competition for scoops.

Nyabuga & Booker (2013) studied journalists and editors from the *Standard*, *Nation*, BBC, KBC, and *The Star* on the impact of digitisation on journalists and newsrooms in Kenya. The scholars' findings indicate that journalists had welcomed the changes in the media industry even though it had made their work difficult in verifying the news sourced from social media platforms. The study found out that although new media platforms allow for immediate distribution of news, sometimes print media houses do not have the time, capacity, or other resources to authenticate the information they receive and send out as breaking news. Their conclusion is that even though the new technologies have been found to make the work easier for journalists in the news gathering process, they also contribute to unreliable news which in turn may affect the credibility of established media organisations as purveyors of factual information.

2.7 Rationale for Study-Based on Literature Review

This section discusses the rationale for study based on the related previous studies. Literature on the subject as relates to African media show journalists are beginning to leverage on new media formats to receive, gather and distribute news. In Kenya, main media organisations have adopting new media technologies. This has made it necessary for the organisations to change their operations and adopt new ways of working, within the old entrenched traditional media systems (Juma, 2013).

However, there is evidence that media convergence is generally an under-researched area, especially in Africa and Kenya in particular. The review has shown that enormous research on the subject of media convergence is enormous in Western contexts, especially in USA. There are minimal studies on media convergence from the perspectives of print media managers in Africa. In addition, studies on experiences of journalists with newest technologies has not be captured. Literature from such studies is thin. Hence there is need for more studies on media convergence from the perspectives of managers and journalists. Furthermore, previous research in Kenya has pointed to a need to carry out further research in two or more media organisations to investigate the nature and process of adoption of new technologies.

This study aimed to take these suggestions forward by investigating three newspapers in Kenya. Therefore, literature review was important in providing information about the subject of convergence journalism as well as in helping to focus my study. The literature review was also necessary in order to give the study some focus and context. Furthermore, I used the literature during the analysis and discussion of my findings.

2.8 Summary

The aim of the study was to investigate the newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. This chapter has examined literature review of related previous studies on convergence of old and new media technologies by newspapers in Western, African and Kenya contexts. The chapter has also covered the relevant theories that were used as lens to focus the study as well as in data interpretation and analysis. The chapter has also situated the study in the field of Communication Studies and gives the rationale of study based on related previous studies. The table below summarises the key issues.

Table 2.2: Summary of Key Issues in Chapter Two

• Review of theories	• Theory of Media Convergence, Diffusion of Innovations & Convergence Continuum Model. • Important in focusing the study.
• Review of related previous studies on the international scene	• Shows impact of emerging technologies on print journalism. • Provides information around the subject of convergence journalism. • Print media convergence of old and new media technologies; the opportunities and challenges.
• Review of related literature in Kenya	• Print media appropriation of new media technologies in Kenya started in 2009. • Evidence that proposed subject is under-researched in Kenya. Literature from such studies is thin and scanty.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the philosophical paradigm that guided the study and explains my choice of the qualitative approach. The chapter outlines the research method used, the data collection instruments, data analysis and interpretation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the trustworthiness of the study and a review of the ethical considerations adhered to in carrying out the research. Finally, it gives a summary of what is contained in this section.

3.2 Research Philosophical Paradigm

The study was guided by the relativist-interpretivist philosophical paradigm. Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) argue that the philosophical paradigm adopted in a study goes hand in hand with the approach and methods of data collection. My study aimed at having an in-depth understanding of the perceptions of participants from three print media organisations on the dynamics of converging of and new media. Yin (2016) argues that qualitative studies allow you to conduct in-depth research about a broad array of topics. This, therefore, was the ideal paradigm for my study as I was concerned with in-depth narrations and interpretations by participants on media convergence practices in their newsrooms.

Further, Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) argue that the ontological-epistemological paradigms chosen influence whether the researcher adopts a qualitative, quantitative or mixed approach and in turn determine the research methods, for example, experimental, survey,

ethnography, case study, and narrative. The scholars explain that the researcher must be clear about whether he/she is guided by a realist or relativist ontology and whether he/she is situating the study within a positivist/post-positivist or interpretivist/constructivist epistemology.

Specifically my study was guided by relativist ontology. What this means is that I acknowledge there is no single viewpoint of the world – that reality is dependent on each newspaper's and participant's perception and experiences with integration of new media tools. It is not just about how the individual journalists perceive new media technologies, but also the situation they found themselves in after their media houses started convergence. Consequently, there are multiple realities (depending on the number of journalists and editors I interviewed) which they have socially and culturally constructed from within their own contextual interpretations (Mason, 2002 cited in Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011).

My ontological view of the social world appreciates that there were varied explanations and viewpoints of journalists experience with new media tools. I recognised that the individuals' position, history and social context influence how they view their situations and that individuals explain their experiences in the world differently. People offer slightly different accounts of similar experiences. Besides, based on Yin's argument that individuals' contextual conditions may strongly influence all human affairs, I was more concerned about my respondents' newsroom experiences after adoption of new media (Yin, 2016).

Most qualitative research operates within the relativist tradition which takes the stance that there always exist multiple viewpoints on any subject under inquiry. An issue as introduction of a new innovation such as new media platforms is likely to generate different opinions and viewpoints from traditional print journalists who were used to producing news in a certain way and distributing it in a single platform – the newspaper – before adoption of new platforms for distribution (Jwan and Ong’ondo, 2011).

In addition, this study was guided by interpretivist-constructivist epistemology. As the word suggests, this seeks to generate data from interviewees who are able to make interpretations of the contexts they find themselves in. That knowledge is relative to the knowers and rests on interpretations made by them hence the label, interpretive (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Interpretivism was popularised by Clifford Geertz in 1973. The approach borrows from Hermeneutic tradition – the practice of interpreting meanings of Biblical texts. It is the interaction of the researcher and participants that creates knowledge. Therefore, I tried to understand how participants interpreted and made sense of their day-to-day lives in the newsrooms interacting with new media technologies. What did it mean gathering and producing content for multiple platforms? What was the experience of story presentation in online platforms that combined multimedia elements – text, audios, videos and photos?

Stake (2005) says this approach is underpinned by a strong motivation for discovering meaning and understanding of experiences in context and the researcher has an interpretive role in producing this knowledge. An interpretive position views a reality as multiple and subjective based on meaning and understanding. Interpretivists are

concerned with the lenses through which people view events, the expectations and meanings that they bring to a situation. They try to elicit the interviewees' views of their worlds, their work, and the events they have experienced or observed (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). My aim was to get knowledge about how the three newspapers in Kenya perceive, interpret and understand issues that affect them in their contexts – a changed newsroom that produces content for multiple platforms after integrating new media.

Epistemology is about how humans obtain knowledge. Epistemological assumptions exist from the perspective that there is an objective truth that humans can discover – this means that individual journalists and editors can make their own meanings, resulting in the possibility of many meanings or interpretations for a particular object or event. What this means is that whatever happens at *The Standard* newspaper with regard to experiences with new media technologies cannot entirely be the same as what happens at the *Daily Nation* or at *The Star*. Each newspaper has its own experiences and interpretations which this study sought to bring out. Interpretivists appreciate there are different viewpoints and explanations as well as meanings and interpretations of the world out there.

3.3 Research Approach

I adopted the qualitative approach involving in-depth interviews to gain insight into the typical experiences of the interviewees with new media technologies at three newspapers that were the focus of study. This approach is concerned with developing explanations for social phenomena. Qualitative approach was best suited for my study because the aim was to go deeper in investigation to get the various viewpoints and perspectives of the

participants on my research problem and which the quantitative approach would not have achieved. As such, a qualitative study is concerned with non-statistical methods and small samples, often purposively selected.

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2005), qualitative research is an approach that tackles issues and emphasises on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. Main characteristics of qualitative research are that it is dynamic during the study, flexible, it elicits multiple answers, and helps the researcher to know the emotions of the participants. It is used to describe individual variables or group norms, and makes good use of open-ended questions during research study.

Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) argue that qualitative approach seeks to generate an understanding of the various possible meanings of a subject (used here to mean focus of study) in its natural setting without undue manipulation of the conditions of existence. Therefore, qualitative approach becomes ideal for the this study as it allows for discovery of interesting perspectives about the dynamics posed by integration of new media; interesting not just in terms of the concerns and understandings of the researchers, but also in terms of the richness of the accounts of participants' experiences. It attempts to understand the perceptions, perspectives and views of participants on the particular issue of disruptive technologies which their media houses have adopted for use and which have changed the print media landscape significantly.

By looking at multiple perspectives on the same situation, the researcher can then make some kind of generalisation on what the situation is from an insider's perspective. Creswell (2014) regards qualitative research as an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honours an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation. Since this research is concerned with words and not numbers, the aim was to get the participants' quotations, descriptions and narrations, by capturing their conversations, experiences, perspectives, voices and meanings. In addition, Creswell (2014) argues that the selection of a research approach is based on the topic and nature of the research problem or issue being addressed, the researchers' personal experiences, and the audiences for the study.

3.4 Research Design

This study embraced a multiple case study. A multiple case study was ideal because I investigated three newspapers in Kenya; *the Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star* on their perspectives on media convergence. I chose the media houses because they had started convergence journalism therefore would provide insights on the subject of media convergence in Kenya. Case studies deal directly with the individual cases in their actual contexts and involve direct observation of these cases in natural settings, or by getting to understand their thoughts, feelings, and desires (Bromley 1986, cited in Yin, 2016). My study sought the perspectives of print media managers, editors and reporters on convergence practices from their newsrooms where they worked. Therefore, the first justification of my choice of case study design was that it gave me a chance to explore

participants' views on media convergence in more depth from their work environment. Gillham (2000) argues that to understand people in real life, one needs to study the way they work in their context.

Further, Yin (2003) argues that a case study should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "what" questions; (b) you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; (c) you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study. Those reasons given by Yin made a case study ideal for this study. The case study allowed me to delve into the why the media houses adopted or did not adopt the technologies and how the process of media convergence has unfolded for them. Besides, it was important to study how they were planning and using the technologies by observing their activities in the newsroom.

The second justification is that a multiple case study design was best suited to illuminate my research questions as per the aim of study. The method allows for depth investigation of participants in order to seek their perspectives on the dynamics of convergence in their media houses. No other method would have allowed me to capture the views and perspectives of the participants to address my research questions. Investigating three cases enabled me to get multiple viewpoints and perspectives from various participants on my research problem which also served to enrich my study. Besides, I was interested in the meanings the participants make from their experiences using both old media and new media in news gathering, production and distribution. This is a new phenomenon for newspapers and likely to generate not just different perspectives but also the different

interpretations and meanings of experiences. People offer slightly account of similar experiences. Denzin & Lincoln (2000) state that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

The third justification for adopting this design was that it allowed for corroboration of results from different sources, that is, triangulation of sources of data. Triangulation makes the findings of study more significant. Overall, the evidence created from this type of design is considered robust and reliable, but it can also be extremely time consuming and expensive to conduct (Yin, 2003). My study sought the perspectives of media managers, editors and reporters on media convergences practices. Therefore, the combination of sources of data allowed for a more complete analysis of the responses to the dynamics of media convergence in media houses in Kenya.

Yin (2012) differentiates between single, holistic and multiple-case studies. In a single instrumental case study the researcher focuses on an issue or concern, and then selects one bounded case to illustrate this issue. On the other hand, Stake (1995) uses different terms to describe a variety of case studies. He identifies case studies as intrinsic, instrumental, or collective (multiple). A multiple case study allows the researcher to investigate two or more cases simultaneously. A multiple or collective case study, therefore, allowed me to examine the three cases (the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star*) to better understand the issue of media convergence. This research methodology is more powerful than single-case designs as it provides more extensive descriptions and explanations of the phenomenon or issue.

Yin (2003, 2009) observes that sometimes a number of cases may be studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition – that is multiple case study or collective case study. The cases may be similar or not, they are chosen because it is believed they will offer deeper insights into the issue being investigated. By purposefully selecting and investigating three cases, I aimed at showing different perspectives on the issue media convergence at three newspapers. Through thick descriptions of the sites and the participants, I gained a better understanding of the individual experiences of the journalists and media managers on media convergence. According to Yin (2009), a multiple case study is better than a single case study because single case studies are like putting all your eggs in one basket. Besides, conclusions arising from three cases are more powerful than those coming from a single case.

Besides, this kind of study also involves triangulation of data collection instruments which serve to enrich the outcome of study. My study not only employed in-depth interviews with participants, but also observation and review of relevant documents as tools of data collection. In the next sections, I present my criteria for selecting the samples I used.

3.5 Sampling

In this study, I selected the data sources purposively. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define sampling as a procedure or technique of choosing a sub-group from a population to participate in the study. Sampling is the process of selecting units (for example, people, organisations) from a population of interest for purposes studying that sample whose results can be generalised back to population from which they were chosen. In

purposive sampling, Mason (2002) notes that researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample based on possession of the particular characteristics being sought. In this way, they build a sample that is satisfactory to their specific needs.

My justification in using purposive sampling was to access knowledgeable people; those with in-depth knowledge about media convergence by virtue of the positions of power they hold in the newsroom, their expertise and experience. Qualitative researchers mostly use two popular approaches in non-probability sampling: purposive and snowball sampling approaches. I adopted purposive sampling because the aim was to select individuals because they represented some characteristics I sought to study (Creswell, 2012). Participants were chosen and studied because they were believed to have expert knowledge on the area of study. They are information-rich cases that illuminated my research questions since the focus was on in-depth understanding of the three newspapers response to the dynamics posed by media convergence.

According to Bhattacharjee (2012), sampling is a process that starts with defining the target population then selecting a sample from the target population. For the purpose of this study, the target population was the media managers, editors and reporters at three newspapers in Kenya; *the Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star* because they are the major newspapers with a wider reach across the country. These were also chosen because they are the pioneers in adoption of new media technologies in their newsrooms and have facilities similar to those of other media houses that could have been included in this study.

I conducted the study in three media organisations based in Nairobi namely; the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star*. The three media houses were chosen because they had experimented with converged newsrooms and were in a good position to give a picture of the scenario after convergence of old and new media technologies hence allow me to explore my research questions. The three that were the subject of this study occupy a prominent position in the country's media landscape; they enjoy nationwide reach in terms of operations. The three print news organisations are based in the city of Nairobi but have offices across the country. However, the study targeted only journalists stationed in Nairobi since these are the headquarters of the news companies where major decisions are made on policy issues and especially on convergence. Besides, the three have print and online publications.

Nairobi is the nerve centre of all of the organisations' operations. Therefore, the study was conducted among journalists and editors of three mainstream print media houses based in Nairobi. Though this possibly narrowed the scope, it was deliberate to target journalists in Nairobi offices for the three media houses because this is where convergence desks had been set up and there is increased use of new media platforms. Also, documents to be reviewed were more likely to be found in the Nairobi offices than in the bureaus.

In total, I conducted interviews with 21 journalists from a target population of 200 spread across the three newsrooms: six media managers, six editors and nine reporters. Participants were chosen based on their expert knowledge, experience, and key positions they hold in the newsrooms. Creswell (2012) observes that within the target population,

researchers select a sample for study. Only participants who were knowledgeable in my subject of study and who could answer my research questions were selected for the study. A sample is a subgroup of the target population that the researcher plans to study for generalising about the target population. In an ideal situation, you can select a sample of individuals who are representative of the entire population. I sought to understand media managers and journalists' perspectives on media convergence based on the individual experiences. These participants contributed appropriate data both in terms of relevance and depth that helped address my research questions. And by choosing participants holding different roles in their media organisations – media managers, editors and reporters – the aim was to show different perspectives on the problem under study and also to go for accessible cases. The participants were chosen for the 'representative' status in the hierarchy of the journalism system. In addition, the sample was representative of gender.

As media controllers/editors and gatherers of news for their news organisations, I hoped that their opinions would give a picture of the current media convergence efforts being employed in their organisations and the perceptions print media hold on new media technologies for professional journalism. The respondents chosen were able to discuss the issue of convergence in their respective newsrooms. The media managers and editors made key decisions on convergence practices and adoption of new technologies. They also decided on which platforms stories would be distributed in converged newsrooms. In fact, the media managers and editors have the final say, as gatekeepers, over what stories are published and which ones do not see the light of day.

Furthermore, in converged newsrooms the role of media managers and editors are key in that they decide in which platforms stories are distributed to audiences. The reporters equally play a key role in news gathering activities and writing stories especially using the news technologies. They will file stories in different formats, shoot videos and photos and take audios at news events to send back to the newsroom. They reporter in the changing media landscape will file stories for print, websites, social media platforms, mobile alerts and so on. It is their duty to write stories in different formats to be distributed to audiences in multiple platforms.

Data saturation determines the number of interviews a researcher conducts in qualitative studies such as this one. This is a situation when more interviews would not add new information. Therefore, the number of interviews I conducted for this study depended on the point at which I felt I had reached data saturation. Similarly, the selection of a small sample size was guided by the qualitative approach which I adopted for this study. Qualitative studies work with small samples and are concerned more with depth. The nature of my research problem called for a research method that would enable me to collect detailed information from a small number of participants and case study was best suited for this.

Table 3.1: Sampling Frame

	Total number of interviewees	Number from each newspaper
Reporters	9	3
Editors	6	2
Managers	6	2
Total	21	21

Source: Author (2021).

A sample size of 21 was sufficient to provide a rounded picture however few the sources of evidence. Qualitative researchers work with a relatively small number of cases or participants. The researchers are prepared to sacrifice quantity for detail (Silverman, 2005). The scope in qualitative studies is considered in terms of detail of what researchers get from the cases than the number of cases. Qualitative studies involves in-depth interviews and observations of humans in natural settings, and this can only be achieved when participants are few (Lichtman, 2006). Mason (2002) also explains that it is not really the concern of the researcher whether or not the sample is big enough to be statistically representative of a total population. She argues that what matters the most is whether the sample provides enough data or addresses your research questions.

