

CONCEPTUALIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM PRACTICE: VALENCE
OF NEWS FRAMES AND SOURCE DIVERSITY IN KENYA

by

Don Bosco Onyalla

A dissertation presented to the School of Communication

of

Daystar University
Nairobi, Kenya

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in Communication

October 2021

APPROVAL

CONCEPTUALIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM PRACTICE: VALENCE
OF NEWS FRAMES AND SOURCE DIVERSITY IN KENYA

by

Don Bosco Onyalla
15-0668

In accordance with Daystar University policies, this dissertation is accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

Date:

Erneo Nyakundi Nyamboga, PhD,
1st Supervisor

Levi Obonyo,
2nd Supervisor

Levi Obonyo, PhD,
Coordinator, PhD, Communication

Copyright©2021 Don Bosco Onyalla

DECLARATION

CONCEPTUALIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM PRACTICE: VALENCE
OF NEWS FRAMES AND SOURCE DIVERSITY IN KENYA

I declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college or university for academic credit.

Signed: _____
Don Bosco Onyalla
15-0668

Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people supported me in this academic journey. I will not attempt to mention all of them, and I am sorry about that. God knows how thankful I am for the help I received from various people since August 2016.

For this study, first, thank you to all those who contributed to the collection of newspapers and the stories. Much was put into bringing together thousands of news stories and selecting them for analysis, the preparations of the code sheets, and the final coding. For all those who burned the midnight oil to get this first phase of the study done, I thank you for your interest in my study and for sacrificing hours and days and weeks and months out of your busy schedules, to have this done.

Second, I thank all those who took part in the second phase of the study as participants. Knowing your daily routines as journalists, thank you for the sacrifices you made to help me complete this study. I hope I have captured the meaning you intended in your responses when I engaged you in the interviews.

Third, thank you to my supervisors: Dr. Erneo Nyamboga Nyakundi and Prof. Levi Obonyo. Thank you very much for your time and support, beginning in course work, and in the last several months, having to read through hundreds of pages of drafts of my manuscript. Your insightful perspectives have helped me complete this dissertation – all shortfalls in the study are entirely attributed to me.

Fourth, thank you DAAD for your financial support during this program. You came in at the right time, and I have come this far thanks to you. Fifth, to my cohort at Daystar University. I've treasured your support and companionship all along.

Sixth, thank you colleagues in the Priesthood and Religious Life. Thank you for understanding when I was unable to be with you because of my busy schedule.

Seventh, my parents, George and Alexandria (RIP): apart from teaching me how to pray and introducing me to Catholic faith, you helped me realize the value of formal education and paid for all my primary and secondary school education. I acknowledge with appreciation the discipline you instilled in me to love studying, to look at the world from multiple perspectives, and to let the will of God be done in my life.

Finally, to my many friends and relatives who remained faithful to our friendship even when I know you were finding it difficult to cope with my regular excuses of not being with you as you would have expected a friend to be. For the last five years, the commitment needed to complete this doctoral program did divert most of my time, energy, and attention from such valuable persons as you. I am indebted to your patience, understanding, and faithful commitment to our friendship. I am happy that I succeeded in completing this study. God bless you always.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL	ii
DECLARATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xii
ABSTRACT.....	xiv
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study	3
1.3 Statement of the Problem	7
1.4 Purpose of the Study	9
1.5 Objectives of the Study	10
1.6 Research Questions	11
1.7 Justification for the Study	11
1.8 Significance of the Study	11
1.9 Assumptions of the Study	13
1.10 Scope of the Study	13
1.11 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study	16
1.12 Definition of Terms.....	17
1.13 Summary	19
CHAPTER TWO	20
LITERATURE REVIEW	20
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 Journalism Practice in Kenya: A Historical Outline	20
2.3 The Press in Kenya: Newspapers	24
2.4 Professional Journalism Practice in Kenya: Code of Conduct	27
2.5 Professional Journalism Practice in Kenya: Empirical Studies	29
2.6 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks.....	31
2.7 News Valence.....	64
2.8 Analyzing Headlines	69
2.9 News Sourcing Channels	74
2.10 News Actors	82
2.11 Summary	88
CHAPTER THREE	90
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	90
3.1 Introduction	90
3.2 Philosophical Paradigm.....	90
3.3 Research Design.....	92
3.4 Research Method.....	99
3.5 Data Generation Techniques	100
3.6 Data Generation Instruments.....	126
3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis.....	127
3.8 Ethical Considerations	130
3.9 Summary	133

CHAPTER FOUR.....	134
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	134
4.1 Introduction.....	134
4.2 Analysis and Interpretation	136
4.3 Summary of Key Findings	180
4.4 Summary 181	
CHAPTER FIVE	182
DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	182
5.1 Introduction.....	182
5.2 Discussions of Key Findings.....	182
5.3 Conclusion	218
5.4 Limitations and Recommendations.....	220
5.5 Summary 222	
REFERENCES	223
APPENDICES	260
Appendix A: Codebook	260
Appendix B: Code Sheet - Focus: News Valence for Headlines and News Stories	265
Appendix C: Code sheet - Focus: News Sourcing Channels	266
Appendix D: Code Sheet - Focus: News Actors.....	268
Appendix E: List of Authors of News Stories - Daily Nation:	269
Appendix F: List of Authors of News Stories - The Standard.....	270
Appendix G: List of Authors of News Stories - The Star.....	271
Appendix H: List of Authors of News Stories - People Daily:.....	272
Appendix I: Consent Cover Letter	273
Appendix J: Informed Consent Form.....	275
Appendix K: In-depth Interview Guide	277
Appendix L: Data Generation, Analysis, and Write-up: Timetable.....	281
Appendix M: Budget Estimates	282
Appendix N: Transcribed Interview: Participant B3	283
Appendix O Ethical Clearance.....	288
Appendix P: Research Permit	289
Appendix Q: Training Schedule for Coders	290
Appendix R: Plagiarism Report	291

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 3.1: Preliminary Number of Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event</i>	103
<i>Table 3.2: Constructed Weeks/Census Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event</i>	115
<i>Table 3.3: Constructed Weeks/Census Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event</i>	118
<i>Table 3.4: Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate</i>	119
<i>Table 4.1: Number of Stories and Headlines Analyzed</i>	134
<i>Table 4.2: Symbols to Indicate Participants in Qualitative Data</i>	135
<i>Table 4.3: Frequency and Percentage of Episodic Headlines Across Four Newspapers</i>	137
<i>Table 4.4: Percentage of Thematic Headlines Across Four Newspapers</i>	140
<i>Table 4.5: Frequency and Percentage of Neutral Headlines Across Four Newspapers</i>	141
<i>Table 4.6: Frequency and Percentage of Negative Valence of Stories Across Four Newspapers</i>	142
<i>Table 4.7: Percentage of Positive Valence Stories Across Four Newspapers</i>	143
<i>Table 4.8: Frequency/Percentage of Neutral Valence Across Newspapers</i>	144
<i>Table 4.9: Frequency of Neutral Valence Stories Across Four Newspapers</i>	144
<i>Table 4.10: Count and Percentage of Traditional Journalism Stories Across Newspapers</i>	145
<i>Table 4.11: Count and Percentage of Solutions Journalism Stories Across Newspapers</i>	146
<i>Table 4.12: Count and Percentage of Restorative Journalism Stories Across Newspapers</i>	146
<i>Table 4.13: Count and Percentage of Prospective Journalism Stories Across Newspapers</i>	147
<i>Table 4.14: Sum, Mean of Paragraph Across Events/Newspapers</i>	152
<i>Table 4.15: Frequency and Percentage of News Sourcing Channels in Seven Events Across Four Newspapers</i>	152
<i>Table 4.16: Journalists as News Sourcing Channel</i>	153
<i>Table 4.17: Official Documents as News Sourcing Channel</i>	154
<i>Table 4.18: Press Conferences as News Sourcing Channel</i>	157
<i>Table 4.19: Research Reports as News Sourcing Channel</i>	157
<i>Table 4.20: Other News Organizations as News Sourcing Channel</i>	159
<i>Table 4.21: Frequency of Interviews as News Sourcing Channels</i>	159
<i>Table 4.22: Sum and Percentage of Public Meetings as News Sourcing Channels Across Newspapers</i>	160
<i>Table 4.23: Frequency of Online Forums as News Sourcing Channels</i>	160
<i>Table 4.24: Sum and Percentage of Press Releases as News Sourcing Channels Across Newspapers</i>	162
<i>Table 4.25: Frequency and Percentage of News Actors in Seven Events Across Four Newspapers</i>	164
<i>Table 4.26: Sum and Percentage of Executive as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	164
<i>Table 4.27: Sum and Percentage of Politicians as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	166
<i>Table 4.28: Sum and Percentage of National Government Officials as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	167
<i>Table 4.29: Sum and Percentage of Ordinary Citizens as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	168

<i>Table 4.30: Sum and Percentage of Women as News Actors Across Newspapers....</i>	171
<i>Table 4.31: Sum and Percentage of Unnamed Sources as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	172
<i>Table 4.32: Frequency and Percentage of Professionals as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	173
<i>Table 4.33: Frequency and Percentage of Foreign Leaders as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	173
<i>Table 4.34: Frequency and Percentage of Faith-based Leaders as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	173
<i>Table 4.35: Frequency and Percentage of Civil Society Representatives as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	174
<i>Table 4.36: Frequency and Percentage of Business Leaders as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	174
<i>Table 4.37: Frequency and Percentage of County Government Officials as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	175
<i>Table 4.38: Frequency and Percentage of Independent Commissions as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	175
<i>Table 4.39: Frequency and Percentage of Academics as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	176
<i>Table 4.40: Frequency and Percentage of Media Practitioners as News Actors Across Newspapers</i>	176

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1.1: Overview of the Study</i>	10
<i>Figure 2.1: Illustration of the Theoretical and Conceptual Framework</i>	32
<i>Figure 2.2: The “Hierarchy-of-Influences” Model</i>	35
<i>Table 3.1: Preliminary Number of Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event</i>	103
<i>Table 3.2: Constructed Weeks/Census Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event</i>	115
<i>Table 3.3: Constructed Weeks/Census Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event</i>	118
<i>Table 3.4: Krippendorff’s Alpha Reliability Estimate</i>	119

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMWIK	Association of Media Women in Kenya
AST	Agenda-setting Theory
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CK	Communication Authority of Kenya
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
CRA	Commission on Revenue Allocation
DBS	Delta Broadcasting Services
DME	Digital Media Environment
ERB	Ethics Review Board
FH	Fondation Hirondelle
GT	Gatekeeping Theory
HIT	Hierarchy of Influences Theory
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
II	Imagination Institute
IMAS	Inter-media agenda-setting theory
JSC	Judicial Service Commission
KIMC	Kenya Institute of Mass Communication
KLR	Kenya Law Reports
KNHREC	Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission
MA	Media Act
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MDJ	Market-driven journalism

MNL	Mediamax Networks Ltd
MP	Member of Parliament
MSF	Medecin Sans Frontières
MSM	Mainstream media
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NLC	National Land Commission
NMG	Nation Media Group
NP1, NP2, NP3, NP4	Codes for the four Kenyan national newspapers under study
NPSC	National Police Service Commission
PM	Propaganda Model
PSB	Public Service Broadcasters
PSC	Parliamentary Service Commission
PSC	Public Service Commission
RAG	Radio Africa Group
RN	Restorative Narratives
SG	The Standard Group
SJN	Solutions Journalism Network
SPJ	Society for Professional Journalists
SRC	Salaries and Remuneration Commission
SVT	Sveriges Television, the Swedish National Television
TSC	Teachers Service Commission
USC	User-selected Content

ABSTRACT

Journalism scholars argue that professional news journalism is in crisis. To establish the extent of such crisis, context- and culture-based research has been recommended. Some scholars have identified news negativity and source bias among the problems of professional news journalism, aspects that combine to show a disregard for public interest. Employing mixed methods research design, this study sought to gain insight into professional news journalism practice in Kenya from three perspectives: news valence, the diversity of news sourcing channels, and the diversity of news actors. Quantitative data was collected through quantitative content analysis of headlines and stories (n = 1,132) from seven major news-making events in a six-year period (2015-2020) across four Kenyan national newspapers. Qualitative data was generated through in-depth interviews with 25 journalists involved in the coverage of the seven events. The findings showed an overall bias toward negative valence and a strong portrayal of conflict-driven journalism; limited sourcing, characterized by an overwhelming dominance of journalists' analyses; a heavy reliance on official sources; a journalism practice that leans toward news-for-profit rather than news-for-information through low-cost and easy-to-access strategies; and a systemic bias toward the elites, and against ordinary citizens. This evidence-based position regarding news valence and source diversity in Kenyan mainstream newspapers can facilitate precise responses to the concerns about news negativity and source bias. This can serve the interests of Kenya's professional news journalists, media managers, institutions of journalism, media scholars, and policymakers within the context of the news media industry. Based on this study's findings, policies in the news media industry can be updated in view of fostering the interests of 21st century audiences.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

On December 9, 2017, Kenya's Daily Nation newspaper was published under the headline, "Uhuru and Raila: Who will blink first?" This headline referenced the political stand-off in Kenya that was triggered by the decision of the leader of the National Super Alliance (NASA), Raila Odinga, to be sworn in as "President" on December 12, 2017. The headline was selected to drive the discussion of the weekly program "Press Pass" on Nation Television (NTV) on December 11, 2017 (NTV Kenya, 2017). Press Pass discusses journalistic reporting of Kenyan issues.

Two Tweets from audience members were sampled to trigger reactions from the three guests for a conversation around the headline. "I am not sure if such headlines are helpful. This (is) not Arsenal Vs Manchester," a Kenyan radio journalist had tweeted. A tweet from a politician read: "A bad headline. Media should embrace wider public interest and encourage dialogue to save the nation rather than pursue confrontational, sensational headlines such as this one that pulls the leaders apart." A panelist, a managing editor at a national newspaper, defended the headline: "It is a competition ... I think that was the right question to ask at this particular period in time." A Kenyan media practitioner who was on the panel said: "I don't have a problem with the headline per se; it is the approach to it; it is an approach the media has taken to portray politics in essence as a game, a competition between these two sides; and the media has not concentrated on the issues that our politics are meant to be running on; it has been more interested in the drama of the politics and in dramatizing it to try and sell the paper rather than explain the issues behind."

The back and forth continued, the key highlights being concerns about a journalism practice biased toward negative framing of issues, a lack of investigation and depth in the coverage of events, and a tendency to prioritize elite sources. In the face of the myriad of criticisms, the managing editor confessed: “Our mistakes are seen and we accept ... we have shortcomings here and there, and I believe within the fraternity, within the individual media houses, within the wider media fraternity, there is a lot of debate and soul searching going on.”

The concerns highlighted in this Press Pass program have been captured in several news media reports (Burrows, 2013; Gathara, 2017, 2019; Omulo, 2018; Sosi, 2018; Vidija, 2018). In one of these reports, Gathara (2017) argued that the political elite has captured the media in Kenya and that the industry needs “to redeem itself and to serve the public good” (para. 19). However, few studies have empirically established the nature and impact of such journalism practice (Nduva, 2016; Salim, 2010).

Specifically, no evidence of empirical studies that have examined the valence of news frames alongside source diversity in Kenya has been established, aspects that combine to demonstrate the problem of overlooking public interest in professional news journalism practice. In this study, news valence refers to the way in which journalists portray events as reflecting positivity, negativity, or neutrality. Source diversity refers to the journalistic practice of an unbiased approach to news sourcing channels; and giving a voice to news actors without selection bias. News sourcing channels are the forums where journalistic content is sourced. News actors are the individuals given a voice in journalistic reports.

Elsewhere, studies that have established emphasis on negative valence have usually employed a single-case study method, oftentimes negative in nature (Bleich, Stonebraker, Nisar, & Abdelhamid, 2015). This study sought to fill this research

limitation by employing a multi-case study method, known for deeper understanding and extensive explanations of the phenomenon under study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Thus, beginning with the introduction of the research topic, this chapter has 12 sections. Other sections include the study background, the study problem, the purpose, the objectives, the research questions, and the study justification. The significance of the study, its scope, limitations, delimitations, and the operationalization of terminologies are also presented.

1.1.1 The Research Topic

In journalism studies, evidence of news journalism practice that leans toward negativity and fosters source bias has been established through the examination of the valence of news frames (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017; McIntyre & Sobel, 2018) and source diversity (Hermans & Drok, 2018). Such analysis has resulted in evidence-based positions regarding concerns about news negativity and biased sourcing, which have been interpreted as a journalism practice that disregards public interest (Rodny-Gumede, 2015; Waisbord, 2013). This study sought to gain insight into professional journalism practice in Kenya from the perspective of the valence of news frames, the diversity of news sourcing channels, and the diversity of news actors.

1.2 Background to the Study

Journalism practice has usually been analyzed from two perspectives: theory and practice. As explained in this subsection, both approaches provide a background to this study. The practice perspective includes the background about news valence and source diversity. This study's conceptual and theoretical framework are highlighted in the theoretical perspective.

1.2.1 Theoretical Perspective

While there have been inconclusive debates about approaches to researching journalism practice history (Erjavec & Zajc, 2011; Nerone, 2013; Tucher, 2011), there is consensus among scholars that traditionally, studies that sought to examine the relationship between media and society were based on the four theories of the press (Napoli, 2002; Nordenstreng, 1997; Servaes, 2015). These theories (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956), namely the authoritarian theory (Siebert, 1956a), the libertarian theory (Siebert, 1956b), the social responsibility theory (Peterson, 1956), and the Soviet Communist theory (Schramm, 1956) eclipsed previous journalistic studies, including normative individualism (Löffelholz, 2008).

Observing a limited application of these theories, scholars have expressed discontent with the assumption that the four theories can be applied globally (Hallin & Mancini, 2012; McQuail, 1983; Nordenstreng, 1997; Obonyo, 2011; Skjerdal, 2012). These are among scholars who have proposed revisions, additional models, or even alternative ways. Scholars analyzing African countries have faulted the framing of theoretical frameworks that prevail in specific countries as if they were applicable across the globe (Amin & Napoli, 2000; Ronning & Kupe, 2000; Tomaselli, 2000). A review of literature focusing on journalism practice in Africa reveals decades of scholarship aimed at establishing some normative models of journalism suitable to the continent (Collins, 2017; Ireri, 2015; Mabweazara, 2015; Wasserman, 2015).

Therefore, situating itself within the debate around journalism models that characterize the practice of journalism in African contexts, this study acknowledged the heterogeneity of Africa and sought to gain insight into professional news journalism practice in one of the African countries, Kenya. Anchoring itself on other theoretical frameworks other than the four theories of the press, the current study was part of the

ongoing attempts to understand the practice of professional news journalism in different contexts of the world, including Africa.

1.2.2 Journalism Practice Perspective

The practice of journalism has been an agenda for research, as evidenced in historical overviews of journalism studies (Fair, 2015; Hampton & Conboy, 2014). The significant role of the media in society and the intimate link between media and democracy have provided justification for this scholarship (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009; Strömbäck, 2005). The media are seen to encourage rational democratic deliberations in what the oft-cited German sociologist Jürgen Habermas described as the public sphere (Habermas, 2006). Although some studies have examined the impact of positive news on audiences, much attention in research has been on the effects of negative news (Berger & Milkman, 2012; Zillmann, Gibson, Ordman, & Aust, 1994). Findings have shown the negative effects of news negativity, including reduced helping behavior, decreased tolerance, distrust, helplessness, and depression (Galician & Vestre, 1987; Kleinnijenhuis, van Hoof, & Oegema, 2006).

In Kenya, a 2019 report about the media landscape indicated that for the period from October 2018 to June 2019, journalistic content “focused predominantly” on crimes (11%), then education (5%), corruption (5%), national politics (4%), and health (3%) (TIFA Research, 2019, p. 24). Similarly, a 2020 report providing an overview of the landscape of social media in Kenya indicated that 81% of Kenyans had accessed negative news stories on social media, including narratives on “violence, conflicts, crime, bad economy, natural disasters, terrorism, war, pandemic, and other upsetting events” (United States International University-Africa [USIU-Africa], 2020, p. 44). Limited in scope and silent on the details of the study, the report concludes that in

Kenya, “the majority of news coverage concerns negative topics and is usually directed towards people’s emotions” (USIU-Africa, p. 44).

The conclusion speaks to studies that have established negativity as one of the challenges bedeviling professional news journalism practice (Curry & Hammonds, 2014; Pauly, 2009; Powers & Curry, 2019). For Curry and Hammonds (2014), “a prevailing mentality among those who attend to the news is the belief that the majority of news is negative” (p. 6). From journalists’ perspective, recent studies have established that engaging in a journalism practice that focuses more on solutions than on problems steers the goal of journalistic stories’ impact (Lough & McIntyre, 2018; Powers & Curry, 2019). These studies provide the background to the attempts toward resolving the problem of news negativity exemplified in the argument that “negative news is a contributor to news fatigue, or a diminished desire to turn to the news” (Powers & Curry, 2019, p. 6).

The background of source bias can be traced to Walter Lippman (Lippmann, 1922). The elite-oriented and institutional-focused journalism model fronted by Lippmann in the 1920s has dominated the culture of journalism for decades, despite the counter-movements (Waisbord, 2007; Wall, 2015; Witschge, 2009). In particular, the 1940s saw social responsibility journalism. New journalism emerged in the 1960s (Galtung, 1969). In the 1970s, peace journalism was proposed. Civic journalism emerged in the 1990s. Citizen journalism eclipsed civic journalism in the first decade of the 21st century. The second decade of the century saw more advocacy for constructive journalism (Mcintyre, 2015; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017). Hence, while it has been established that journalism education has reinforced Lippmann’s model that fostered source bias toward the elites (Voakes, 2004), media practitioners and scholars have, in recent decades, proposed new approaches to journalism practice. These include

civic journalism, also called public journalism (Rosen, 1999), citizen journalism (Abbott, 2017; Waisbord, 2007; Wall, 2015; Witschge, 2009), interactive journalism (Soontjens, 2018), and constructive journalism (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017), which gave insight into the study's problem.

This study emerged from this background of journalism scholarship that highlights some of the challenges professional news journalism is facing. The study sought to contribute to the scholarly tradition that has emphasized the need to examine the practice of journalism in different contexts of the globe. In examining news valence and source diversity in Kenya's mainstream media, an evidence-based position about news negativity and source bias in Kenya was established, facilitating answering the problems this study sought to address.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Over the last several decades, profound technological and societal transformations have triggered changes in the media industry in general (Jensen, 2002; van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2003) and in professional news journalism in particular (Mabweazara, 2015; McQuail, 2013; Paterson, 2013). In the latter case, it has been established that professional news journalism practice that is expected to be a source of trustworthy and relevant news is "going through a difficult phase" often described as a crisis (Hermans & Drok, 2018, p. 679). Thus, scholars have called for reinvention (Waisbord, 2013), reconstruction (Downie & Schudson, 2009), rebuilding (Anderson, 2013), reconsideration (Alexander, Breese, & Luengo, 2016), rethinking (Peters & Broersma, 2013), and rethinking again (Peters & Broersma, 2016) of professional news journalism practice.

One of the problems that recent scholarship has established is news negativity (Aitamurto & Varma, 2018; Lough & McIntyre, 2018). For instance, Aitamurto and

Varma (2018) have argued that “a singular focus on negativity contributes to audiences becoming disillusioned and disinterested in civic issues” (p. 695). It was against this background that constructive journalism emerged, proposing a journalism practice that considers ways of resolving societal issues (Fondation Hirondelle, 2018; Gyldensted, 2015; Haagerup, 2008; Varma, 2019). Scholars have also established source bias as problematic, expressed as discontent with the manner in which professional journalism operating within democratic contexts is biased toward officials, experts, and political elites, treating ordinary citizens and “minority” groups as spectators (Hermans & Drok, 2018; Rodney-Gumede, 2015; Waisbord, 2013). For instance, the focus on institutional news actors on the part of mainstream journalists has been criticized as fostering a one-way communication model and a top-down approach that alienates ordinary citizens, thus contributing “to the perpetuation of power inequalities” (Waisbord, 2013, p. 107). Alienating ordinary citizens is problematic because the public, as the American communication theorist and media critic James William Carey has been quoted as saying, is journalism’s god-term, the word without which the very enterprise of journalism would not make sense (Ryfe, 2017).

In the face of these problems, scholars have argued for context- and culture-based research, the central argument being that these professional news journalism problems cannot be generalized across nations (Andersson & Wadbring, 2015). However, studies that have established emphasis on negative valence tend to employ a single-case study method, oftentimes negative in nature, including reports on hostage-taking (Metila, 2013), traffic accidents (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008), and even terrorism (Nevalsky, 2015). Similarly, studies that have established source bias have usually employed single cases of a negative nature (Benson & Wood, 2015; Masini et al., 2018). In Africa, empirical studies examining professional news journalism practice

from the perspective of news valence, source diversity (Collins, 2017), or even public interest (Rodny-Gumede, 2015) are limited. Here, Atton and Mabweazara (2011) have noted the tendency “to shy away from studies of the routines and practices of journalism (especially in the print media), preferring instead to emphasize issues around the democratization of the media (including new technologies) and its role in political and democratic processes” (p. 667). Situating itself within an African context, the problem of the current study can be stated thus: a news journalism practice, which seems oriented toward negativity and source bias, has created concerns in Kenya about a profession defined by public interest, creating the need for empirical studies examining the valence of news frames and source diversity in Kenya.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study was to gain insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya from the perspective of the valence of news frames and the diversity of news sources. To achieve this, the study quantitatively content analyzed seven major news-making events in the last six years across four Kenyan national newspapers; and conducted in-depth interviews with 25 journalists involved in the reporting of the seven events. The newspapers analyzed included Daily Nation, The Standard, The Star, and People Daily. The seven events examined were: Garissa University attack in April 2015; Obama’s visit in July 2015; Pope Francis’ visit in November 2015; 100-day doctors’ strike from December 2016; annulment of Presidential elections in September 2017; Handshake in March 2018; and COVID-19 in 2020. Figure 1 shows the study overview.