Patton (2002) states that there are numerous ambiguities in qualitative inquiry one of which is sample size as there are no rules by which to determine the size of the sample. Rather, the sample size is determined by the researcher's aim of study. The insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observation/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size (Patton, 2002). I collected data from 21 journalists whom I considered information-rich to address my research questions up to the moment I concluded that a saturation point had been reached as no new information was forthcoming. In the next section, I present the data generation techniques that I used in the study.

3.6 Data Generation Techniques

Research generation techniques are useful to researchers because they help in data collection. I used in-depth interviews, observation and review of documents for my study.

In doing so, I was guided by Mason's assertion that interpretivists use interviews and observation as the main techniques of data generation (Mason, 2002) and that data that make up case study can entail observations, interviews, transcripts, notes and documents (Ong'ondo and Jwan, 2020). Jwan and Ong'ondo argue that these methods of data collection allow for an in-depth interrogation of an individual unit such as a family or school in their real contexts. Yin (2016) also acknowledges that qualitative research benefits from collecting, integrating, and presenting data from a variety of sources of evidence as part of any given study.

3.6.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews gave me the leeway to pose both general and broad questions to participants and allowed them to share their views relatively unconstrained. Through the interviews, I allowed extended conversations with participants in order to gain in-depth information on my research problem. This also helped me to interpret the information that came out of the interviews and make meanings out of it. A 'good' qualitative interview has two key features. According to Dornyei (2007), these features are: it flows naturally, and it is rich in details. In-depth interviews are also referred to as unstructured interviews or qualitative interviews.

In in-depth interviews, I asked open-ended questions so that the participants could give their experiences unconstrained. In addition, I collected multiple types of information – given that I involved 21 participants – and this allowed me to get new and different forms of data to address my research questions. Each interviewee was expected to have unique experiences with the issue or problem under study and this is what made my data richer.

In qualitative research, open-ended questions allow deeper exploration of responses by participants – probing and exploring emerging dimensions that may not have been previously considered pertinent aspects of a study (Cohen et al., 2007; Richards, 2003; Nunan, 1992 cited in Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011). Creswell (2012) observes that a qualitative interview occurs when researchers ask one or more general, open-ended questions and record their answers. The researcher then transcribes and types the data into a computer file for analysis.

I conducted several in-depth interviews until such a time, depending on the scope of my study, I reached saturation. What’s unique about in-depth interviews is that as a researcher I had control over the types of information received and I was able to ask specific questions to elicit the needed information. I used probes to obtain additional information and for clarifications from my interviewees. Researchers use probes to better understand the depth, focus, detail, and evidence. Nunan (1992) cited in Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011) says in a semi-structured interview, the interviewer has a general idea of where he or she wants the interview to go, and what should come out of it, but does not enter the interview with a list of predetermined questions. Topics and issues rather than questions, determine the course of the interview.

Yin (2003) argues interviews are essential sources of case study information. I was guided by Yin’s advice that interviews should be done as one would engage in friendly conversations as well as following your own line of inquiry (Yin, 2003). Yin states that the case study interviews require you to operate on two levels at the same time: satisfying

the needs of your line of inquiry while simultaneously putting forth ‘friendly; and ‘nonthreatening’ questions in your open-ended interviews.

Creswell (2012) also informs my study in his argument that in qualitative studies such as this one, the researcher engages in extensive data collection, spending a great deal of time at the site where respondents work or engage in the phenomenon one wishes to study. At the site, you gather detailed information to establish the complexity of the central phenomenon. In my study interviews lasted between one to two hours. I recorded the interviews to get time to concentrate on the line of questioning and to get best responses from my participants. According to Creswell (2012), audio-taping gives the researcher an accurate record of the conversation. I also took brief notes during the interviews. I had follow up interviews with some but not all participants in instances when I needed clarification on issues. Finally, I had the interviews transcribed in readiness for data analysis.

3.6.2 Observation

To get additional information, I also used observation as a technique for data collection. Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011) observe that a researcher may use several data generation techniques. The use of multiple sources of data (triangulation) is what strengthens the research findings such that the weakness of one method can be strengthened by the alternative. One method of data collection may not give the adequate picture about the phenomenon hence the need for triangulation of sources of data. Besides, researchers have argued that interviews alone may not give the correct information of the bias of the

researcher may seep in unconsciously (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Walford, 2001 cited in Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011).

To supplement the data from the structured interviews, observing the respondents in their work environment was done. I observed the participants in their work stations to gain an understanding of how they used the new technologies or if they were conversant with them. Therefore, besides in-depth interviews, I also conducted observations of the participants in the research sites. One gets to understand issues better by combining interviews and observation.

Cohen et al (2007 cited in Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011), argue that observation means getting data through critically watching a person or persons as they participate in particular activities with a view to obtaining deeper understanding about the activities the persons under study are engaged in. Yin (2003) argues that observational evidence is often useful in providing additional information about the topic being studied. If a case study is about a new technology, for instance, observations of the technology at work are invaluable aids for understanding the actual uses of the technology or potential problems being encountered. Yin further argues that new dimensions for understanding either the context or the phenomenon being studied are possible through observation.

It was easier to tell if what they say was actually what they do with new media technologies adopted by their respective media houses. I did note down anything I observed and recorded anything I heard. I attended planning meetings and observed what happens, as well sat and watched how the sub editors and section editors work with content for various platforms (print, mobile and online). I also spent some hours

observing reporters before they went out to the field and when they returned to the office to understand how they work, or file stories for multiple platforms (if at all they are required to do so, or just to file for a single platform). Where I did not understand I did a follow-up during interviews. Creswell (2012) says that observing in a setting requires good listening skills and careful attention to visual detail. It also requires management of issues such as the potential deception by people being observed.

3.6.3 Document Analysis

Documents also served as a powerful source of data in this study. Creswell (2012) says documents consist of public and private records that qualitative researchers obtain about a site or participants in a study, and they can include newspapers, minutes of meetings, personal journals, and letters. I looked out for documents at the three newspapers that were related to my topic of study and which were likely to offer insights into my research problem. I was interested in documents such as minutes from meetings, official memos, social media policy, editorial policy and any other policy documents, or emails on the use of new media technologies at newspapers under my study. I delved into documents because I believed they contained valuable information that helped me understand the phenomena better.

I was particularly interested in crucial documents that were made available to staff of the three newspapers when they announced convergence efforts. Notably, the ‘Digital First’ document which has become the anthem for any media organisation the world over adopting new media technologies in the practice of journalism, plus the Social Media Policy document to guide the journalists on how to use social media tools and to behave

on social media platforms. I also scrutinised other policy documents that illuminated my research questions. Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) say one very strong advantage of documents as a source of data in qualitative research is that they enhance the credibility of the study, an important aspect of trustworthiness. They suggest that documents are best used alongside other primary techniques of data generation such as interviews and observations.

Yin (2003) argues that documents are usually of value in corroborating data from other sources. Stake (1995) in Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011), says quite often documents serve as substitutes for records of activity that the researcher could not observe directly. However, according to Creswell (2012), documents should be scrutinised for accuracy, completeness, and usefulness in answering the research questions in your study. In the next section, I present how data was analysed.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis is basically trying to make sense of the data collected from the field. I analysed data thematically. The initial data is raw and messy and needs to be arranged as it contains multiple accounts of the different interviews or issues observed in the field. Creswell (2014) says it involves segmenting and taking apart the data (like peeling back the layers of an onion) as well as putting it back together. I analysed different kinds of data gathered from interviews, observations and documents.

To begin, I transcribed notes from the interviews. The transcription process allows researchers to get to know data thoroughly; otherwise it is usually a tedious and less-than-enjoyable task. I then read through the data several times to get the impression of what

the participants were saying about my research problem. This way, ideas began to take shape. Indeed, at this stage I was still trying to familiarise myself with the data. By reading through the data several times, I ensured it reflected the content of the interviews, sometimes even listening to the recordings again. The next step involved highlighting the aspects of the data from each of the 21 respondents that were repetitive or similar. That marked the initial stage of coding where data is arranged into similar groups. Braun and Clarke (2006) write that codes identify a basic feature of segment or element of the data that appears interesting to the analyst, but differs from the themes which are broader.

Since qualitative data is about depth, it means the information gathered from the field was enormous and thus I ensured that I analysed what was most important to illuminate my research questions. Indeed, Guest, MacQueen & Namey (2012) cited in Creswell (2014) argue that this kind of data is rich and dense, yet not all information is used in the qualitative study. Thus in the analysis of the data, researchers need to ‘winnow’ the data and retain what is most important. Creswell (2014) says codes are developed only on the basis of the emerging information collected from participants. The codes are used as well for generating a small number of themes or categories – perhaps five to seven themes for a research study. These themes are the ones that appear as major findings in qualitative studies. They display multiple perspectives from individuals and are supported by diverse quotations and specific evidence.

Yin (2009) says data analysis in qualitative research involves looking at the data, assigning categories and putting together emerging issues into themes in an attempt to answer the research questions. It is the search of themes relevant to the research topic

under which reasonably large amounts of data from different sources such as observations, interview and documents can be organised (Hammersley et al., 2001 cited in Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011).

Similarly, data from observation was analysed to see if there was consistency with what the participants had said during interviews. This method of data collection provides the researcher with useful insights into unconscious behaviour of respondents (Gorman et al., 2005, cited in Noort, 2007). In this case, it was easier to tell if what my participants said reflected the truth: Were they comfortable using social media tools in their work, and what was their attitude towards multi-media reporting strategies adopted by their respective media organisations? Obviously they could not lie as through observation I could gauge their attitudes depending on the facial expressions and mannerisms they displayed at work. As Gorman et al (2005) argues, participants can say whatever they want in an interview, but their behaviour and actions during observation verify the reality. Thus data obtained through observation was captured and presented in narrative form. Similarly, data gathered from documents was also analysed thematically and presented in narrative form.

In the final step of the data analysis, I made interpretations of the findings and drew conclusions. This means I made my own interpretations of what the participants had said, from the evidence presented for my research problem. However, the process demands going back and forth from data collection, data analysis and interpretation depending on the emerging issues since qualitative data is iterative. Dornyei (2007) says researchers use a zigzag pattern to arrive at the final conclusions. So in a sense, data interpretation is

an iterative process. For example, it is not at all unusual to decide well into the analytical phase that we need to collect some more data of a specific sort, or to go back to the original data transcripts to recode the text according to some newly-conceived categories.

This was done until I reached ‘saturation’ when I felt no more new information was coming forth. It is the point when further data does not seem to add new information; the iterative process stops producing new topics, ideas, and categories, and the project levels off (Richards 2005 cited in Dornyei, 2007). This is the point when the researcher gains a sense of what is relevant and what falls outside the scope of the investigation. According to Creswell (2014), drawing the final conclusions involves taking stock of what we have got, appraising the generated patterns and insights, and finally selecting a limited number of main themes or storylines to elaborate on; ideally, the main theme(s) serve(s) as a focus or lens through which the whole domain can be presented. The final step of data analysis was to produce a report after I had a set of fully worked out themes.

3.8 Trustworthiness of the Study

While validity and reliability have been the traditional standards used in quantitative studies to demonstrate the trustworthiness of a research project, this study being qualitative took a different approach to judge quality. Guba and Lincoln (1985) cited in Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011) say the alternative terms – credibility (accuracy of results), transferability (research findings can be generalised and that they are applicable in other contexts), reliability or dependability (the ability of the results to be replicated or repeated) and confirmability (the ability of the research findings to be confirmed or substantiated by others because the findings are neutral), be used in place of those

commonly found in quantitative research to evaluate the trustworthiness a study. Further, in consistency with relativist-interpretivist paradigm approach within which this study operates, I used the terms credibility, transferability, reliability/dependability, and confirmability to measure the trustworthiness of my study. I discuss the criteria for judging the trustworthiness of my study below.

3.8.1 Credibility

In credibility, I argue that my research findings are accurate in that I reported exactly what I found out in the field to the extent that readers are going to believe what I say. As (Yin, 2003; Mason, 2002) argue, a study can be said to be credible if it actually investigates what it claims to investigate and reports what actually happened in the field. To achieve credible results, I triangulated sources of data collection and presented multiple evidences from each of the sources. According to Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011), triangulation of methods and sources of data is noted as a way of strengthening the trustworthiness of a study.

Use of quotes in the report, for instance, accurately reflects what the participant had said or done. To achieve credible research findings, I also had a prolonged engagement with the participants to find answers to my research questions, coupled with persistent observation of their mannerisms, pitch and tone, and facial expressions to interpret the meanings to their experiences with new media technologies. These are essential to the understanding of the issue being studied and which that cannot be captured in audio recording.

3.8.2 Transferability

This refers to the extent to which research findings can be generalised or transferred to another context or setting. Jwan and Ong’ondo (2011) say it is the extent to which the findings of a study could be applicable to other contexts in which the study was not done. In this study, I used thick descriptions of situations, explanations and interpretations given by the participants during interviews to ensure transferability. In-depth interview as a technique for data generation was employed and this aided in thick descriptions as sufficient data was generated. Participants had the opportunity to discuss and clarify the interpretation, and contribute new or additional perspectives on the issue under study.

3.8.3 Reliability

Reliability in quantitative studies refers to the ability of research results to be replicated or repeated. I ensured that my research procedure and steps were clear – the philosophical paradigms, the approach, the methods and sources of data collection techniques to data analysis and interpretation, and conclusions. This means other researchers are able to follow and replicate the study and get similar results.

3.8.4 Confirmability

Confirmability, on the other hand, is the ability of the results to be confirmed and substantiated by others. Ong’ondo and Jwan (2020) argue that in qualitative studies, confirmability is addressed mainly through reflexivity; “acknowledging that we are part and parcel of the study and that we have certain experiences, feelings and opinions about what we are studying but taking care to explain what we have done to moderate our personal influence on the process and product of study” (p. 153). To enhance the

trustworthiness of my findings for confirmability, I attempted to guard against bias so that the study was shaped by the participants' interpretations and meanings and not the researcher's motivation or interest.

Reflexivity was also employed for confirmability of results. Reflexive practices allowed me to self-search to examine the baggage that I brought to the research study especially because I was previously an insider working in a newsroom. I was likely to bring in assumptions and preconceptions in the way I framed or worded the questions for participants and this could affect the results. So reflexivity allowed me to continuously reflect on the entire study. It is only through recognising one's own biases and assumptions that you can revise or reframe questions to be asked in the next round of interviewing or as the study unfolds. Generally, triangulation of data sources is also a primary strategy that can be used and would support the principle that the phenomena be viewed and explored from multiple perspectives.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical behaviour is defined as a set of moral principles, rules, or standards governing a person or profession. Researchers are responsible for ensuring that participants are not harmed, privacy is maintained, and the participants have provided informed consent. Several ethical principles that guided this study include;

3.9.1 Approval from Review Board

To start with, I gained approval from Moi University's ethics review board which reviewed my research questions to ensure I adhered to code of conduct for researchers. In-depth interviews allow the interviewer to uncover intense details of the interviewee's

experience that would be undisclosed in, say, a questionnaire. Thus the use of in-depth interviews is common in qualitative research and such studies are subject to scrutiny by ethics committees.

3.9.2 Informed Consent

This was obtained by asking the participants to fill a consent form to show their willingness to take part in the study (See Appendix I). The aim of the research was explained and how the research findings were likely to affect them or organisations they work for, especially because this is an academic research.

It is important that participants are informed of the nature of the study so that they can make a decision on whether or not to participate. Participants in this study were not coerced to participate and only those who approved were interviewed. Verdugo (1998) cited in Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011), says ethically participants should be informed of the general nature of the research so that they can make informed decision about whether or not to participate in the research.

3.9.3 Do No Harm

Ong'ondo and Jwan (2020) say researchers should avoid any information, action or process that could cause harm to not just the researcher but also the participants. This includes harm of whatever kind; emotional, psychological or physical. The idea is not to do anything that will harm the participants in the study. I ensured the participants did not in any way feel uncomfortable taking part in the study. Whenever I noticed negative reactions expressed in the course of research, I adjusted the questions accordingly. I also discontinued the line of questioning that made them uneasy.

3.9.4 Privacy and Anonymity

Participants in a research study have a reasonable expectation that privacy will be guaranteed. This means that no identifying information about the participants was revealed in research findings. Further, the identity of any group or organisation participating in a research study has a reasonable expectation that its identity will not be revealed. In this case, I thought about privacy at two levels; individual journalists and the media organisation they work for.

Qualitative researchers face a conflict between conveying detailed, accurate accounts of the social world and protecting participants in the study. For example, individual journalists and editors interviewed may be seen to disclose too much information about their own organisations, some of it negative, which might get them fired. To guard against this, I adopted pseudonyms in my reports to shield my participants from any possible disciplinary action by their organisations.

However, the three newspapers where research was conducted have one managing editor each in-charge of convergence, who can easily be identified in my research findings which may be uploaded on the Internet or some of the information developed for journal articles. Use of pseudonyms may not apply in this case. The identities of the managing editors cannot easily be disguised. To address this, I obtained a signed consent authorising use of such information in my research. As for the organisation, I was used pseudonyms as well.

3.9.5 Confidentiality

Participants in a research study expect that information provided to the researcher will be treated in a confidential manner. The reason for this is that during your research, you might learn a considerable amount of personal information because interviews are open-ended and may move in various directions. As a researcher, I took control. If I sensed an interview was moving in a personal direction, I rephrased questions so that I comfortably got the right information needed to address my research questions. All in all, it was my responsibility to keep the information I learned confidential. Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011), however, observe that unless the participant wants certain information to be treated with confidentiality, of which the researcher must adhere to, it may be difficult not to divulge all the information since it will already have been explained to them such data may end up in journal articles or published on the Internet.