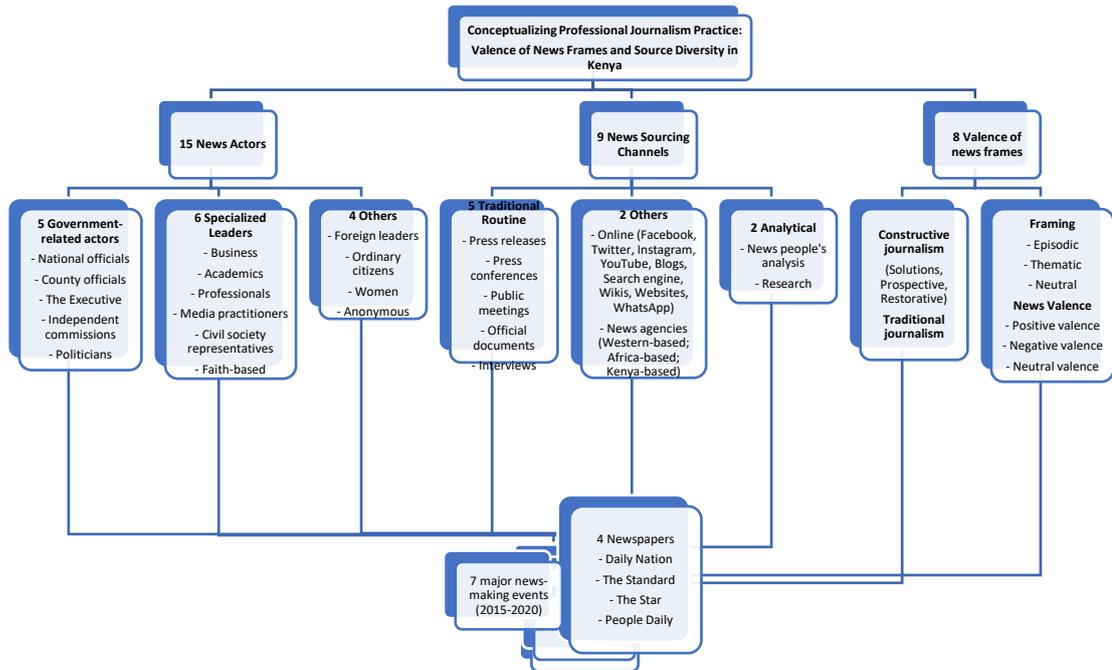


Figure 1.1: Overview of the Study

1.5 Objectives of the Study

Considering journalism scholars' call for rethinking professional journalism practice across cultures and nations and concerns in Kenya about a news journalism practice oriented toward negativity and source bias, this study had the following objectives:

1. To establish and examine news valence in the framing of seven major news-making events across four Kenyan national newspapers.
2. To establish and assess how common news sourcing channels in seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers.
3. To establish and examine the extent to which common news actors in the news coverage of seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers.

1.6 Research Questions

1. How does the framing of seven major news-making events reflect news valence across four Kenyan national newspapers?
2. How do the common news sourcing channels of seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers?
3. To what extent do the common news actors in the news coverage of seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers?

1.7 Justification for the Study

Journalism scholars' call for context- and culture-based studies (Andersson & Wadbring, 2015) amid established profound technological and societal transformations across the globe (Jensen, 2002) provided a strong justification for this study. As observed above, media practitioners and ordinary citizens in Kenya have bemoaned mainstream media's negative framing of issues and source bias defined by the tendency to focus on the elite, treating ordinary citizens as spectators (NTV Kenya, 2017). A problem of this magnitude, which touches on public interest that is considered critical to the practice of professional news journalism (Ryfe, 2017), calls for systematic and comprehensive research, which the current study sought to undertake amid a dearth in empirical studies. The study was justified by the need for evidence-based perspectives and research-based solutions to news negativity and source bias.

1.8 Significance of the Study

Taking into account the gravity of concerns that touch on the principle of public interest that defines professional news journalism practice highlighted above, examining news valence and source diversity in Kenya was considered significant. This

resulted in an evidence-based position regarding news negativity and source bias in Kenya, facilitating precise responses to these concerns. Gaining insights into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya contributes to the growing body of literature on journalism practice across the globe.

The current study has contributed to the application of constructive journalism, an emerging journalism model whose application has been encouraged (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017). Other frameworks expanded in this study include the hierarchy-of-influences model, framing theory, the propaganda model, and the concepts of public interest, media standing, market-driven journalism, and intermedia agenda-setting.

Moreover, insights into the practice of professional news journalism greatly serve the interests of Kenya's news journalists, media managers, institutions of journalism, media scholars, government, and policy makers in the news media industry. This has contributed to evidence-based recommendations about the need to update policies in news media entities to foster the interest 21st century audiences.

On the basis of this study's findings, news journalists can engage their managers in improving their professional roles. Media managers can evaluate and review their decision-making processes and newsroom routines. Audience members can come to terms with concerns about professional news journalism practice in Kenya and use the evidence in the current study to argue for a journalism practice that respects the principle of public interest. The study's findings also provide a setting for journalism scholars to replicate the study in other contexts. Furthermore, institutions of journalism in Kenya can use the results to revise their respective syllabuses in view of addressing the established journalism problems to serve present-day audiences better.

1.9 Assumptions of the Study

Scholars underscore the need to know what assumptions are when they are applied to studies, especially in research proposals and dissertations (Simon & Goes, 2013; Wargo, 2015). The current study assumed:

1. News journalists in Kenya engaged a variety of sources in the process of writing news stories, and that the stories under study reflected such source diversity.
2. Various categories of news valence were among the most commonly used by Kenyan news journalists, knowingly or unknowingly.
3. Participants involved in the writing of stories under study were to actually take part in the second phase of the study. To enhance this, what was at stake in terms of the study problem and the study significance was explained to potential participants.
4. Participants' interaction would be sincere and truthful. To foster truthfulness, honesty and frankness, anonymity and confidentiality were ensured.
5. Participants in the study would have been involved in covering similar issues under study. Here, purposeful sampling was employed through the selection of relevant and information-rich cases. In this regard, priority was given to journalists behind most analyzed news stories across the seven issues.

1.10 Scope of the Study

Four perspectives formed the scope of the study. These include content, theoretical, contextual, and methodological.

1.10.1 Content Scope

Founded on the scholarly tradition distinguishing the strictness of journalism practice across news media, according to Lee (2008) and Reich (2016), this study

sought to focus on newspapers. Radio and television are more selective compared to newspapers (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Thus, the various categories of news valence and source diversity may be represented in newspapers. Studies that have established, for instance, that television news relies on fewer sources relative to newspapers reinforce this decision (Berkowitz, 1987; Brown, Wearden, & Straughan, 1987; Reich, 2011). The hybrid nature of the leading national newspapers, providing online versions of the hard copies in circulation, also widens their scope of source diversity (Lee, 2008).

Additionally, the scholarly tradition that has identified print media as having the most respected journalists (Reich, 2011; Tiffen et al., 2014) compared to broadcast media with television journalists enjoying celebrity status (Montgomery, 2007; Reich, 2016) also justifies the focus on newspapers. Focusing on newspapers is also in line with scholars who have argued that a newspaper newsroom is the place where ethical journalism is practiced (Iggers, 1999; Reich, 2016).

1.10.2 Theoretical Scope

While the study sought to gain insight into journalism practice in Kenya, the scope of the study was limited to a deeper understanding of professional news journalism. Thus, the study did not seek to propose a journalism concept or model for Kenya. However, the study findings can contribute to the conceptualization of journalism practice in Kenya. Additionally, in operationalizing media diversity framework, the current study sought to go beyond balance and variety that have characterized studies in African contexts (Collins, 2017; Ojebode, 2009) to include disparity as one of the three properties of media diversity (Stirling, 2006, 2007).

1.10.3 Contextual Scope

Rather than operationalize the wide understanding of journalism that includes the discussion of whether practices occasioned by digital media such as blogging can

be considered journalism (Domingo & Heinonen, 2008; Lowrey, 2006), the current study sought to operate within the context of professional news journalism. Thus, the study sought to operationalize the meaning of journalism as a formal profession involving individuals attached to a recognized news media organization (Fair, 2015; Obonyo & Nyamboga, 2011).

1.10.4 Methodological Scope

Founded on a pragmatic philosophical paradigm, the study employed a mixed methods research approach of the explanatory sequential design type in a two-phase four-step procedure. This design has usually emphasized quantitative data. However, the current study followed the variation of the design that prioritizes qualitative data (Creswell, Clark, Plano, & Hanson, 2003).

Additionally, while previous studies that have found the dominance of negative valence have usually used single cases of a negative nature (Metila, 2013; Nevalsky, 2015), the current study widened the scope and used multi-case study method by examining seven distinct news-making events across four Kenyan national newspapers. This provided an occasion for extensive explanations of news valence and source diversity in the Kenyan context. The sampling of multiple events, both negative and positive in nature, served to eliminate the bias toward negative events in previous studies.

Moreover, data comparisons were considered across the newspapers and not across the events. This was informed by the sampling procedure. While the sample size for each event was comparable across the four newspapers, the sample size across the events was varied and mostly incomparable. As such, some events had significantly more stories than other events.

1.11 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

Scholars have emphasized the need to know the meaning of research limitations and delimitations when they are applied to studies (Simon & Goes, 2013; Wargo, 2015; White, 2011a). This subsection applies the two terms to the study.

1.11.1 Limitations

Limitations have been described as factors usually beyond the researcher's control, likely to affect a study's results or their interpretations (Simon & Goes, 2013). While the current study focused on an African context, the results and their interpretation are limited to Kenya and may not be valid for other nations in Africa or elsewhere. However, the study could be replicated in other contexts of the world. Similarly, the application of the results to other journalism fields, including broadcast journalism and photojournalism, may be limited.

1.11.2 Delimitations

Unlike limitations, delimitations are factors of the study over which researchers have some level of control (Newman, Ridenour, Weis, & McNeil, 1997; Simon & Goes, 2013). These factors arise from the boundaries of the study manifested in the decisions to include and exclude particular aspects in setting limits on the sample size, study time frame, geographic region where data is gathered, conceptual perspective, theoretical frameworks, philosophical paradigms, among others.

Considering this study's micro-level research approach, the application of the various theoretical and conceptual frameworks was limited in scope. Specifically, following the scholarly tradition of advancing a five-level diversity framework (Sjøvaag, 2016), the current study only operationalized output diversity that examines what is presented to audiences and production diversity that interrogates the

professional and journalistic aspects of news work. The application of framing theory (Entman, 1993, 2003) to news valence involved valence framing (Tiung & Hasim, 2009) and the generic type of frames (de Vreese, 2005), that is, Iyengar's (1991) episodic and thematic framing. That the respective viewpoints of news actors were beyond the scope of the current study limited the application of framing theory to this study. While the hierarchy of influences theory (HIT) has five hierarchical levels that range from factors at the micro level to those at the macro level, the latter factors were excluded in this study that operationalized individual journalist and media routines (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016).

From the agenda-setting theory (AST), the study applied the concept of inter-media agenda setting (Funk & McCombs, 2017; McCombs, 2014). Meanwhile, while a macro-level research would seek to operationalize all the five news filters of the propaganda model by Herman and Chomsky (1988), the current study limited its scope to three filters: media ownership, advertising, and sourcing.

In addition, the study employed the professional definition of a journalist as someone employed to engage in gathering, processing, as well as disseminating information (Burns & Matthews, 2018). Finally, the four newspapers were selected on the basis of their wide circulation and history of existence in the country. Being national in scope, the newspapers are expected to report issues of national interest, hence an appropriate sample for a study seeking to analyze major news-making events. Meanwhile, while the analysis focused on journalistic content, photojournalism, which would require a distinct research design, was excluded.

1.12 Definition of Terms

This subsection provides the operational definition of the key terminologies employed in the study. The terminologies relate to the main aspects of the study.

News valence: Refers to the manner in which the events under study are portrayed as reflecting negativity, positivity, or neutrality.

News sourcing channels: Refers to where news stories appear to have originated – where journalists go for information. In this study it was used interchangeably with origin of news reports.

News actors. Refers to individuals given a voice in journalistic content under study; allowed to express views; quoted directly or indirectly through paraphrasing.

Source diversity: This has two approaches: the journalistic practice of being unbiased in sourcing for information; and giving a voice to news actors without selection bias.

Source bias: This has a two-pronged approach: the tendency to either inadequately include or exclude news actors in journalistic content; and a limited sourcing of news reports.

Sources: Refers to both the news actors and the channels of news production.

Sourcing: Reaching out to news actors and getting content from news sourcing channels.

Journalists: Persons employed to be directly involved in the production of journalistic content (reporters and editors); used interchangeably with news people and news workers.

Traditional journalism: Describes negative news valence, exemplified in sensationally framed headlines news stories that do not go deeper into issues as to explore the root and hidden causes, effects, and solutions in some comprehensive reporting.

Constructive journalism: Identified by three branches of solutions, prospective, and restorative narratives, stories that go deeper into issues to bring out root and hidden

causes, effects, and solutions in some comprehensive reporting will constitute this terminology.

News values: Describes the set of criteria that assist in determining the likelihood of an event to be reported, synonymous with attributes for news selection and newsworthiness.

Public interest: The principle that defines the role of news media entities to safeguard the good of the audiences they serve, exemplified in news stories being seen to prioritize the welfare of the majority of audiences.

Major news-making events: Also described as “big stories”. These are occurrences, planned or unplanned, that satisfy multiple news values, including impact, prominence, conflict, human interest, proximity, and unusualness (oddity), among other criteria that assist in determining the likelihood of an event to be reported as news.

1.13 Summary

Chapter one has provided an overview of the study (Figure 1.1). The chapter started with an overview of a Kenyan television discursive program featuring a 2017 Kenyan newspaper headline. The topic of the study has been specified and explained. The study background subsection has traced the research problem of news negativity and source bias from scholarly traditions across the globe and Africa, and then Kenya. The research problem has been explained and stated. The purpose of the study has been outlined as gaining insight into Kenya’s professional news journalism practice. Three research objectives have been outlined alongside three research questions. The justification, significance, scope, and limitations and delimitations of the study have been discussed. The chapter has concluded with definition of terms concluded. The next chapter focuses on a review of relevant literature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into nine subsections. The first subsection discusses the historical overview of the press in Kenya, followed by an overview of the print media in Kenya. The relevant codes of conduct for journalism practice in Kenya are then highlighted in reference to the second schedule of the Media Council Act 2013. This is followed by an overview of empirical studies examining professional journalism practice in Kenya. The study's conceptual and theoretical framework is then discussed. The next three sections review literature related to the three aspects of the research problem, that is, news valence, news sourcing channels, and news actors. The analysis of headlines is discussed in a distinct subsection.

2.2 Journalism Practice in Kenya: A Historical Outline

In providing a historical overview of the media industry in particular contexts, scholars have recommended a focus on the significant steps that reflect changes in various phases. In this regard, scholars have located the first phase of communications and policy in the U.S. and Western Europe in the period until World War II in 1945 (van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2003). In Africa, most countries, including Kenya, have traced the first phase of the history of the media industry to the pre-independence era (Matumaini, 2010; Mutere, 2010).

Pre-independence press in Kenya. The origin of the Kenyan press, like other African countries, is traced to the missionaries and the British settlers (Amutabi, 2013; Ochilo, 1993). The Taveta Chronicle is known to have been one of the earliest newspapers in Kenya (Ainslie, 1966; Ochilo, 1993). First published in 1895 under the

auspices of Rev. Robert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the newspaper was availed mainly to Europeans.

For missionaries, the pre-independence press, which bore religious content, was part of the literacy agenda. Meanwhile, for colonialists and European settlers, “the basic objective of these papers was to provide information for the missionaries and settlers of news that came from home (England)” (Ochilo, 1993, p. 24). In addition, the pre-independence press served the purpose of legitimizing colonialists’ role in Kenya and maintaining the status quo (Frederiksen, 2020). The interpretation of all this is that Kenyan natives were not the main beneficiaries of the pre-independence press, which was European-oriented (Ochilo, 1993; Odhiambo, 1991).

The Indian press in Kenya. The community of the Asians in Kenya and particularly that of the Indians established their press in view of representing their part of the world, mainly the business sector (Frederiksen, 2011; Ochilo, 1993). The Daily Chronicle, which Frederiksen (2011) said is “one of the two leading radical Indian newspapers of the late 1940s” (p. 157), had a clear bias against the colonialists in general and the government in particular. Instead, the publication sought to support the African course. However, like the European-oriented media outlined above, the Indian press in Kenya did not have the Kenyan indigenous populations as the primary audience. Against this backdrop of a narrow meaning of public interest that left out the majority of Kenyan citizens, the native press emerged (Wilson, 1987).

The native press in Kenya. Scholars have observed a close relationship between the clamor for Kenya’s independence and the emergence of the native press (Karanja, 2000; Oriare, Okello-Orlale, & Ugangu, 2010). According to Karanja (2000), the “blatantly discriminative policies of the colonial regime” triggered discontent from Africans and Indians that saw nationalist leaders start newspapers aimed at propagating

their respective views and concerns (p. 33). In Kenya, some of the publications included *Sauti Ya Mwafrika*, *Habari Za Dunia*, *African Chronicle*, *Tangazo*, *Luo Magazine*, *Pamoja*, and *Afrika Mpya*, among others (Ali, 2009; Makali, 2003).

At least four phases can be identified in the realization of the native press that currently exists in Kenya. Phase one is the near-independence period characterized by an advocacy for freedom (Sarati, 2012). As the second phase, the independence era was characterized by complex power struggles (Ogola, 2011), with Kenyan elites, armed with educational and organizational abilities, engaging State apparatus to promote self-interests rather than those of the general public (Ugangu, 2015). In 1968, the official Secrets Act aimed at suppressing public interest information from the State was instituted. The native press at independence and some years after also considered nation-building content and topics such as ethnicity, nepotism, and corruption (Hornsby, 2013; Ugangu, 2015). Public interest might not have been a priority given that the press largely fostered the objectives of the political elites (Kiai, 2011).

The era when Kenya's second President Daniel Moi was in power is the third phase. It had "political rivalry between Moi and Oginga Odinga, corruption, a failed coup by elements of the military in 1982, economic recession, and globalization in the 1990s played a key role in shaping the government's attitude to media" (Ugangu, 2015, pp. 4-5). This implies that politics continued to influence Kenya's press during most of Moi's 24-year regime (1978-2002). Specifically, the period before 1992 has been described as dark for Kenya's media because of physical threats and attacks, intimidation, censorship, and media closures (Ireru, 2015; Kalyango, 2011), compared to Kenyatta's era from 1963 to 1978 that was characterized by less stringent media controls (Obonyo, 2003).

The emergence of multiparty politics in early 1990s and the wave of economic liberalization that followed provided the context for the mushrooming of broadcast outlets (Ali, 2009; Ugangu, 2015). Nonetheless, public interest might not have been a priority. Moi's government, which expected and demanded the support of the media, was a reluctant partner in the 1990s' democratic project (Moggi & Tessier, 2001). The history of the press in Kenya thus far portrays a successive marginalization of ordinary citizens across the identified eras.

The Mwai Kibaki presidency represents the fourth phase in the realization of Kenya's native press. The period extends from December 2002 to April 2013. It was defined by the clamor for a new constitutional dispensation, corruption, disputed presidential election of 2007, and a strong opposition (Ugangu, 2015). Media regulatory structures were established and others recreated following the 2010 Constitution. However, it was during the ongoing era of President Uhuru Kenyatta that the media regulatory structures were either instituted or recreated.

Ongoing: Uhuru Kenyatta era. A key characteristic of this era has been the enactment of laws to govern the press. Since Uhuru Kenyatta was inaugurated as Kenya's fourth President on 9 April 2013, the number of laws governing media operations have increased from seven to 16. Some of the laws have been criticized for being punitive and vicious in their nature (Oduor, 2018). Additionally, there were strongly worded newspaper editorials during the development of the legislations, demonstrations, and voices of dissent from representatives of civil societies. The Media Council Act 2013, the Information and Communication Act 2013, the Access to Information Act 2016, and the Computer and Cybercrimes Bill 2017 have come under particular attention and scrutiny (Association of Media Women in Kenya, 2014; Freedom House, 2017; Muinde, 2018; Nyabuga, 2016). The concerns have revolved

around the safety of journalists who have been attacked in the line of duty under sections of the legal provisions and the risk of hefty fines (Freedom House, 2017).

While Kenya's 2010 constitutional dispensation provides for the protection of freedoms (individual expression and the press), critical reporting as well as diversity of opinion on issues, the Kenyatta presidency exhibited a significant level of intolerance for media that is critical through multiple restrictive legislation. This has resulted in journalists exercising self-censorship and media outlets avoiding bold reporting (Muindi, 2013). Kenya has, according to the advocacy group, Reporters Without Borders, continued to record a drop in Press Freedom Index over the years. The 2019 report indicates that Kenya was number 100 out of 180, a four-spot drop relative to the country's previous ranking. At the start of Kenyatta's presidency in 2013, Kenya was ranked 71 out of 180.

The press in Kenya: Reputation. Despite the negative trends just highlighted, scholars have given the press in Kenya a positive reputation (Cheeseman, 2014; Ismail & Deane, 2008; Kalyango, 2011). According to Ismail and Deane (2008), the media in Kenya is not only a "principal indicator of the democratic vitality of Kenya" but also "one of the most respected, thriving, sophisticated, and innovative in Africa" (p. 320). Kenya has also hosted journalists who have fled other countries on account of mistreatment, making it earn the reputation of being "the freest country in the region for journalists and their work" (Mutambo, 2012, para. 1).

2.3 The Press in Kenya: Newspapers

Four possible categories have been identified for Kenya's print media: regularly published dailies, regional newspapers, magazines, and a series of printed sheets that pass for information channels in urban settings (Obonyo, 2003). The country has at least six daily newspapers, including Daily Nation, The Standard, The Star, People

Daily, Business Daily, and Taifa Leo. Unlike Western media known for identifying with ideological leanings, Kenyan newspapers are not identified by any specific ideologies (Ireru, 2012; Obonyo, 2003). However, published by media conglomerates that also own broadcast and digital platforms (Ngoge, 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013), ownership, business interests, tribal and other ethnic considerations are said to influence the political leanings of newspapers (Esipisu & Khaguli, 2009).

Meanwhile, the circulation and readership of Kenya's newspapers is dependent on newspaper type and target group. NMG and SG are the most dominant publishing entities, owning Daily Nation and The Standard respectively. The study sought to sample these two dailies alongside two others, The Star and People Daily, that combine to form the four leading national newspapers in the country.

2.3.1 The Standard

Established in the coastal town of Mombasa in 1902 by Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, this is Kenya's oldest mainstream newspaper. It started off as a monthly publication under the name The African Standard. Jeevanjee sold the publication to two British businessmen in 1905, Rudolf Mayer and A.G.W. Anderson, who changed the name to East African Standard, working toward making it the "most influential and widely read publication in colonial East Africa" (Karanja, 2000, p. 29). Currently, The Standard is published in daily editions Monday through Friday. "The Standard on Saturday" and "The Sunday Standard" are published on Saturday and Sunday respectively. While the weekend editions provide more detailed coverage of events through the week, all the editions strive to highlight newsworthy happenings. SG that owns the publication also publishes The County Weekly, which focuses on newsworthy issues in Kenya's 47 counties.

2.3.2 Daily Nation

Described as the most influential and prestigious daily in East Africa (Ireru, 2015; Media Council of Kenya [MCK], 2005), Daily Nation was established in 1960, a year after NMG started its publications. It publishes a variety of current affairs, including politics, health, socio-cultural, and religion among other newsworthy issues Monday through Friday. Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation are available on Saturday and Sunday respectively. Other NMG publications include The East African, The Business Daily, and Taifa Leo. Based on the realization, after the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010, that the newspaper audience in Kenya's capital have specific needs, SG launched The Nairobian in February 2013, while NMG started Nairobi News in November 2013, the latter folding up in May 2014.

2.3.3 The Star

Launched in July 2007 as the Nairobi Star, this is a Radio Africa Group (RAG) entity, the youngest daily newspaper in Kenya. It was rebranded as The Star in 2009, expanding beyond Kenya's capital to become a national publication. The first reported profit of the newspaper was in September 2009 when the circulation started doubling. In 2007, the circulation was between 5,000-8,000 and in 2010, the circulation had doubled at around 15,000-20,000.

2.3.4 People Daily

Published by the Mediamax Networks Ltd (MNL), it was started as a weekly publication in 1993 by Kenyan politician Kenneth Matiba. In 1998, it became a daily newspaper. Established to provide media visibility to politicians in the opposition, the paper reported what other mainstream newspapers censored through gatekeeping (Ireru, 2015; Obonyo, 2003). For this leaning, attracting revenue from advertising was a

challenge. Additionally, the publication incurred heavy financial penalties from a series of libel suits occasioned by attempts to expose corruption in government. Produced as a free ad-supported newspaper since 1 July 2014, it is Kenya's first-ever free newspaper, a factor that makes it a significant case worth examining.

Considering the study purpose to gain insight into the practice of journalism in Kenya, an overview of codes of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya is essential. The next subsection operationalized eight codes that were relevant to the current study.

2.4 Professional Journalism Practice in Kenya: Code of Conduct

News people practicing their profession in Kenya are guided by the Code of Conduct for the Practice of journalism in Kenya. This is a set of 25 codes published under the second schedule of the Media Council Act 2013 to govern ethical and responsible journalism practice in the country (MCK, 2013). The overarching objective of the 25 codes is the fostering of public interest journalism (Masaviru, 2015; Oriare et al., 2010). While all the codes provide some insight into journalism practice in Kenya, eight were seen to relate to the objectives of this study.

Accuracy and fairness, the first code, guides a journalist in Kenya to "write a fair, accurate and an unbiased story on matters of public interest" (MCK, 2013, p. 5). The code also highlights the need to report "all sides of the story". It seeks "to understand the diversity of their community and inform the public without bias or stereotype and present a diversity of expressions, opinions, and ideas in context" (MCK, 2013, p. 7). Thus, an inappropriate inclusion of news actors in a journalistic story and a biased sourcing of news reports go against this code of conduct, aspects that the current study examined. Independence, the second code, safeguards journalists' autonomy from forces that seek to influence journalistic output, with journalists

expected to “resist undue influence from any outside forces, including advertisers, sources, story subjects, powerful individuals and special interest groups” (MCK, 2013, p. 8). Source bias on the basis of influence goes against this code.

Guided by integrity, the third code, journalists are not expected to “pay news sources who have vested interest in a story; solicit or accept gifts, favors or compensation ... engage in activities that may compromise their integrity or independence” (MCK, 2013, pp. 10-11). Meanwhile, accountability, the fourth code, guides responsible journalism, with news people expected to account for their actions “to the public, the profession and themselves” (MCK, 2013, p. 11).

Covering ethnic, religious and sectarian conflict, the eleventh code, requires that journalists verify facts. They need to report “with due caution and restraint” in situations of sectarian, ethnic or religious conflict and “in a manner which is conducive to the creation of an atmosphere congenial to national harmony, amity and peace” (MCK, 2013, p. 14). Thus, the code fosters constructive journalism, cautioning journalists against engaging in sensational and negative reporting. Relatedly, intrusion into grief and shock, the fourteenth code, guides journalists to approach sources undergoing challenging personal situations, including health, with “sensitivity and discretion” (MCK, 2013, p. 17).

Acts of violence, the twenty-second code, requires that journalists “avoid presenting acts of violence, armed robberies, banditry and terrorist activities in a manner that glorifies such antisocial conduct” (MCK, 2013, p. 22). The twenty-third code, editor’s responsibility, places the responsibility of journalistic content upon editors, unless such responsibility is explicitly disclaimed. Thus, the current study needed to generate data from both reporters and editors to gain insight into professional

news journalism practice in Kenya. Overall, these eight codes underscore the principle of public interest and foster constructive journalism.

2.5 Professional Journalism Practice in Kenya: Empirical Studies

Scholars examining ethics in the newsroom in Kenya have generated insight into the extent to which news people in Kenya adhere to the Code of Conduct for journalism practice. Ogongo-Ongong'a and White's (2008) study that sampled 20 young journalists at Daily Nation and The Standard acknowledged the scholarly tradition that has gone beyond the influence of socialization factors. The study recognized the autonomy of young journalists (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987; Gans, 1979a). The young journalists quickly realized that “the most prized professional possession are news sources, people who want to say something to the public about a given topic” (Ogongo-Ongong'a & White, 2008, p. 162). The results show young journalists who conceive their professional role as characterized by a series of news values. These included setting the agenda that can aid individuals and the public to make informed decisions, educating the public regarding their respective rights, and representing the views of the excluded. Relevant to the current study, the young journalists said they considered “it extremely important to report the thinking of ordinary people who are usually ignored while important national issues are discussed” (Ogongo-Ongong'a & White, 2008, p. 166).

Other studies that have examined what news people in Kenya conceive as their most important professional role have found related results. Ireri's (2017c) study that sampled 504 Kenyan journalists established “providing citizens with information” as the most important professional role at 61.3%. This finding reinforced his earlier study, which showed that a typical Kenyan journalist spends over half (54.4%) of his or her working time sourcing for news, presenting news (39.9), editorial coordination and

management (38.4%). He or she “usually works on different types of stories (78%) and produces an average of 31 news items in a typical week” (Ileri, 2015, p. 145).

Other relevant studies about professional journalism practice in Kenya have examined the autonomy of Kenyan journalists in deciding what to include in journalistic news reports and predictors of this autonomy. Ileri (2017b) establishing from 504 journalists that 31.7% enjoy “a great deal of freedom” while 15.5 percent have “almost complete freedom.” This was viewed as an overall limited freedom explained by the series of competing influences in the determination of the final journalistic content exemplified in HIT (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The analysis of factors in Kenya’s news coverage is relevant to journalism practice. Scholars have found corruption (Helander, 2010; Ileri, 2016; Ochieng, Gachoka, & Mureithi, 2014) and commercialization (Nyabuga, 2012, 2015) among key factors demonstrating a failure to adhere to the highlighted codes of conduct for journalism practice in Kenya.

At the level of individual journalists in Kenya, Helander's (2010) study findings have been reinforced by subsequent research, especially Ileri's (2016) study, which demonstrated that “corruption is perceived to be highly prevalent in the Kenyan media” (p. 252). Still at individual level, journalists in Ileri's (2016) study denied their own involvement in corruption. He interpreted this as a possible case of social desirability bias, which is a weakness of survey research design – the study used a self-administered questionnaire that is susceptible to distortion through self-reports. The journalists “might have underreported their illicit activities, such as accepting cash-for story, or practicing extortion” (Ileri, 2016, p. 254). Against this background that reveals a limitation in methodology, the current study sought to bridge the gap by employing a mixed methods research design. The next subsection discusses theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

2.6 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

Scholars have acknowledged the value of conceptual and theoretical frameworks and encouraged researchers to make explicit these frameworks in study proposals and reports (Berman & Smyth, 2015; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Tamene, 2016). The presentation of theories in this study sought to lay the foundations upon which the research was built, serving to show that the study was grounded in existing knowledge and established ideas. Opinion has been divided about the specific terms to use between conceptual framework and theoretical framework (Green, 2014; Imenda, 2014). In line with scholars such as Parahoo (2014) who recommending “theoretical framework” for studies grounded on theories and “conceptual framework” for studies anchored on concepts, this current study employed the two terms respectively.

The various frameworks were tied to the main concepts of this study: professional news journalism practice as the overarching notion, the valence of news frames, news sourcing channels, and news actors. Ultimately, the study was founded on three theories (propaganda model, hierarchy of influences, and market-driven journalism) and the concept of news values. Concepts that were relevant to each of the three concepts of the current study were also reviewed; they are part of the theoretical and conceptual framework as figure 2.1 shows. For instance, the concepts of constructive journalism, episodic, thematic, and neutral framing were relevant to news valence. The concept of inter-media agenda setting was relevant to news sourcing channels. The concept of media standing was relevant to news actors. Meanwhile, the concept of media diversity was relevant to both news sourcing channels and news

actors. The concept of public interest was also relevant to the current study.

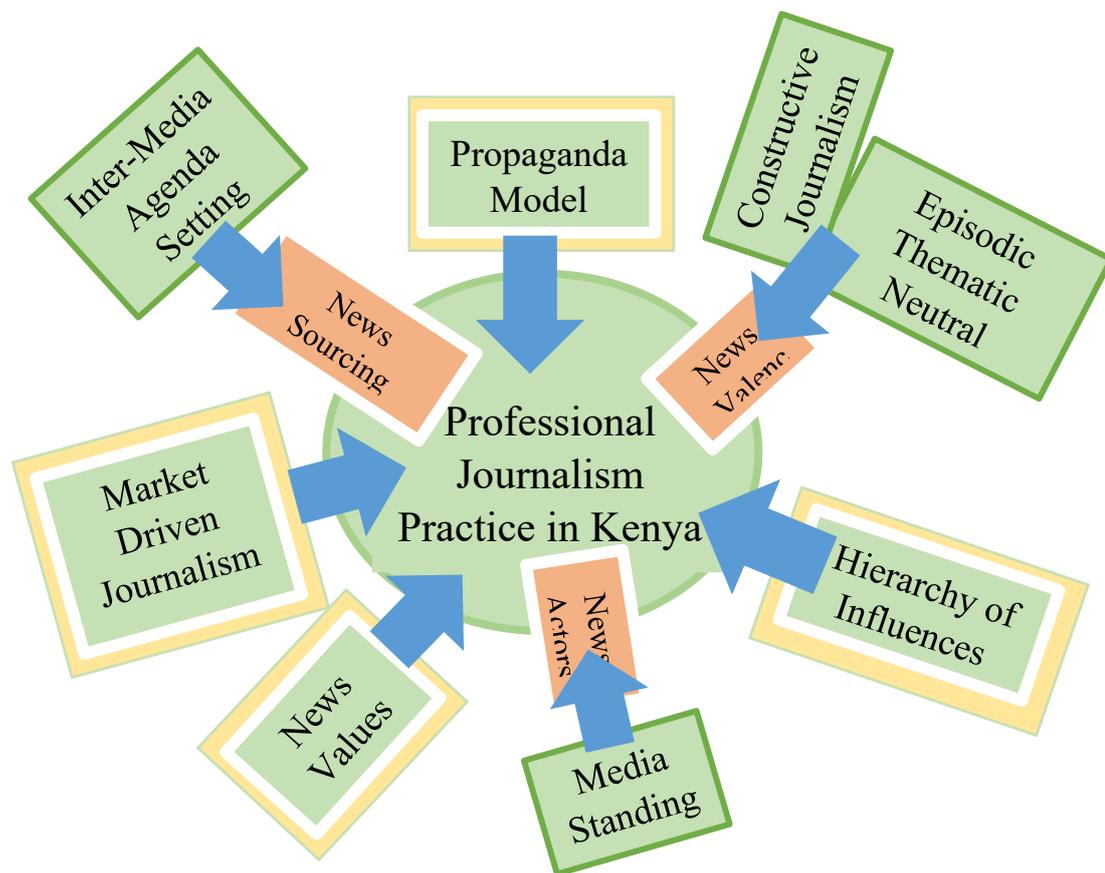


Figure 2.1: Illustration of the Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.6.1 Propaganda Model

Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky advanced the Propaganda Model (PM) as a conceptual model that explains how corporate media entities manipulate populations and foster systemic biases. The model was first presented in Herman and Chomsky's (1988) book, "Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media." These authors sought to explain the inherent conflict of interest in the way corporate media are structured around the elites through aspects such as media ownership, advertising, ad government sourcing (Klaehn, 2018; Mullen & Klaehn, 2010). An epistemology that seeks to challenge the media co-optation by the elites in society underpins PM (Zollmann, 2018). Rather than engage in quality journalism that prioritizes public interest, PM looks at corporate media as business entities keen on

selling a product (audiences) to other business entities (advertisers) through source bias. The main argument is that power inequalities and wealth shape journalistic content (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). The model, which proposes five news filters, focuses on inequality of both wealth and power including its effects.

The five news filters. As originally formulated, PM hypothesized five filters that combine to shape the process of news production, the resulting outputs benefiting private entities and state authorities rather than the majority of the audiences. One of the filters is media ownership that also includes the size as well as the orientation toward profits – key media conglomerates are under the control of wealthy elites. Advertising as the major source of revenue for the media constitutes another filter. Reliance on official sources for journalistic content is another filter. The other two are flak, which is a “fear ideology” used as a weapon to discipline the media; and anti-communism, viewed as a mechanism to control the population.

PM application. PM has been operationalized in various contexts of the world, including UK (Mullen, 2018; Zollmann, 2009), Latin America (Caballero, 2018; Winter, 2018), China (Chang, Chen, & Zhan, 1993), and Africa (Choto, 2016; LaPrairie, 2017; Lovaas, 2008; Maweu, 2017). The model has also been applied to the digital media environment (Zollmann, 2018), the coverage of sports (Pollick, 2018), cinema industry (Alford, 2018), and television (Bergman, 2018), among others. For instance, founded on PM, Mullen's (2018) study analyzed 1,586 newspaper articles and 47 television programs focusing on “significant events” in Britain between 2008 and 2010. He found that government and official sources constituted the primary news actors in double digit percentages contrasted with members of the public and the public sector as neglected sources. The study findings were consistent with PM. This is relevant to the current study that sought to examine news actors and origin of news

reports in seven major news-making events in Kenya. PM facilitated the explanation of the dominant and marginalized sources in the coverage of the seven issues.

In Kenya, Maweu (2017) used PM's third and fourth filters to interrogate how Kenya's Daily Nation newspaper covered the 2013 elections. Consistent with the two news filters, she established that the newspaper "overly and timidly relied on the official sources of information about the election process mainly the government and IEBC for fear of flak from the powers that be" (Maweu, 2017, p. 177).

Relevance to current study. A key assumption of PM is the explanation of corporate media as commercial outlets that conceive audiences as products that are sold to advertisers through a biased sourcing that overlooks public interest. The overlooking of public interest in favor of the elites was relevant to the problem of the current study. In particular, the current study's examination of the diversity of news sourcing channels and news actors was founded on the first three news filters, which explain factors behind media biases.

For instance, could it be that the perceived orientation toward negativity is an attempt to sensationalize the news in view of increasing audiences as a product used in trading with advertisers? Could it be that the alleged bias toward potential news actors, reliance on official sources and ready-made content and a limited sourcing of news reports are founded on the first three prongs of the news filters? To complement PM, the study included other frameworks, including media diversity and public interest concepts, which are discussed below.

2.6.2 Hierarchy of Influences Theory (HIT).

Attributed to Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese, HIT explains the factors that influence the process of producing journalistic content in general and the decisions that news people make in constructing news stories in particular. The theory is part of

a scholarly tradition that provides models explaining what influences the production of journalistic content (Donsbach, 2004; Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Whitney & Ettema, 2005).

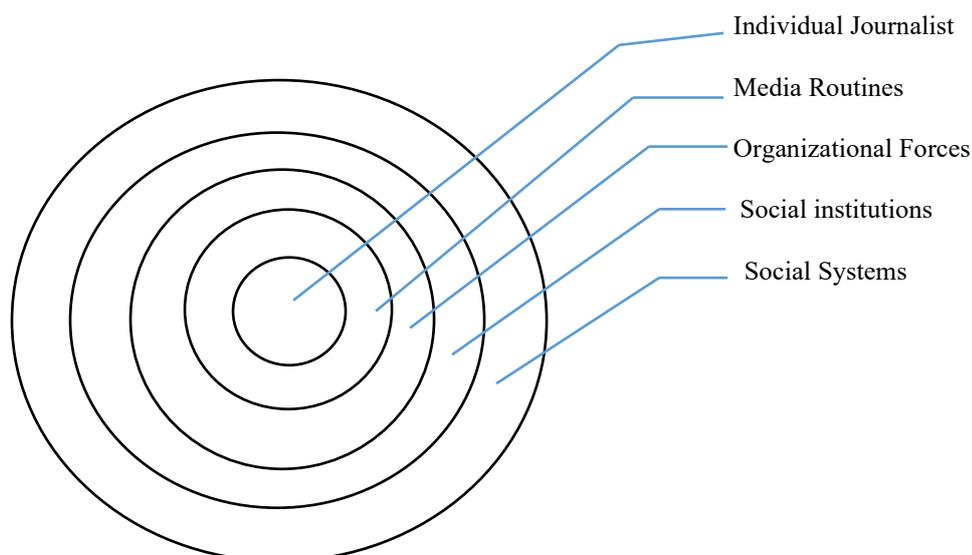


Figure 2.2: The “Hierarchy-of-Influences” Model

Source: Shoemaker and Reese (1996)

It proposes five influences in a hierarchical order, “from the micro to the macro: individual characteristics of specific newswriters, their routines of work, organizational-level concerns, institutional issues, and larger social systems” (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 396). HIT’s key premise is that “while media content may be based on what happens in the physical world, (it) singles out and highlights certain elements over others; and the media’s own structural logic is imposed on these elements” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 37). The way journalistic content is structured and the symbolic environment that features are as a result of increased attention that journalists give to events, people, and entities relative to others. The current study applied HIT to the analysis of the diversity of news actors and that of news sourcing channels.

HIT’s main assumptions and origin. HIT’s main assumption is that in the process of producing journalistic content, decisions are made under hierarchical influences, which the initiators presented in concentric circles that determine what audiences eventually access (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

Applied to studies, researchers seek to determine the conditions under which particular factors would be most determinative including how the forces interact with each other (Reese, 2001). This allows for a partial operationalization of HIT, applying the forces relevant to the objectives of the particular study. The current study applied the micro forces, that is, individual journalist and media routines.

The individual journalists. Situated in the most inner circle, this level refers to the influence on the production of journalistic content attributed to news people's frame of reference. Included are past experiences, educational levels, degrees of exposure, personal values, attitudes, beliefs, biases, religious tenets, political ideologies, professional orientation, and gender among other demographic traits at a personal level. As Reese and Shoemaker (2016) have clarified, "in spite of the traditional notion of professional 'objective' detachment, we assume these characteristics affect their work. Journalists make decisions based on psychological-level attributes, but they operate within a web of constraints" (p. 398).

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) envisioned this level as wielding the least influence in the news producing process because of the pressure from the forces at HIT higher levels. Applied to journalism research, scholars have examined the role of individual journalists in the process of producing journalistic content and investigated journalists' potential biases and the influence of subjective frames of reference (Whitney & Ettema, 2005). The notion of objectivity in journalism has been viewed as relevant in minimizing journalists' biases. However, the rich scholarly tradition questioning the place of objectivity in journalism practice (Heider, 2008; McIntyre, 2019; McIntyre, Dahmen, & Abdenour, 2016; Schudson & Anderson, 2009), with some scholars dismissing its traditional value, has prompted debates about this HIT level.

For instance, in a survey of journalists across five countries (Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and the U.S.), Patterson and Donsbach (1996) found a significant correlation between the personal beliefs of journalists and their journalistic decisions. The finding shows evidence of the relevance of this level of HIT but also raises questions about the notion of objectivity. For Hallin and Mancini (2004), journalistic objectivity and journalistic professionalism do not have to co-exist. Their main argument is that an end of the principle of objectivity does not signal an end of professional journalism since the latter is guided by some distinct professional norms and occupational autonomy. Thus, at the level of individual journalists, the principle of objectivity does not define the professional practice of journalism.

Media routines. These are influences as a result of the practices that news people have been doing over and over again, forming patterns that are routinized. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) described media routines as “patterned, repeated practices and forms media workers use to do their jobs” (p. 105). Scholars have established gatekeeping, reliance on some sources, and the beat system among the media routines (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Lau, 2004). Applied to the current study, the analysis of the diversity of news actors and the origin of news reports was founded on media routines. According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), routines have the significance of ensuring that some system is in place in responding to uncertain situations in a predictable manner. They highlighted three forms of media routines: organization-centered, audience-centered, and information supplier-centered. While routines that are audience-centered focus on content acceptable to consumers, organization-centered ones refer to what particular media entities are capable of processing. Particularly relevant to the current study are the information supplier-centered routines, which refer to what sources (suppliers) can

give (products). The predominance of a category of news actors and channels of news production was explained by supplier-centered routines.

Meanwhile, while organizational forces that refer to Influences as a result of editorial positions, corporate policies and political endorsements will be reported in the current study, their analysis is beyond the scope of the study. As a way forward, the study could make recommendations for future research that would explore, within the Kenyan context, the dynamics of organizational forces that influence the production of journalistic content. Similarly, the fourth level of HIT termed social institutions (previously called extra-media forces) that explains the influence of powerful sources, sources of revenue, and media laws is beyond the scope of the current study. The same applies to the fifth one dubbed social systems (previously called ideological forces) that recognizes the influence of persons in and with power at a particular time. These systems include media owners, businesspersons, and those with particular political and even certain ethnic affiliations on the production of journalistic content, among others.

2.6.3 Market-driven Journalism

McManus (1994) initiated the concept of market-driven journalism (MDJ) in his book, “Market-driven journalism: Let the citizen beware?” Described by Fink (1995) as “a first in thoroughly examining the nature of news in a profit-conscious business” (p. 125), the book provides a juxtaposition of conventional news theories and market theories, the latter exposing commercial news production practices. He presents a study that illustrates the way news media entities deploy resources, including journalists in view of maximizing returns to their respective shareholders, an aspect that speaks to the origin of news reports.

McManus (1994) also examined how such practices affect the quality of journalism. He furthers the scholarly tradition arguing that the increasing economic

pressures on media industry is causing news people to overlook the values of traditional public service. For instance, the principle of public interest is overlooked, leaning toward cost-efficient practices in their activities of gathering news such as relying on public relations information (Ryfe, 2009). The leaning toward cost-effective practices when sourcing for information was used to analyze the diversity of news sources, which the current study explored in part.

Essentially, MDJ explains the shift from news-for-information to news-for-profit and the impact of this shift. One of McManus's (1994) central argument is that market forces have dominated the process of producing news to the effect that often, the commercial forces tend to supersede the practice of conventional ethical journalism. Attempts to supplant conventional ethics in journalism raises issues of credibility of the news media to audiences, which presents a problem. While journalistic theories presume unlimited resources ranging from cash to time for news sourcing, selection, construction, and reporting, market theories presume limited resources, placing caps on time and money that can be devoted to news sourcing. Terming news “an elaborate compromise,” McManus's (1994, p. 37) model explains the compromises media firms have to make to balance journalism norms and market norms. The compromises are made because media entities need to generate sufficient revenue to remain afloat.

In relation to the current study, results indicating biased sourcing that lacks adequate diversity were analyzed on the basis of the competition between journalism norms and market norms. MDJ leans toward market norms and business ideals. In this regard, media routines stem from considerations that prioritize profits over service to the public. As McManus (1994) noted, “where investor direction is for maximum profit, market norms will dominate journalism norms when the two conflict” (p. 35). The main

claim here is that media routines are being heavily influenced, not by social responsibility but, by economic rationalism.

2.6.4 Traditional Journalism: News Values

In researching news values, journalism scholars have used various approaches including content-based (Motsaathebe, 2020; Wendelin, Engelmann, & Neubarth, 2017), interviews (Leal, 2019), ethnography, newsroom observations, and mixed methods (Vine, 2012). These approaches have been used to analyze judgements about the process of producing news, seeking to identify ways in which an event “increases its chance of becoming news” (Harrison, 2006, p. 136). The current study, which employed QCA and in-depth interviews, operationalized the concept of news values in explaining the diversity of the news sourcing channels and news actors.

Some scholars see Lippmann (1922) as having been the first to suggest attributes for news selection (Bednarek, 2015; Vos, 2016; Wendelin et al., 2017). However, many scholars discussing news values (Caple & Bednarek, 2015; Helfer & Aelst, 2016; Ittefaq, 2018) acclaimed Galtung and Ruge (1965) for formalizing the concept, which they termed news factors in their seminal study that pioneered a systematic definition of news values (Allan, 2010). For Galtung and Ruge (1965), events are infused with news factors that determine their newsworthiness. They highlight some 12 possible factors that come into play when considering to report an event. These include frequency, threshold (intensity), unambiguity, meaningfulness (proximity, relevance), consonance (predictability), unexpectedness (unpredictability, scarcity), continuity, and composition. Others are references to elite nations, elite persons, personalization, and negativity.

Galtung and Ruge (1965) content analyzed press cuttings from four Norwegian newspapers and coded units according to the presence or absence of aspects such as

elite nations or elite people, positivity, negativity, or neutrality of the reports. They concluded, albeit tentatively, that there is “complementarity of news factors” (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 80). Thus, while recommending more research, they hypothesize that the more an event satisfies the news factors, the more likely it will be selected as newsworthy. Since Galtung and Ruge's (1965) study, journalism scholars have continued a similar perspective of news values – a set of criteria that assists in determining the likelihood of an occurrence to be reported as news (Bednarek, 2015; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). As Bednarek (2015) has observed, “journalists measure and judge the perceived newsworthiness of events based on what they imagine their audiences find newsworthy and use this judgement to select (include/exclude), order and produce news stories” (p. 27). Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) taxonomy of news values that some scholars have recently operationalized include timeliness, impact, prominence, conflict, human interest, proximity, unusualness (oddity) (Kilgo, Lough, & Riedl, 2020). To account for information originating from various digital forums, Kilgo, Harlow, Garcia-Perdomo, and Salaverria (2018) have added the news value of “usefulness”.

Overall, studies of news values over the years have revealed a number of trends. For one, research has shown how professional news journalism is drawn toward conflict, drama, bad news and general negativity, considering these criteria as not only routine and expected but also significant (Helfer & Aelst, 2016; Niven, 2005). Two, some studies have found that while news consumers express preference for positive news stories, audiences have actually preferred to choose negative news stories (Trussler & Soroka, 2014). Three, other scholars have found audiences’ conscious and deliberate shift from media outlets that tend to focus more on negative news stories including crime than positive information (Potter & Gantz, 2000).

2.6.5 Constructive Journalism

Recent research shows that people's appetite for news is changing. With that change comes an opportunity – to tell new stories that move beyond the “if it bleeds, it leads” mentality. Several studies have shown that repeated exposure to traumatic news can cause acute stress symptoms, trigger flashbacks, and encourage fearmongering. Such stories can leave people feeling hopeless and thinking that their communities and/or the world at large is much worse off than it actually is (Tenore, 2015, para. 21).