3.9.6 Intrusiveness

Individuals participating in a research study have a reasonable expectation that the conduct of the researcher will not be excessively intrusive. Intrusiveness can mean intruding on their time, intruding on their space, and intruding on their personal lives. While designing my research study, I made a reasonable estimate of the amount of time participation was to take particularly because my participants are busy people with tight schedules – journalists and editors dealing with a perishable commodity; news. My interviews avoided intruding into their working hours. I scheduled my interviews at their offices and tried to limit my interviews to a maximum of two hours per session.

3.9.7 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher discussed the philosophical leanings that influenced the research study. The chapter further looked at the research approach, the research design, the sampling procedure, the data generation techniques and how data was analysed as well as the ethical considerations that were adhered to in conducting the research. The next chapter analyses data obtained through in-depth interviews, observation and document review.

Table 3.2: Summary of Key Issues in Chapter Three

Research Philosophical Paradigm	Relativist-interpretivist; This is concerned with understanding an individual's perspective on an issue in order to have multiple viewpoints from respondents who are studied in their natural working environment.
Research approach & design	Qualitative approach. Multiple case study of 21 journalists – reporters, editors and media managers from three media houses in Kenya.
Data generation techniques	I used in-depth interviews, observation and document analysis to obtain data from participants which I analysed thematically.
Trustworthiness	I ensured trustworthiness of study through triangulation, chain of evidence, thick descriptions and reflexivity.
Ethical considerations	I obtained informed consent from participants to take part in study, I ensured there was confidentiality of data obtained, and issues of privacy and anonymity were adhered to.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings of the study on newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by media convergence. The study focused on three major print media houses in Kenya that have adopted new media in newsgathering, production and distribution. The presentation of the results in the sections below is guided by the research questions, namely:

- a. Print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media.
- b. How print media policies and practices adjust to dynamics of convergence.
- c. Journalists' perceptions of opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use.

The data is presented in narrative form with relevant citations of participants as evidence. Information obtained through in-depth interviews form the bulk of data with data from documents and observation being used to corroborate evidence from the former.

The table below shows symbols for sources of data that feature in Chapters 4 and 5. X, Y and Z represent the newspapers they work for.

Table 4.1: Symbols used to Indicate Sources of Data

X1	– Interview with online editor/manager from media house X.
X2	– Interview with political editor/manager from media house X.
X3	– Interview with news editor from media house X.
X4	– Interview with an online sub-editor from media house X.
X5	– Interview with a senior reporter from media house X.
X6	– Interview with a reporter from media house X.
X7	– Interview with a reporter from media house X.
Y1	– Interview with a managing editor from media house Y.
Y2	– Interview with quality control editor/manager from media house Y.
Y3	– Interview with online news editor from media house Y.
Y4	– Interview with a print sub editor from media house Y.
Y5	– Interview with a senior reporter from media house Y.
Y6	– Interview with a reporter from media house Y.
Y7	– Interview with a reporter from media house Y.
Z1	– Interview with a managing editor from media house Z.
Z2	– Interview with an online editor/manager from media house Z.
Z3	– Interview with assignment editor from media house Z.
Z4	– Interview with sub editor from media house Z.
Z5	– Interview with a reporter from media house Z.
Z6	– Interview with a reporter from media house Z.
Z7	– Interview with a reporter from media house Z.

4.2 Print Media Managers' Constructions of Dynamics of Convergence

This section addresses the first research question in the study which is; What are the print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies? The findings are presented in two sections as 4.2.1 Constructions on opportunities of convergence of old and new technologies and 4.2.2 Constructions on challenges of convergence of old and new technologies. The analysis combines data obtained through in-depth interviews, observation and documents analysis.

4.2.1 Constructions on Opportunities of Convergence of Old and New Technologies

The majority of the participants identified several opportunities of converging old and new media. The findings of the opportunities are presented in the sub-sections below as: 4.2.1.1 Convergence as emergence of multiple platforms for content delivery; 4.2.1.2 Convergence as emergence of new audiences; 4.2.1.3 Convergence as a cause for continuous innovations and 4.2.1.4 and Convergence as a new journalistic genre.

4.2.1.1 Convergence as Emergence of Multiple Platforms for Content Delivery

Participants said the adoption of new media compelled their media houses to create content to be distributed across multiple platforms. New platforms allow sharing of text, photos, videos, and audios. Their advantage over old media is that they allow users not only to share but also to comment on what has been shared thus feedback is immediate. The mobile alerts, the websites, the social media like Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Telegram and many others are the new platforms for sharing content that the media houses are using to distribute content besides their print publications. One participant said;

You know we have different platforms for distribution of content. That basically means we get to converge that content in the form of getting the video clips from the video people. Audio in the form of podcasts, then we get text, and then we get graphics and data from elsewhere. – Z2

However, the study revealed no single print media could claim to have adopted all the new media platforms in the market and exploited them for news distribution. When it comes to social media platforms, at least all the three media houses use Twitter and Facebook not only to source for news but also to distribute content from the print and online platforms. From my observation during the field visit, *The Star* uses the following sites; Telegram, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, and Google+. It's not using Snapchat yet. *The Star* also publishes content on Whatsapp for sharing with subscribers at a fee. The same case with Telegram – what is shared with audience is charged.

The Nation is big on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram but it's yet to start publishing on Whatsapp and Telegram. Similarly, *The Standard* uses Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn and also distributes content via Whatsapp channel to subscribers at a fee. All the three also used YouTube for distribution of videos. One manager explains;

We have fairly big accounts on social media. We are active on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. We also went big on YouTube. We did recognise that doing video for online is different from TV so we have a team of young journalists who work purposely to produce videos for online. – Z1

The adoption of new platforms means that print has to rethink the strategies for distributing content in multiple platforms. Participants said they have to keep figuring out how to do it to retain or woo new audiences. In an email communication, one senior manager told the staff about the expectations in the new reality;

We have to re-engineer our processes to respond to this new reality in order to stay relevant online. Our websites have to be dynamic and interesting. Our social media platforms have to be aggressive and engage deeply. We have to increasingly think of videos as a vital tool in story-telling. While converting our websites and social media pages into breaking news sites, we must transform our print products into deeply engaging Day 2 news platforms that explain and interpret, rather than simply recount important events. – Email communication, August 18, 2016.

4.2.1.2 Convergence as Emergence of New Audiences

Participants revealed that new digital tools made it possible to create content for multiple audiences. Some are unique online audiences who the newspaper never reached with its content. Participants in the study revealed that their media organisations had made a deliberate effort to create content for the new audiences to be found in various new media platforms – that content is no longer created for print publications only. However, the challenge was to figure out and frequently provide the right content for the right audiences in the right platform.

In the digital era, journalists are required to file stories for various platforms – print, mobile, and online. Online includes websites and various social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp, Instagram, Telegram etc. Every platform attracts its unique audiences. The study revealed that younger people will prefer Snapchat and Instagram, there are those who are comfortable on Twitter and Facebook, and the older generation still prefers consuming news in hard copy newspaper. The reason for convergence is to follow the audiences where they are and with content they prefer at whatever time they want that content.

In order to attract the various audiences and grow their numbers online, the study revealed that the media organisations are creating content deliberately targeting certain sections of the society.

Websites targeting young people have been developed with content that suits them. For instance, *The Star* has mpashonews.co.ke, an entertainment site targeting young people. The *Nation* has nairobinews.nation.co.ke that also serves the young people with entertainment and gossip. *The Standard* has sde.co.ke that is also largely an entertainment site with a good dose of gossip. There is also *Game Yetu* targeting sports lovers and cookery site for those who love cooking. An editor confirms the fact that media houses create content targeted for different audiences;

We have Mpasho News which uses a lot of videos to attract the audiences who are mostly young people. Mpasho is an entertainment website. The other thing we have done is to try to get different channels for the distribution. For instance, we have a Telegram channel with 3,300 subscribers and others. – X1

The *Daily Nation* uses Twitter and Facebook to share story links to audiences who favour those platforms but does not use Snapchat. Journalists also use the two social networking sites to find story tips and sources and to share their story links with their followers. *The Star* does not use Snapchat but it's heavy on Telegram. One manager speaks about the content his media organisation distributes to audiences;

...we have various strands of digital news we publish, the main authoring is the website. We also send out SMS alerts to subscribers in various channels – we have 10 of them. The biggest one is Breaking News with many subscribers. Other subscribers are interested in news, politics, entertainment, sports, etc. – Z1

The study also revealed that the managements had not made a decision to pursue audiences in all the platforms that have come up. This means the media houses could be isolating a slice of audiences who may be in need of content.

4.2.1.3 Convergence as cause for Continuous Innovations

Respondents reported need for continuous innovations to attract the audiences in the online platforms. The nature of technology to change fast was cited as reason for need for new innovations through adoption of new platforms for distribution of news. Print media seeking to connect with the young audiences particularly has to keep up the pace of evolving technology and new media trends. The participants' views are captured below;

Opportunities are there, so long as you ride the Web. Digital technologies change very fast; if you don't adjust, the game changes tomorrow and you find yourself nowhere. – Z2

Even the website has to compete with social media because the latter is faster. Before you update anything on the website, people have started talking about it on Whatsapp. So our question every day is how to keep innovating to ensure that we don't lose our audiences and at the same time how do we give them quality and value. The challenges are there and they are continuing because for instance there are 500 news websites in Kenya. People have alternatives so we have to ensure we are the most trusted website with the most quality and unique stories. We are trying to do that. – X1

Each of the three media houses often come up with innovative ways to attract audiences in its online and print platforms. Innovations are in form of story-telling techniques and adoption of newer technologies, etc. The study revealed the print media houses in the study started by equipping journalists with necessary new media gadgets and skills to produce content for multiple platforms. Besides, the study revealed all the media houses also bought digital recorders for reporters. These would help the reporters to take audio recordings of sources to use in the websites. Basic training was given on how to use the

new gadgets for gathering and producing news. As one journalist, who is currently an editor confirms, the company bought staff smartphones when the management made a decision to adopt new technologies.

I remember when I was still a reporter here we when were given smartphones to start piloting convergence. We were shown how to take videos, and encouraged to shoot them and submit them alongside our stories for use in the web platforms. We were also encouraged to take photos and do slide shows, and all that. – Z3

For the three media houses, the participants said training is an ongoing process. But one manager acknowledges that it's not been done the same way for all the journalists.

... it is an ongoing process. They cannot all be trained 100 per cent at once. It is the case everywhere. First of all, you get like-minded ones – those who obviously know these things. You get guys who have gotten into the idea. Then what was the word used? Late adopters or what? I am not using the word laggard; it is negative. For the late adopter you deal with him/her later. – Y2

Besides setting up official Twitter, Facebook and YouTube accounts, the media houses continue to adopt various social media platforms as technology evolves. However, no media house can claim to be distributing content in all the social media platforms in existence. For instance, while they all have a presence on YouTube, none is sharing videos on Flickr. Journalists were also required to set up their individual social media platforms and guidelines were given on how to use these platforms without compromising their journalistic ethics. However, as the study revealed, not all journalists have adopted the social media platforms. In particular, the legacy journalist has been reluctant to adopt new technologies.

Another big innovation for media houses in the study was the investment in chart beats, screens mounted in newsrooms for everyone to see how stories are performing online in terms of how many people are reading – the views and hits. The media houses are also

using Google Analytics for the same purpose. *The Star*, for instance, has two screens in the newsroom for monitoring performance. The purpose of the chart beats, therefore, is to guide the editors and reporters on stories that are trending so that they can be given more prominence on websites and in the print edition. It also guides them in deciding which stories to take forward in print edition the following day.

The study revealed new teams were hired to monitor the analytics as part of the innovations. The team dealing with analytics works behind the scenes to get the real numbers and inform editors on which stories to pursue depending on the views and hits they get online. They use softwares that can crunch numbers to monitor the behaviours of readers online. As one editor puts it, this team is at the centre of any convergence efforts in modern newsrooms;

To tell a trending story is basic. This team goes deeper; what they do is like Social Science Research. They tell us this time we are doing so well and what it is we did differently. They tell us which stories people like the most and that informs the decisions on story selection. They can also tell us how long a reader stays with the story, their gender and age. – Y2

As part of their efforts to attract audiences to their online platforms, all the media houses have invested heavily on videos with the Nation going big with the Video Hub in 2016 complete with the necessary equipment and staff to create videos for the various platforms – the mobile, the websites and the YouTube. An email sent to staff by a senior manager when the Video Hub was set up reads in part;

Our convergence journey continues and today I'm happy to announce the setting up of the Nation Videos Hub in Nairobi to hasten our innovation on story-telling. Emerging digital trends show that video is growing very rapidly hence the decision to put together some of the more enthusiastic amongst our journalists to work together in one space and lead the process that ultimately will culminate in the creation of a fully-fledged Nation videos newsroom. Starting immediately, all teams

who usually work on uploading videos will work as one cohesive unit in this Hub. They will do all that is needed to create videos and deliver them through digital means to mobiles, desktops, tablets, and smart TVs. As I have explained before, every Nation journalist has a role in producing digital videos. – Email communication to staff, September 1, 2016.

The Star, on the other hand, has innovated in terms of content presented to readers as well as videos. The media house tries to give as much content as possible and in a variety during the morning hours and thereafter constantly updating stories online.

Every other day we try to come with new ways to ensure that we are driving more traffic to our website. One innovative way we have come up with to attract the audiences is the Breakfast Briefing. This gives the readers a preview of key stories of the day. We have an email for it that goes out to subscribers that helps us to get more people to come in the site. Another way is to use as many videos as possible. Readers want to see more of that than text. If it is photos or graphics, we turn them into videos to tell a story. – X1

The Nation has also tried to innovate with an Artificial Intelligence project. It came up with the Nation Kiki project in 2017 to be found on the website nation.co.ke and which helps the readers to find past stories.

You ask it anything; it goes to our databases and fishes it out. Actually it will ask, How are you? You reply. It says, Ask me anything. Then you tell it I want some content, say, on Uhuru Kenyatta. It actually gives you the latest story we published on Uhuru Kenyatta from our Content Management System. It fishes out all those stories and gives you. – Z2

The study revealed that Nation Kiki's main aim right now is distribution of content. In future, it might be used to create content. Other innovations for the *Nation* include the Data Desk – the *NewsPlex*. This creates databases from the scratch, say, on extra judicial killings. So anytime there are new shootings it updates so that every year reporters can generate stories from that data.

Perhaps the biggest innovation at the three media houses has been investments in publishing systems. The management view is that there is need to invest in the right systems to enable publishing multimedia stories. All the media houses had to acquire new publishing systems when they launched convergence. Newspaper Z used DTI for print and CoreMedia for the website. For example, one respondent speaks about the systems,

When we went big, we acquired a Content Management System that could publish all types of media on the web. We have been using a system called CoreMedia all through to put content online. There are others. That CMS has been a stand-alone operation from the print system, the DTI, which we have since stopped using. As time went by, we were like we can't have two separate systems – the DTI for print and CoreMedia for online. What if one system crashes? And then we have to do backups for both; which is expensive. Other newsrooms in the developed world have combined systems. When I came back from The Washington Post in the US where I had gone for training, I told the management what I saw. For instance, they have just one system and they can publish anything on it. Their system can publish the paper, it can publish on the big screens; desktops, it can publish on medium screens; iPads, then it can do on small screens; mobile phones. So I told our management we should be investing in a system of such like... – Z2

Newspaper Y, on the other hand, uses a Content Management System called DCX, while Newspaper X uses Converge. These were necessary investments for the media houses in order to have a presence on social media and several other online platforms and which make publishing multimedia content possible. Plans are underway to acquire newer systems at Newspapers X and Y.

In 2018, the one newspaper abandoned DTI that was mainly used for print and acquired a new Content Management System called News Cycle which allows publication of multimedia stories. The system can publish the print newspaper as well as the online stories. In July 2018 the paper production switched completely to News Cycle as DTI was closed.

It is still work in progress. At the moment they have finished configuring it for print and the current newspaper is produced using that system. But we have been doing upgrades on CoreMedia to link it on News Cycle so that you can still publish on News Cycle through CoreMedia. So we are linking those two so that copy is written once and published in many platforms. There has been substantial investment in terms of systems to ensure that we can do this work in a multimedia format without switching and having separate operations because convergence like I said is about people, processes and systems. – Z2

The advantage of the publishing systems used by the three newspapers is that that they allow reporters to file stories from the field and upload on the CMS through their mobile phones. A link is installed on the phone which opens to the CMS and allows typing of stories and submitting so that they can be picked by respective editors in the office. They also upload audios and videos. However, some journalists use the Whatsapp platform to do the same. Participants revealed that investments in systems are a continuous process as digital technology evolves fast.

4.2.1.4 Convergence as a New Journalistic Genre

Participants said a new journalist has emerged in the era of the Internet. The new journalist has more skills to produce content for multiple platforms. Thus the greatest change in the practice of journalism is the transformation of the journalist from one who files stories for a single platform to one who creates content for multiple platforms. The journalist of today must have the multimedia skills to function as required in the newsroom.

The journalist is, therefore, at the centre of the convergence efforts being put in place by the media organisation he or she works for. Participants revealed that the need to acquire multimedia skills is a constant song by managers to journalists. This was after realisation

some were reluctant to embrace new technologies. An email sent to staff in one of the media houses confirms this;

We are now not needlessly hitched to our traditional platforms. Former 'print' journalists will obviously need to learn to do short videos and podcasts. Former TV journalists will need to do long-form texts sometimes. Every journalist will need to be good at doing web stories and some aspect of data journalism. All of us will need to learn how to deepen our engagement with audiences and remain open-minded about new platforms and possibilities as mobile journalism takes centre-stage in our professional lives. – Email communication, August 18, 2016.