Constructive journalism is an emerging journalism approach suggested in response to the changing consumption of news (Hermans & Gyldensted, 2018; McIntyre, 2019; Tenore, 2015). According to Tenore (2015), the change in “people's appetite for news” (para. 21) has provided a chance for news people to construct stories that help audiences relate with life's challenges and opportunities in a positive manner. As an emerging concept, theoretical and empirical research of constructive journalism is limited.

Constructive journalism: Origins. In 2008, Ulrike Haagerup introduced the construct of “constructive news” in a newspaper column published in Politiken, the most circulated Danish newspaper (Haagerup, 2008). As argued by Haagerup, journalists are overly focusing on things that do not go right in society. The result, Haagerup argued, is that the news stories are devoid of inspiration and solutions to the conflicts and disasters they address. He advocated for “constructive news” that would see journalists “construct” narratives that are productive to win the fading trust of audiences by prioritizing public interest (Haagerup, 2008). The article by Haagerup triggered some debate among his peers including those based in other news media outlets, some supportive, and others skeptical (From & Kristensen, 2018). Alongside

Maarja Kadajane, Haagerup founded the Constructive Institute in Denmark in September 2017, the former founding a similar institute in Switzerland.

Danish journalist Cathrine Gyldensted is also known to have contributed to origins of constructive journalism, both from a practice (Gyldensted, 2015) and academic research perspective (Gyldensted, 2011). She emphasized constructive news effects on audiences, arguing that besides identifying and acknowledging societal conflicts, journalism has the role of investigating and providing solutions in some positive way. She built her argument on positive psychology, giving a fivefold advice to journalists: expanding the mind, brainstorming, changing the question, telling things right, and moving the world. These testimonies have facilitated the emergence and development of constructive journalism research.

Constructive journalism research. Fred Jacobsen is cited as having pioneered research examining constructive journalism, which he completed through his master's thesis at the University of Southern Denmark in 2010 (Jacobsen, 2010). In 2015, Karen McIntyre completed the first known doctoral dissertation on the concept at the University of North Carolina's School of Journalism and Mass Communication (McIntyre, 2015). In 2017, Karen teamed up with Danish journalist Cathrine Gyldensted to define and propose the operationalization of constructive journalism concept in studies. They specifically sought "to call for more consistency in constructive journalism practice and more research among scholars to test its process and effects" (McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 30).

McIntyre and Gyldensted (2017) have proposed constructive journalism as an interdisciplinary concept that refers to an innovative shift in the practice of journalism. McIntyre and Gyldensted regarded constructive journalism mission as that of crafting "productive news stories that engage readers in an effort to improve well-being and

accurately portray the world” (p. 30). They place positive psychology at the heart of this novel journalism practice. Constructive journalism is defined “as an emerging form of journalism that involves applying positive psychology techniques to news processes and production in an effort to create productive, accurate and engaging coverage, while holding true to journalism’s core functions” (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 20).

Constructive journalism: Assumptions. The primary assumption of constructive journalism is that the application of positive psychology tactics to the production of journalistic content significantly contributes to the thriving of audiences and their respective communities (Gyldensted, 2011; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2018). Constructive journalism also assumes that a mere awareness about conflicts and existential challenges does not go far enough to bring about positive change in society. This assumption is founded on the function of media outlets to contribute to progress in democratic societies, taking journalism as “a feedback mechanism that helps society self-correct” (Constructive Institute, n.d., para. 7). Constructive journalism also assumes that news negativity is bad journalism that requires redemption.

Constructive journalism is also founded on the assumption that news people have an impact on the way people think based on how they construct news stories. Pioneers and proponents of this approach to journalism argue that it is the way news stories are constructed that determines the level of impact news people have on audiences. In this regard, constructive journalism challenges news people to become aware of this responsibility by thinking through their construction of news stories (Constructive Institute, n.d.).

The following subsection discusses the four branches of constructive journalism, with emphasis placed on the three to be applied to this study. The four branches include solutions journalism, prospective journalism, restorative journalism,

and peace journalism (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017). While some scholars have operationalized the construct in its singularity (Mcintyre, 2015; Zhang & Matingwina, 2016), others have extended its branches in their respective studies (Hermans & Gyldensted, 2018; McIntyre & Sobel, 2018). Still, others have explored the application of the branches without being explicit about them.

In the current study, peace journalism is omitted on the basis of the scholarly tradition showing its overlapping with solutions journalism. As McIntyre and Gyldensted (2017) noted, the four “branches of journalism are not mutually exclusive” (p. 25). Additionally, Ersoy (2010) has indicated that peace journalism advanced meaningfully “during the first Gulf War back in the 1990s. It is an approach which questions the role of the media in warfare and conflict zones” (p. 79). Since the current study did not seek to examine a warfare, the application of peace journalism was limited compared to, for instance, solutions journalism.

Solutions journalism. Also called problem-solving journalism, this branch pays keen attention to news media reporting about people’s response to challenges in society as evidenced in numerous studies (Mcintyre, 2019; Powers & Curry, 2019; Wenzel, Gerson, & Moreno, 2018). It may have been in existence for some time and its rise noted some decades ago (Benesch, 1998). Initiators of this branch observe, “little academic work has been published on solutions journalism specifically, but the popular press has covered it” (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 23).

Scholars have suggested 10 questions considered indicators of solutions-oriented news stories (Bansal & Rosenberg, 2014; Curry & Hammonds, 2014). For Bansal and Rosenberg (2014), “not every story will address all of these questions, and that’s okay” (p. 6). These indicators include whether the news story explains the causes of a social challenge; presents an associated response to the challenge; and gets into

solving the challenge, providing the how-to details. Having the process of solving the challenge as central to the narrative, presenting evidence of findings that are linked to solutions, explaining the limitations of the response, and conveying insights or teachable lessons are other indicators. Others include avoiding sounding like a “puff piece ... advocating for particular models”, drawing on news actors with a “ground-level understanding ... and gives greater attention to the response that it does to leaders or innovators or do-gooders” (Bansal & Rosenberg, 2014, p. 6). In this study, the indicators will guide the quantitative content analysis of news valence frames.

A review of empirical studies that have applied solutions journalism in recent years demonstrated that this branch of constructive journalism takes a deliberate effort on the part of individual journalists (Lough & McIntyre, 2018; McIntyre, 2019; McIntyre et al., 2016; Powers & Curry, 2019). There is, however, another significant player in the dynamics of realizing this journalism orientation: organizational representatives in the newsroom. In this regard, Lough and McIntyre (2018) found that “endorsement by the organization, whether it be an editor, publisher or supervisor, was key to facilitating or impeding the journalists’ ability to report on solutions” (p. 45), an aspect that directly speaks to the organizational level proposed in HIT below. Collectively, studies: lean toward an appreciation of the value of solutions journalism; reveal that solutions journalism can be applied to various topics, and it requires that journalists have a mindset different from the one for traditional news stories.

Restorative Narratives (RN). This branch of constructive journalism is keen on news reports about conflict, tragedy, traumatic situations and related challenges within the prism of resilience, hope, progression, recovery, restoration, renewal, redemption, transformation, and rebuilding (Fitzgerald, Paravati, Green, Moore, & Qian, 2020; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017). It considers “narratives that restore hope and make us

realize that the world isn't as bad as so many headlines would suggest" (Tenore, 2015, para. 28). According to the nonprofit media-related organization, Images & Voices of Hope (ivoh), some media practitioners have told RN without this label. Based on the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in Newtown, U.S. during which 20-year-old Adam Lanza killed 26 people, ivoh started contemplating redemptive narratives: "stories that show how people and communities are making meaningful progression from despair to resilience" (Tenore, 2015, para. 3). Considered the deadliest mass shooting at a school in the U.S. history, the episode provided a perfect setting for sensational reporting, exemplified in "if it bleeds, it leads" adage. Inspired by an article in the *New Yorker* that gave wider visibility to the initiative of the editorial team at Newtown Bee, ivoh started to develop a different way of telling stories.

RN: Assumptions. Scholars seeking to define RN have outlined elements that could constitute RN assumptions, ranging from intrinsic qualities based on the process of producing the stories to their effects on audiences (Dahmen, 2016; Fitzgerald et al., 2020; Tenore, 2015). Three key elements have emerged. RN need to be strength-based, emphasizing themes of psychological resilience and strength amid hardships. They need to highlight some meaningful progression including coping and recovery process. They also lead to moral elevation (Fitzgerald et al., 2020; Rees-Jones, Milkman, & Berger, 2015; Tenore, 2015). RN assumptions are founded on these three elements.

For one, the concept of RN is based on the research-based finding that audiences prefer to consume and share transformative news stories relative to narratives that focus on negativity (Rees-Jones et al., 2015). Aware of this, news people can apply positive psychology to produce media narratives that foster hope and resilience. Two, the RN is founded on the assumption that exposing audiences to conflicts and existential challenges does not suffice to facilitate positive change in society. Thus, RN's approach

is to go beyond the mere capturing of the doom and gloom of the existential situation endured, shifting focus from what is broken to “what’s being rebuilt to reveal hope and possibilities” (Tenore, 2015, para. 13).

Three, according to Tenore (2015), constituting media stories that “show progression from heartbreak to hope, tragedy to possibility, suffering to recovery” (para. 14), RN highlight meaningful progressions. It is about giving media visibility to both the current situation of a person and how the person got there in a journey of resilience. Four, as a branch of constructive journalism, RN assumes that journalists have an impact on the way people think based on how they construct news stories. Thus to construct RN, there is need for sustained inquiries even though some of the stories could be availed to audiences soon after a tragic happening (Tenore, 2015).

As an emerging journalistic practice, there is still paucity of academic research; and studies that have examined RN have been exploratory in nature (Dahmen, 2016; Fitzgerald et al., 2020). Proponents of RN have sought to establish the occurrence of such stories in journalistic content, including their effects on audiences. For instance, two successive U.S. studies that sought to establish what makes content go viral established that positive stories have much more likelihood to go viral than those that evoke anger and sadness (Berger & Milkman, 2012; Milkman & Berger, 2014). In the first study, Berger and Milkman (2012) examined the most-shared stories from a world’s popular newspaper, the New York Times’ homepage over a three-month period by sampling close to 7,000 online articles. They explored the valence of the articles, the articles’ emotionality, and the likelihood of the stories to produce emotions such as anger, sadness, anxiety, and awe on the part of the audience.

The study demonstrated that constructing positive stories is helpful if the intention is to reach a wider audience through shareability. The second study that

interrogated 800 scientists and co-authors had similar results – like useful and interesting content, positive content is more likely to go viral. The overall conclusion of these two successive studies is that making journalistic content positive increases their chances of getting viral. This strategy gives credence to RN and has found support in other studies including Gielan's (2015) observation, “our choice to continually broadcast stories of unhappiness is why viewers stopped watching” (p. 3).

Meanwhile, some studies have applied RN. In an experimental research that interrogated the effectiveness of RN relative to stories focusing on tragedy by sampling 345 participants in the U.S., Fitzgerald et al. (2020) used a narrative that featured Julie. She was “a woman affected by a rare form of cancer called Granulomatosis with Polyangitis” (p. 358). The story in RN condition had Julie’s treatment narrated with hopeful frames, receiving family support. In the negative condition, the narrative took a hopeless angle characterized with isolation occasioned by the side effects of Julie’s disease. Participants in RN predicted a more positive future for Julie compared to their counterparts who predicted that Julie’s future would be grim. The focus on the “rare form of cancer” in this study speaks to COVID-19, one of the major news-making events, which the current study examined.

Prospective journalism. This branch of constructive journalism is about news stories that focus on the future (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017). Its psychological foundations originate from the concept of prospection, which speaks to the mental picturing of what is possible in the future, including prediction and planning (Burns, Caruso, & Bartels, 2011; Gilbert & Wilson, 2007). Founded on the assumption that projecting ones mental faculties into the future has the ability to shape people’s perception, understanding, emotions, as well as motivation (Imagination Institute, 2013), news people using prospective journalism “can apply prospection to their news

work by directing their conversations with sources toward the future” (McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 24).

Other indicators of prospective journalism include news people asking about “how problems might be solved, how people might collaborate, or what kind of progress their sources envision” (McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 25). Prospective interview questions that interrogate what could be done to resolve a conflict are under this branch (Mcintyre, 2015). While people’s imaginations might not always represent the future accurately, this journalism orientation has found justification from scholars showing that goal-based human behavior and that focuses on the future is more effective than habit-driven behavior that emphasizes the past (Seligman, Railton, Baumeister, & Sripada, 2013).

De Correspondent, the Dutch news website is practicing prospective journalism (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017; Pfauth, 2013, 2015). Launched in September 2013, the Amsterdam-based online news forum has the mission “to produce in-depth journalism using an ad-free platform that actively engages readers” (Pfauth, 2015, para. 2). This has dedicated its resources to both interactive and constructive coverage of events in a journalism oriented toward the future (Kersten, 2015; Lichterman, 2019; Pfauth, 2017).

The impact of this journalism orientation exemplified in De Correspondent’s growth in leaps and bounds is remarkable and an indication of how constructive journalism in general and prospective journalism in particular speaks to the concept of the public interest. In just two years since its launch, the news entity had published some 3,500 news stories, which generated 80,000 comments. Overall, public interest is prioritized. The editors have recognized that “the greatest untapped source of knowledge in journalism is the readers themselves” (Lichterman, 2019, para. 10) whom

journalists invite to share their experiences, resulting in rich, well-founded, and future-oriented news stories (Lichterman, 2019; Pfauth, 2017).

However, while reports about De Correspondent clearly indicate a practice of prospective journalism, they remain self-reports with the risk of bias and strategic self-glorification. The statistics provided might strengthen the claim that this online forum indeed typifies a positive journalism practice in contemporary society. Nonetheless, more empirical research would be required, examining prospective journalism orientation in particular contexts. The current study is a step in this direction.

2.6.6 Framing: Episodic, Thematic, and Neutral Frames

In field of communication, framing theory is one of the most frequently operationalized theories as evidenced in communication journals (D'Angelo, 2010; Reese, 2007; Scheufele, 2004) as well as in communication practice (D'Angelo, 2018; Schwalbe, Keith, & Silcock, 2018; Tewksbury & Riles, 2018). Thus, applying framing theory to the current study continues an established tradition of extending the theory in various contexts of the world and in different research areas. Seeking to conceptualize the way people go about organizing their respective experiences, Goffman (1974) initiated framing theory within the field of sociology and defined frames as “principles of organization” (p. 10). He described framing as a method, which people apply interpretively in classifying and making meaning of information encountered daily.

Half a dozen years later, Gitlin (1980) went beyond the definition of frames as “principles of organization,” and defined them as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation” (p. 6). While it is possible to conceptualize some mutual interaction between the two definitions considering that organization is a process that could involve selection and emphasis, organization and presentation are distinct concepts. Over the years, these two definitions have been overshadowed by that of Robert Entman.

Framing is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Entman's (1993) input that demonstrates the place of framing in communication research showed that frames in news stories draw attention to certain aspects of reality at the expense of others. It is Cappella and Jamieson's (1997) definition of frames as the manner or even the style a “story is written or produced” (p. 39) that speaks to the practice of journalism, the focus of the current study. The definition focuses on the process of producing journalistic content, providing some way of identifying news frames that other scholars have applied to the coverage of news (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2012; Nevalsky, 2015). As Nevalsky (2015) put it, “each journalist has a set of frames that are conveyed by pushing certain aspects of reality to the forefront and keeping some aspects in the background” (p. 468).

While the current study involves quantitative content analysis of news actors, news sourcing channels, and news valence, it is the analysis of the valence of news stories that could be founded on framing theory. The specific concepts include valence framing and the episodic and thematic framing. The concept of valence framing is discussed under news valence below.

Generic frames: Episodic and thematic framing. Scholars have noted two types of frames that have characterized media framing studies: generic and issue-specific frames. While issue-specific frames offer details about an issue at hand (de Vreese, 2005; Kozman, 2017), generic frames provide a forum for systematic comparisons across issues, topics, and frames (de Vreese, Peter, & Semetko, 2001). Considering the

scope of the current study that examined seven news events across four newspapers, generic frames is relevant.

The study operationalized Iyengar's (1991) episodic and thematic frames, two examples of generic frames that scholars have found to impact attitudes and perceptions of audiences (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Metila, 2013). Specifically, the study applied episodic and thematic framing to the analysis of the newspaper headlines; headlines that did not fit into either category were analyzed under neutral framing. In a series of experiments interrogating US television news reporting of social issues such as poverty and crime from 1981 to 1986, Iyengar (1991) illustrated the effects of episodic and thematic frames on viewers. Those exposed to episodic news had the tendency to have little regard for societal responsibility of events compared to those who viewed thematic news stories. The series of experiments showed an overall strong bias toward episodic interpretations.

Primarily focusing on telling personal narratives and anecdotal descriptions, episodic framing is an event-oriented manner of reporting that is case-specific (Iyengar, 1991). With episodic frames characterized by alarmist constructions, consequences of events are described in catastrophic terms and dramatic tones, capable of evoking shock and horror among audiences (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Metila, 2013). In this regard, episodic framing speaks to a negative journalism orientation. In newspaper headlines, episodic framing makes “use of the spoken voice, and the language and tone of tragedy ... to elicit an emotive reading and evoke feeling of profound sadness, loss, and helplessness” (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008, p. 342). Episodic framing draws attention to individual responsibility rather than social responsibility.

Meanwhile, placing issues in some larger context, thematic framing explains the reporting of news in some general context. It takes the form of in-depth reporting

and includes aspects like effects, root causes, and hidden causes of events (Iyengar, 1991). Unlike episodic framing that speaks to a negative journalism orientation, thematic framing is oriented toward constructive journalism. This latter mitigates individual culpability and gives attribution to institutions or uncontrollable factors (Iyengar, 1991). While scholars have employed episodic and thematic framing in the analysis of media frames across media channels, the current study extended the scholarly tradition focusing on newspapers headlines (Bleich et al., 2015; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Metila, 2013).

2.6.7 Inter-media Agenda Setting

The current study analyzed the origin of news reports, an aspect of the study that was founded on inter-media agenda setting (IMAS), which is part of the agenda-setting theory (AST). AST, which explains the role of the media in determining the significance of events, has been associated with McCombs and Shaw (1972). They explained that news people exercise some control of the prevalence as well as the information position in their professional work of determining what is newsworthy. One of the key assumptions of AST is the transfer of salience, that is, it is through the news media that the public is able to determine the salience of issues. As McCombs (2014) put it, “elements prominent in the media pictures not only become prominent in the public’s pictures, but also come to be regarded as especially important” (p. 39).

The theory was originally tested in McCombs and Shaw's (1972) Chapel Hill study of the 1968 U.S. presidential election. Since then, AST has been operationalized in different contexts across the globe (McCombs, 2005). While some studies have replicated the seminal research through a focus on political campaigns and elections (Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani, & Sambrook, 2018; Harder, Sevenans, & Van Aelst, 2017; Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2015), others have examined non-election issues (Cui &

Wu, 2017; Funk & McCombs, 2017; Mutie, 2014; Rogstad, 2016; Valenzuela, Puente, & Flores, 2017). Meanwhile, the post-Internet context has diversified research founded on AST and extended it beyond the original perspective of the transferring of the salience of issues from media channels to the public.

It is against this background that AST has evolved and expanded into at least five unique stages (McCombs, 2005) and some six distinct areas (Funk & McCombs, 2017). IMAS is the fourth level of AST (Funk & McCombs, 2017; McCombs, 2014). It provides an explanation for shared issues in journalistic content among media channels. Research applying IMAS has focused on how news reports transfer between media outlets and platforms. While IMAS has attracted studies across the various media platforms, media systems, and in a variety of geographical contexts (Groshek & Clough, 2013; Valenzuela et al., 2017), not many studies can be traced in Africa (Mutie, 2014; VisonÃ, 2012), the wider context of the current study.

A review of literature provided five possible sets of orientations. One is social Networking Sites (SNS) as influencing the news coverage of traditional media (Harder et al., 2017; Mutie, 2014). Another is an inverse relationship, with traditional media setting the agenda of micro-blogging forums (Groshek & Clough, 2013; Ragas, Tran, & Martin, 2014). A third is internal IMAS, with one type of traditional media setting the agenda for other traditional media as well as Internet-based media setting the agenda for other digital media (Cushion et al., 2018). Then a dynamic relationship with the agendas of both traditional and digital media enjoying mutual reinforcement – none with apparent dominance over the other (Cui & Wu, 2017; Neuman, Guggenheim, Jang, & Bae, 2014; Ragas et al., 2014); and absence of IMAS (Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2015).

The five orientations show that Internet-based platforms have become significant in agenda setting. This is explained by the possibility to share breaking news

as events unfold. However, the role of traditional media to set the agenda has not disappeared amid the pervasiveness of digital media. Overall, studies that have examined IMAS are relevant to the current study because Internet-based forums were analyzed as possible news sourcing channels alongside other news media entities. The study applied IMAS to the analysis of how journalists engaged nine online platforms and sourced information from other news media entities.

2.6.8 Media Standing Concept - Beyond Media Visibility

Scholars have argued for the distinction between two sets of terminologies: media visibility and media standing (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, & Rucht, 2004; Koopmans, 2004; Tresch, 2009); and media presence and media prominence (Tresch, 2009). Media standing has been conceptualized by Ferree et al. (2004) as “having a voice in the media ... gaining the status of a media source whose interpretations are directly or indirectly quoted” (p. 86). The term goes beyond being mentioned in journalistic content that references those who are covered passively (Koopmans, 2004; Tresch, 2009). Instead, media “standing refers to a group being treated as an agent, not merely as an object being discussed by others” (Ferree et al., 2004, p. 86). This is relevant to the current study that sought to analyze the diversity of news actors. News actors appear “as speakers in the news and are given the opportunity to explain their policy positions, to address their preferred issues, or to justify their beliefs and problem solutions” (Tresch, 2009, p. 74). Thus, in the current study, the analysis of the diversity of the news actors “having a voice” in the recent major news-making events in Kenya was based on the concept of “media standing” that goes beyond media visibility.

2.6.9 Media Diversity

Journalists operating in democratic societies function within the normative theory suggesting that news media organizations be multi-perspectival, fostering

diversity as a marketplace of ideas (Gans, 2003; Habermas, 2006; Humprecht & Büchel, 2013). Thus, examining how diversity is lived and expressed can be used to gain insight into journalism practice. In the communication field, the overall assumption of diversity research has been “that more diversity is better than less diversity” (Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 171). What this means for the current study that sought to examine news valence and source diversity is that findings illustrating more diversity would be interpreted as better professional news journalism practice.

Recent scholarship sees media diversity as pointing to the provision of variety of viewpoints, which requires multiple sources that can guarantee plurality of perspectives and standpoints (Humprecht & Büchel, 2013; Humprecht & Esser, 2018b; Matthews, 2013). Writing from an African perspective, Ojebode (2009) has described media diversity as “the proportionate representation of the various segments of the particular society that a medium seeks to serve” (p. 216). Such representation manifests in three aspects: the source of media content, the content, and audiences. Yet, for Matthews (2013), while diversity fosters accuracy and balance in journalism, there is a trend “reflected in the narrow range of sources that are able to access the news and journalism’s increasing dependence on ready-made news content” (p. 254). Instead, “the mass media should be fully representative of the communities that it serves” (Ojebode, 2009, p. 217). The current study operationalized the three properties of media diversity identified as variety, disparity, and balance (Stirling, 2007). The two levels of media diversity, that is, output diversity, which considers what is presented to audiences, and production diversity that refers to the professional and journalistic aspects of news work as diversity measures (Reich, 2011; Sjøvaag, 2016) were applied.

Three Properties of media diversity. Scholars have identified three diversity properties: variety, balance, and disparity (Hill, 1973; Stirling, 2007). For Stirling

(2007), each is deemed “a necessary but insufficient property of diversity” (p. 709). Variety is the numerical value of categories captured in the answer to the question, “how many types of thing do we have” (Stirling, 2007, p. 709). This could refer to media types, including media outlets, production channels, content, among others. For the current study, variety was limited to Kenya’s four leading national newspapers and the seven major news-making events.

Disparity is the degree and manner in which elements of an entity can be distinguished. The question disparity answers is, “how different from each other are the types of thing that we have” (Stirling, 2007, p. 709). The property considers how media entities, channels, and content, among others, vary from each other. For the current study, how the coverage of the major news-making events varies by event and by newspaper constitutes disparity.

Studies operationalizing media diversity frameworks in Africa have not been explicit about the notion of disparity; they have usually employed the terms balance and variety (Collins, 2017; Ojebode, 2009). The current study sought to operationalize the three diversity properties. Considered a function of apportioning elements across categories, the question answered using the property of balance is, “how much of each type of thing do we have?” (Stirling, 2007, p. 709). For this study, the number of times each category of news actors was given media standing, the statistical values of the various sources of news reports, and the numerical value of the valence of news frames as categorized determined balance.

Levels of media diversity. The scholarly tradition has various levels where media diversity can be measured and analyzed (Sjøvaag, 2016; Stirling, 2007; van Cuilenburg, 2007). However, consensus about the number of these levels has not been established. For instance, in line with Junge's (1994) “dual-concept” diversity,

McDonald and Dimmick (2003) have outlined some 12 measures of diversity. Napoli's (1999) three-level typology of source diversity, content diversity, and exposure diversity has been operationalized in various studies (Aslama, Hellman, & Sauri, 2004; Ojebode, 2009; van Cuilenburg, 2007). Meanwhile, Sjøvaag (2016) and Stirling (2007) are among other scholars who have advanced a more comprehensive five-level diversity framework. This comprises structural, organizational, output, production, and diversity of reception. A review of the meaning of Napoli's (1999) three-level and Sjøvaag's (2016) five-level frameworks reveal complementarity, with all the three levels captured in the five levels.

The current study employed Sjøvaag's (2016) broader perspective, focusing on output diversity and production diversity. Structural diversity that explains the environmental influences on the production of journalistic content including economic, political, cultural, technological, regulatory, and legal forces were beyond the scope of the current study. Similarly, organizational diversity, the set-up of the media sector that influence the diversity of what is presented to audiences, and reception diversity that is about audiences consuming “a diverse diet of media messages” (Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 7) were excluded.

Output diversity is the diversity in what is presented to audiences, often applied as analyses of journalistic and programming content. Falling within the category internal diversity, this framework has been used to ascertain the frequency of both actors and topics in the media coverage of particular news-making events (Sjøvaag, 2016). To establish output diversity, scholars have sought to examine the factors that contribute to content diversity (Baker, 2007; Powers & Benson, 2014). What is “inherent to the study of output diversity is the idea that there should be a diversity of content available to audiences – as a democratic imperative” (Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 7).

Production diversity accounts “for diversity in reporting norms, practices, and professional cultures” (Sjøvaag, 2016, p. 4). The demographics of journalists including variables such as gender, age, social and ethnic background can be examined under this level of diversity (Ojebode, 2009). Other production factors here include journalists’ interaction with sources, their training, methods of sourcing, priorities, practical aspects like time management and workloads, and professional considerations such as judgments on news values, cross-verification routines, among others (Sjøvaag, 2016).

Empirical literature. While some scholars have applied both output diversity and production diversity (Powers & Benson, 2014), others have operationalized single levels of diversity (Collins, 2017; Humprecht & Büchel, 2013; Masini et al., 2018). Other studies have examined factors that promote or inhibit the diversity of news actors and viewpoints (Benson, 2009). Some studies, according to Ojebode (2009) and Podkalicka (2008), have taken a comparative approach. Powers and Benson (2014) operationalized both output diversity and production diversity, comparing and contrasting journalistic genres in terms of news, opinion, topics, and the news authors across print and online leading newspapers in the U.S., France and Denmark. They found more evidence of diversity than homogeneity. Also, having operationalized disparity, they found more diversity in the U.S. online newspapers than in print.

It is worth noting that studies have operationalized the concept of media diversity without being explicit about it or using terms outlined in this review of literature. In Kenya, Collins (2017) examined news story balance in three national newspapers and established that “Kenyan journalists and their news organizations strive to be balanced but frequently fall short of that goal” (p. 459). While balance is employed in this study analyzing how the news actors’ diversity, the diversity of the origin of news stories, and the news story balance varied by specific newspaper, Collins (2017)

operationalized the media diversity property of disparity. Similarly, Ileri's (2017a) national survey that examined the demographic characteristics of 504 Kenyan journalists operationalized production diversity without being explicit about it.

2.6.10 Public Interest Concept

The bar for passing the public interest test needs to be set higher; journalists should cultivate contacts in affected communities, take an evidence-based approach, and above all be prepared to listen to and include in their reporting the representative voices of those communities (Morton & Aroney, 2016, p. 32).

Globally, public interest has played a critical role in the practice of journalism, guiding policymakers, media professionals, as well as news people (McQuail, 1992; Napoli, 2015). The news media are expected to safeguard the interests of the public, prioritizing the interests of audiences in the process of sourcing and distributing journalistic content. It is about going beyond producing narratives that are “merely interesting” and producing “stories which are genuinely in the public interest” (Petley, 2013, p. xiv). News entities taking “an evidence-based approach” and being “prepared to listen to and include in their reporting the representative voices of those communities” as news actors are some of the indicators of public interest (Morton & Aroney, 2016, p. 32).

Defining public interest concept. While some scholars have considered defining the concept of public interest as impossible, others have attempted to define it (Morrison & Michael, 2007; Morton & Aroney, 2016). Conceptualizing public interest as context- and culture-based, Morrison and Michael (2007) viewed public interest as a principle that is culturally and historically contingent, representing “a document of values of any particular society” (p. 45). The problem around public interest is captured

in the phenomenon that news media entities no longer have the majority of audiences at the heart of their journalistic mission (Carvajal, García-Avilés, & González, 2012). To address this problem, Morton and Aroney (2016) argued for raising the bar in assessing evidence of public interest by examining how journalists engage “affected communities” and include “the representative voices of those communities” in their reporting (p. 32).

Taking public interest as a higher purpose places the concept at the center of the practice of journalism, an interpretation consistent with the scholarly tradition around journalism over the years. The concept of public interest is so fundamental to journalism practice that attempts to define journalism implies it (Brock, 2013; Morton & Aroney, 2016) and even includes it (Lewis, 2019; Peters & Tandoc, 2013). For instance, Brock (2013) has defined journalism as “the systematic, independent attempt to establish the truth of events and issues that matter to society in a timely way” (p. 8). Meanwhile, based on literature review, Peters and Tandoc (2013) defined a journalist as “someone *employed to regularly* engage in gathering, processing, and disseminating (*activities*) news and information (*output*) to serve the public interest (*social role*)” (p. 61). These definitions combine to illustrate the centrality of public interest to professional news journalism practice.

Public interest: Empirical studies. Scholars have examined the concept of public interest in different contexts of the world. In Sweden, Andersson and Wadbring's (2015) study sampled two groups of journalism students (those admitted in 1994 and those of 2012). The study showed “a development whereby public interest has to some extent been supplemented by an increased focus on self-interest” (p. 135). This finding speaks to what some scholars have established as an increased focus on individualization and

self-interest values over the last couple of decades at the expense of public interest (Fengler & Russ-Mohl, 2008; Storey, Salaman, & Platman, 2005).

For the current study, Rodny-Gumede's (2015) study, which examined public interest in the context of South Africa, was relevant. The qualitative study collected data from 23 radio, TV, and newspaper South African journalists whose experience in the newsroom ranged from three to 25 years. Rodny-Gumede (2015) demonstrated journalists' awareness of the discourse around news media role in contemporary South Africa. This included criticisms leveled against journalists, all participants acknowledging "that there are issues with regard to how audiences have been served, and even neglected, and that this needs to be addressed" (p. 122). Participants described themselves as "watchdogs of power" and "custodians of democracy" who prioritize public interest over national interest (Rodny-Gumede, 2015, p. 122).

However, analyses of the findings show a number of indications. For one, participants affirmed their role of exposing maladministration by those in power. But, "there is at the same time a sense that ethical standards sometimes fail and that the news media need to be more conscious of how they report on issues and how best to serve a diverse audience" (Rodny-Gumede, 2015, p. 123). Two, questions were raised about "who the public is in the public interest" (p. 123). Specifically, public interest could be based on "the idea of a greater good of a nation or particular group in society" (Rodny-Gumede, 2015, p. 123). But, there can also be a need to exclude certain parts of public.

Applied to the current study, Rodny-Gumede's (2015) study findings speak to the concept of output diversity. Sampled journalists emphasized the "need to be more conscious of serving a broader audience, and in particular groups in society historically neglected by the news media" (p. 123). The participants in the study also underscored the need for journalistic content to include "the concerns of the poor and marginalized

in order to address the critique that the news media is elitist” (Rodny-Gumede, 2015, p. 123). More specifically, the study established gaps in journalism practice that overlooks public interest. Particularly relevant to the problem of the current study, all participants in Rodny-Gumede's (2015) qualitative study “agreed that journalism has to change, in order to become more inclusive and sensitive to the needs of a broader public” (p. 123). Overall, the study findings highlight the inclusion and exclusion of news actors as well as origins of news reports as reliable indicators of public interest.

2.7 News Valence

The concept of valence in journalism is founded on the assumption that media frames have some quality suggesting the portrayal of an issue or situation as negative, positive (Schuck & de Vreese, 2006) or neutral (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003; Tiung & Hasim, 2009). Thus, the character of the content and tone of news stories having a negative or a positive focus has been described as news valence (Heath, 1996). This leads to the notions of negative news (Gieber, 1955; Kleinnijenhuis et al., 2006), and positive or constructive news (Baden, McIntyre, & Homberg, 2019; McIntyre & Gibson, 2016) respectively.

Gieber (1955) described negative news as “those items that report social conflicts and disorganization” be it social, political, economic, military or criminal (p. 311). This is a view Harcup (2004) who defined “bad news” as “stories with negative overtones such as conflict or tragedy” (p. 37) shares. Highlighting “typical examples of bad or negative news”, Leung and Lee (2015) described negative news as “a broad category encompassing a wide range of events and information that are generally considered undesirable by members of a community” (p. 290). Generally, news stories eliciting emotions of sadness, anger, and fear have been categorized as negative news.

Constructive or “positive news”, on the other hand, goes beyond the “bad news” as to include solutions and future prospects (Leung & Lee, 2015; McIntyre, 2019). For Leung and Lee (2015), “positive news” references “a general and broad category of events and information that are considered desirable by the members of a community. Positive news tends to elicit joyfulness, a sense of hope, and/or the emotions of enthusiasm from the audience” (p. 290).

Scholars noted the complexity in distinguishing negative from positive news. Some of the considerations include the fact that what constitutes positive and negative news varies across contexts. An event such as a sports contest may be regarded positive or negative depending on the winning or losing side. A news event could involve both “positive” and “negative” aspects. Also, a news story considered typically negative (like a scandal) could be regarded positive from its social function, with the media highlighting it seen to play a watchdog role (Leung & Lee, 2015). However, the intricacies of the distinctions between positive and negative news did not pose a challenge to the current study. The study did not define the negativity or positivity of news by its function but instead, by its content and especially its framing.

Empirical studies over the years have demonstrated widespread evidence for negative valence, with positivity being found to be less powerful than negativity (Anderson, 1965; Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001; Fiske, 1980; Soroka & McAdams, 2015). The adages “no news, is good news” (Hendrix & Salehyan, 2015) and “all news is bad news” (Baumgartner & Bonafont, 2015) speak to this negativity bias. To justify such bias, scholars have made reference to negativity as a news value. For Galtung and Ruge (1965) to whom the concept of news values is traced, the dominance of negativity is explained by the frequency of negative events, their being unexpected, their being less ambiguous, and that such events resonate with

people. Other scholars have related the negative bias of news to the role of professional news journalism in society. Thus, in the process of playing the watchdog, “burglar alarm” (Zaller, 2003) or “monitorial citizen” (Schudson, 1999) function of highlighting abuse of power and potential danger, a news bias is justified. The market logic has also been used to explain negativity bias, with the adage, “if it bleeds, it leads” (Miller & Albert, 2015), used to amplify negative events and foster MDJ (McManus, 1994).

However, for Leung and Lee (2015), such dominance of news negativity “does not entail the complete absence of positive news stories ... positive news may appear in the media as embedded in bigger negative news events” (pp. 289-292). In fact, recent journalism studies show that repeated exposure to negative news fosters stress, fear-mongering, and feelings of hopelessness (Hermans & Gyldensted, 2018; Mast, Coesemans, & Temmerman, 2018; McIntyre, 2019). In political reporting, negativity has been linked to apathy, indifference, and cynicism (Conde, Calderón, & Pascual, 2016; Kleinnijenhuis et al., 2006).

Against this backdrop, scholars have sought to address the question of whether negativity bias is a matter of concern (Baden et al., 2019). The fact that professional news journalism is expected to prioritize the best interests of society makes the question relevant (Peterson, 1956; Siebert et al., 1956). Recent scholarship has addressed this by exploring the effects of news valence on audiences, that is, the impact of both negative and constructively framed news stories on audiences, captured in constructive journalism discussed above. Other scholars have explored if and to what extent professional news journalists value positive news (Leung & Lee, 2015).

News valence: Empirical studies. In an experiment that sought to examine the effects of three types of story valence (negative, positive, and silver lining) on 307 U.S. readers, McIntyre and Gibson (2016) found story valence to be significant. The study

shows that exposure to positive news elicits good feeling relative to stories that highlight positive outcome of negative events (silver lining) and outright negative stories. Similarly, Park's (2015) study analyzed the impact of negative news on the emotional, cognitive and behavioral responses of 420 Twitter users in South Korea. The study found that the effect of news negativity on anger and disgust was significant, hence his conclusion, “highly negative news on Twitter causes more anger than weakly negative news” (p. 350).

These studies reinforce the value of positive valence of news stories. In a more recent study, Jonkman, Boukes, Vliegenthart, and Verhoeven's (2020) content analyzed 5,235 Dutch online and print newspaper articles and surveyed 3,270 respondents across 12 organizations, examining the effect of the tone in news reporting on reputation. They demonstrate the impact of negative news to be three times larger than that of positive news. However, other studies examining positive valence of news stories have revealed limited effects. Leung and Lee's (2015) survey sought to sample “all” journalists working for 17 leading newspapers, three radio, and five television stations in Hong Kong and to interrogate their perceptions of five types of positive news stories. They found that while the journalists deemed as important news stories characterized with touching narratives and that promote social values, they did not regard news stories promoting national progress and achievement as important.

Overall, based on studies that have demonstrated that negativity bias in news is a matter of concern, scholars have recommended context-based studies. Based on results from an experiment, Baden's et al. (2019) recommended that news editors in the U.S. “reconsider their perceptions that positively framed news is frivolous and a distraction from the more important news. Rather, this type of news is likely to engage readers, whereas negatively framed news is likely to disengage them” (p. 1954). Baden

et al. further said, “benefits to mental health outcomes, engagement and social/political participation may be attainable simply by more solution-focused framing, and the inclusion of positive emotion-evoking content in news stories” (p. 1954).

Informed by this literature review, the current study sought to analyze news valence of seven major events in Kenya. Consistent with MacRitchie and Seedat (2008) and Nevalsky (2015) who analyzed the body of news stories and headlines separately, the study examined the valence of news headlines within the framework of episodic and thematic framing. The text of the news stories was examined by means of valence framing. Like research examining news valence has shown, studies that have applied valence framing have revealed mixed findings.

Valence framing: Empirical studies. Studies that have operationalized this concept have reported results that demonstrate negative, positive, and neutral framing (de Vreese et al., 2001; Ileri, 2013, 2014; Nevalsky, 2015; Tiung & Hasim, 2009). In a study that analyzed television news programs in four European countries, de Vreese et al. (2001) found that “journalists in all countries were more likely to emphasize conflict in framing general political and economic news” (p. 107). In Malaysia, Tiung and Hasim's (2009) analyzed 241 news stories on the framing of Datuk Tong Teck Lee (a political figure) across 11 national and provincial newspapers. They found that while some dailies framed him negatively, others portrayed him as a hero of Sabah state. The study also established objective (neutral) news reports.

In Kenya, Ileri's (2013) study about the valence framing of President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga found that “Kibaki received more blame than Odinga. Subsequently, the president was portrayed more negatively” (p. 118). However, the four-country comparative study content analyzed election stories in Kenya's Daily Nation, U.S.'s New York Times, Britain's Times, and China's China

Daily in view of establishing the newspapers' valence framing of Barrack Obama. The study found more positive framing than negative across four racial frames (Irer, 2014).

2.8 Analyzing Headlines

Headlines are used to summarize the most important points of an article and to attract the reader's attention. Analyzing trends in headlines helps to reveal what the newspapers believe are the most salient aspects of the story, thus implying the news frames being employed (Nevalsky, 2015, p. 471).

Scholars have underscored the influence headlines have in gaining insight into news stories as a justification of their analysis (Bleich et al., 2015; Liu, Guo, Mays, Betke, & Wijaya, 2019; Nevalsky, 2015). Headlines are known "to summarize the most important points of an article and to attract the reader's attention" (Nevalsky, 2015, p. 471). Their analyses have facilitated the understanding of not only what is important in the following story but also the conceptualization of the journalistic frames. The DME in which many people only read news headlines has made the analysis of news headlines more relevant than they were before (Gabiolkov, Ramachandran, Chaintreau, & Legout, 2016; Liu et al., 2019).

To gain insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya against a background of concerns about news negativity, the current study sought to include headlines in the analysis of newspaper reporting of Kenya's major news-making events. In line with previous scholarship (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Nevalsky, 2015), the study analyzed the body of the news stories and their respective headlines separately. The two were interrogated separately because of "the different methods of analysis employed; while the headlines are shorter and can be examined holistically, the length of the article content necessitates the use of word frequencies and corpus linguistics" (Nevalsky, 2015, p. 470). Scholars have established that

headlines do differ in significant ways from the articles' full texts just as the perception of events from headlines have independent effects on readers (Althaus, Edy, & Phalen, 2001; Andrew, 2007; Dor, 2003; Ifantidou, 2009).

Analyzing headlines: Justified by influence. The scholarly tradition around news headlines has underscored their power and influence on audiences (Bleich et al., 2015; MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Metila, 2013; White, 2011b). According to Nevalsky (2015), "the tone and sentiment of the headline plays a large role in influencing the way a reader approaches and interprets a story" (p. 471). For Molek-Kozakowska (2013), headlines "activate our epistemic and emotional resources, and frame our understanding of covered issues" (p. 174). In a description that echoes previous scholarship (Andrew, 2007; Dor, 2003; Leckner, 2012), "headlines serve as cognitive shortcuts that draw readers' attention on the printed page more than other text and are thus highly influential relative to the full transcript of an article" (Bleich et al., 2015, p. 946).

The influence of headlines has also been traced to psychologists' assertion that first impressions have an enduring impact (Digirolamo & Hintzman, 1997). Headlines have also been known to influence those readers without strong opinions about topics as they "are more likely to read only the headline and are more likely to be influenced by its tone" (Bleich et al., 2015, p. 946). Additionally, the fact that editors construct headlines rather than reporters magnifies the relevance and influence of headlines (Bleich et al., 2015; Dor, 2003). According to Bleich et al. (2015), headlines are "crafted by non-specialist editors with non-specialist readers in mind and are consequently more likely to reflect prevailing societal beliefs than are full-text articles" (p. 946). However, while headlines have been known to facilitate the structuring of readers' interpretation of their respective texts, some studies have established that headlines do not determine

the readers' interpretation of the corresponding texts (León, 1997). The implication of the scholarly tradition above asserting the influence of headlines is that examining headlines can provide insight into professional news journalism practice.

Analyzing headlines: Justified by function. Scholars have identified multiple functions of headlines, the main ones being to summarize, to frame reports, and to attract audiences (Bell, 1991; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013). Sensationalism of headlines spotlights the last function. Headlines play the function of 'hooking' readers of any typical news story (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013) as well as strategic messages from organizations such as press releases (Guillamon-Saorin, Osma, & Jones, 2012). For MacRitchie and Seedat (2008), newspapers use headlines "to convey the first and sometimes the most significant message to the news reading public" (pp. 339-340). For members of the public who do not purchase newspapers, reading headlines becomes a source of what is presumed to be the most significant current affair.

Analyzing headlines: Sensationalism factor. In a context where news media outlets are competing for audience attention to secure profits from advertisers, journalists have had the task of making every effort to make news reports appear not only relevant but also urgent or even unusual. Some of the strategies employed have included customizing "news through selectivity or enhancement, generalization or simplification, emotionalism or sensationalism" (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013, p. 174). In journalism studies, while sensationalism has been treated as a strategy aimed at enhancing news value (Kilgo & Sinta, 2016), its use has been analyzed as a flawed style of journalism. It is an indication of deteriorating journalistic standards, ultimately doing a disservice to democracy (Allan, 2010). Highlighting the use of sensationalism in the practice of journalism, Molek-Kozakowska (2013) observed, "news items are selected for reporting to engage audiences emotionally rather than intellectually" (p. 178).

Overall, headlines have usually borne the brunt of news sensationalism. In Kenya, some of the lamentations about a journalism practice that is oriented toward negativity have been based on headlines (NTV Kenya, 2017). In line with scholars who have operationalized Iyengar's (1991) typology of episodic and thematic media frames in their analysis of headlines (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Metila, 2013), the current study analyzed how sampled headlines reflected episodic, thematic, or neutral framing.

Analyzing headlines: Episodic and thematic frames. Scholars examining media frames have identified and measured news headline frames, which audiences could use to have an idea about the text that follows (Bleich et al., 2015). In a study that examined how the coverage of protests in Belgian television news was episodic or thematic, Wouters (2015) found thematic frames to have dominated. On the contrary, in a study that sought to examine how the media reported about traffic accidents on roads in South Africa during a festive season, MacRitchie and Seedat (2008) found episodic framing to have dominated the headlines. In a study that analyzed three Philippine broadsheet headlines on the August 2010 hostage-taking incident in Manila, Metila (2013) found the use of episodic framing through news values such as impact, proximity and prominence. With the limited references to the background of the hostages, the motives of the attacker, and foiled negotiations, the news agencies failed to achieve a fair and comprehensive news coverage that could have highlighted salient social issues. Furthermore, the headlines lacked details about Mendoza, the attacker, which could have contributed to a thematic framing, uncovering “issues like tourist security, diplomatic relations, corruption and poor police training on negotiation and rescue” (Metila, 2013, p. 77). And, as Metila (2013) noted, “the agencies’ silence on thematic ideas implies the valuing of sensationalism over comprehensive reporting” (p. 77).

In a study that sought to explore how geographic location could impact the agenda setting and news framing of issues, Nevalsky (2015) analyzed the reporting of the terrorist attacks in Nigeria's Borno State and France's capital, Paris. The study drew news articles from five leading U.S. newspapers in terms average numbers of circulation. It revealed that on one hand, the headlines for the Charlie Hebdo office attack in Paris were found to be varied, providing space for narratives about the event, responses, and the impact. The Borno attacks headlines, on the other hand, were found to be "more uniform, using language that is factual and generalized, instead of provocative or dramatized" (Nevalsky, 2015, p. 471). Additionally, Borno's headlines showed a level of detachment and a focus on numbers relative to the headlines for Paris that demonstrate more subjectivity and specificity.

In a cross-paper and cross-group comparative study, Bleich et al. (2015) explored the tone (positive or negative valence) of headlines across different media outlets. They sampled headlines from four major British newspapers in view of gaining insight into media portrayals of Muslims. Data across the study period (2001 to 2012) show that "there were years where headline portrayals were net negative, but there were more years where they were net positive" (Bleich et al., 2015, p. 958). Analysis of findings suggest, "Portrayals of Muslims in the British print media are more complex than prevailing scholarly or popular views suggest" (Bleich et al., 2015, p. 958).

These findings speak to the context of the current study where popular views have indicated that Kenyan media are oriented toward negativity. The study sought to establish and examine the extent to which the popular views about negative oriented reporting characterizes news media in Kenya. Specifically, the analysis of the headlines of major news-making in Kenya across national newspapers was seen to provide a more

nuanced understanding of news valence framing in Kenya than exists in popular views and discourse.

2.9 News Sourcing Channels

Different terminologies have been used to denote where news stories appear to have originated, including news sourcing channels (Wheatley, 2020), origins of news stories (Brown et al., 1987; Collins, 2017), and news sources (Matthews, 2013) among others. This study uses the expressions “origins of news stories” and “news sourcing channels” interchangeably. Examining news sourcing channels has been part of the decades of research examining the practice of journalism, which has enabled the analysis of newsroom roles, rules, and processes (Wheatley, 2020) including “recognizable patterns” (Schultz, 2007, p. 192). Guided by the categories of news sourcing channels that the current study analyzed, this subsection reviews relevant studies that have examined the origins of news stories.

Origins of news reports literature: A case study. Collins's (2017) study that content analyzed 118 front-page articles of the first quarter of 2012 from three Kenyan leading national newspapers is relevant to the current study. Using a composite week, the study analyzed fact-based articles from Daily Nation, The Standard, and The Star. The aim was to establish, among other issues, the most common origins of stories, how the origins vary by specific newspaper, and how the origins vary when comparing stories on the front page and stories teased on the front page. The study employed a six-category typology: government reports, non-government reports, press conferences, public meetings, press releases, and “can’t determine” categories.

Considering “only stories where a point of origination could be determined” (Collins 2017, p. 459), the results show that overall, public meetings were the most common origins of the sampled news stories (45.9%). They were followed by

government reports (24.6%) and then press conferences (13.1%). Stories sourced from press releases were the least (6.6%) after non-government reports (9.8%). When considering variations by specific newspaper, The Standard had an edge for basing the sampled news reports on public meetings (60%) compared to Daily Nation (43.5%) and The Star (23.1). Daily Nation and The Star relied more on government reports (34.8% and 30.8% respectively). But as Collins (2017) noted, “perhaps because of the relatively small sample size, a chi square found no significant differences by newspaper” (p. 458). Similarly, “there were no significant differences when comparing the origination point of front page stories to stories teased on the front page” (p. 458).

In interpreting the results, Collins (2017) combined the overall findings for public meetings (45.9 percent) and press conferences (13.1 percent) to conclude “that the majority of front page news in Kenya comes from pre-planned events” (pp. 460-461). He attributed this finding to the prevalence of BEJ and argued, “it seems highly likely that the journalists who attended the majority of these events received some sort of payment for attending and writing about the event” (p. 461). Reliance on pre-planned events lends “some credence to the notion that news in developing countries such as Kenya is skewed by the fact that organizations that can afford to pay facilitation get more coverage than those who cannot” (Collins, 2017, p. 461). In a comparative analysis of press releases as an origin of news stories that showed only 3.4 percent of the sampled stories, Collins (2017) termed them unpredictable and a Western journalism style. He argued, “Kenyan journalists simply rely on one easy and predictable way to get the news while Western journalists rely on another” (p. 461).