Therefore, with adoption of new technologies, the modern journalist is expected to do much more every day. While the fundamental tenets of journalism have remained the same, the role of journalists has changed in significant ways. It is no longer about getting to a news event and recording and reporting events but telling it in different formats. Convergence has, therefore, become a buzzword in modern newsrooms the world over. A manager describes it this way;

Convergence is so wide, but I think I can break it down to four things; the content, the people or the staff, the processes, and the systems. So when we talk of people then we are talking about our staff; our reporters and writers. Our writers, our editors and their subs get to do as many things as possible. If we have reporters who traditionally have been reporting for print, then we try to make them also report for online, and collect content in the forms that they were not doing before; like audio, video and then graphics and data, because traditionally they did text only. – Z2

A senior manager describes convergence as “the process of collapsing newsrooms to allow more efficiencies, more interaction across platforms and more opportunities to staff to challenge themselves in new areas of story-telling”.

4.2.2 Constructions on Challenges of Convergence of Old and New Technologies

The majority of respondents interviewed for the study view convergence as disruptive but necessary for print media in the digital age. Participants cited several challenges of convergence in their media organisations. These are explained below;

4.2.2.1 The Lack of Training, Facilitation and Equipment Necessary for the Modern

Journalist

Implementing convergence does not stop with adoption of new media. Training of journalists to equip them with multimedia skills is one of the challenges managers have to deal with. As some of them pointed out, technology changes fast and unless they continually learn new things, then it would be difficult to survive in the new media landscape. Converged newsrooms can only operate with success if the staff is trained on multimedia skills. The journalists were offered basic training when the newspapers under study launched convergence but the challenge has been keeping up the pace as technology evolves.

We haven't had trainings for everybody across board this year but we find opportunities for reporters to do so. What editors have been doing, in a small way, is to look for an opportunity to invite people with expert knowledge on convergence to come and speak to reporters. If there is a trip somewhere where reporters can learn a few new things, we let them go. But we have not been able to do trainings here mainly because of finances. We had a very tight budget for the last one year so training was sort of relegated and we were looking for opportunities which just won't cost us. We have a few of our reporters trained by Google. We also sent three people to Germany for short trainings on digital. We are constantly looking for training opportunities for our reporters. In fact, there is one we are sending to the US this coming month for about a month. – X2

At the beginning, we gave them basic training. What we do often is to identify their weaknesses and start addressing them one by one. Most reporters have been trained on how to tell a multimedia story and how to connect the various elements. – Z2

The issue of finances is not unique to one newspaper. It is the case in all the three under study first because while big investments are being done to grow online platforms, these platforms are not generating profits. The media organisations have not, for instance, devised ways to charge readers for all the content they consume in online platforms. So far, two media houses are experimenting with a paywall and charging a small fee for its prime content. As one manager put it, the media organisations have to plan and find resources for improving online platforms including training.

The management knows there is no shortcut with convergence. It has to be done and it is going to require a lot of resources. There is certain equipment; very expensive like for stripping pictures from words and from videos. We need to have it. We need to train journalists. Convergence is a process. – Y2

As the study revealed, the other big challenge is that the turnover of staff is very high at the three newspapers. Some of those who the company takes time to invest in training get poached by other media houses or corporate organisations as well as NGOs.

We keep on employing... But also remember we train them and they go to BBC. NGOs are also becoming a threat. Even Red Cross has become a threat. – Y2

... the hemorrhage in newsrooms has been very high. Ours is one of the newsrooms that has been losing a lot of staff to Public Relations firms, communication companies, competition and others. In just two years, we have very many new faces here. Reason? We have been hiring and firing. Some have been fired, others have been retrenched, and others have been brought in to fill in those vacancies. – Z2

Even as the new crop of young tech savvy journalists have been praised for their quick uptake of new technologies, they have challenges in that they still lack the experience to write incisive reports. While the challenge for managers is to change the attitude of established journalists to embrace technology, with the younger ones they have to deal with the fact that they lack the skills for in-depth reporting. The managers are agreed

basic training was offered when their respective companies started adopting new media.

On training the managers had this to say:

The radio journalists were taught how the newspaper works, how the stories are written and what they needed to know. We did the same thing with reporters for newspaper who had no idea about radio. They were taught about audios, the quality of a good audio and how to edit that audio, what software is needed to do it. We did similar trainings for online journalists. – X2

We gave them phones at the beginning; we gave them laptops and basic training. – Z2

But questions arise, for instance, over the quality of content coming from reporters who managers say they lack training. With no sufficient training are they doing it right? Are they producing quality videos, audios and photos? One respondent said;

I could say it is trial and error. It depends on the reporters' effort; one can try and get a good camera to get a good photo even a good smartphone instead of submitting for the sake of it. It is a challenge though. During the training that was offered, people were taught on how to get good videos, edit videos and how to submit them to the online team. – Z6

Management at the three media organisations that were studied also said journalists had not been adequately facilitated with the necessary equipment to gather and produce stories with multimedia elements. This is what they said;

When we began convergence we bought recorders and smartphones. I can tell you not all recorders are there right now but we plan to replace them maybe at the end of the year. We encourage each one of them to have these recording devices if not to record with their phones. A few people do get airtime but most reporters don't get it. – X2

We gave them phones and laptops. Out of a hundred, I will say we are close to 90 per cent equipped. – Z2

4.2.2.2 Reluctance by Established Print Journalists to Embrace Technology

The majority of the participants felt some legacy journalists were not willing to embrace the new technologies especially when the news organisations started convergence journalism. These legacy journalists were more comfortable filing stories for print and were reluctant to use new media tools or to create content to be delivered to the audiences in the new platforms. One manager explained:

... there are those journalists who believe they belong to print, or to radio, or to online. It becomes a challenge and we have to keep on reminding them they have to work for all platforms. If someone was primarily a print journalist, it is very difficult to change that person to think online first and radio second. But with the new journalism at the moment, you enter our door and first thing we tell you are the requirements to be multi-skilled. It becomes easier to deal with these ones. But some of the older ones are trying, some are still not there yet. – X3

The study also shows that a lot more younger journalists have embraced technology compared to the older print journalists. Compared to the legacy journalist, the younger journalists joining the newsroom or those with a few years of experience are easier to convert to start using new media. This is best captured by three managers;

...the new reporters are really good. They have adopted technology. I can say journalists who were hired about four to five years ago are brilliant with the new technologies because it is what they use on daily basis. – Y3

So I will say we have had some mixed blood; there are young tech savvy guys who just got switched on immediately. Then there are old senior guys who still feel more comfortable with the traditional print platform. – Z2

... I am going to say older, more experienced journalists are really into legacy media. They have held onto the way things should work, the old ways of doing things. Even getting someone to run a Twitter account becomes a fight. What they don't understand is that once you get your followers it will be so easy to distribute your content. – Z4

However, managers noted that they were seeing less resistance from legacy journalists compared to when they started the convergence process as captured below:

We have seen the legacy journalist now realising that this is the ultimate that they also need to do stories for online. So it is work in progress, we have a few learners. – Y1

...when we began there was a lot of resistance because people wanted the status quo to remain especially for print writers. But things are changing. Actually this is the future of journalism, they now know if you are not on board then you don't have a future in the newsroom. – Z3

The study further revealed that it is not everyone who follows the digital first rule for filing for online platforms first and finish with print. The attitude is still negative for the older established print journalists. Further, I observed one newspaper had not been made mandatory for the journalists to write for online first. So they write stories for print as if the news just happened yet it has been all over the online platforms. For those who did file stories for online first, it was out of personal initiative. Here, it was not a matter of the journalist being reluctant to embrace technology but lack of direction from management.

I also observed that at this particular newspaper, the print and online newsrooms are in separate locations. There are separate teams working on stories that go to online and print. However, the online editor/news editor sometimes reaches out to print journalists via phone to request for a story for online especially the breaking news.

However, some of those who have taken personal initiative to file for online whether the media house they work for has put in place the necessary structures or not are actually established print journalists with years of experience. These do not wait to be facilitated with smartphones because they buy their own, they do not wait to be facilitated with

bundles and from my observation during the field trips they use almost all the social networking platforms to source for stories and even to share content. They are constantly on these sites which they can access on their smartphones and will be the first to know of any breaking news and file the same for their media houses. Two managers concur;

Yes, there are various levels; varied levels of success, but at least these ones try to do something that brings us a video or a photo – not just the text. - Z2

I have seen people who are older and are completely able to grasp things. You know they may not be as agile as they were many years ago but you can see their interest in learning the new technology. - X2

The management views convergence as on-going process which improves with time. The progress has been slow but they are not relenting. They are not at the level that is required and none of the newspapers can claim to be fully converged.

...We still have a long way to go because convergence is a continuous process. You can never say you are fully converged because I see challenges every day. You try and deal with them and when you think you are done something else comes up. So in the end it is work in progress. We just hope that today can be better than yesterday. – X2

4.2.2.3 Tough to implement Day Two Journalism

Participants view is that while new platforms allow for quick distribution of content and gaining number of audiences online, the challenge is getting an angle for the Day 2 story, that is, repurposing the content for the print edition the following day after the news has been shared in various online platforms as events unfold. The question is what the readers will find unique in the newspaper the following day that has not already been in online platforms. The study revealed that it has not been easy for media houses to shift to that style of reporting by tweaking the stories for the print the following day. One manager commented:

It is one of the major problems we are having but the good thing is that we are consistently reminding our writers that every single day they have to develop news for print. – X2

There are many instances that the media houses are not able to tweak the story for print the next day. Day Two pieces should be in-depth, more incisive and more analytical. This requires the reporters to ask more tough questions and to have the sources or contacts, yet sometimes this is a challenge. The stories end up in the print pages the same way they were published online. One editor cited increased workload as one of the factors slowing down implementation of Day Two journalism as seen below:

The Day Two story is part of my deliverables but my issue is on capacity because the news editor cannot do everything. I have to confirm meetings and plan meetings at 10.30am and at 3pm. I have to assign duties to reporters. I have to brief and debrief reporters when they go to the field and come back respectively. I have to prepare the docket. I have to take telephone calls. There is so much to do. I am all alone. After restructuring the desk now has only one news editor. We were three before retrenchment. We are still slow but we are getting there. – Z3

Each media house is trying to confront the challenge in its unique way; Newspaper Z has retained some established print journalists to repurpose the story for the newspaper. As for Newspaper X, editors help reporters to rework the story to make it suitable for Day Two. But what happens if the story is not improved for Day Two? One editor said:

We are trying and sometimes there are cases where we publish the story that happened yesterday the same way it appeared online. I can tell you for sure convergence cannot be perfect overnight. It is a process that takes a lot and I can tell you sometimes even the editors struggle with it. Unless you are very keen and determined, convergence is going to be a challenge. – X2

To navigate the challenge of finding the angle for Day Two, one manager explained what his newspaper is doing:

The production page has the rewrite editors and the people who just mind about how the story is going to look in the paper. These are older journalists who have been unable to adapt to online. They take care of print newspaper. This is the team to help younger reporters move the story forward from day one to day two. Day Two has been a challenge, and also I wish to set it clear that not every story has Day Two angle. There are some stories that are just straight. There has never been a background to them. – Z2

Another big challenge for Day Two Journalism is time. This kind of reporting requires time to do in-depth and incisive pieces. Journalists are always constrained when it comes to time. That is the situation the print media finds itself in, and yet that is where the focus should be in order to sustain the newspaper. Participants felt there is need to support the print newspaper because it is still paying their salaries even as they seek to develop the online platforms.

4.2.2.4 The Challenge of Verification of News

The majority of participants acknowledged that as much as the new media has created new possibilities for journalism to distribute content in a variety of formats, this has not been without ethical challenges. The speed with which the new media platforms allow sending of information increases competition between media players and everyone wants to be the first to tweet and make scoops. Unverified news ends up in the platforms in their haste to be the first to post. One manager commented:

We have made mistakes but we still ask the reporters and editors to ensure they verify information before publishing. – X2

Besides, since content is easily available online most journalists no longer take time to do serious investigations. As a result, the participants also revealed that the quality of journalism has declined. Sometimes people create pseudo accounts whose aim is to spew

untruths and it becomes difficult for journalists to verify the true or real accounts of sources. Other times sources in online platforms deliberately send in stories they know are not true. One manager explained:

People want to tweet fast and in this era of fake news, it's a big challenge for us. Someone can post photos of a road accident as if it has just happened and when we post it in our official social media accounts, readers react saying the accident happened three years ago. So it's a big challenge for media houses. For print we have to get serious news which passes through several gatekeepers. You see that chain helps to eliminate mistakes unlike in online platforms where the same is not happening. – X3

However, the participant noted that journalists have been encouraged to look out for credible sources online. A good number in this case are government ministries, ministers, security agencies, because some are very active online. As for mistakes made, the good thing with online is that you can easily correct them unlike in print editions. The reporter is asked to provide the correct details and facts and the story is amended. Journalists have been encouraged to verify information from multiple sources before publication. However, when they publish and get it all wrong, media houses pull down stories from online.

While there are strict editing checks for print, the study found out that media houses employed social media moderators to ensure there was moderation of user comments on websites. “How many comments can they read or monitor?” one manager asked saying it was impossible to go through thousands of comments to check what people were saying online. The participants felt while their respective managements needed to invest in online gatekeeping, the finances were lacking. One manager complained some journalists sometimes may not have the interest and capacity to verify news before publication as explained below:

It is a big problem like I said we have journalists who are more into digital media, they don't have contacts and for them to produce stories they end up plagiarising from the Internet. Sometimes they don't have the diligence to countercheck or verify information. We keep telling them to ensure their stories are credible, and written in the journalistic way. They have to adhere to the code of ethics for practice of journalism. There has to be fairness, accuracy, right to reply... all those things. – X2

While the managers say they strive to ensure credible reporting at all times, verification of news remains a big challenge.

4.3 How Print Media Policies and Practices Adjust to the Dynamics of Convergence

This section tackles the second research question; How print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics of convergence of old and new technologies. Respondents in the current study are familiar with a number of policies that guide their practice of journalism. These policies existed before their respective media houses began convergence. They were, however, revised to suit the changing media landscape after the adoption of new technologies. There are other new policies that were formulated after the adoption of new technologies. These target the journalists when gathering and producing news and editors or managers when handling multimedia content. All journalists are required to be conversant with the contents of the policies and adhere to the rules on daily basis.

4.3.1 Changes in Print Media Policy

Newspapers came up with policies and revised others to guide the practice of journalism in converged newsrooms. They are the Editorial Policy and the Social Media Policy which I discuss below;

4.3.1.1 Changes in Editorial Policy

All the newspaper under study have an editorial policy. This crucial document existed even before the Internet. The shareholders and Board of the media houses revised the document to accommodate the changes in newsrooms as a result of the emergence of new technologies. One manager captures the changed scenario;

The one thing that has changed completely is our editorial policy and editorial guidelines. They had to be revised to capture the new reality of digital. So that initially it was, before you publish a story in the newspaper; at the moment they say before you publish a story, ensure that it is like this and like that. Ensure it has gone through these processes and stages of production. And the other thing that has changed is the so-called Standing Operating Procedures; the SOPs. We have actually come up with documents guiding almost every aspect of our business; including how to break news on Twitter or the stages this and that story should go through. We now have all those documents which were not there before. Our Editorial Policy was revised around 2016-2017. Then guidelines on how we do everything to do with privacy, ethics, code of conduct, how to identify and conduct yourself online were included. – Z2

Indeed, while previously the document detailed the realities of a single platform, after revision it includes other platforms notably the social media, the mobile and websites that are the recent developments in the media industry.

A review of the Editorial Policy shows that it comprises the rules governing all editorial content in the media platforms for the different media houses. They guide journalists as they source for news and compile it for the various platforms for their respective news organisation. For instance, Newspaper Z Editorial Policy emphasises on the need for the editors to ensure whatever goes out to the various platforms of the company as news is accurate. The Company's Editorial Policy reads in part;

Veracity and accuracy in reporting are an integral part of editorial policy and editors will only publish that which they believe to be true, fair and accurate. Every effort will be made to ascertain the factual accuracy of articles through, for instance, cross-checking of facts and the mandatory use of tape-recorders or other recording devices. – Newspaper Z Editorial Policy

This becomes important in the digital era when outlets compete to be the first to break news and end up making errors. The editorial policy has a section for code of conduct for journalists as they go about their duties of gathering and production of news. This emphasises the need for all journalists to maintain the highest professional and ethical standards.

Issues of accuracy in reporting, privacy, confidentiality, fair opportunity to reply by sources, obscenity, taste and tone of reporting form part of the code of conduct for every journalist as they go about their duties. In the section that follows, I discuss the Social Media Policy documents that were introduced by the respective newspapers upon adoption of new media.