While Collins's (2017) study provided some insight into the patterns of sourcing in Kenyan newspapers, it suffers from a number of limitations, providing a justification for the current study. Considering criticisms that go with the use of one composite week

(Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006), the sample size is quite limited. Online channels that have become a major routine origin of news stories are overlooked (Johnson, Paulussen, & Van Aelst, 2018; Muindi, 2018; Willnat & Weaver, 2018). The justification for the choice of the first quarter of 2012 is not provided; and the unit of analysis was a story when a paragraph would have been a more realistic option since a story can have multiple sourcing channels. Besides, the exclusion of the People Daily, Kenya's first free newspaper, is a limitation considering that it is among the country's leading national newspapers covering topical issues (Ileri, Chege, Kibarabara, & Onyalla, 2019).

Origin of news reports: Operationalizing categories. Scholars have suggested various typologies of categorizing news and news sourcing channels for purposes of content analysis (Molotch & Lester, 1974; Sigal, 1973; Tuchman, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). Typology, which has inspired other categorizations, has three categories. These are "routine" channels such as press conferences, press releases, official proceedings, and any other non-spontaneous happening; "informal" channels like news reports, editorials, nongovernmental proceedings, leaks, and background briefings among others. There is also "enterprise" channels that include spontaneous events, interviews, research, books, and analysis by reporters, among others (Sigal, 1973). Tuchman's (1973) typology focused on the different types of news (hard, soft, spot, developing, and continuing) with emphasis on timeliness and temporality perception as factors that may influence journalists' choice of sources. Molotch and Lester (1974), on the other hand, proposed a typology that classifies news events as routine, happening by chance (serendipity), scandal or accident.

Changes in the media landscape have given the potential for criticism of these models, updated versions and even new typologies. For instance, some scholars,

Boesman, d'Haenens, and Van Gorp (2015), have found Sigal's (1973) typology problematic, and recommended the merging of the “informal” and “enterprise” channels. Lecheler and Kruikemeier (2016) made reference to two broad categories of structured newsgathering channels like interviews and press conferences on one hand, and, on the other hand, unstructured channels that are more spontaneous such as background research and phone inquiries. In 2010s, scholars have consistently acknowledged the Internet as a major routine news sourcing channel (Boesman et al., 2015; Johnson et al., 2018; Lecheler & Kruikemeier, 2016; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). For Boesman et al. (2015), inter-media sourcing has become more common and routine source of news with the Internet than it was before. In one of the most recent typologies, Wheatley (2020) proposed a typology that comprises “eight sub-channels” (p. 279). What follows is an overview of the categories applied to the current study.

2.9.1 Press Releases

Journalists' use of press releases has been established as one of the routine news sourcing channels (Boumans, 2018; Collins, 2017; Lee & Basnyat, 2013; Leuven, Deprez, & Raeymaeckers, 2013). For instance, in a quantitative content analysis study that examined how press releases from *Medécin Sans Frontières* (MSF) were sources of news reports for four Flemish (1995-2010), Leuven et al. (2013) demonstrated evidence of the use of press releases. Lee and Basnyat (2013) sought to gain insight into the use of “government public press releases in news” coverage of the 2009 swine flu (H1N1) pandemic in Singapore. They found that unlike previous studies demonstrating the lack of gatekeeping scrutiny of press releases from government (Curtin, 1999; Turk, 1985), journalists “demonstrate selectivity in disseminating the government press releases and in mediating information flow and frames from the releases” (Lee & Basnyat, 2013, p. 129). Founded on framing theory and content

analysis of 215 press releases and news stories in Singapore's leading newspaper, the Straits Times, Lee and Basnyat's (2013) study is also consistent with that by Nucci, Cuite, and Hallman (2009). The latter study established that the press releases from the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) during the 2006 spinach recall were subjected to journalistic scrutiny and procedures. Alongside Collins' (2017) analysis presented earlier, these findings show evidence of press releases as one of news sourcing channels alongside others.

Public meetings. Scholars have established public meetings among the routine origins of news stories (Collins, 2017; Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). In Africa, some studies have established that public meetings and press conferences provide an occasion for “cash for coverage” payments that usually benefit assigned journalists (Sampaio-Dias, 2019). It is a system that involves government officials, politicians, executives of corporations, and other event organizers availing cash, all-expenses-paid trips, and other forms of gifts in the name of facilitating journalists' duties. The practice is linked to the discourse about ethics and professionalism in the practice of journalism (Elahi, 2013; Lodamo & Skjerdal, 2009; Onyebadi & Alajmi, 2016). The phenomenon is seen to amount to corruption (Sampaio-Dias, 2019).

Press conferences. Studies have examined this category alongside public meetings as discussed above. The current study examined this category distinctly.

Official documents and reports. Journalistic content has also been known to originate from documents and reports, some from governments, others from corporates and non-governmental entities among other organized institutions (Collins, 2017; Wheatley, 2020). In Collins' (2017) focusing on Kenya, government reports (24.6%) were the second most common origin of news stories, Daily Nation and The Star relying more on these reports – 34.8% and 30.8% respectively.

Interviews. These have been considered the building blocks of journalism (Gaber, Ledger, & Barber, 2006; Lanson & Stephens 2008) and a journalism feature that has stood the test of time (Nylund, 2011; Schudson, 1994; Sigal, 1973). As noted by Nylund (2011), despite “the rapid technological and economic changes in the media industry, the news interview is a fairly enduring feature of journalism” (p. 478). For Schudson (1994), “the interview is the fundamental act of contemporary journalism. Reporters rely overwhelmingly on interviews” (p. 565). Scholars such as Philo (2007) and Van Hout and Macgilchrist (2010) have however noted paucity of empirical studies examining journalist-source interviews. Collins's (2017) six-category typology reviewed above excluded interviews, a gap this study filled.

Journalists' analysis. News stories have also been based on the analysis of journalists (Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). This can be a common case for editorials and news features, which the current study also sought to examine. Sigal's (1973) three-category typology categorized editorials under the “informal channels” and analysis by reporters under “enterprise” channels. In Wheatley's (2020) eight-category typology, journalists' analysis falls under the “special reports” category. This is described as content that “is typically not a news story, and includes features, opinions/analysis, or any kind of non-textual storytelling such as data analysis or a longer-form multimedia project” (p. 288). Not necessarily founded on fresh information, the content still gives audiences a new outlook on issues determined by news people as significant.

Research. Some news stories are constructed on the basis of empirical studies and other forms of research (Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). For Sigal (1973), research as an origin of news stories is categorized under “enterprise” channel alongside books, analysis by reporters, and spontaneous events. Meanwhile, Wheatley's (2020)

description of “special reports” above includes research as a potential source of journalistic content.

Online platforms. Recent studies have explored journalists’ engagement with various online platforms in the practice of their profession (Angelou, Katsaras, Kourkouridis, & Veglis, 2020; Gitonga, Ong’ondo, & Ndavula, 2019; Silva, 2019; Wu, 2019). In the September 2018 special issue of *Digital Journalism* journal, which explored the sourcing of journalistic content from online platforms, various scholars illustrated the impact that journalists’ engaging of Internet-based sources has had on news production (Leuven, Kruikemeier, Lecheler, & Hermans, 2018). While studies have shown that Twitter and Facebook are more popular online origins of news stories (Cision, 2017; Santana & Hopp, 2016; Willnat & Weaver, 2018), many more studies have demonstrated that journalists engage a variety of online forums in their professional practice (Angelou et al., 2020; Cube, 2017; Leuven et al., 2018; Santana & Hopp, 2016; Zhang & Li, 2019).

What is evident in Africa is the adoption of various online forums as news sourcing channels (MCK, 2016). In Kenya, Gitonga et al. (2019) sought to examine how media managers (editors) perceive the adoption of digital media in newsrooms. The study established that various digital media platforms have been embraced as opportunities for the sourcing, production, and delivery of journalistic content. The study that sampled three Kenyan national newspapers (Daily Nation, The Standard, and The Star) recommended further research focusing “on legacy journalists’ transformation (from print journalists) to multimedia journalists” (Gitonga et al. 2019, p. 23). Thus, considering the various online origins of news reports that scholars have identified, the current study examined how Kenyan news people have engaged at least nine online platforms.

The nine potential online platforms include search engines (Leuven et al., 2018; Nielsen, 2017); websites (Humprecht & Esser, 2018a); wikis (Bradshaw, 2007); Twitter (Muindi, 2018; Nordheim, von, Boczek, & Koppers, 2018); Facebook (Hladik & Stetka, 2017; Nordheim et al., 2018; Wu, 2019); WhatsApp (Boczek & Koppers, 2020; Dodds, 2019; Moyo, Mare, & Matsilele, 2019; Omanga, 2019); Blogs (Jahng, 2018); Instagram (Al Nashmi, 2018; Mena, Barbe, & Chan-Olmsted, 2020; Vázquez-Herrero, Direito-Rebollal, & López-García, 2019); and YouTube (D'Souza et al., 2020). Online platforms not included in the nine categories will be coded and noted under “other.”

Other news organizations. Studies have shown that news people engage other news media outlets including rival organizations as news sourcing channels (Phillips, 2011; Wahutu, 2018; Wheatley, 2020). Apart from the low cost as well as the ease of access, sourcing content from other media entities “ends a rivals’ exclusivity or a story/contribution. It may be trusted as being accurate and verified, therefore low risk, due to having already been published by other organizations, suggesting an inherent legitimacy and value in the material” (Wheatley, 2020, p. 286). However, the practice has some disadvantages. Using content from rival entities triggers credibility questions as well as the risk of promoting a rival media entity.

In Kenya, Wahutu (2018) sought to identify those behind the coverage of Sudan’s Darfur atrocities during a two-year period (1 January 2004 - 31 December 2005) across three Kenyan newspapers (Daily Nation, The Standard, and The East African). Focusing particularly on the byline accreditation of stories, 197 articles were content analyzed. The results show that other news agencies accounted for the bulk of the coverage of the Darfur crisis across the three newspapers: Reuters (35.5%), Associated Press (16.75%), multiple wire services (8.12%), and the Integrated Regional Information Network – IRIN (1.02%). Kenyan journalists accounted for a total of 49

newspaper articles, representing 24.87% while 9.6% of the articles (19 stories) were credited to Western journalists.

Although limited in scope and sample size, Wahutu's (2018) study demonstrated the use of other media in the coverage of issues by some Kenyan newspapers. The current study widened the scope by investigating how Kenyan journalists accredited other media in their reporting of seven major news-making events. Using the paragraph as the unit of analysis, the limitation of a small sample size did not apply for the current study. Three categories of other media were examined, namely, Western-based news agencies, Africa-based news agencies, and Kenya-based news agencies.

2.10 News Actors

One of the most important aspects of any media analysis is to establish who gets to speak. In other words, which individuals and organizations constitute the primary sources of news and information used by editors and journalists when they construct their articles? These primary sources, which are often viewed as credible, have the power to set the agenda and to frame the parameters of debate (Mullen, 2018, p. 196).

Scholars have employed different terms for those who feature in the news, like news sources (Carlson, 2009; Collins, 2017; Mullen, 2018), and news actors (Johnson et al., 2018; Wheatley, 2020). The current study uses the term news actors, which scholars have employed in defining people and entities to whom journalists turn to, to complete their respective stories (Johnson et al., 2018; Mullen, 2018). Gaining insight into news actors has preoccupied scholars in the field of journalism studies over the years (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018; Gans, 1979a; Korthagen, 2015; Mullen, 2018). According to Mullen (2018), “one of the most important aspects of any media analysis is to establish who gets to speak” (p. 196).

Scholars who have sought to understand the diversity of news content have focused on the value of having multiple voices in the news, analyzing the diversity of actors who are given the opportunity to make known their respective viewpoints. The diversity of news actors is considered one of the measures of journalistic quality (Matthews, 2013; Sjøvaag, 2016). To this effect, a scholarly tradition in journalism studies has established that gaining insight into those given visibility in news is essential, making the examination of the relationship between journalists and news actors a central topic in journalism research (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018). The current study interrogated news actors' diversity in journalistic content, focusing on the inclusion and exclusion of 15 categories of news actors in seven major news-making events in Kenya over a span of six years across four Kenyan national newspapers.

News actors: Empirical literature review. A review of studies examining news actors reveals a general lack of diversity, with elites in the name of official sources being the most prominent and dominant (Benson & Wood, 2015; Brown et al., 1987; Burch & Harry, 2004; Carlson, 2009; Collins, 2017; Ericson, 1998; Tuchman, 1978). It has been argued that the elites are most likely to meet the two source selection criteria of availability and suitability (Gans, 1979b). Availability because considering their status in society, elites are likely to enjoy the social and even geographic proximity with news people. And suitability because their centrality in the systems of power accords them the ability to have information to give to news people, neither burdening their respective organizations nor the resources of news entities.

According Brown et al. (1987), elites “also are more likely to meet standard definitions of reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness” (p. 46). As they also explained, “given the competing interests that must be satisfied in the day-to-day production of news, it seems reasonable to expect that elites, who have a vested

interest in the preservation of things as they are, will dominate news coverage” (Brown et al., 1987, p. 46). While these arguments justify the heavy reliance on official sources, diversity concept implies that other news actors are considered.

Reliance on official sources. Journalists’ heavy reliance on official sources including government officials and organizations that have public relations departments has been established in studies over several decades (Carlson, 2009; Collins, 2017; Ericson, 1998; Stempel & Culbertson, 1984; Tuchman, 1978). In the widely cited 1973 study in the U.S., Sigal (1973) established that most of the news reported in the New York Times and the Washington Post in a 20-year period (1949-1969) was sourced from routine channels (press releases and press conferences). Over 78% of actors were official sources. Similarly, studies in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s have also found dependency on official sources (Ericson, 1998; Whitney, Fritzler, Jones, Mazzarella, & Rakow, 1989), including stories outside of politics (Burch & Harry, 2004). For instance, in a study that sought to establish the inclusion of supporters and opposers of pesticide as news sources, Burch and Harry's (2004) content analyzed four California newspapers that report on farm workers and the use of pesticide. In all the four dailies, anti-pesticide sources, interpreted as “professional challengers” who routinely use the press, were most cited.

Based on the trend revealed in empirical studies, Ericson (1998) concluded, “news production is a perpetual process of authorizing facts through official sources” (p. 86). The same patterns of a limited or lack of representational diversity in news actors have been established in other parts of the globe including Israel (Reich, 2008), New Zealand (Rupar, 2006), Canada (Hackett, 2006), as well as Kenya (Collins, 2017; TIFA Research, 2019). Government sources are among the dominant official sources established in studies.

Government sources. In Collins's (2017) study, the examination of the presence or absence of a government source indicates that based on placement, 66.9% of the sampled stories included government officials. Stories on the front page had more government sources (90.2%) relative to teased stories (54.5%). A total of 28% of all the sampled stories from the three newspapers included a government source. Daily Nation was more likely to include government sources (35.7%), followed by The Standard (28.8%) and The Star at 12.5%. These results are consistent with the journalism practice in other parts of the world that has shown that journalists rely on government officials as news actors (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018; Benson & Wood, 2015; Masini et al., 2018). Combined with the unsuccessful effort to balance stories, Collins (2017) argued, “Kenyan newspaper readers get a heavy dose of the government’s point of view without hearing from those with differing opinions” (p. 460), including ordinary citizens.

Ordinary citizens as news actors. While many studies indicate the exclusion of ordinary citizens in news reports by virtue of the prominence and dominance of official sources (Benson & Wood, 2015; Burch & Harry, 2004; Carlson, 2009; Collins, 2017), some studies show considerable inclusion of ordinary citizens (Hansen, 1991; Stroobant, De Dobbelaer, & Raeymaeckers, 2018). In a study that examined source diversity and newspaper enterprise journalism, Hansen's (1991) content analyzed 60 enterprise stories and found more ordinary citizens and individuals representing particular interest groups relative to government officials who represented four out of ten sources. While Hansen's (1991) study is inconsistent with previous studies that have illustrated an overwhelming predominance of government sources, Stroobant et al.'s (2018) research that examined the patterns of health reporters in a section of Belgium across different media had similar findings. Ordinary citizens and academic experts constitute the two largest categories of news actors.

In Kenya, Collins's (2017) interrogation of the inclusion or exclusion of ordinary citizens show a total of 27.1% for all the three newspapers. The Standard was more likely to include an average citizen (38.5%) compared to The Star (20.8%) or Daily Nation (16.7%). The inclusion of citizens varied by placement, with 35.1% of the stories teased on front pages including citizens compared to front page stories (12.2%). The variation per specific newspaper shows that the shaping of newsroom policies can either encourage or discourage more source diversity and that ultimately, “it is possible to build a newsroom culture that promotes source diversity” (Collins, 2017, p. 462).

Anonymous sources. While the use of anonymous news actors is context specific and even raises questions around credibility issues (Collins, 2017), the scholarly tradition of news actors has included this category (Culbertson, 1975; Sheehy, 2008). In one of the early studies that examined “veiled news sources” in the U.S., Culbertson (1975) found that 36% of the 5,182 sampled newspaper stories included at least one anonymous personal source. Stories by New York Times and Washington Post were more likely to use unnamed sources (54%) compared to the four other Metropolitan newspapers (36%) and six smaller Ohio Dailies (30%). Some of the phrases used include officials, spokespersons, sources, members, observers, experts, and anonymous. Some modifying adjectives, such as high, high-ranking, senior, responsible, and top were used. Similarly, in a mixed methods study of The Washington Post, Sheehy (2008) established a widespread use of anonymous sources, particularly in international news stories relative to domestic political stories. In a 30-year period, 70 percent of international stories included at least one unnamed source relative to less than 37 percent for national stories. His engagement with journalists in interviews revealed security concerns in foreign countries as one of the reasons sources prefer to remain anonymous. In Kenya, Collins's (2017) examination of the inclusion or

exclusion of anonymous sources indicates a total of 28% for all three Kenyan dailies. The Star was more likely to use fewer anonymous sources (12.5%) relative to Daily Nation (35.7%) or The Standard (28.8%). The study demonstrates that the use of unnamed sources is rarer in Kenya compared to the U.S. (Sheehy, 2008).

Women as news actors. Studies and media reports have demonstrated how the role of women as news actors has been undermined, journalists depriving them of their role as worthy narrators of their lived experiences or as authoritative sources on particular topics (Brown et al., 1987; Carlson, 2009; Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 1999; Hallin, Manoff, & Weddle, 1993; Whitney et al., 1989). These studies demonstrate what Carlson (2009) described as “the overabundance of white male sources” (p. 530). Gender diversity in journalistic content has also been a focus of media reports and studies in the Kenyan context (Booker, 2019; Omari, 2008). In a study that sought to determine the portrayal of women in print media in Kenya, Omari's (2008) content analyzed 9,236 newspaper articles drawn from Daily Nation, The Standard, and Kenya Times between June 2002 and June 2003. This was “a period of transition from former President Moi’s regime that supported gender equity only in rhetoric and the start of President Kibaki’s regime that came in promising not only equity but an institutional one” (p. 30). Results show less space for women and women issues (only 2.8%), fewer articles by women journalists (11.6%), more article by women on women (76%), and a more negative portrayal of women relative to their male counterparts across the three newspapers. The study also found that women journalists were likely to portray women more positively compared to male journalists.

In an April 2019 media report, Booker (2019) lamented the exclusion of women in journalistic content in Africa saying, “only one in four people heard of or read about in media are women. This shows that women are far less cited as news sources than

men” (para. 3). This is the case despite the fact that “women make up the majority of the population in Africa and this continues to mitigate their voices and enjoyment of media freedoms” (Booker, 2019, para. 4). The Kenya Media Landscape Report July 2019 (TIFA Research, 2019) reinforces Booker's (2019) sentiments. The report shows that in a span of eight months (October 2018 to June 2019), while journalistic content in Kenyan media “focused predominantly on crimes stories followed by education, corruption and national politics,” only one woman featured among the top 17 news actors (TIFA Research, 2019, pp. 23-24). Considering the limited scope of the highlighted studies and media reports, the current study operationalized 15 categories of news actors.

Classification of news actors. The classification of potential news actors in groups has guided studies of news actors. A review of literature reveals two tendencies. One is aggregate classifications, which use measures that comprise a minimum number of categories. Another is elaborate classifications, usually based on the functional roles of actors and therefore resulting in “detailed insight into the diversity of actors in the news for that specific issue, but is not applicable across issues” (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018, p. 3). More recent studies emphasize the need for a “middle category” that classifies news actors in an elaborate aggregate – devoid of the traditional dichotomy of elite/non-elite or official/non-official. Based on a review of literature about news actor classification, the current study employed 15 categories of news actors as the codebook shows (See Appendix A) and as explained in the next chapter.

2.11 Summary

In nine subsections, the chapter has reviewed literature relevant to the current study. First, the practice of journalism in Kenya has been explored. An overview of the press in Kenya followed. It has been noted that while the Kenyan press has received an

overall positive reputation as one of the most progressive in Africa, concerns have been raised about the tendency to undermine public interest. Some eight codes guiding journalism practice in Kenya have been highlighted. The conceptual and theoretical frameworks have been discussed. The other subsections have discussed the aspects of the research problem, that is, news valence, news sourcing channels, and news actors in that order. The analysis of headlines has also been explored.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sheds light on research methodology. It is divided into eight sections. In line with Creswell and Creswell (2018) and Yin (2011) who have recommended making explicit foundations of studies, the chapter begins with an explanation of the study's philosophical assumption. Other sections include research design, research method, techniques of data generation, data generation tools, how data will be analyzed and presented. Relevant ethical considerations are also highlighted. Ultimately, grounded on a pragmatic philosophical paradigm and employing a mixed methods research design of the explanatory sequential type in a two-phase four-step procedure, the study quantitatively content analysed eight categories of news valence. Nine categories of news sourcing channels, and 15 categories of news actors were also analyzed. The qualitative research phase involved in-depth interviews with news people. A codebook and interview guide constituted the data generation tools. While quantitative data was analyzed statistically and presented in tables, qualitative data followed a thematic analysis and was presented in narrative form.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm

3.2.1 Pragmatism

Scholars have argued that in conducting studies, researchers do operate within a certain set of assumptions, which inform their decisions and guide their actions (Creswell et al., 2003; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Different expressions have been used for this basic set of beliefs such as worldviews (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018), paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 2011), epistemologies and ontologies

(Croker, 2009; Crotty, 1998), or research methodologies (Neuman, 2014). The current study used the expression philosophical paradigms.

Derived from 19th and 20th century philosophers such as Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), and John Dewey (1859-1952), pragmatism is founded on situations, actions, and consequences, with a particular focus on applications and solutions to challenges. Various scholars have contributed to its key assumptions (Cherryholmes, 1992; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Leavy, 2017; Morgan, 2007; Rossman & Wilson, 1985). For instance, instead of focusing on methods, studies based on this paradigm emphasize the research problem and related questions, employing all approaches possible to answer the questions and understand the research problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Leavy, 2017). The approach employs the notion of “what works” (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 60). Relevant to the current study, the combination of constructed weeks, systematic, and simple random sampling to reach a comparable sample size in the quantitative phase was informed by pragmatism.

This is more relevant for mixed methods approach than a single method (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Leavy, 2017). According to Leavy (2017), mixed methods approach “adopts a pragmatic stance, prioritizing the research problem and using methods and theories instrumentally, based on their applicability” (p. 186). Having the liberty to choose from quantitative and qualitative research designs, researchers settle for appropriate techniques for gathering data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Applied to the current study, the problem of news negativity and source bias was established through quantitative content analysis. However, to gain deeper insight into the news valence and source diversity, a qualitative research design was employed. Thus, a mixed methods approach was appropriate for the current study.

3.3 Research Design

This is a research design with philosophical assumptions and methods of inquiry that combine quantitative and qualitative approaches in gathering and analyzing data in the same study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala, 2013). The design is based on the assumption that more insight into and stronger understanding of the problem under study can be gained from the integration of quantitative and qualitative data than employing either method by itself (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Thus, a study that sought to gain insight into professional journalism practice was justified to employ a research design that contributes to deeper understanding. The concepts that constitute philosophical positions of mixed methods research design are explained below. While consensus about the number of these concepts has not been established, the four common among scholars include ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology (Biddle & Schafft, 2015; Creswell, 2013). The concept of methodology, which concerns the rationale for the tools employed in research, was not discussed because this entire third chapter discussed the concept of methodology.

3.3.1 Ontology in Mixed Methods

The term ontology is a combination of two Greek words: *ontos* that means being or reality and *logos* that means study or discourse. Thus, ontology is a study of reality and ontological assumptions are philosophical beliefs about the nature and characteristics of reality (Ansari, Panhwar, & Mahesar, 2016; Creswell, 2013; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). These scholars link ontology with the discourse about what constitutes social reality and how world entities are perceived and explained. Key ontological questions include What is the nature of reality? Are there multiple realities co-existing in social contexts or is there a single reality? Does reality

exist independent of human perceptions and interpretations? (Creswell, 2014; de Gialdino, 2009).

Researchers engaging in qualitative research acknowledge the fact of there being multiple realities. They approach studies by examining a variety of perspectives and explanations from participants' points of view, which are deemed context specific. In contrast, researchers in quantitative studies have usually adopted an "objectivist" position, which regards social reality as independent of human actors (Ansari et al., 2016). The two philosophical assumptions about social reality represent extremes. "In a mixed methods study, however, a research may obtain an intermediate ontological position acknowledging the fact that both objective and subjective views of the reality are useful in a social science study" (Ansari et al., 2016, p. 135). Thus, having taken the intermediate ontological stance in integrating quantitative and qualitative methods, the current study recognized both objective and subjective views. Some scholars have shown that this stance generates superior results (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

3.3.2 Epistemology in Mixed Methods

Epistemology is derived from two Greek terms: episteme that means knowledge and logos. Epistemological assumptions concern the process of gaining insight into and knowing reality (Ansari et al., 2016; Creswell, 2013; Cronin, 2005). Some of the questions in epistemology include how reality is known; how the knower and what is known relate; elements that guide the knowing process like characteristics and principles. Another question is the replicability of the process of knowing and the possibility of its being shared with others in view of assessing study quality and reliability of the results (de Gialdino, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2013). Focusing on how we gain insight into social reality, two perspectives are proposed. One is inductive that is also known as a bottom-up approach, fostering the building of knowledge from specific

observations of social reality, thus providing a basis for theories and other broad generalizations. There is deductive, a top-down approach in which existing theories or established generalizations are tested in specific contexts (Ritchie et al., 2013).

Quantitative studies have been associated with positivism, which “assumes that there is only one objective reality; independent of human perception on it” (Ansari et al., 2016, p. 135). Epistemologically, therefore, the objective reality independent of human subjects is known by analyzing measurable variables with heavy emphasis on proofs by means of scientific methods. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, are associated with an epistemology that views social reality as complex, thus can be known through interactions with participants and subjective meanings of reality under study proper to interpretivists. In this latter epistemology, a researcher gets close to participants and puts together the subjective evidence based on this interaction. Again, like the ontological standpoint, these are two extremes. A mixed methods research design would adopt an intermediate position, which acknowledges both positivism and interpretivism approaches. Thus, this intermediate stance offered the study free room to generate and analyze data about news valence and source diversity as measurable variables and qualitatively. It is a “practical epistemology” that underscores the affinity between pragmatism and mixed methods.

3.3.3 Axiology in Mixed Methods

This concept is rooted in two Greek words, *axia* that means value or worth and *logos*. Cronin (2006) described axiology as “the philosophy of value” (p. 5) that relates to ethical considerations. As a philosophical assumption, the nature and function of ethics in research and what we value are examined, guided by the question: What is the role of values in research? (Biddle & Schafft, 2015). In response, researchers acknowledge that while studies could be rich in value, the process of conducting them

could be characterized with biases. Institutional research boards' requirements, which the current study met through Daystar University Ethics Review Board and National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI), involved axiological issues (Mertens, 2007).

In quantitative studies employing postpositivist approaches, efforts made to minimize the influence of values of theories in view of fostering objectivity and increase study validity speak to axiology (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). In qualitative research, the risk for bias and other unethical practices could be compounded by the philosophy of relativism. According to Cronin (2006), "our evaluations depend on our point of view, our culture, our age or sex, and that there cannot be absolute, universal, true value judgments" (p. 6). Generally, axiological assumptions sharpen the mind of the researcher to recognize mistakes during the study process and make necessary adjustments. As a way forward, researchers are expected to make explicit values that contribute to their respective studies. According to Biddle and Schafft (2015), "the inability of pragmatist mixed methods researchers to coherently articulate the axiological underpinnings of their work constitutes a challenging obstacle for coherently defining the practice of pragmatist mixed methods research more broadly" (p. 324). As a study employing a pragmatically oriented mixed methods research design, axiological issues are discussed under ethical considerations.

3.3.4 Origins of Mixed Methods

This approach is traced to scholars who embrace both qualitative and quantitative data generation methods. The first 60 years of the twentieth century show some trends of combining the two methods in the fields of anthropology and sociology (Boring, 1953; Gans, 1963; Lynd & Lynd, 1957). Data generated quantitatively and qualitatively is blended without using the label "mixed methods." Johnson,

Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007) attributed the formalization of the practice to Campbell and Fiske (1959) who used the label “multiple operationalism.” Building on this notion, Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966) coined the term “triangulation” and Denzin (1970) outlined a triangulation process. Jick's (1979) input has also been noted, especially the advantages of using mixed methods. Some advantages are confidence with findings, stimulating creative ways of gathering data, possibilities for thicker and richer data, room for integration of theories, ability to uncover contradictions, and because of comprehensiveness.

3.3.5 Rationale for Mixed Methods Research Design

Various scholars have recommended mixed methods research design for purposes of diversity, complementarity, compensation, corroboration and confirmation, completeness, expansion, and development, among other considerations (Archibald, Radil, Zhang, & Hanson, 2015; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Venkatesh et al., 2013). For a study that sought to gain insight into a complex phenomenon such as professional news journalism practice, employing mixed methods came with the advantage of helping develop some rich insights. These insights could not be fully understood when only one method would have been used. This is in line with the scholarly tradition that has found this research approach suitable for better, fuller, deeper, and elaborated understanding. The approach is also suitable for enhanced description of phenomenon; richer, more meaningful and more useful answers to research questions; and greater confidence in conclusions that meet the study purpose (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, & Sutton, 2006; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Johnson et al., 2007). An overview of the type of mixed methods used in this study is presented next.

3.3.6 Explanatory Sequential Mixed Methods Design.

Scholars have developed various typologies for classifying types of mixed methods research drawn from the scholarly fields of nursing, evaluation, public health, behavioural research, and education policy, among others (Creswell & Clark, 2011; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Different terms have been used for these typologies. For instance, while Johnson et al. (2007) identified three types (qualitative dominant, quantitative dominant, and equal status), other scholars have proposed six designs: convergent, explanatory sequential, exploratory sequential, embedded, transformative, and multiphase (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Informed by this scholarly tradition, the current study employed the explanatory sequential mixed methods design. It comprises two distinct phases: first quantitative and then qualitative in that sequence (Creswell et al., 2003; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). It is explanatory because findings from qualitative research help the researcher to gain insights into quantitative findings. While the quantitative data and analysis are expected to give some understanding of the study problem through statistics, it will take the qualitative data and their subsequent analysis to explain the statistical findings (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

In an explanatory sequential design, priority has usually been given to quantitative data, which is then integrated with the qualitative data during the interpretation stage. However, the current study gave priority to qualitative data, which is a variation of this type of mixed methods. As Creswell et al. (2003) observed in reference this type of mixed methods,

In an important variation of this design, the qualitative data collection and analysis is given the priority. In this case, the initial quantitative phase of the study may be used to characterize individuals along certain traits of interest related to the research question. These quantitative results can then be used to

guide the purposeful sampling of participants for a primarily qualitative study (Creswell et al., 2003, p. 178).

The rationale of prioritizing qualitative data was that the purpose of the study was to gain insight into the complex reality of professional news journalism practice. While establishing news valence and source diversity is significant, it is the engagement with news people that is underscored for insight into this journalism practice. Results from the quantitative phase of the study will guide the topics of engagement with participants in the qualitative phase of the study.

To generate data, the current study followed a two-phase four-step procedure in line with the scholarly tradition of explanatory sequential type of mixed methods research design (Creswell et al., 2003; Creswell & Clark, 2011; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Figure 3.1 presents the explanatory sequential two-phase four-step design

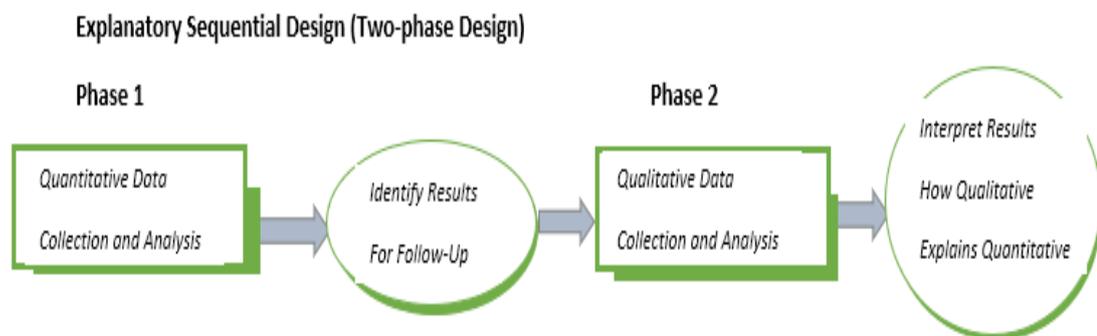


Figure 3.1: Explanatory Sequential Two-phase Four-step Design

Source: Creswell and Creswell (2018, p. 218)

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, the first step involved designing and implementing the quantitative phase. Data was collected through QCA. The second step involved the identification of the results from the quantitative data. The identified results were used to refine the interview guide for the second phase of the study. The third step involved designing and implementing the qualitative phase of the study including precisizing the interview guide, obtaining permissions, sampling participants, generating data, and

analysing the qualitative data. The interpretation of the two datasets and the discussion of their respective contributions to an understanding of professional news journalism practice in Kenya constituted the fourth step. Details of this two-phase four-step procedure are explained in the next five subsections: research method, data generation techniques, data generation tools, data analysis, and data presentation.

3.4 Research Method

3.4.1 Multi-case Study

Wimmer and Dominick (2006) have described the case study method as a research technique that “uses as many data sources as possible to systematically investigate individuals, groups, organizations, or events ... when a researcher needs to understand or explain a phenomenon” (pp. 136-137). The current study sought to understand professional news journalism practice in Kenya from the perspective of news valence and diversity of sources.

While the case study method can include single cases and multiple cases, the multi-case study method has been known to be superior to single-case designs as the examination of multiple cases provides additional extensive explanations of the phenomenon under study (Yin, 2011). According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), “the first concern in case study design is what to ask. The case study is most appropriate for questions that begin with ‘how’ or ‘why’” (p. 138). To understand how the framing of events in Kenya reflect news valence, how common news sourcing channels reflect source diversity, and how common news actors reflect source diversity, the current study used a multiple case study method. The study examined seven distinct news-making events across four Kenyan national newspapers.

Previous studies that have found the dominance of negative valence have usually used single cases. These studies have focused on one issue, oftentimes negative

in nature, including reports on terrorism (Nevalsky, 2015), hostage-taking (Metila, 2013), and traffic accidents (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008), among others. Similarly, studies that have established biased sourcing with official sources dominating tend to employ single cases of a negative nature (Benson & Wood, 2015; Masini et al., 2018). The use of single cases narrows the scope of the study and limits the extensiveness of explanations. The sampling of negative events provides for a biased approach. The current study filled these gaps. By using multiple cases, the scope was widened, providing an occasion for extensive explanations of news valence and source diversity in the Kenyan context. The sampling of multiple events, both negative and positive in nature, eliminated the bias toward negative events in previous studies (Nevalsky, 2015). The next subsection discusses how data was generated.

3.5 Data Generation Techniques

In the current study, while quantitative data was collected through content analysis, qualitative data was generated through in-depth interviews. The two data generation techniques are explained in this subsection.

3.5.1 Quantitative Content Analysis (QCA)

A number of scholars, Ileri (2014), Stempel (2003), and Wimmer and Dominick (2006), have used Berelson's (1952) definition of content analysis as a technique for analyzing communication messages through systematic, quantitative, and objective procedures. The technique is systematic because the content to be examined is selected according to certain criteria where each item has an equal chance of being examined. Also, content is treated in the same manner; there is uniformity in the coding and process of analysis; and only a single set of guidelines is employed in the entire study. It is quantitative because the procedures involved aid in the quest for precision through

the statistical tools method employed. It is objective because it stands devoid of the researcher's personal biases through the operationalization of definitions and the explicit and comprehensive setting up of rules for variable classification (Stempel, 2003; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). In line with previous scholarship, White and Marsh (2006) and Wimmer and Dominick (2006), the following nine procedures that relate to the current study are explained: research questions; the population; sampling; content acquisition; unit of analysis; categories of the content; system of quantification; training of coders and pilot study; and coding criteria. Data analysis and drawing of conclusions will follow further below.

3.5.1.1 Research questions

This study sought to answer three research questions that related to three research objectives, conceptualized as examining news valence, assessing the diversity of news sourcing channels, and examining news actors' diversity. This first phase of the study sought to establish, from the newspaper coverage of seven major news-making events in Kenya, the negative and positive news frames; the common news sourcing channels; and the common news actors. Variations of the three aspects by specific newspaper were also established.

3.5.1.2 Population

Humprecht and Büchel (2013) have proposed three possible approaches to the analysis of news media performance: focusing on the routine coverage of events; selecting particular events and examining them; and choosing a specific topic and analyzing its media coverage. The current study selected and analyzed major news-making events. Thus, the study's population in this first phase consisted journalistic stories about major news-making events by Kenyan mainstream media. Ultimately,

seven major news-making events in Kenya in a six-year period (2015-2020) as covered by four national newspapers were analyzed.

3.5.1.3 Sampling

Scholars have recommended that the selection of national news-making events follow certain criteria and considerations (Humprecht & Büchel, 2013). The selected events need to be nationally relevant so that national news media outlets would potentially cover them. Also, the events need to have the potentiality of generating discussions among media audiences to provide room for source and topic diversity. They are also to be diverse to assure variance in the data collected. In Kenya, the following seven events fitted the criteria: Garissa University attack (2015), Obama's visit (2015), Pope Francis' visit (2015), the doctors' strike (2016/2017), annulment of presidential election (2017), the Handshake (2018), and COVID-19 (2019/2020).

The study sought to analyze the coverage of the seven events across Kenyan national newspapers. The selection of newspapers followed the scholarly tradition presented in chapter one, that is, the tradition that has distinguished the strictness of journalism practice across news media (Iggers, 1999; Lee, 2008; Reich, 2016). Newspapers are more likely to offer space for source diversity compared to broadcast media (Reich, 2011).

In line with scholars who have quantitatively content analyzed major news-making events (Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2019), this study selected four Kenyan national newspapers: Daily Nation, The Standard, The Star, and People Daily. Consistent with studies that have selected newspapers on the basis of their status, including circulation (Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2019; Nevalsky, 2015), serving as important sources of news, and providing authoritative voices on issues (Powers & Benson, 2014), the four newspapers were considered for analysis. They represent the largest newspaper market

in Kenya, often setting the agenda (Collins, 2017; Ileri et al., 2019). Identified as Kenya's leading national newspapers, the four have been previously examined, either collectively (Collins, 2017; Ileri et al., 2019; Omari, 2008) or in isolation (Maweu, 2017; Muindi, 2018; Ngoge, 2014).

The study sampled journalistic content, particularly news stories, editorials, and news features. Photographs and non-journalistic content such as columnists, letters to the editor, and advertisements were excluded. In line with previous scholarship by Riffe et al. (1993), Stempel (2003), and Wimmer and Dominick (2006), the study defined a period for each of the seven news-making events. Thus, to acquire content for analysis, census was used in one case and constructed weeks for the other six events, with a period spanning multiple months.

Table 3.1: Preliminary Number of Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event

Newspaper	Garissa	Obama	Pope	Doctors	Annulment	Handshake	COVID-19
D. Nation	150	172	98	139	161	33	1,205
Standard	251	102	66	78	88	22	390
The Star	194	250	48	253	97	17	1,781
P. Daily	80	90	38	42	234	20	692
Total	675	614	250	512	580	92	4,068

Considering the purpose and scope of the study alongside the pragmatic philosophical paradigm, the sampling period was specific to each event. The inclusion criteria were founded on journalistic articles highlighted above. The inclusion of editorials was based on a scholarly tradition akin to Drewski's (2015) observation, "written by influential journalists, they select noteworthy issues from the daily stream of events, frame them and offer an opinion" (p. 267).

Sampling Garissa University attack. The terrorist attack that occurred on 2 April 2015 when gunmen stormed the university in Eastern Kenya left 148 people dead, most of them, Christian students. As a terrorist attack, it attracted wide media coverage nationally and internationally, first as breaking news and later as analysis (Odongo,

2015). This study sampled one month of the attack's coverage, beginning on the day of the attack (April 2) through May 3. This is consistent with Nevalsky (2015) who, seeking to compare the top five U.S. newspapers' reporting of two terrorist attacks, sampled one month of the attacks, providing sufficient data for analysis. Studies that have examined the reporting of terrorist attacks and mass shootings are also relevant (Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2019).

Sampling Obama's 2015 visit to Kenya. Described as "the most important visit by a foreign leader since independence" (Schneidman, 2015, para. 2), the event had a wide media coverage (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2015). Kenya being the ancestral land of his father, Obama's visit as the first sitting U.S. president to do so plus the event of the 2015 Global Entrepreneurship Summit (GES) combined to make the visit historic. This warranted intensive and extensive coverage (Finnegan, 2015; Koech, 2015; Mutambo & Ngirachu, 2015). The current study followed studies such as Chari (2010), Li (2018), and Ross and Bantimaroudis (2006) who collected data from newspaper coverage of planned events, defining the timeframe from the period before the event to some days after. The current study collected data from 30 March 2015 when the visit was officially confirmed to 2 August 2015, a week after Obama left Kenya. This gave room to include a weekend when newspapers provide more detailed coverage of events. Official announcements have also provided a criterion for defining sampling periods (D'Angelo, Calderone, & Territola, 2005; Ireri et al., 2019).

Sampling Pope Francis' visit to Kenya. While Obama's visit presented political and cultural perspectives, the three-African-nation visit by the leader of the Catholic Church who doubles as the head of the Vatican City State provided religiopolitical points of view. The Pontiff who was serving his third year as leader of some 1.2 billion Catholics spread across all continents was, according to Associated Press (AP), "riding

a wave of popularity that has reinvigorated the Catholic Church in ways not seen since the days of St. John Paul II” (Winfield, 2015, para. 1). The visit features among events that made 2015 a “good year for Kenya in the global arena” (Mutambo, 2015, headline). A number of factors combined to make the visit a major news-making event in Kenya and globally (Kiplang’at, 2015; Nyabwa, 2015; Sieff, 2015; Vatican, 2015). Pope Francis is the first Jesuit Pontiff and the first ever from the Americas and the Southern Hemisphere. He was the first non-European Pope since Gregory III whose reign was in the eighth century. It was his maiden visit to Africa. Similar to the scholarly tradition informing the sampling of Obama’s visit, the sampling period of the Pope’s tour was from the day the Vatican officially confirmed the pastoral visit on 10 September 2015. The sampling was till 29 November 2015, the day the Pope concluded his three-nation maiden visit to Africa, Sunday included (AP, 2015).

Sampling the 100-day doctors’ strike. This 2016/2017 event that paralyzed Kenya’s public health system for 100 days pitted medical workers against the government, providing an occasion for media reports on crisis communication, industrial action, and labor issues. The duration of the strike that affected some 2,500 public health institutions across the country had far reaching effects, including loss of lives directly related to the lack of medical care (Gathura, 2018), a situation that attracted wide media coverage (BBC, 2017a; Yusuf, 2017). Data was collected from the day the strike started 5 December 2016 to the day after the strike was called off on 15 March 2017. This was informed by studies that have examined protracted protests and dissent (Boykoff, 2006; Brasted, 2005; Wasserman, Chuma, & Bosch, 2018), specifically D’Angelo et al. (2005) who offered an example of a timeframe that follows the duration of an issue.

Sampling the annulment of presidential election. The decision Kenya's Supreme Court made on 1 September 2017 to annul the presidential election that had taken place on 8 August 2017 was historic. It was "the first decision of its kind in Africa" (Burke, 2017, para. 4). Globally, only three other countries had their respective presidential elections annulled (Ombuor, 2017). Thus, the event attracted international (BBC, 2017b; Sieff, 2017) and national coverage (Ombuor, 2017). It provided an occasion for Kenyan journalists to report on legal processes and constitutional perspectives alongside political overtones that characterize elections. In line with D'Angelo et al. (2005), the study collected data from 1 September 2017, the day the election was annulled, to 26 October 2017, the day the next election was conducted.

Sampling the Handshake. The historic annulment of elections gave rise to a period of political violence in Kenya, with the main opposition coalition, NASA boycoting the repeat election, which the Supreme Court had ordered. The ensuing unrest saw a section of the country threatening secession and the NASA coalition leader, Odinga being "sworn in" as the "people's president." The warring factions pitting supporters of President Kenyatta and Odinga marked with deaths due to mass shootings in opposition strongholds caused serious concerns about the country that had witnessed negative effects of post-election violence almost a decade before. The coming together of President Kenyatta and opposition leader Odinga on 9 March 2018 was a "life-changing" event that made breaking news, the two previous arch-rivals declaring that they had put their differences aside for the sake of Kenyans. The unexpected event had most of the major news values (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Having happened on a Friday, the weekend and the following week are considered sufficient to provide some orientation of the journalism practice. Thus, based on previous scholarship using one-week (Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2019) and 10-day (de Vreese et

al., 2001) timeframes, the current study used a 10-day sampling period from the day of the Handshake on 9 March 2018 to 18 March 2018 inclusive.

Sampling COVID-19 in Kenya. The infectious disease caused by coronavirus that was first identified in December 2019 in Wuhan, China was declared a pandemic in March 2020 after the outbreak had, on 30 January 2020, been declared a public health emergency of international concern. The need for social distancing to minimize the spread of the disease disrupted human operations across the globe, the additional restrictions resulting in social, political, and economic disasters of historical proportions (Nicola et al., 2020). The number of COVID-19 related deaths reported on daily basis and the pressure on hospitals in many countries exemplified the outbreak's "detrimental effect on global healthcare with a ripple effect on every aspect of human life as we know it" (Nicola et al., 2020, p. 185).

In Kenya, the first case of COVID-19 was confirmed on 12 March 2020 and reported the following day, giving rise to the announcement of government-directed restrictions on 15 March 2020. These included countrywide closure of learning institutions, a ban on public worship, restriction on travels from countries with cases of the virus, and a nationwide curfew among others. On 6 July 2020, President Kenyatta announced the easing of some of the restrictions, extending others with adjustments. The current study used the date when the first case was confirmed in Kenya as the starting date and 7 July 2020, the day after some restrictions were first eased, as the ending date. Studies that have defined timeframes to coincide with periods when an issue intensifies (Khabaz, 2018) informed this decision. Studies that have examined the journalistic coverage of pandemics are also relevant (Luisi, Barker, & Geana, 2018; Oh & Zhou, 2012).

3.5.1.4 Content acquisition

Informed by the scholarly tradition about the possibilities that modern technology offer for mining online content in the interactive media era allowing user-selected content (USC), (Benson & Wood, 2015; Skalski, Neuendorf, & Cajigas, 2017), the current study acquired preliminary content that needed to be selected before analysis. Keyword searches of separately typed phrases “Garissa attack”, “Obama visit to Kenya 2015”, “Pope Francis in Kenya”, “doctors’ strike”, “election annulment”, “election canceled”, “Handshake”, “coronavirus”, and “COVID-19” from The Star website generated stories for all the seven issues. These were compared with the print editions of the newspaper for validity and reliability, eliminating stories that did not correspond to the defined timeframe. For Daily Nation, librarians facilitated access to the online archive of the relevant pages, which are same as the print editions.

Access to the online database of People Daily was granted and all stories retrieved. For reliability, the online versions of the collected stories were compared with the print version for consistency. Meanwhile, a hybrid technique was used for stories from The Standard. Going beyond studies that have collected data without the use of digital archives (Stroobant et al., 2018) but consistent with studies that have used multiple methods to collect data (Brown et al., 1987), hard copies of The Standard were leafed through, noting down the headlines, which were then used to search the online archives. If the story was not found, the print version was taken up. Ultimately, for all the seven events across the four newspapers, a total of 6,791 preliminary stories were acquired as is shown in Table 3.1. Of these, 5,944 stories were suitable.

3.5.1.5 Unit of analysis

A unit of analysis is the basis upon which studies are reported (Stempel, 2003; White & Marsh, 2006). It concerns whether the analysis will focus on “words,

statements, sentences, paragraphs, or entire articles” (Stempel, 2003, p. 211). Considering the study purpose and pragmatism, the unit of analysis varied by the specific category of the aspects under study. This variation serves to further studies that have applied multiple units of analysis in the same study (Brown et al., 1987; Ileri et al., 2019). The codebook (See Appendix A) explains the units of analysis and the categories to be applied.

Two units of analysis were used in coding news valence frames comprising episodic versus thematic frames for the headline, and constructive journalism branches versus traditional journalism for the news story alongside positive versus negative valence of the stories. While the unit of analysis for headlines was an entire headline, the study used the entire news story as the unit of analysis for the narrative below headlines. A news valence frame counted only once in a headline and in a news story even if the frame appeared more than once in the same headline and news story. However, for the three branches of constructive journalism, if more than one valence frame appeared (for example solutions journalism frame and prospective journalism frame), the valence frames were coded distinctly. This was based on the scholarship that sees the branches of constructive journalism as mutually inclusive – “a story with a restorative narrative might also be considered an example of solutions journalism” (McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 25). Episodic and thematic frames, traditional and constructive journalism, are two sets of mutually exclusive frames.

The study used a paragraph as the unit of analysis for the news sourcing channels. An origin of a news story (for instance a press release) counted only once. If a paragraph had more than one news sourcing channel (for example public meeting and Twitter), the channel was coded distinctly. Similarly, the unit of analysis for the inclusion of a news actor (for example a national government official) was a paragraph.

A news actor counted only once in a paragraph even if that actor was included more than once in the same paragraph. However, if more than one news actor was included in one paragraph (for example a faith-based leader and an ordinary citizen), the news actors were coded distinctly.

3.5.1.6 Category construction

In constructing categories for a study, Stempel (2003) and Wimmer and Dominick (2006) have recommended drawing inspiration from previous studies. Stempel (2003) has recommended three considerations in category construction - pertinence to study objectives; functionality; and manageability. Pertinent because “the information they yield will answer the research questions of the study”; functional because the “content study intends to say something about a media process and the decision making within that process”. Manageable to facilitate the coders’ tasks, other researchers and readers to follow the study in which case “somewhere between ten and twenty categories can be handled by coders, researchers, and readers” (Stempel, 2003, pp. 212-213).