4.3.1.2 The Introduction of the Social Media Policy

All the three newspapers drafted social media policies when they started the convergence process. The Social Media Policy outlines each media houses guidelines on how to conduct themselves online, and the ethics of newsgathering and distribution. Apart from the general editorial policy guidelines and objectives that already existed in media houses before digital media, the Social Media Policy is an additional document which also serves the purpose of ensuring journalists adhere to their professional ethics as they engage sources and distribute content in online platforms. Participants admitted having knowledge of the document as explained below;

Through Social Media Policy we have been forced to learn about what is expected of us as regards our online accounts for work purposes. – Z6

It started more of a policy decision in the sense that the company made a decision to adopt social media as part of the platforms and model of doing business. I remember we were being pushed and compelled to have a Twitter account. That was made mandatory as part of the idea for the company to have a presence on digital platforms. Filing for the digital first and finishing with the print as a matter of policy is what we are supposed to do. Adherence to social media policy and guidelines on how you are supposed to source stories has become part of your appraisal. So you don't spend your entire three months not using new media and expect good marks in your appraisal. For it to be part of your appraisal, it tells you management is taking convergence very seriously. – X7

The social media policies from the three newspapers recognise that the practice of journalism remains the same though the mode of distribution of content to readers has changed with more platforms existing than before. Journalists are required to adhere to their journalistic ethics and principles even as they prepare and file content for online platforms. The policies explain in part;

This guideline acts as a reminder and terms of reference for journalists to follow existing professional and ethical standards and to exercise good judgment when posting on social media. – Newspaper Y

This document sets out the company's focus in the use of social media networks and provides key guidelines to help its journalists in the use of such platforms without undermining their professionalism and compromising our credibility as a purveyor of authoritative, truthful and non-biased news and information. – Newspaper Z

This policy provides guidelines to enable journalists to make full use of the enormous journalistic potential of social media. There is no fundamental difference between online journalism, of which social media is a subset, and traditional journalism. All the same rules and principles apply. In all instances of your behaviour, both on social media and elsewhere, you are expected to adhere to the journalistic code of ethics. – Newspaper X

I observed that all the social media policies cautioned journalists against posting news items on their personal social media accounts before the same was published first on their official company outlets. The policies explain;

Journalists must take extreme care to ensure any news they publish conforms to established standards. To help protect this value, journalists are generally discouraged from publishing any news item in their personal accounts unless it has been approved and published on an NMG outlet. – Newspaper Z

Breaking News should preferably be handled by the official Facebook and Twitter account. Staff is encouraged to retweet or share the link(s) posted on the official handle or page. – Newspaper X

Journalists are also encouraged to engage their audiences about their news subjects or beats. The study revealed not all journalists do so. In fact, not all journalists share the links for their stories on social media platforms. One of the things that stand out in the policies is the need to ensure accuracy of whatever news that is posted online, a real challenge in the digital era when media houses compete to be the first to break news. Sometimes the speed with which such news is shared means there is no time to verify the news. One of the policies points out;

However, for the avoidance of doubt, the company puts priority on accuracy over speed of publishing; therefore unverified pieces of information must not be published until a sufficient level of verification has been met... The nature of communication on social media is such that often inaccurate information is easily spread and believed by the public. In performing this role, our accounts will make it clear what facts have been confirmed, at what time and by whom. – Newspaper Z

The social media policies are strict on verification too. Newspapers do not want to take chances in this era of fake news. As this one states;

ALWAYS verify content before sharing it on social media. Work offline to confirm information gathered via social networking sites. Seek through every means possible to interview sources in person or by phone to verify identities, claims and statements. – Newspaper Y

Besides, journalists are required to identify themselves by having their photos on their profiles and indicate they work for the media house. They should not publish anything that will bring their respective media houses into disrepute or be seen to indicate their political inclinations.

Journalists and Editorial Staff should be aware that if they post a personal opinion in what they perceive as their private space it might not be seen as such but interpreted as the newspaper's position. For example if a Journalist or Editorial Staff shows support for a politician/a cause his/her own personal preference might be misconstrued as the newspaper's position. – Newspaper X

In social media posts, our posts must not express partisan opinions, promote political views, endorse candidates, make offensive comments or do anything else that undercuts the company's journalistic reputation. – Newspaper Y

There is a list of do's and don'ts when using Twitter. One that stands out is that when retweeting journalists should not be seen to be expressing their personal opinion.

Best practice is to contextualise the retweet to create some distance from any opinion it may contain. This applies to both official accounts and personal micro-blogging. – Newspaper Z

Business and pleasure should not be mixed on services like Twitter. Common sense should prevail, but if you are in doubt about the appropriateness of a tweet or posting, discuss it with the Head of Content before posting anything online. – Newspaper X

There is a rule on how to make a correction when an error has been made. Journalists are encouraged to consult their editors in case this happens. These policies, for instance, explain;

Be transparent. If an error is made on a post or tweet, be quick to identify and correct it. If you wish to delete the tweet or post, be sure to quickly acknowledge the deletion in a subsequent tweet... Accuracy is the overriding aspect when posting on Social Media. – Newspaper Y

In the event it emerges that information that has been published on our social media account is not accurate, the social media editor will ensure that a quick correction is made and the facts clarified. Care should be taken to ensure that mistakes are not aggravated in a rush to put out a correction. – Newspaper Z

There is a requirement that reporters going to the field should file stories for online first and when they return to the newsroom to write the Day Two story for print. Two manager explain;

The Digital First Strategy was to do with Social Media Policy to guide reporters in their newsgathering activities. – Z2

Immediately after a story breaks within the first five minutes you should send an alert informing the editors at the desk that this is what is happening. Then within the next 10-15 minutes you should have done five paragraphs for the website. This is accompanied by some videos, photos or audios. Then when you come back to the office if there are any additions you can as well make them for the online. But when you get to the office you have to think Day 2 Journalism for print the next day. – Z3

In conclusion, the Social Media Policy is a crucial document since news is being sources and distributed on social media platforms. Participants, therefore, need a clear guidance on what is expected of them when using social media and the policy provides that. However, that is not to mean mistakes have not been made despite the existing policies. Journalists have published erroneous information and verification of news obtained from social media platforms has not always been easy. The study also revealed that despite the rule for journalists to properly identify themselves as working for a particular media house, not all have their profiles indicating so. Some legacy journalists do not use social media so the rules may mean nothing to them.

4.3.2 Changes in Print Media Practices

The study revealed several changes in newsroom practices since the integration of digital technologies. These are; i. converged newsrooms with new systems and processes ii. Multi-skilled journalists with multiple duties iii. multiple platforms for news distribution, iv. news cycle changes resulting to work shifts, v. changes in job descriptions/new titles.

There have been numerous changes in the practice of journalism since the emergence of digital technologies. Participants were unanimous that print media could not survive if it continued to do things the old way. From my observation, convergence in terms of physical rearrangement where editors sit together happened at the three newsrooms under study. Also, convergence of the newsgathering process where one journalist brings back stories to be fed into different platforms happens. It becomes easier for consultations not only among editors but also reporters on stories being worked on and suitable platforms where they will be published. Some stories do better online than on print and vice versa. Some others function better when broken on mobile and social media platforms. All that forms the discussions among editors when they sit together. The participants corroborated that observation as explained below;

What changed is now we have one newsroom where we don't send different groups out to bring news. Initially we used to send different teams to cover one event and that no longer happens. One reporter can gather for different platforms. Now we have editors in charge of online and print... – X3

The general way we manage business has changed. Today the first thing that is easier is decision making. We have a very simple way to make decisions because we sit together as editors. Convergence has enhanced our team effort; like I said we are a very small newsroom. The reporters here know that our goal is one so we all must work towards ensuring that we are consistent in what is expected of the entire team. In a way, that has helped us to deliver. – X2

Another major change in practice is that all the three newspapers invested in new systems to allow multiplatform delivery of content to the audiences. With convergence the media houses had to invest in content management systems that would allow production and distribution of content across multiple platforms. The CMS allows reporters to upload stories, audios and videos from the field. The systems are web-based and would require

one to have the internet on to function. They help newsrooms centralise and manage content creation, dissemination, archiving and workflows.

Further, a CMS enables each person in a newsroom to see who is working on what story, the stage at which the story is in the line of production (being written, edited or already published), and it gives access to users depending on their job descriptions. An editor would have more rights on what to access than a reporter, for instance. Thus, a combined CMS is a plus because it enables converged newsrooms to have more cross-media publishing. It becomes easier to link the stories from both platforms.

The media houses also bought equipment like smartphones and digital recorders to enable reporters gather and produce news that could be distributed in multiple channels. These enable the reporters to tell the multimedia stories. Respondents confirm getting smartphones;

One of the major changes in practices was the transformation of the reporter from one who told a story for a single platform to one who brought back various stories and elements for multiple platforms. Thus, the reporters became multi-skilled. This means that they were required to have skills to produce a story that has multimedia elements – they should be able to write text for print, take videos and audios for the websites and YouTube channels, and social media platforms – the new platforms for distribution of content to audiences.

Perhaps the greatest changes in practice are the production cycles as stories can be broken online at any time. With new media news can be distributed in real time. The

significance of this is to follow the audience wherever they are – platforms – and offer them news at whatever time they want it. Print journalists were used to a single production cycle in a day when the paper was prepared and sent to press in the evening. The modern journalist is required to file stories for multiple platforms in a day which go to various platforms. As a result of changes in production cycles, the study revealed all the media houses under study had introduced work shifts so that there were late reporters and editors who worked till midnight and early reporters and editors that reported to the office as early as 5am. One of them explains the work shifts;

The news cycle starts at 5am with the early reporter coming in at that time to work on stories that will bring more traffic to our online platforms. Studies have shown that most of the people read the website in the morning. So when they wake up we have to give them something fresh. Sometimes I assign the reporters what to cover but they also look out for their own stories because they have their sources. Other times they get story ideas from online tips. Besides the early reporter there is an early sub editor who also reports at the same time and uploads the stories online. The early reporter and editor then leave at 2pm and then the other one picks up from there. – Z3

The digital technology thus brought in the working shifts. Previously journalists worked from morning to evening and rarely extended to late into the night.

I accessed an email that was from a news editor sent to reporters and sub editors in one of the newspapers as seen below:

*As part of our move towards realising continuous news desk operations and our digital first strategy, these guidelines specify what is expected of early, late and continuing reporters; role of finishers, subs and photographers. – **Email communication, August 19, 2016.***

The guidelines go on to detail the duties of an early morning reporter and photographer, sub-editor, late-night reporter, photographer and sub editor. The focus for the early morning reporter is to create content that will drive traffic to the company website

between 5am and 9am. The sub editor edits content and ensures it is uploaded on the website and the late staff scans the websites for any happenings around the city and liaises with bureaus for stories from the countryside.

New titles also emerged for editors and reporters to align with changing responsibilities. Titles like Content Editor have come with new media. At one newspaper, various desks were created and new titles emerged to best capture changing newsrooms and new requirements. One manager said:

We created desks. The Super Desk is for editors. Then we have the Radar Desk that deals with the breaking news stories. They are the first to break news; if any news is happening they have to be briefed. We have the Social Media Desk which we call the Echo Desk. This is for ensuring that our stories have been shared on the online platforms. We have the Political Desk, and the newsdesk for general news basically and then the multimedia desk which edits audios and videos. – XI

4.4 Journalists' Perceptions of Opportunities for Convergence of Old and New

Media Platforms

In this section I present findings based on research question three which is; What are the journalists' perceptions of opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use. I present the findings on; i. the perceptions of journalists on opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use and ii. The inhibitors of convergence of old and new media platforms.

4.4.1 Opportunities for Convergence of Old and New Media Platforms

The developments in technology that have brought forth social media, blogs, video-sharing and text-sharing sites have created opportunities for print media to tap into these new media tools and new story formats to reach wider audiences.

4.4.1.1 Expanded Tools for Newsgathering and New Channels for Distribution of Content

The majority of participants said they have embraced new media for their professional work. One of the opportunities they see in use of new media is expanded channels for dissemination of information to audiences. Participants from the three media houses said their media organisations have adopted new media technologies. Their media houses send out mobile alerts as soon as the event unfolds to their subscribers. The three also have a website or websites, and have a presence on social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram, Telegram and others.

Participants said they use social media in several ways; to find story ideas/source news, to follow sources especially the government officials, to share their stories and promote them in online platforms, to interact with audiences and to aid reporting. The study revealed the majority of reporters have tapped into the power of social media but not all use it. Some of the reporters commented on how they use social media;

For research purposes but you can also stumble on a story or story idea on Twitter or Facebook and even on Whatsapp. – Y6

I have had the opportunity for using new media technology such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Social media platforms are for social interactions, but you find that they are also a source of news. So I use social media in two ways; for social interaction – getting to know what people are thinking or talking about – and also for gathering information. – X7

One reason provided for use of new media is that their media organisations had made it a policy for every reporter to use them. The requirement for reporters is to write stories, take videos, audios and shoot photos and submit them on Whatsapp while they are still in the field. All three media houses under study have embraced convergence journalism and

expect the journalists to use new media in news gathering, production and distribution. One respondent who uses Whatsapp because it is a requirement to do so says. “On my own accord I don’t really use Whatsapp but maybe to speak with sources but not to break news.”

The study revealed that some older print journalists have not embraced new technologies. However, there are those who have and are completely able to grasp things. They have shown interest in learning the new technology. The younger tech-savvy journalists, on the other hand, are more at home tweeting and sharing content in online platforms and given a choice they would shun the print newspaper. Since the media houses were in the process of achieving full convergence, it would be difficult for older print journalists who had not embraced new technologies to survive in the newsroom.

4.4.1.2 Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp as the Preferred Social Media Platforms

Of the various social media platforms, Twitter is most favoured by reporters. A special projects reporter and a crime beat reporter who both used Twitter quite often commented as explained below;

It is more interactive; you are able to post your views on Twitter and get people’s reactions. There is a level of interaction that Twitter gives people; not just commenting on what you have posted but you can conduct a voice talk on Twitter too. – Z5

Even as we are seated here I can go through stories on Twitter very fast. But Facebook stories are mixed up. You don’t know what came last night, in the morning and now. Twitter arranges items as they come. Someone can retweet a story, and you can see this has just happened. And you can see trending stories or trending topics. – Y5

While Twitter is used more, one respondent rarely gets into Facebook unless when sharing story links. Compared to Facebook, Twitter is the winner as one participant explains;

I think Facebook is a bit slower. In Twitter people are interested in news, Facebook is a bit more laidback. Yeah, you can socialise and catch up with friends from high school. Facebook isn't really a place to break news. If you look at its timeline, you realise it is not in chronological order – that at the top of your feed you will get posts from last night and what you really want is what is happening right now yet Twitter gives you that. – Z5

There is agreement that a reporter worth his salt cannot survive without Twitter. Twitter is seen to be a major driver, more serious than Facebook. The crime reporter added;

I am more active on Twitter than Facebook. Facebook is open to everyone. Twitter is taken to be more intellectual in terms of moderating information. Unless a prominent person is posting something on Facebook or whatever is being posted is serious that is when somebody can refer to it. For me, I source most of my information on Twitter. – Y5

Another reason given for use of Twitter is that government and public officials, prominent personalities and politicians have a presence on Twitter. They constantly tweet and some of their tweets make news. The participants said the advantage of Twitter is that it has government officials, presidents and their deputies using it and what they say on the platform is official. Journalists in various beats like politics, crime, education and health have to be on Twitter to get stories ideas. They follow the sources wherever they are. “For me, I source most of my information on Twitter,” one crime reporter said. Every morning he has to check what the Director of Criminal Investigations has tweeted, if there are any tweets from the Director of Public Prosecutions, he scans the websites of the government agencies dealing with crime to find news. The respondent explains further;

I use Twitter, for instance. You find that organisations like the Directorate of Criminal Investigations uses that platform to pass information. It is also one of platforms where the members of the public post incidents. You can develop news stories from some of those posts. – X7

...But what you can get from mostly Twitter we have realised maybe the CSs, DPP, and the president's tweets – they give updates on Twitter on policy issues or government matters. – Y3

Besides Twitter, most reporters use Whatsapp because it is a requirement by their media houses to do so. What came out of the interviews is that as one of the major changes in the process of newsgathering, media houses created Whatsapp groups that have editors from both online and print sections and the reporters. The reporters are expected to upload content – text, photos, audios and videos while in the field for the editors in the office to pick, edit and distribute in various channels. The reporters explain how they use the platform;

...we have one our main Whatsapp group. Every reporter and every editor is in it. The weekend team also has their own. The investigative desk too has its own Whatsapp group; in it is the investigation editor and three or four reporters. – Y6

We have a Whatsapp group where people share information. It brings in everybody from the top managers to the lowest person as long as you are dealing with matters news. So that is where you will find the official communication. Meetings are announced on the Whatsapp group. It is in the same platform whereby once you go for an assignment you are supposed to upload content for the editors to pick from that one basket. You see we have the convergence centre for the newsroom; we have the radio, the online, the print and all use that Whatsapp group for stories coming from the field. So I would say largely the social media platforms in the office environment are more of professional tools. – X7

In sum, Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp are mostly used. Some reporters are exploring several other social media tools to aid them in their reporting. There are those who record audios for other purposes besides using them in websites. One reporter said he records not necessarily to provide podcasts for radio or audios for the website but to listen to later to get the facts right for the print story. A Parliamentary reporter said he does the same so

that it aids in writing his story for print but not necessary for use in the website. Some of the audios end up on the website though. A court reporter said;

I record most of times especially because the judgments are not available immediately. It makes it easier when I return to the newsroom as I listen to the audios and I have data for my story. Sometimes you write on your notebook. But there are things definitely you miss out but if you are recording you have everything. – Z6

4.4.1.3 Personal Initiative Drives New Media Adoption and Use

While Twitter and Facebook are widely used in sourcing for stories and for breaking news, the study revealed only journalists who appear to have a natural drive and have taken personal initiative are the ones using more social media platforms. For instance, one crime reporter uses a combination of social media tools which are installed on his phone. Some of the platforms he uses are Telegram, Signal, Whatsapp, Twitter, and Facebook.

He said he uses Telegram because “it is (more) safer nowadays because at times you find Whatsapp is too clogged”. He uses both Telegram and Whatsapp to make calls. As long as you have bundles you can make calls. Asked what he uses Signal for, the respondent said, it is more like Whatsapp. “You can upload photos, you can make calls, you can chat.” These are beyond what the majority of journalists use. The interviews revealed that those who have shown personal interest have been able to reap unlimited benefits of social media. But of course not many journalists have even the bundles or even the interest to do that. It is about dedication.

For me it is an issue of being dedicated personally then it is a calling. It is a calling kind of to be digital. – Y5

There is a notable trend that the journalists who have taken a keen interest and are using multiple social media tools for their professional work are doing it on their own even without the involvement or any facilitation by their employers. They are also pursuing courses on interactive journalism or online journalism at master's level. Besides, some of these journalists are the champions of convergence at their media houses. They train others on how to reap benefits of convergence journalism. A crime reporter, who is also a master's graduate in online journalism, said;

I can file a story from here (DCX, the company's content management system). Also, I can send a story from the field to the newsroom through e-mail, I can send a story through Whatsapp. There are many ways you can do it. We can communicate through mobile. Nowadays people don't use airtime. You can make calls on Whatsapp or on Telegram, you can use Messenger, use Signal for professional work. For me I use all of those. So it is really lack of knowledge that people are not using these platforms. – Y5

One online editor who is also the convergence champion at one of the media houses said:

In 2014, they took me out of the country to the US. When I returned, they were like What did you experience at the Washington Post? Then I told them that I saw so many things. Then they were like Okay go sit somewhere and try to write them down... Draw something like a strategy and see how we can bring the various elements of this newsroom together. That is when I came up with the first Convergence Strategy in 2014. – Z2

He conducted the first training on convergence to the whole newsroom right from the correspondents to the managing editors. He was the first ever Convergence Trainer for the media house. His enthusiasm for convergence journalism also saw him pursue a master's degree in Interactive Journalism. The respondent links learning from established media houses, and his frequent use of new media to his ability to impart the knowledge to others.

Those who have shown such commitment to deliver content for multiple platforms are also active 24 hours. Their phones are permanently on in readiness for any breaking news. As a result they have delivered breaking news at night many times.

A source can call at night on Whatsapp. People are not comfortable calling you on ordinary line. They call you on Whatsapp so you have to have bundles if you don't have the Internet in your house. Your phone has to be charged always so that you can receive or make a call. – Y5

Apart from using social media to source for news, some reporters said they use it to share their story links and to promote or highlight those stories to their followers. They post links on Twitter and Facebook for audiences to comment on. But one journalist says that can be tedious. Out of his own initiative, has found an easier way to do it as he explains;

The easiest way is to subscribe to a website called muckrack.com which once you subscribe as a journalist you have a byline. It creates all your stories into it. So like every time there is a story online under your byline it is picked by the website. It automatically uploads to your profile so the story just sells itself on social media platforms. It's so easy. On muckrack.com actually every story I have ever written is there. – Y6

The study also revealed that correspondents use social media more frequently than reporters on permanent employment. A notable trend reveals that correspondents are actually driving convergence across the media houses. This is pegged on the fact that they are not on permanent employment and get paid for the content they produce. They are, therefore, more likely to take audios, videos, still photos as well as write stories out of their own personal drive.

For the sub-editors, the study revealed trending stories influence story placement in newspapers and in online platforms. Sometimes a story may be published as a brief and not given prominence in the websites but when it becomes a trending topic a decision is immediately made to place it in the home page or the front page of the website. The

reporters also do further investigations to make it a bigger story with more details. Similarly, sometimes a story may be tucked in the inside pages of the newspaper but when published online it trends with many hits and views. As the sub-editors revealed, a decision is immediately made to do follow ups on the story which is then given prominence in the newspaper the following day. As one sub editor revealed “sometimes these stories end up as splash or front page news in the newspaper the following day”.

Some sub-editors use tools that are open-sourced to help in verification of images. Some respondents said they use Google images to check for the authenticity of photos. Findings show that respondents are able to tell the story on the day’s events more carefully and fully in different formats. Since the digital tools for newsgathering are portable, they are able to capture not just text but also audios and videos which tell the story more dynamically and dramatically when situations demand so. They get story tips and sources online. They will know how to take the story forward after following discussion online or engaging audiences.

In a nutshell, the study revealed that journalists believe digital media has supplemented what print does in terms of content sourcing and delivery. They no longer have to meet physically with the source. They can make a call and the source can send whatever document, a photo that is needed through Whatsapp and there you have what you need to develop a story. The view is that digital media has made work easier for journalists if you know how to use it. For those who don’t know how to use digital media yet, they will find it very hard to survive in the newsroom. There is unanimous agreement social media creates opportunities for journalists.

Despite the many opportunities cited for use of new media platforms for professional use, this has not been without ethical challenges. For instance, verification of news was a challenge due to competition for scoops. The quality of news was thus compromised. The issue of credibility of news sourced on social media platforms was raised. This problem is compounded by the pressure to be the first to break news. So, journalists have little or no time to verify the news sourced online. The study found out that all the three media houses have on several occasions published erroneous information. One respondent said, “We have made mistakes but are still required to verify information before publishing.” New media allows journalists to share content in a matter of seconds. That makes it very difficult to verify news before it is published. The respondents noted since journalists’ source for news on Twitter and Facebook, some of the sources have created pseudo accounts whose aim is to spew untruths and it becomes difficult sometimes to verify the true or real accounts of sources.

Besides, participants said there was minimal use of verification tools some of which exist in the market for free. These can be used to verify the authenticity of photos, videos and audios. While rules on verification of text is taken a little more seriously for print, the same cannot be said of online content. One reporter commented:

Verification has evolved especially concerning the content coming from online sources. Someone will send a photo or video, and you need to find out if it is real or fake. And this is something I know about and I can do but we are not told to do it. It’s what I know and can do. As an individual I do a little more than is expected of me. It’s not something the company has said we do it. – Z6

The study revealed that the uptake of verification tools in mainstream print media in Kenya is low. One respondent said:

We are behind as compared to news organisations in the US and Europe. I can tell you that with confidence. There is a lot of lying and misinformation that can happen online and we are not fully prepared.

With videos there is the threat of deep fakes. Photos can be manipulated too. At least the three media houses have used wrong photos at one time or another in their haste to publish online. Some of the fake photos have ended up in print too. To verify photos one can use Google Reverse Image. If you upload the photo it will tell you if a similar photo exists and when it was uploaded. Another tool for verifying photos is Google Earth which gives you the exact location where the photo was taken. The current study reveals that only those who take personal initiative use it to verify any content they receive especially from online sources. Some do so but not all especially because it has not been made mandatory by their media houses that these tools should be used. The media organisations have also not provided any verification tools for videos, audios and photos to their staff.

4.4.2 The Inhibitors of Convergence of Old and New Media Platforms

The study revealed that not all journalists have embraced new media technologies. This is true especially for the legacy journalists. The study reveals the following inhibitors of convergence of old and new media technologies. These are; i. Increased workload for reporters ii. Suspicion between print and online teams as a hindrance to integration and iii. The lack of continuous training, facilitation with airtime and digital equipment.

4.4.2.1 Increased Workload for Reporters

With the integration of new media by media houses, reporters are required to do much more than they used to. For the longest time print journalists filed stories for only a single platform – print. Today, in the digital age journalists create content for different platforms. This means reporters need to repurpose their stories to fit the style of various distribution channels. The requirement to file stories for online and print means the reporter is doing more work.

Participants noted that pressure was put more on print journalists to deliver for multiple platforms/to be multimedia journalists unlike those from TV and radio. This is what one of them said;

The pressure for a print journalist is real. You have to be fast to file the story for online. People are always checking the news so you will have to put it on the website. You have to do more interviews, research so that you will be able to give stories that explain more and has more details for the newspaper. So when an event is going on, you have to send some paragraphs of what is happening in the field what forms the content for the website and other online platforms. Then also you are required to take photos. You have to take videos too depending on the story you are covering. – Z6

There has been some resistance. Some print journalists see it as increased workload and they cannot handle. The participants know the requirements to file for online first but they will not do it because it is ‘cumbersome’ or ‘too much work’ or ‘distracting’ when they want to focus on the print story.

I have done maybe one or two and sent via Whatsapp. They pick it and sometimes they still want to disturb you for more details and I tell them to stop so that I can concentrate on taking down notes for the print story. – X6

Personally, not for me as I work for print (Special Projects) so I don't have pressure from digital to give them content. But I am sure there are reporters who feel the pressure. Many of them feel like it is more work for them. But the thing is that if you are giving me more work then you should give me more money and that

has not happened. But if you take a print journalist who knows initially their priority was the newspaper then you want them to file for online, there can be some resistance. – Z5

For this respondent, however, she says it is second nature for her to take a video while interviewing. Some participants said they receive little or no motivation to go an extra mile and they would, therefore, not bother to file for online first.

I feel sometimes it is not so much about the motivation. I am busy writing notes as the sources are speaking, some of them don't want videos taken and other times it feels like it is a lot of work. When news is happening, you are supposed to take videos; a lot of action happens it's you to prioritise what you should do first. You know you want to get the meat of the story. So if you are at the same time taking videos and sending paragraphs as you go along, that can be a little bit confusing handling all that at the same time. – Z5

However, the participants are unanimous that as long as you are still in the newsroom, you have no choice because convergence is real so even if you are an older journalist, you have to produce stories in different media formats.

Yes, there has been resistance for a long time. We were told a reporter has to do online and Day Two stories. Sometimes there is a feeling it is too much I can't do that I am not used to doing that. – Z6

Despite the resistance due to increased duties, one respondent said it is mandatory to file for online and print failure to which one could get a memo especially for big stories.

4.4.2.2 Suspicion between Print and Online Teams as a Hindrance to Convergence

The study revealed three reasons for this;

- i. Unequal treatment of print and online teams where reporters felt management favours the latter in terms of rewards.
- ii. Print journalists view their platform as superior to online platforms.
- iii. Attitude. This cuts cross both print and online teams. Some print journalists are reluctant to embrace technology and file for online, while the online

journalists also feel superior to print teams perhaps because there is so much focus on digital platforms.

At one media house, respondents were particularly irked by the management's decision to award the online teams a bonus and denying the print because the former had made some profits. This created a friction between the two teams which can inhibit convergence efforts. It affects sharing of content and collaborations between the two teams.

There have been in-house issues in that the people at the digital desk feel superior, they know it all and for us print reporters it is like we know nothing. Even lately reporters were complaining only digital team was given a bonus. The management said they were the ones driving traffic to company websites. For us on print we argued the audience cannot go to the site if there is no content. Print reporters are the producers of that content. We bring the content, we do the thinking, and we do the creativity most of the time. What they do is to post and share. That's the reason I think there has been laxity on the digital side because they are considered superior; they do things at their own pace and they are slowly forgetting that other media houses are catching up. The early subs are slow to update stories online in the morning. – Z6

A second important insight into the negative print-online relations can be gleaned from such statements made by one respondent as “print journalists feel online content lacks depth” or “legacy journalists prefer being published on print than in online platforms”. A print journalist will question why his/her story was not used in print but ended up online because the view is that online platforms are inferior products to print. Meaning the impression they have is that the story is not good if it goes online or there is no much depth for stories that we see online. The negative attitude of print reporters is captured in such comments as those below;

The print journalist has resisted Digital First rule which means if you have a story you file for digital and then you file a more comprehensive story for the newspaper the following day, that is, the Day 2 Journalism. So there is a lot of hoarding of stories which should be released to online first. They often say they are holding it for print because is superior to online. – Z4

But one participant said the situation is getting better as explained:

Initially there was a feeling that if my story does not appear in the paper, then I don't think I have worked. That was before digital came with the nice things that it can do in terms of people even sharing their own stories; sources taking stories and sharing with friends and family. – Z2

Besides the issue of depth, print journalists have dismissed the online staff as people whose only strength lie in being tech-savvy but lacking in experience and knowledge to research and write in-depth stories. In addition, the argument has been the online staff were hired not on the qualifications of writing or producing quality content but based on the number of followers they had on social media. Therefore, attitude is a big challenge and inhibits any efforts put forward by the news organisations for convergence to work.

The online team also has a negative attitude towards the print journalists. The interviews with respondents revealed that online staff view print reporters as people who do not understand their platform, or what news is likely to trend and so they end up trashing or 'killing' stories from print team. Some print reporters had warmed up to filing for online but relaxed when they realised the online team was ignoring their input. It also happens during the early shifts. All the three media houses created shifts when they began convergence. Some reporters have to report early to create content for the websites targeting audiences in traffic going to work. However, not all stories are published as some participants explained;

The online people pick their stories and they have their own sub. They pick stories that they think will go viral. Sometimes the online team will 'kill' your story so you won't be inspired to write for them again. So that also jeopardises your working relationship because if I give you a story and you 'kill' it today and another one tomorrow, am I going to do it for you again? – X6

There has to be something new in the morning for the readers besides the stories that were put up by the late online sub on the website. The stories filed early in the morning drive traffic or pull people to the website. But the pressure has been more on reporters coming in the office early but we are losing focus because sometimes the stories the early reporter writes are never posted on the website. The challenge has been with the online desk where the person in charge will reject the stories he/she has been given. So despite waking up early and filing stories, they end up either not published or if they are it will be at noon. Yet by that time if you check our competitors' platforms they have what you expect on a website in the morning. – Z6

Besides the early reporter and early sub, there is always a late reporter and a late sub editor who leave the office at midnight. During the late hours, their duty is to scan websites and social media platforms for any breaking news or events worth being published.

4.4.2.3 The Lack of Continuous Training, Facilitation with Airtime and Digital Equipment

Participants cited lack of continuous training for multi-media skills. The study revealed journalists were offered training when their media houses launched convergence journalism. However, there haven't been follow up trainings. Some of their views are captured below;

There has been some training but not many of them. I have been trained once since I joined the company. Basically we were taught how the media landscape is right now, how to boost numbers in terms of audiences, and thinking outside the box. It was conducted by the online team. – Z6

I was a reporter when the media house I work for started convergence. We were given Smartphones and shown how to shoot videos and take audios... We were

taught basic editing skills and we were encouraged to even take photos and do slide shows. – Z3

I cannot claim to be multi-skilled because I have never received training to that effect. Maybe if I push myself to look for opportunities like open learning courses online I can get to know a skill or two but I cannot call myself multi-skilled. That would be a lie. I would say it is the case of being given too much work and too many expectations without being facilitated at that end of it. There is a way to roll out convergence, there is a way you get people empowered but when you tell somebody you must do this or you are out of business are you not threatening me? – X6

Questions arise over the quality of multimedia content coming from reporters who say they lack training. With no sufficient training are they doing it right? Are they producing quality videos, audios and photos? One respondent said, “I could say it is trial and error. It depends on the reporters’ effort; one can try and get a good camera to get a good photo even a good smartphone instead of submitting for the sake of it. It is a challenge though.”

The respondents reported general lack of support by management to enable them gain necessary skills for a converged newsroom. I noted that those who had succeeded and became champions of convergence in their media houses were those who had shown interest and had the personal drive. Indeed, the study shows individual effort has helped push convergence in the media houses. The majority of those who had embraced new technologies had done so out of personal initiative. These are not only leading convergence efforts in their media houses, they are also doing so by example – they file stories for online and some have enrolled for digital courses or are pursuing master’s degree in digital/interactive journalism.

...it depends so much on how aggressive you are as an individual to take videos and sometimes do stories that can go viral. You also need to know which stories can be used as exclusives for the paper. – Z6

The management has tried to offer in-house trainings on need basis but not much has been done due to lack of finances. However, there is need to equip journalists with the necessary skills in order to function properly in the current digital media landscape.

The lack of support by management to offer relevant training is thus one of the inhibitors of convergence. Respondents say they should be equipped with the necessary skills to function properly in the current digital media landscape as one reporter puts it;

Management should not assume I know, and I think even in other media houses there are a lot of assumptions, that you will know what to do. – X6

Besides, the study found out that while the media houses set up systems and processes to enable convergence, journalists had not been provided with adequate and necessary equipment for creation of multimedia content as new technologies evolve every day. There are few recorders that reporters can access and return upon completion of their assignments. But it becomes a challenge when many reporters want the recorders at the same time. Most respondents said they use their smartphones to capture the video, the photo and the audio yet some of these phones don't give quality videos. The quality of the content whether text, audio, video or images matter. They felt their media houses are strong on print in terms of quality of stories and the same should be applied for online content. One reporter said;

I don't think people have enough equipment because sometimes I have looked for equipment when going out to a story, like a video camera, and it is a long process trying to get it and sometimes you might not get it. – Z5

But the study also revealed that while personal drive is a major factor that determines how enthusiastic a journalist is in embracing new media for news gathering, the

managements of the media houses have been faulted for failure to facilitate journalists with bundles and airtime while in the field. The respondents said it is a challenge to send back videos and audios from news events as often they have no bundles to enable them switch on their internet. But lack of equipment is not the only hindrance to convergence efforts by the media houses. The participants said it is a challenge to bring back videos and audios as they have no bundles to enable them switch on their internet.

The cost of using internet on mobile in this country is still very high. We are not facilitated with airtime and bundles to ensure at least we are able to upload content on Whatsapp when in the field. The content management system also uses internet and some people use it. You see unless you have a phone that can accept that platform, the CMS, you will not be able to operate it. But if you don't have you will have to send short messages until you are able to file what you want. Of course you need a better gadget to be able to do some of these things. – X6

The participants said they do not file for online first because they have not been facilitated by with airtime. However, depending on the gravity of the story, sometimes they do if it is likely to be a scope. One reporter said she could file more often especially the videos if she had bundles to upload them on Whatsapp. Another said she has never filed videos and audios.

No, I have never because first, this is my personal phone not the work phone. I have to do a video, audio and still I have to listen and take my notes for the print story. I won't do that I will be confused so let me do what I am best at. I feel management should facilitate me to do it. So the same case you ask me for stories I will ask you for facilitation. For example, you want me to go to the field and maybe cover a house burning in Dandora or Kayole. You don't give me transport to take me there and back but you expect a story. We are certainly provided with transport to get stories back to the newsroom. It should be the same reasoning with convergence. – X6

The respondents felt while the management wants the media organisations to make significant progress in convergence, but they were not fully supporting the process partly due to financial constraints. In conclusion, adoption and use of new media for reporters is

in progress in all the three media houses but training, a shortage of digital equipment and limited airtime remain as challenges that ought to be looked into by the managements.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented findings of data collected through in-depth interviews. Direct observation and document analysis were used to supplement data obtained through in-depth interviews based on the three research questions which are: What are the print media managers constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies? How do print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies? What are the perceptions of journalists on opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use?

The scope of research question one covered the opportunities and challenges of convergence. The scope of research question two covered the changes in print media policies which include i. changes in the Editorial policy and the introduction of Social Media Policies. ii. changes in print media practices after integration of new media which include converged newsrooms with new systems and processes, iii. multiple platforms for content delivery and iv. news cycle changes resulting to increased workload and v. changes in job descriptions/new titles.

The scope of research question three was journalists' perceptions of opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use. The majority of journalists interviewed said they used social media for several reasons; to find story ideas/source news with Twitter being most popular, to follow sources especially the government officials, to share their stories and promote them online, to interact with and

attract audiences and to aid reporting. The question also covered the inhibitors of integration of new media which are; increased workload for reporters, and suspicion between print and online teams as a hindrance to integration and the lack of continuous training, facilitation with airtime and digital equipment.

The next chapter discusses the findings by linking them to existing theories as well as previous research studies as discussed in the Literature Review in Chapter Two. I then give my conclusions and recommendations for media managers and policy makers, as well as areas for further study.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of data in more depth and also relates them to existing theory. Further, the chapter links the findings to the previous studies and theories discussed in Chapter Two. The chapter further gives conclusions, the contribution of the study and recommendations, as well as areas for further studies.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

The study was based on the following research questions; What are the print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies? How do print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies? What are the perceptions of journalists on opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use?

The key findings are summarised in the table below.

Table 5.1: Summary of Key Findings

1. Print media managers' constructions of dynamics of convergence	i. The opportunities of convergence • Convergence as emergence of multiple platforms for content delivery. • Convergence as emergence of new audiences.	ii. The challenges of convergence • The triple challenges of training, the lack of facilitation with airtime and digital equipment. • Reluctance by established print
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	• Convergence as a cause for continuous innovations. • Convergence as a new journalistic genre.	journalists to embrace technology. • Tough to implement Day Two Journalism. • Challenge of verification of news.
2. How print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies	i. Changes in policies • Changes in the Editorial Policy • The introduction of Social Media Policies	ii. Changes in practices • Converged newsrooms with new systems and processes. • Multi-skilled journalists with multiple duties. • Multiple platforms for content delivery. • News cycle changes resulting to work shifts. • Changes in job descriptions/new titles.
3. Journalists' perceptions of opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional	i. Perceptions on opportunities The majority of journalists saw the opportunities as; i. Expanded channels for dissemination of information. The use social media for;	ii. The inhibitors of integration of new media • Increased workload for reporters. • Suspicion between print and online teams.

use	• To find story ideas/source news with Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp being most popular. • To follow sources especially the government officials. • To share their stories and promote them online. • To interact with and attract audiences. • To aid reporting. • Personal initiative drives new media integration.	• The lack of continuous training, facilitation with airtime and digital equipment.
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5.3 Discussion

The key findings are based on the research questions for this study; What are the print media managers constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies? How do print media policies and practices adjust to the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies? What are the perceptions of journalists on opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use? These will be discussed under the following sub-sections.

5.3.1 Diverse Opportunities of Convergence;

The opportunities are discussed in subsections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2.

5.3.1.1 Expanded Tools for News Gathering and New Channels For Content Distribution

Findings of this study revealed that journalists and managers' view new media platforms as powerful tools for modern journalism practice. For journalists, the study revealed new media platforms give them an opportunity to find story ideas, to follow sources especially the government officials, to share their stories and promote them online, to interact with and attract audiences to their stories, and to aid reporting. Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp were the most preferred. They are also able to create multimedia content – text, audios and videos – using new media gadgets like smartphones and digital recorders to reach multiple audiences. The audience is key in all the activities that the media undertakes. The audience also comments of news shared on these platforms.

This is in consistence with Jenkins (2006) Theory of Media Convergence in which he argues the emergence of new technologies and new audiences redefines the media environment. Jenkins defines convergence as the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behaviour of media audiences who would go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want. Thus, news organisation are expanding their empires across multiple platforms to meet the desires of consumers who seek the media they want, where they want it, when they want it, and in the format they want. The perception of the media has transformed from a one-way communication model to a diverse one which places the audience at the centre of media operations. With new media, communication is two-way allowing collaborations, sharing and feedback from audiences. Whatever activities the media has, the audience comes first.

The study established younger reporters adapted easily to the use of new media while some legacy journalists were found to be reluctant to embrace new media. Everett Rogers Diffusion of Innovations theory offers an explanation for such adoption patterns. Respondents' characteristics such as age determined level of adoption of new media. Younger journalists reported finding new media technologies easy to use and indeed they used them often. The reason may also partly be that they younger reporters have grown up interacting with new media unlike legacy journalists who have to shift their mindsets from producing news for a single platform to digital platforms.

Other factors that may affect the rate of adoption according to Roger's theory are the price of an innovation. Media houses have cited lack of finances to hold continuous trainings for journalists. The theory thus helps in understanding some of the factors that come into play in understanding journalists use or failure to use new adoptions. Rogers' categories of adopters can be used to explain the findings that one of the media houses fell in the innovators category for having launched convergence journalism ahead of the other two. Another media organisation started and sustained the efforts to integrate new media by acquiring new systems and innovations like chart beats, smartphones, digital and audio recorders ahead of the others. Financial stability was a major contributor as the other two media houses waited until there was pressure from the industry to adopt new technologies. It reached a point where no print media houses could function without the adoption of new media. According to Rogers' theory, finances may be a barrier to adoption of new media technologies. But the study found out innovators had the financial muscle to afford an innovation and could take the risk in the event the innovation failed.

According to Rogers, adoption of new innovations also depends on who is making the decision for the adoption; the individual or the organisation. This plays a major role in determining if people develop an interest in the innovation or not. This observation confirms the findings that for some journalists, it became possible to be early adopters when their media houses became the first to adopt new innovations. Therefore, Rogers' theory helps to interpret the findings on the categories of adoption journalists fell in. From my study, the early adopters are the convergence champions at the media organisation they work for. From various discussions in the previous chapter, these are the journalists who quickly adopted the new media technologies and became champions or convergence trainers for their media organisations. They are not pushed by anyone to file videos, audios and photos beyond the story for print. From my study, the early adopters are only a handful. The laggards are the established print journalists who have not embraced new media yet or have been slow to do so.

The various investments and innovations that the media houses have come up with to attract new audiences are of benefit to the practitioners. For instance, chart beats and the publishing systems have benefitted reporters and editors. From the chart beats they are able to monitor how their stories are performing online in terms of number of readers or views. Participants said chart beats also help them find new angles for stories. A story which may be just a brief on the web, can gain so many views that editors decide to do more research around it and give it prominence on the front page in print the following day.

The new publishing systems for the media houses are also viewed as important in quick reporting and editing of news. Journalists can file stories from the field by logging in to the content management system through their smartphones. As for the sub-editors, they can also edit stories even from home through the system. This finding is consistent with Rich Gordon's forms of convergence specifically the presentation (storytelling) convergence, whereby he observed management is required to provide the journalist with appropriate equipment – portable newsgathering devices (Gordon cited in Kawamoto, 2003). Similarly, the findings are supported by Lawson-Borders (2003) who outlined 7Cs required for newsrooms that were integrating new media technologies. In economic commitment, the scholar says news organisations should equip the workers with the necessary training and skills to handle new technologies.

5.3.1.2 The Emergence of New Journalistic Genre and Multi-Skilled Journalists

Findings from this study show that with the emergence of diverse platforms for content sourcing and distribution, a new journalist has emerged. The new journalist has more skills to produce content that is fed in the multiple platforms. However, findings show some, but not all journalists, have acquired the multimedia skills or can file a story with the multimedia elements when the situation demands.

Alejandro (2010) confirms these findings that for the journalist working in today's digital newsrooms, it is essential to be multi-skilled. Reporters are now required to submit stories for multiple platforms – television, radio, print and online. Besides, they go to a news event armed with several gadgets. The finding is further supported by Nyabuga & Booker (2013) who say new media technologies have not only changed but also

improved journalists' working habits. Journalists are expected to be multi-skilled. Whereas previously photographers accompanied reporters to the field, now reporters carry digital cameras and take their own pictures. In addition, they take videos and audios. The Media Council of Kenya (2016) study also found out that journalists were already multitasking as part of their normal daily routines and practices. Therefore, with the adoption of new media technologies, the modern journalist is expected to do much more every day. While the fundamental tenets of journalism have remained the same, the role of journalists has changed in significant ways.

5.4 The Challenges of Converging of Old and New Media Technologies

These are discussed in the subsections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2.

5.4.1 The Challenge of Sustaining Continuous Training and Innovations

The findings revealed that print media houses experienced challenges in maintaining continuous innovations in content creation and in acquisition of new equipment and systems. Citing lack of finances, participants also said they experienced challenges in continuous training of journalists. One of the media houses encourages the staff to look out for free online programmes since the company cannot afford to take them for training for multimedia skills. Indeed, most reporters cited lack of sufficient training for multimedia skills meaning they found it difficult to use the new innovations. Diffusion of Innovations theory states that the complexity of innovations and whether people understand and know how to use it affects the rate of adoption. This can partly be attributed to some journalists' failure to embrace new media technologies.

Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) also say capacity and resources affect innovations for media organisations. The scholars argue that the editorial, production and distribution competences of a media organisation affect its ability for innovation. Similarly, the finding is consistent with Lawson-Borders (2003) who came up with seven (7Cs) of convergence that form the best practices to be used as strategies for media organisations integrating new media technologies. Commitment, as one of the seven observations, was required for news organisations that were adopting new media technologies, that is, economic commitment as well as equipping the workers with the necessary training and skills to handle new technologies was vital (Lawson-Borders, 2003).

Innovation in terms of content creation has been key in print media operations. Findings revealed that managements of media organisations had made a deliberate effort to create content for new audiences in multiple platforms but they were not exploring new ways of using the social media platforms to disseminate content. The challenge was in understanding how best to fully utilise the capabilities of these platforms to connect with the audiences. This was also largely due to lack of resources and finances to invest in all the platforms with many being rolled out every so often. According to Rogers, the price of an innovation may affect the rate of adoption of a new technology. Rogers argues finances may be a barrier to adoption of new media technologies. The theory thus helps in understanding some of the factors that come into play in understanding print media houses adoption or failure to adopt and use new technologies.

Participants also cited the challenge of keeping pace with evolving technology as newer platforms came up so often. The finding is supported by Alejandro (2010) who says

technological innovations are happening so fast, and the media industry is running to keep pace with them. Media Council of Kenya study (2016) indicates that audiences have access to different platforms from whence they can retrieve news and other content. Nyabuga & Booker (2013) also note that the mainstream media in Kenya are no longer the main sources of news as was the case few years ago as newer sources of information emerge. Besides, from a theoretical perspective, Diffusion of Innovations theory asserts that organisations will adopt a technology based on their need for it. Some will be quick to adopt technologies, while others will take their time to do so; the late adopters or laggards.

Another challenge was in upgrading the Content Management Systems. Participants also cited journalists' limited equipment like digital recorders for regular newsgathering assignments. As seen in Chapter 2, Gordon (cited in Quinn & Filak, 2005), argues it is important for media houses that are converging to ensure that journalists are properly equipped. Gordon's storytelling or presentation convergence requires management to provide the journalist with appropriate equipment – portable newsgathering devices. Again from my study, this has been one of the greatest challenges of print media houses in Kenya. The study has shown that all the three print media houses showed commitment when they started convergence journalism by providing necessary gadgets to reporters but the effort had not been sustained.

This discussion brings forth two important issues; print media is not utilising all new media technologies and secondly, there are challenges in creating content for all platforms. However, as technology evolves, this would be a time print media in Kenya

strived to reach out to its audiences in a variety of platforms. The media should also develop rich content for the audiences especially the younger generation using formats they want. Audience are shifting to online and the media house that will manage to drive traffic to its platforms stands to gain when monetising content becomes a norm in the near future.

5.4.2 The Challenge of Verification of News

Findings revealed that verification of news and sources especially for online platforms is a challenge for print media organisations that were studied. The fast-paced nature of online news has killed the discipline of strict verification before publication. Even though managers encourage reporters to make calls and talk to multiple sources to verify news, the study found out that this does not happen always. This finding is consistent with a Media Council of Kenya (2016) report which says that journalists are today required to disseminate news as fast as they can, even as they are still expected by their professional duties to verify the information they give out. Nyabuga and Booker (2013) also say the breaking news facility now used by various media makes it difficult to ascertain the quality, credibility, and reliability of the information, because of the obsession with immediacy and scoops.

The Social Media Policies serve to reinforce the professional ethics and the code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya. The issue of accuracy and factual reporting is stressed upon in the policies as a form of verification practice all journalists must adhere to. Findings also revealed the rules of verification are stricter for print publications unlike for online stories with the former enjoying multiple gatekeepers. This

observation is in line with Nyabuga and Booker (2013) argument that while print material is subjected to high ethical standards, stories that are published online and even on mobile telephony do not enjoy similar treatment. The scholars further argue that journalistic ethics as accuracy, honesty, truth, impartiality, fairness, and balance have not been adhered to in online platforms, largely because there is no effective way of policing this and there are no legal penalties. Besides, ethics have been ignored as a result of competition for audiences and the pressure to break news first.

Findings show that while verification tools exist in the market for free, they are not adequately used at the three media houses for verification of content especially photos, videos and audios. Verification of text is taken a little more seriously and journalists adhere to the rules especially for print, but there are no strict rules on verification of videos, audios and photos. Some tools to verify the authenticity photos, audios and videos before they are used are open-sourced but their uptake in mainstream print media houses in Kenya that were studied is low.

5.5 Tough to Implement Day Two Journalism

Findings showed that getting an angle for the Day 2 story – the story that goes to the print edition the following day after the news has been broken in various online platforms was not easy. Editors and reporters aim is to tell the story for the newspaper without duplicating what has already been published in online platforms. The Day Two Journalism requires deep research, in order to produce in-depth and incisive pieces. Most of the times this does not happen.

The findings are supported by Media Council of Kenya report (2016) which states that publication of news on different platforms has forced journalists to look for different angles particularly when they work for newspapers which are often printed much later after the news has been published elsewhere. The report adds that newspaper reporters are increasingly finding themselves in a situation whereby they have to package news stories in a way that will make readers buy a newspaper. When a news story breaks, online media are the first to report it. If you have to report it the following day, you have to make it interesting and appealing to your readers. Repurposing the story for Day 2, however, remains a challenge.

5.6 Suspicion between Print and Online Teams as a Hindrance to Integration

Suspicion between the print and online teams has been due to attitude that one platform is superior to the other such that print journalists view online platforms as inferior and stories published online lacking in depth. Such attitudes could be due to the fact that print and online have different cultures in the way stories are gathered, produced and disseminated to the public. Production cycles are also different with the online stories being published in real time which means reporters are always on their toes to find out what is happening. Prints stories, on the other hand, are published in the following day's paper and tend to be more detailed and incisive. So resistance to culture change has been happening in newsrooms introducing convergence journalism. This finding is consistent with Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) argument that the culture of a company plays an important role as its core products and competitive strengths are determined by the inner beliefs of those working there. The scholars argue that the shared beliefs and cultures of

members of an organisation can either result in a hindrance to change or facilitate creativity and innovation.

Dailey et al., (2003) in their convergence continuum model assume convergence is characterised by some degree of interaction and cooperation among cross-media partners – online, TV stations and print newspapers. The continuum's helps to measure the varying degrees of cooperation and interaction by staff as they work to promote news via multiple platforms. Therefore, the suspicion between the two teams makes it difficult for collaborations and content sharing in converging newsrooms. Based on the model, findings from this study would challenge the print and online teams as contributing positively to the efforts by their organisations to achieve full convergence.

5.7 Conclusions

This study was about newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies at three media organisations in Kenya. This section discusses the summary of the major findings in the study, the conclusions and recommendations and suggests areas for further study.

5.7.1 Summary

The study focused on three major print media houses in Kenya that have adopted new media technologies for news gathering, production and distribution. The findings were presented as below:

- a. Print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies.
- b. Print media policies and practices in the wake of digital media.

- c. Journalists' perceptions on the opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use.

The above named sections a, b, and c arise from the research questions that guided the study. I categorised data from the different methods of data collection that I employed in this study; in-depth interviews, observation and document analysis and discussed several recurring themes. In addition, there were four recurring themes that came out of the interviews with respondents. The four themes are;

- a. Diverse opportunities of convergence
 - i. Expanded tools for news gathering and new channels for content distribution
 - ii. The emergence of new journalistic genre and multi-skilled journalists
- b. The challenges of convergence of old and new media technologies
 - i. Triple challenges of continuous innovations training of journalists and acquisition of new digital equipment
 - ii. The challenge of verification of news
- c. Tough to implement Day Two Journalism
- d. Suspicion between print and online teams

Based on the research questions, some key conclusions that were drawn from the study are;

- a. Print media managers' constructions of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new technologies.**

Findings show that practitioners and journalists lauded the convergence of old and new media technologies because it led to the emergence of new tools for news gathering and

the emergence of multiple platforms for distribution of content. New audiences not previously targeted with news also emerged. Convergence was perceived as a continuous innovation which has allowed journalists to gain more skills and perform functions like news gathering, production and delivery with ease. However, the biggest challenge the managers and practitioners encountered was in verification of news.

Findings revealed that print media that was studied was still not utilising some of the verifications tools available online. It has not been made mandatory for journalists and sub editors to use them and the few who take the trouble do so out of personal initiative. There is need to ensure stories and other content like videos and audios are verified before publication in this era of fake news. Other challenges included inadequate training for journalists for multimedia skills and the equipment for producing content with multimedia skills. This was attributed to lack of finances for the media organisations that were still struggling to make profits from digital content. The other challenge was in implementing Day Two Journalism. Print media has to protect its core business at the moment before the online platforms can start generating revenue. Stories for print must be incisive, detailed and offer value to the readers the following day after the same news has been shared over and over in online platforms.

b. Print media policies and practices in the wake of digital media.

Findings revealed that new policies were drafted to guide journalists as they conduct business online such as the Social Media Policy and the Editorial Policy which was revised to suit the current media landscape. New practices also emerged with new media. For instance, journalists were required to be multi-skilled. With digital technologies came

the social media and other platforms that are used to distribute content to the audiences. Print media has also invested in new systems to allow movement of content across multiple platforms. The journalists now work in shifts from early to late night, with changing news cycles and consumption of news in real time. However, managements of the print media houses need to improve and strengthen the new practices in order for convergence to be successful.

c. Journalists' perceptions on opportunities for convergence of old and new media platforms for professional use.

Findings reveal that the opportunities were new media had emerged as powerful tools for newsgathering and for content distribution. Journalists could perform a number of things like producing text, videos and audios using new media. The media houses had many platforms to distribute their content as well. Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp were the most preferred tools for newsgathering, sharing content and engaging audiences.

The challenges were that journalists complained of having to do much more. There was increased workload which they had to adapt to cope in a modern newsroom. Besides, there is suspicion between print and online teams and this can threaten the efforts being put in place for convergence to work. Ideally, a symbiotic relationship should exist between print and online teams for collaborations and interactions to enable efficient newsgathering, production and distribution of content across platforms.

It is, therefore, concluded that the pace of adoption and implementation of new media technologies is slow and inconsistent to make it possible for print media in Kenya to reach the level of full convergence. There has been lack of commitment from some

established journalists and media houses are still grappling with the problem of finances to sustain continuous innovations necessary in converging media houses. Print media has also not used the all emerging new media platforms for maximum gains. They, therefore, find themselves in a delicate situation as they risk not gaining numbers in terms of audiences for their online platforms. These numbers will later pay for the content online when paywalls gain momentum. Every media house that hopes to drive traffic to its platforms, both online and print, must strive to innovate in the area of training, convergence gadgets and equipment and new systems.

I sum up by stating that one major mechanism that print media in Kenya ought to put in place to speed up the adoption and use of new media technologies in the newsroom is to hire competent content creators who not only know how to use new media platforms for maximum benefits but they are also familiar with the unique tastes and needs of audiences especially the younger generation. Secondly, while it is meant to be a group-wide strategy to use the social media for news gathering, this has happened largely with the more enthusiastic reporters. Print media ought to get the legacy journalistic on the social media bandwagon as well.

Based on the discussions on findings of this study, I suggest the following strategies for newspapers to improve the practice of journalism in the era of the Internet;

i. Innovation in use of social media platforms and content creation

For print media, having a presence on several platforms is an effective way to engage a wider range of audiences. But by fully exploiting the capabilities of social media platforms print media can attract even more audiences. Different platforms have different

features and different user bases. While Twitter has been used for breaking news, Facebook for sharing story links, Instagram for sharing captivating photos and YouTube for sharing videos, a lot more innovation in use of the platforms should be explored. Emerging platforms can also be used to get more audiences to a news organisation's platforms. For instance, Tik-Tok, the newest kid on the news block, is yet to be explored by any news organisation in Kenya yet it is popular with user-generated videos favouring the younger generation.

Using a new platform in order to reach new audiences can only be effective if print media can provide content that is more applicable to that platform. Using the same old and antiquated methods when exploring a new ground cannot guarantee success. Multimedia approach works incredibly well on digital platforms. Therefore, there is need for print media to quickly branch out to new platforms as they emerge to reach new audiences.

Having a social media presence alone is not enough. What the print media in Kenya chooses to do on the platforms determines the traffic to their sites. Print media should be alive to the needs and expectations of the audiences using those platforms. Creativity is required in content creation for various platforms. There is need for diversity in content creation. While news is good, print media should find alternative content that suits the audiences. For instance, they can adopt short videos that explain what is already in the news. This will benefit those who do not want long reads. Stories in text can also be developed into audios. Print media can also leverage on videos for social and lifestyle issues beyond news to attract young audiences who make up the majority of the population and who frequently use the social media platforms.

ii. Hire competent digital content creators

Newspapers should be willing to invest in digital content creators who understand the needs of the younger audiences and can connect with them to produce content that speaks to their needs. Good content creators can package information in such a way that it attracts the targeted audiences. These have unique tastes and ideas of formats that can attract audiences. Audiences are looking for easy and direct way to digest news and information. Good content creators can also help to grow the existing platforms in terms of content creation in different formats. For instance, there is increased demand for short videos, stories in form of visuals and audios. Good content creators can deliver that kind of content. They can deliver the right content and deliver using the right platform to the right audiences at the right time and that would be a good investment for print media in Kenya. But as studies have shown, print media are struggling to create content for distribution in various channels that will attract growth and generate revenue.

iii. Explore alternative content beyond news

Audiences are not only interested in news. Print media should create content on lifestyle and social issues, or ordinary problems facing people. Content shared on these platforms should make the lives of audiences more meaningful. It should be content that adds value to their lives. Audiences are mothers looking for a simple way to prepare healthy meals for their families, they are fathers seeking to purchase the best electronics in town, farmers who want agricultural information to plan their farming activities, they are readers who just want fun and would do with engaging games and crossword puzzles. Print media should strive to know the audiences needs and expectations. As the study revealed, the news organisations hired the Analytics teams who provide details on the

demographics of the audiences visiting their digital platforms. Newspapers should use that information to focus on the needs of audiences. They should understand the demographics of users of certain platforms thus provide unique content in media formats they prefer. Print media should not be rigid in reporting; news, politics, analysis etc. Audiences are burned out when it comes to hearing about politics. Meanwhile, sad stories and those related to COVID-19 take a toll on people who are looking for some feel-good news. The print media in Kenya has a responsibility to report news and politics, but personal stories, social and lifestyle issues are a great way to break up your coverage and to get new audiences.

iv. Rich and quality content is key to success in use of new media platforms.

Print media should produce quality content for its platforms. It should not use click bait headlines to drive up traffic to its sites. It should not just be sharing links to articles. The articles themselves should show evidence of creativity in writing and packaging. Good analysis for print articles and explainers for websites and social media platforms is a sure path to success.

v. A notable challenge as findings revealed has also been with verification of news. Both practitioners and managers were facing enormous challenges of verifying content sourced from social media platforms. The media houses have also not stressed the need to use free verification tools that are open sourced online. However, in the era of fake news, propaganda and misinformation the success of print media in Kenya operating social media platforms will be to invest in verification tools for content; text, audios, and videos – and to make it mandatory for its journalists to regularly use them.

To sum up, the benefit of utilising more social media platforms for print media include the capacity to draw traffic to their websites and to interact with audiences to know what they want. Economic benefits may not be immediate, but having the numbers first will stand you print media in good stead when paywalls gain momentum.

5.7.2 Contribution of this Study to the Discipline of Communication and Journalism

This study contributes to the body of research on newspapers navigation of the dynamics of convergence of old and new media technologies in a number of ways; First, it contributes to the body of literature on the perceptions of managers on media convergence. Review of previous literature has revealed that managers' perceptions have not been adequately captured yet they are the decision-makers on technologies being adopted for use in their newsrooms. Most studies have focused on the impact of the Internet on journalism and reporters. By focusing on print media managers perceptions of integration, this study offers new insights as managers also play a key role of managing operations in converged newsrooms.

Secondly, the study highlights perceptions of journalists on the opportunities and challenges of convergence of old and new media technologies and offers suggestions to media managers and practitioners on areas to improve on as they continue with integration of new technologies for news gathering, production and distribution.

Thirdly, in terms of methodology, this study has contributed to research using the qualitative approach. The bulk of researches on the subject of media convergence used the quantitative research approach. Indeed, there are few studies that have used the qualitative approach in the Kenyan context. Fourth, the research has confirmed the main

theories of this study to the field of Communication and Journalism: the Diffusion of Innovations Theory and the Theory of Media Convergence that print media have found it necessary to adopt new technologies to meet their needs of reaching out to audiences and new media technologies redefine the new media environment respectively. Similarly, in reference to the Convergence Continuum Model, this study concludes that no print media house has reached full convergence in Kenya.

The study also holds that Gordon's five forms of convergence observed in the newspapers adopting new technologies in the US have similarly been observed in the Kenyan context. In ownership convergence there has been mergers of previously separate departments in the newsrooms, in tactical convergence, there has been cross-promotion of content between print and online; structural convergence where teams have been hired and formed to repackage content for various platforms is happening in the media houses; information-gathering convergence requiring journalists to be multi-skilled to function effectively in modern newsrooms is a requirement at print media houses that were studied. And lastly, story-telling and presentation convergence is evident though managements have been faulted for not providing adequate equipment and digital tools to journalists who go to the field to report news.

5.7.3 Recommendations

The study was about newspapers navigation of dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media technologies. The study focused on three mainstream newspapers in Kenya; the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star*. From the findings of the study, I make the following recommendations;

- a. There is need for industry regulators, specifically the Media Council of Kenya and ICT ministry, and stakeholders like the Kenya Editors' Guild and Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), to create incentives for journalists and print media houses to consistently channel verified news in their platforms. This can be in form of awards and certificates of recognition, smartphones and digital recorders for those who report factual news.
- b. As findings of this study have revealed, journalists are not receiving continuous trainings due to financial constraints of the media houses they work for. Regulators should support initiatives that promote capacity development of staff by organising seminars and workshops where reporters can get relevant training on multimedia reporting.
- c. There is need for print media houses to put in place mechanisms that will speed up adoption and use of new media technologies. As the study as revealed, not all social media platforms have been adopted for newsgathering and distribution. Besides, legacy journalists have not fully embraced technology. Print media must ensure it exploits the full capabilities of the social media platforms and provide audiences with content they want. There is need for investment in good content creators who know what kind of content the audience wants and in which formats. That in turn will maximise the use of existing social media platforms and the emerging ones.

- d. The government needs to standardise the national media curricular to reflect the changing media environment. This will ensure university's offering journalism churn out skilled workforce that can work effectively in multimedia newsrooms.
- e. The government should create an enabling environment for media to thrive by laying Internet infrastructure across the country for transmitting information to the public. This can be achieved by ensuring all corners of the country are served by fast, efficient and affordable Internet for easy access and consumption of media products.

5.7.4 Suggestions for Further Study

The study findings point to a need for further research and investigation in the following areas:

- a. Research needs to be conducted on how media houses are using newest media platforms as they are rolled out and the challenges encountered. This is because technology changes very fast.
- b. Some legacy journalists have shown resistance in use of new media. Further research can focus on legacy journalists' transformation to multimedia journalists. Legacy journalists should not fail to appreciate the power of social media in breaking news even though they are more concerned with incisive and investigative reporting for print.
- c. Further research on print media and news verification practices in the era of fake news. Journalists are increasingly sourcing for news from social media. There is a lot fake news circulating on social media. Further research can highlight strategies print media has put in place to verify news sourced on social media.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: COPY OF RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MISS. ELIZABETH MWENDWA GITONGA

of MOI UNIVERSITY, 58044-200

Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct

research in Nairobi County

on the topic: PRINT MEDIA NAVIGATION

OF DYNAMICS POSED BY CONVERGENCE

OF OLD AND NEW MEDIA: A MULTIPLE

CASE STUDY OF THREE NEWSPAPERS IN

KENYA

for the period ending:

1st November, 2019

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/89226/26575

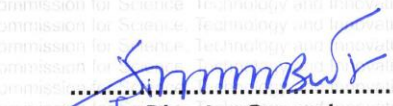
Date Of Issue : 3rd November, 2018

Fee Recieved :Ksh 2000

Applicant's Signature

Director General

National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

APPENDIX II: CONSENT FORM

Dear respondent,

I'm a student at Moi University, Department of Communication Studies, Nairobi Campus, carrying out a research project on: Newspapers navigation of the dynamics posed by convergence of old and new media: A multiple case study of three newspapers in Kenya.

The research is in partial fulfillment for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy in Communication Studies. The responses to the interviews will purely be for academic purposes and will be treated in confidence.

By signing this form, you consent to answer questions relating to your role and experiences in the converged newsroom.

Agreement: I have read and understood the above. I voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Participant ----- Signature ----- Date -----

Researcher----- Signature ----- Date -----

Thank You.

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MANAGERS

Number of managers.....

Name of media organisation.....

Name of media manager.....

How do you make sense of the changing media landscape as a result of new media technologies?

Has your media organisation embarked on restructuring or reorganization to accommodate the new media technologies in news gathering packaging and distribution?

Are journalists' from your media organisation equipped with necessary gadgets and trained on use of new media technologies?(Probe on management role to equip the staff on necessary skills to use new media formats in news gathering, production and delivery of content).

How is your media organisation using new media technologies for professional news gathering and distribution of content? (Probe on whether low, moderate or high levels of usage and give reasons).

Are there any challenges or opportunities journalists' in your media organisation experience in effective professional use of new media formats? (Probe on possible incentives by media companies to ensure journalists readily adopt and use the new technologies).

Has the digital media led to increase/decline of newspaper readership? (Probe on experience of each of the manager on the newspaper they work for).

APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NEWS EDITORS

Number of news editors.....

Name of media organisation.....

Name of news editor.....

The print media the world over has experienced difficulties in dealing with competition arising from new technologies for gathering, content creation and distribution of news. How has your media organisations dealt with these challenges?

Have the employees been adequately equipped with resources to enable them gather, produce and distribute content on multi-platforms?

What are your thoughts about use of new media technologies alongside the old media in news gathering and distribution?

When did journalists in your media organisation start using new media technologies? (Probe on the experience of journalists in the era of digital revolution).

What are your views about journalists' attitudes towards your media organisations' adoption and use of new media technologies for professional news gathering, production and distribution of content? (Probe on whether positive and negative attitudes).

Positive attitude

Negative attitude

What would you say are the challenges or opportunities encountered at your media organisation in trying to converge old and new media? (Probe on strategies employed by print media to counter new ways of news gathering and content delivery).

In your views how much has digital media influenced selection, placement and presentation of stories in newspapers? (Probe on role of the different new media technologies adopted play in presentation of stories in newspapers).

APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECTION EDITORS

Number of section editors.....

Name of media organisation.....

Name of section editor

How has been the uptake of new media technologies by the newspaper company you work for?

Are print sub editors trained on use of new media technologies?

How do journalists use social media tools?

To what extent are journalists able to create content and videos, share and elaborate content in various platforms?

Is there competition or collaborations between online and print teams at your newspaper?

What are your views about journalists' attitudes towards your media organisations' adoption and use of new media technologies for professional news gathering, production and distribution of content? (Probe on whether positive and negative attitudes).

i) Positive attitude

ii) Negative attitude

What would you say are the challenges or opportunities encountered at your media organisation in trying to converge old and new media? (Probe on strategies employed by print media to counter new ways of news gathering and content delivery).

Are there innovative ways that your newspaper had adopted to counter challenges from new media technologies

In your views how much has digital media influenced selection, placement and presentation of stories in newspapers? (Probe on role of the different new media technologies adopted play in presentation of stories in newspapers).

APPENDIX VI: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SUB EDITORS

Number of sub editors.....

Name of media organisation.....

Name of sub editor.....

In your line of duty, how do you use any of the new media technologies adopted by the media organisation you work for? (Probe on skills and ease of use).

How often do you use new media platforms in your work? If so, do the new media technologies make your work easier? (Probe on the experience and give reasons for yes or no).

The new media technologies have presented enormous threat to print media the world over. In your opinion does this apply to the media organisation you work for? (Probe on what those threats are).

Has the media house you work for embarked on restructuring and reorganisation to align itself with the changing technologies? (Probe on newsroom changes and changing roles)

What would you say are the challenges encountered at your media organisation in trying to adopt new media technologies and what has been done to overcome them? (Probe on strategies employed by print media to counter competition from new media formats for news gathering and content delivery).

Has the digital media complemented the traditional media in terms of content sourcing and delivery? (Probe on how the two are adopted to reach out to audiences).

In your view how much has digital media influenced selection, placement and presentation of stories in newspapers? (Probe on role of the different new media technologies adopted play in presentation of stories in newspapers).

APPENDIX VII: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REPORTERS

Number of reporters.....

Name of media organisation.....

Name of reporter.....

In the era of social media, print media has had to adopt social media tools in gathering and dissemination of news. In your opinion how much of this has happened to the media organisation you work for? (Probe on whether the media house they work for is fully or partially integrated).

When was the first time you used new media technologies adopted by your media house for professional news gathering and distribution of content? (Probe on the reporters' attitudes towards the new media formats).

Has your work process been disrupted by the introduction of new media technologies at your place of work? (Probe on the new ways of doing things as media organisations use old and new media format)

What would you say are the challenges encountered at your media organisation in trying to dopt new media technologies? (Probe on strategies employed by print media to counter competition from new media formats for news gathering and content delivery).

Has the digital media complemented the traditional media in terms of content sourcing and delivery? (Probe on how the two are adopted to reach out to audiences).

Even as traditional media wants to retain its role as the reliable disseminators of news and to be the first to do so, it is obvious there is a lot of hearsy and untruths on social media. Yet this is where reporters sometimes get tips for news from. In your view how has information gathered on social media and which promises to be of public interest been treated before it is used in your company's news platforms?

APPENDIX VIII: OBSERVATION LIST

Apart from interviews, the researcher will set time to observe the participants in their offices.

1. Name of media organisation_____

2. AVAILABILITY OF NEW MEDIA TECHNOLOGIES

To tick those observed being used at the three media organisations and the ease with which they are used.

TYPE	TICK	EASE OF USE (Good)	(Moderate)
Facebook			
Twitter			
WhatsApp			
Instagram			
Telegram			
Tumblr			
LinkedIn			
SnapChat			
YouTube			
Flickr			
Chart beats			
Content Management Systems			
Use of verification tools and platforms (for text, images, audios and videos).			

APPENDIX IX: THE BUDGET

Activity	Total
Books, reference materials and Internet	30,000
Travel	10,000
Refreshments for the researcher and respondents during interviews	15,000
Digital recorder and batteries	10,500
Publications (typing, printing and binding)	40,000
Transcriptions costs	25,000
Miscellaneous	10,000
Total	140,500