In line with these recommendations and alongside scholars such as Beckers and Van Aelst (2018), Collins (2017), Humprecht and Esser (2018b), and Masini et al. (2018) who employed appropriate categories and typologies, the current study constructed three categories aligned to the three concepts of the study. These included eight news valence frames, nine frames for news sourcing channels, and 15 frames of news actors (See Appendix A). For news valence frames, three were branches of constructive journalism; traditional journalism; thematic; episodic; negative valence; and positive valence. In line with previous scholarship, some of the nine frames for the category of news sourcing channels required more precision and distinct coding (Collins, 2017; Wahutu, 2018). In particular, press releases, press conferences, public

meetings and rallies, official documents and reports, news people's analysis, and research were coded distinctly. The other three categories required precision and distinct coding. Thus, interviews were coded as face to face or mediated, the latter being specified as telephone, Email, Skype, Messenger, WhatsApp, or others. Online platforms had nine distinct frames including search engines, websites, wikis, Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, Instagram, YouTube, or WhatsApp. The category of other news entities had three possible news agency options: Kenya-based, Africa-based, and Western-based. The 15 frames in the category of potential news actors are presented below.

National government officials. These included officials accountable to the national government such as government spokesperson, state house officials, ambassadors, Kenyan diplomat, and military personnel. Other national government-related figures like judges, prosecutors, and police officers were included. These officials were distinguished from the category of county government officials who were coded as persons accountable to any of the 47 Kenyan county governments. However, considering the political clout the President and the Deputy President hold and the related disproportionate attention they are likely to have over other political leaders at national level, the two were excluded from this category.

County government officials. These included officials accountable to the County government such as Ministers at any of the 47 Kenyan Counties. The Governor and Deputy Governor were excluded because of the likelihood of a disproportionate media attention due to the nature of their office. Similarly, members of the Country Assembly (MCAs) were excluded and categorized under the category of politicians.

The Executive. These included officials with executive roles at national and County levels. The President, the Deputy President, Governors of Counties, Deputy Governors, and Cabinet Secretaries at the national level were included in this category.

Independence commissions and offices. Those included in this category were officials engaged by any of Kenya's independent commissions as established by the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (National Council for Law Reporting, 2010). These included officials of the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission (KNHREC), the National Land Commission (NLC), the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC), the Judicial Service Commission (JSC), the Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA), the Public Service Commission (PSC), the Salaries and Remuneration Commission (SRC), the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), and the National Police Service Commission (NPSC), among others. Officials of other independent offices in Kenya such as the Auditor-General and the Controller of Budget were also included in this category of news actors.

Politicians. Those actively involved in politics such as Senators, Members of Parliament (MPs), and MCAs were included in this category. As noted above, the President, Deputy President, Governors, and Deputy Governors were excluded.

Business leaders and individuals. These included leaders of business entities as well as organizations that bring together businesspersons. Thus, businesspersons and individual economic actors were included in this category of news actors.

Academics. This category included persons in academia cited in news stories as scholars, researchers, university professors, lecturers, and other persons presented as authoritative voices on a matter that is being discussed. Students were generally excluded from this category.

Media practitioners. This category included media practitioners cited in news stories as reporters, editors, producers, photojournalists, or correspondents.

Professionals. Doctors, engineers, and lawyers were included in this category. However, when a professional such as a lawyer spoke on behalf of other organizations like the government or NGO, he or she was coded in the relevant category of the respective organization such as civil society organization or faith-based entity.

Civil society representatives. This category considered the citing of representatives of civil society organizations including trade unions, social movements, or interest groups. Faith-based news actors were excluded from this category.

Faith-based actors. Those included in this category were religious leaders such as Priests, Pastors, Prelates, the Pope, and Imams, among others.

Foreign leaders. These included individuals cited as representing entities out of Kenya. President of other countries and those representing their respective countries ambassadors were included in this category.

Ordinary citizens. These included ordinary people who had been affected by the news event such as employees of an entity on strike, involved citizens, victims, eyewitnesses, passersby, or generally, non-officials (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018).

Women. Those of female gender cited as sources of information in the news, whether individually or as a group were included in this category.

Unnamed sources. This category considered phrases that denote unnamed sources. In line with Culbertson (1975), some of the phrases categorized here included officials, spokespersons, sources, members, observers, experts, anonymous. The phrases could have included modifying adjectives such as high, high-ranking, senior, responsible, or top.

3.5.1.7 Quantification

Considering the vast amount of content available for most of the events under study, a census that attempts to analyze all selected content of the study periods was

only practical in one case, the Handshake. Attention was drawn to scholars who have proposed or used sampling techniques to draw samples for quantification, including constructed week, random sample, systematic sample, and stratified sample (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Hester & Dougall, 2007; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The current study sought to follow the scholarly tradition demonstrating the superiority of constructed week sampling compared with consecutive day sampling or simple random sampling (Hester & Dougall, 2007; Song & Chang, 2012).

Scholars have also attempted to determine the number of weeks required in constructed week sampling to achieve representative samples with varying recommendations (Connolly-Ahern, Ahern, & Bortree, 2009; Luke, Caburnay, & Cohen, 2011). For a one-year and a five-year population of four newspapers, Luke et al. (2011) found sampling at least six constructed weeks to be most efficient for the two frames. For content over a five-year period, Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin, and Chang (2001) proposed the selection of nine constructed weeks, translating to about two constructed weeks from each year. This is consistent with Riffe et al. (1993) who suggested a single constructed week for content over a six-month (182 days) period.

These latter scholars indicate that two constructed weeks would be better. Meanwhile, based on a six-month population of newspaper editions, Hester and Dougall (2007) recommended between two and five constructed weeks as offering more reliable and representative samples than one constructed week. The weekday-plus-Saturday constructed week sampling has been mostly recommended for large sample sizes (Song & Chang, 2012).

These varying recommendations serve to show a lack of a consistent framework under which constructed week sampling can be applied. However, the reviewed studies illustrate that the defined study period and the sample sizes are essential factors in

determining the number of weeks to construct. Additionally, a single week has been generally considered less reliable (Collins, 2017; Riffe et al., 1993); more constructed weeks provide more representative samples. In line with this scholarly tradition and guided by pragmatism, the number of weeks constructed varied by each event.

Thus, the current study constructed two weeks ($N=14$) from the five-week (less two days) newspaper coverage of the Garissa university attack; five weeks ($N=35$) from the 18-week (plus a day) reporting on Obama's visit; four weeks ($N=28$) from the 12-week (less three days) coverage of Pope Francis' visit; four weeks ($N=28$) from the 14-week (plus two days) reporting on the doctors' strike; three weeks ($N=21$) from the eight-week coverage of the election annulment; and five weeks ($N=35$) from the 17-week (less one day) reporting on *COVID-19*.

While some scholars have excluded weekends from the constructed week, some using the weekday-plus-Saturday constructed week sampling (Brown et al., 1987), the current study followed the scholarly tradition that considers a seven-day week (Parkin & Green, 2016; Santana, 2016; Song & Chang, 2012). Meanwhile, the study used census for the 10-day coverage of the Handshake. This is consistent with previous scholarship employing multiple methods in the same study (Parkin & Green, 2016). Ultimately, a total of 2,382 stories were selected following the constructed week and census processes as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Constructed Weeks/Census Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event

Newspaper	Garissa	Obama	Pope	Doctors	Annulment	Handshake	COVID-19
D. Nation	103	85	43	60	61	29	292
Standard	114	64	34	66	43	18	146
The Star	90	71	24	106	27	15	475
P. Daily	39	44	27	24	90	12	180
Total	346	264	128	256	221	74	1,093

The sample sizes achieved following the contrasted weeks and census processes were not comparable as shown in Table 3.2. For instance, while People Daily had 39

stories on Garissa University attack, The Standard had 114. Therefore, for each of the seven issues, systematic random sampling was conducted to achieve sample sizes that were comparable in line with previous studies (Zhang & Jin, 2017).

For Garissa University attack, stories from other newspapers were made comparable with People Daily's 39 stories. Starting with 1, every third item was drawn from the 103 Daily Nation stories, resulting in 35 stories. Similarly, from the 114 stories from The Standard, every third item was drawn, starting with 1, resulting in 38 stories. From the 90 stories from The Star, every third item was drawn, with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 30 stories. To further achieve comparable sample sizes across the four newspapers, simple random sampling was used as follows: 30 stories were drawn from Daily Nation's 35 stories; 30 stories from the 38 by The Standard; and the same number from 38 of People Daily (Table 3.3).

For Obama's visit, stories from other newspapers were made comparable with People Daily's 44 stories. As such, every second item was drawn from the 85 Daily Nation stories with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 43 stories. From the 64 stories from The Standard, every third item was drawn and eliminated, with three as the starting point, resulting in 43 stories. Similarly, from the 71 stories from The Star, every third item was drawn and eliminated, with three as the starting point, resulting in 48 stories. To further achieve comparable sample sizes across the four newspapers, simple random sampling was used: 43 stories were drawn from The Star's 48 stories (Table 3.3).

For Pope Francis' visit, stories from other newspapers were made comparable with The Star's 24 stories. As such, from the 43 Daily Nation stories, every third item was drawn and eliminated, with three as the starting point, resulting in 29 stories. From the 34 stories from The Standard, every fifth item was drawn and eliminated, with five as the starting point, resulting in 28 stories. To further achieve comparable sample sizes

across the four newspapers, simple random sampling was used: 24 stories were drawn from Daily Nation's 29; and another 24 stories were drawn from People Daily's 27 stories (Table 3.3).

For the Doctors' strike, stories from other newspapers were made comparable with People Daily's 24 stories. As such, every fourth item was drawn from the 106 of The Star stories with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 27 stories. For Daily Nation's 60 stories, every second item was drawn starting with 1, resulting in 30 stories. To further achieve comparable sample sizes across the four newspapers, simple random sampling was used: 25 stories were drawn from Daily Nation's 27 stories. Another 25 stories were drawn from The Star's 27 stories (Table 3.3).

For the election annulment, stories from other newspapers were made comparable with The Star's 27. As such, every second item was drawn from the 61 Daily Nation stories with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 31 stories. From the 43 stories from The Standard, every fourth item was drawn and eliminated, with four as the starting point, resulting in 33 stories. From the 90 stories from People Daily, every third item was drawn, with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 30 stories. To further achieve comparable sample sizes across the four newspapers, simple random sampling was used: 27 stories were drawn from Daily Nation's 31 stories. Another 27 stories were drawn from The Standard's 33 stories, and another 27 stories drawn from People Daily's 30 stories (Table 3.3).

For the handshake, stories from other newspapers were made comparable with The Star's 15 stories. As such, every second item was drawn from the 29 Daily Nation stories with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 15 stories. To further achieve comparable sample sizes across the four newspapers, simple random sampling was used: 15 stories were drawn from The Standard's 18 stories (Table 3.3).

For COVID-19, stories from other newspapers were initially made comparable with The Standard's 146 stories. As such, from People Daily's 180 stories, every third item was drawn and eliminated, with three as the starting point, resulting in 120 stories. From the 475 stories from The Star, every fourth item was drawn, with 1 as the starting point, resulting in 119 stories. Daily Nation's 292 stories involved a mixed methods approach: first, with 1 as the starting point, every second item was drawn, resulting in 146 stories. Using simple random sampling in which each news story has an equal probability of being chosen, 120 items were drawn from the 146 stories of The Standard, leaving out 26 stories, as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Constructed Weeks/Census Stories by Specific Newspaper and Event

Newspaper	Garissa	Obama	Pope	Doctors	Annulment	Handshake	COVID-19
D. Nation	30	43	24	25	27	15	120
Standard	30	43	24	25	27	15	120
The Star	30	43	24	25	27	15	119
P. Daily	30	44	24	24	27	12	120
Total	120	173	96	99	108	57	479

The use of systematic random sampling and simple random sampling resulted in a sum total of 1,132 stories. Thus, the current study was based on this sample size ($n = 1,132$). As Table 3.3 shows, in a comparable sample size across the four newspapers, the study sampled: 120 stories on Garissa attack; 173 stories on the visit by Obama; 96 stories on the visit by Pope Francis; 99 stories on the doctors' strike; 108 stories on the election annulment; 57 stories on the Handshake; and 479 stories on COVID-19.

3.5.1.8 Coders: Recruitment, training, pilot study

The recruitment of coders considered prior experience with coding process in quantitative content analysis, familiarity with current affairs in Kenya, and at least pursuing or having pursued postgraduate studies. Seven people were recruited who alongside the researcher were involved in coding three sets of categories: news valence,

news sourcing channels, and news actors. On June 15, 2021, three coders were trained in a physical session that lasted 3hours; and four coders were trained virtually in a session that lasted 2hours 45min. Based on the codebook (See Appendix A), the seven coders were trained in coding criteria and procedures, the definition of the frames, and the units of analysis. On June 16, 2021, all the seven coders were trained virtually in a 2hour 19minute session. A third virtual session for all coders took place on June 22, 2021 after a pretest generated low results. A fourth session took place on June 25, 2021, and the final training session on June 27, 2021.

To guarantee inter-coder reliability, trained coders undertook a pretest in line with previous scholarship (Lacy et al., 2001; Song & Chang, 2012). The pretest is also significant in testing the categories since during the pilot coding exercise, “poorly defined categories can be detected, and chronically dissenting coders can be identified” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 166). Consistent with previous studies in the Kenyan context by Ileri (2014), Ileri et al. (2019), and Luke et al. (2011) requiring that the pilot coding exercise involves at least 10% of the articles to be coded, the seven coders coded 120 articles during the pilot study.

The Krippendorff's Alpha test was used to estimate the inter-coder reliability (Krippendorff, 2004). The results during the first four sessions were generally low to be used. After the fifth session, the results showed that the inter-coder reliability was high ($\alpha = 0.9523$), that is, the seven coders strongly agreed, as presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Krippendorff's Alpha Reliability Estimate

Pairs	Alpha	LL95%CI	UL95%CI	Units	Observers
Ratio	0.9523	.9381	.9651	120.0000	7.0000
2520.0000					

3.5.1.9 Coding criteria

Content to be coded needed to contain a headline and its respective story. Guided by the Codebook (See Appendix A), a trained coder started off by establishing the number of paragraphs, and entering the information on the Codesheet (See Appendix B). The coder analyzed the headline, establishing whether its framing was episodic, thematic, or neutral. The analysis of the story followed, taking keen attention on each paragraph to identify the category of news sourcing channels, and that of news actors, updating the Codesheet accordingly. Besides identifying categories of news sourcing channels and news actors, the coder took note of the news valence emphasized in the various paragraphs as well as the category of journalism frames portrayed. The news valence emphasized (positive, negative or neutral) and the category of journalism frames (solutions, restorative, prospective, or traditional) were established only after analyzing the entire story. A repeat analysis was required in cases where emphasized news valence and the portrayed category of journalism frame were not evident to the coder. Essentially, the Codesheet needed to bear accurate and complete details comprising the headline framing, the story valence, the story's journalism frame, the number of times various categories of news sourcing channels appeared, and the number of times news actors' categories appeared.

3.5.2 In-depth Interviews

This study generated qualitative data through in-depth interviews with 25 journalists. This data was critical to this study because as highlighted above, while a mixed methods research design of the sequential explanatory type has usually given priority to quantitative data, the study followed a variation of this type of research design. It gave priority to qualitative data (Creswell et al., 2003). This was based on the rationale that the analysis of qualitative data generated through an interaction with

journalists would best facilitate the realization of the study purpose. It was about gaining insight into news journalism practice with more precision, accuracy, reliability, validity, and even replicability. Essentially, in engaging with news people through in-depth interviews, the sharing of their respective experiences against the backdrop of their individual frames of reference combined to enrich this study. It was facilitated by techniques such as thick descriptions and saturation. A pretest was conducted.

3.5.2.1 Pretest

Scholars have recommended pretesting in empirical studies to address the content and research instruments (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Leavy, 2017). The research instrument for the current study was an interview guide (See Appendix K). Content involved adjusting the order of questions, reviewing the appropriateness of the words, and ensuring clarity of the questions. Pretesting puts to the test the process of data generation and the related instruments in view of addressing any challenges before the actual study (Creswell, 2014).

The current study conducted a pretest on the interview guide. In line with the scholarly tradition guiding pretesting for qualitative data by Wimmer and Dominick (2006), five participants were considered for pretesting, selected on the basis of their professional news journalism practice. The news media outlets analyzed in this study were excluded. Thus, the actual pretest involved three participants working in news media entities other than the ones examined in the current study. In interview sessions that lasted between 25-40minutes, aspects to adjust in the interview guide were discussed and adjustments made as was appropriate. For instance, the order of the questions was adjusted, and the number of questions revised from 18 to 20.

Thick descriptions and saturation. Over the years, scholars have clarified some of the pitfalls of qualitative research, providing a way forward for completing a valid

and reliable study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Tuckett, 2004), including the concepts of thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973; Koning, 2010) and saturation (Saunders et al., 2018). The use of saturation to discontinue data generation that has commanded acceptance across various qualitative research approaches was used to secure reliable results (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Saunders et al., 2018). The application of Geertz's (1973) concept of thick descriptions that makes reference to the elaborate venture, which seeks to engage in, among other research strategies, “establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on” (p. 6) also helped secure reliable findings. Unlike thin descriptions, thick descriptions that take into account human intentions and go beyond external actions from in-depth interviews with news people respecting their scheduling needs maximized validity, credibility, and reliability of findings (Denzin, 2009).

Settings for in-depth interviews. While some scholars have recommended that qualitative examinations take place in participants' natural settings, including their dwellings or workplaces (Creswell, 2013; Daymon & Holloway, 2002), this study conducted the in-depth interviews respecting the scheduling needs of the participants. This was in line with another scholarly tradition (Leavy, 2017). COVID-19 restrictions applied. Thus, 14 interviews were virtual, 11 were face to face, three in the researcher's office, four in participants' office, and four in neutral places that participants chose. In all cases, efforts were made to create a conducive setting for the interviews. This included closing windows to minimize possible noise in the background, the use of tags like meeting in progress, busy, not available, and participants notifying their colleagues about the scheduled interview to avoid interruptions, among others. Measures were taken to ensure privacy and confidentiality. This was in line with scholars who have advised that qualitative research be conducted “with integrity, honesty, and with a

concern for the welfare of participants” and that all is done to “ensure that participation is voluntary (and) people in the setting are not harmed or inconvenienced” (Daymon & Holloway, 2002, p. 72). Overall, the comfort of the participants was prioritized.

3.5.2.2 Participants

The study engaged journalists involved in the newspaper coverage of the sampled news events, a homogeneous sample consisting of individuals working in the four Kenyan national newspapers. The homogeneity of the participants was illustrated by their occupational and professional status. Purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants from the four newspapers under study in line with scholars who have operationalized (Mcintyre et al., 2016; Ojebode, 2009) or explained this sampling strategy in qualitative research (Benoot, Hannes, & Bilsen, 2016; Luciani, Campbell, Tschirhart, Ausili, & Jack, 2019; Palinkas et al., 2015; Suri, 2011). These scholars argued that the right sample has to be selected if the research questions are to be adequately answered. Some of them have identified two principles that underlie qualitative sampling: appropriateness and adequacy (Luciani et al., 2019). While the operationalization of *saturation* helped achieve adequacy (Morse, 2015; Saunders et al., 2018), purposeful sampling was used to achieve appropriateness (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Patton, 2015). And in line with the scholarly tradition recommending the range of five to 50 participants for in-depth interviews by Dworkin (2012), the current study engaged 25 news people across the four newspapers.

In purposeful sampling, individuals best placed to speak to the research problem are sought in what Patton (2015) has described as selecting relevant and information-rich cases. Applied to the current study, reporters and editors who could best speak to news valence and source diversity in the seven events analysed were chosen in view of achieving comparability or representativeness (Luciani et al., 2019). Guided by

pragmatism and in line with scholars such as Creswell and Poth (2018) and Luciani et al. (2019) who have recommended the creation of inclusion and/or exclusion criteria and determining the most appropriate type of purposeful sampling strategies, the current study combined two types of sampling strategies: criterion homogeneous and theoretical. These scholars describe the former sampling strategy as choosing cases or individuals that meet predetermined inclusion and/or exclusion criteria, and the latter as deliberately recruiting participants on the basis of the developing analysis and emerging themes. While appearing in the by-line of selected stories constituted predetermined inclusion criterion (See Appendices E, F, G, H), the theoretical criterion was operationalized at a later stage of data generation and analysis consistent with itinerant nature of qualitative research (Leavy, 2017).

In this study, in line with previous studies by McIntyre et al. (2016), individual reporters interviewed were identified through a manual search of each content analyzed news story that locates the reporters' names. Editors were included in the sample. Priority was given to the most published authors across the seven news events (See Appendices E, F, G, H). However, considering that most of the newspapers withhold the names of editors, identified reporters facilitated the selection of editors, the criterion of having edited most stories applying.

The rationale was that reporters with news stories across most of the seven events were expected to be best placed to speak to the problem of news negativity and source bias in the coverage of a majority of the events under study. These reporters were also best placed to identify editors and other gatekeepers in the process of getting their stories published. When the recruited participants did not speak to the research problem, the theoretical sampling strategy was applied, deliberately looking for the best placed journalist to speak to the research problem.

Personal contacts of 40 reporters were sought and a letter emailed to each of them. To be sure that only a selected potential participant had access to the letter, a personal email account was used. Follow up phone calls were made to potential participants; their eligibility was discussed, including recollection of the reporting about the events under study. Once eligibility was established, agreement was made for another call when the interview could be scheduled during which convenient dates, venues, and possible times of the interview were discussed. Out of the 40 reporters selected from the by-lines and contacted, 25 confirmed they would participate. Of these, 17 were interviewed and through them, 10 editors were identified, and eventually 8 editors were interviewed, thus a total of 25 participants.

3.5.2.3 In-depth interviews: Procedure

Informed by previous studies by Leavy (2017) and based on an interview guide (See Appendix K), the interviews started off with a pre-brief, presenting the researcher and providing an overview of the research and its purpose. The objectives and significance of the study were highlighted. The participant was reminded about confidentiality and that his or her name would not be associated in the direct quotations. This was followed by consent (See Appendix I) in which permission to conduct the interview was formalized, obtaining the participant's name, signature, and interview date on the consent form (See Appendix J). The form also contained what is expected of the participants. Verbal consent to have the interview recorded was also sought from the participant and the reason for the recording given, that is, to ensure accuracy during the review and analysis of the responses. The participant was also alerted about note taking by the principal researcher during the interview.

The open-ended interview of the semi-structured type began with grand-tour questions to set a conversational mood that characterizes qualitative interviews (Leavy,

2017; Merriam, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The questions were around the themes of news valence, news sourcing channels, and news actors. Depending on how a participant responded, there was flexibility in the order of the questions, including paraphrasing and probing. Some questions were added and those listed modified in the course of the interviews to accommodate themes and patterns that emerged from the constant comparative interviewing process, which characterizes qualitative research (Daymon & Holloway, 2002). In qualitative research, constant comparative process comprising “all kinds of aids, such as memo writing, close reading and rereading, coding, displays, data matrices and diagrams” that support the comparison principle is considered “the dominant principle of the analysis process” (Boeije, 2002, p. 391).

At the end of the interview, a participant was expected to make any additional remarks. A debrief, a word of gratitude, and restating of the study purpose and significance concluded the interview. Availability for any further questions or comments about the study was expressed. The average time for the in-depth interview was one hour.

3.6 Data Generation Instruments

To collect quantitative data, a codebook (See Appendix A) and codesheets (See Appendices B, C, D) were used. In line with previous studies by Ireri et al. (2019), the codebook for the current study was the instrument used to train coders in the quantitative content analysis of the events under study. As a data generation tool, it outlined the task at hand, namely, it established the occurrence of three categories of frames: news valence, news sourcing channels, and news actors. The units of analysis for the three categories were explained. In particular, for news valence frames, the unit of analysis for coding headlines was the entire headline just as the entire news story was the unit of analysis for coding the narrative below each headline. A paragraph was

the unit of analysis for frames related to both news sourcing channels and news actors. Additionally, founded on scholarly traditions, the codebook had the operationalization of eight categories of news valence, nine categories of news sourcing channels, and 15 categories of news actors specified and explained to facilitate coding, and documented on the respective codesheets (See Appendices B, C, D).

To generate qualitative data, a set of 20 interview questions was used as a guide (See Appendix K). While the first three questions were part of the grand-tour questions, question four to seven related to news valence. The findings from QCA of the seven events that related to news valence were shared with the participant, who was then asked to interpret and explain the possible reasons for the established valence. The next seven questions (from eight to 14) focused on news sourcing channels and explored participants' most common origins of news reports and what the content analysis of the major news-making events had revealed. Questions 15, 16, 17, and 18 were centered on common news actors, interrogating participants' interactions with news actors. Reasons for source bias were also explored and probed. The last two questions sought any additional remarks, first about the common news actors, and second, about all issues discussed.

3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis

While quantitative data involved statistical analysis, qualitative data was analyzed thematically. During the coders' pilot study, inter-coder reliability checks were conducted for internal consistency. Krippendorff's (2004) alpha coefficient was used to calculate the inter-coder reliability across the frames. Coding followed based on the criteria described above. SPSS, a statistical software package widely employed by social science scholars facilitated data analysis (Wasserman et al., 2018).

The analysis of qualitative data followed the scholarly tradition that views qualitative research as a process of ordering, structuring, and giving meaning to unstructured data (Daymon & Holloway, 2002; Merriam, 2002). In this second phase of the study, the narrative data of the recorded interviews were transcribed (See Appendix N) using the online service, Happyscribe. Transcribed text was categorized into major themes and patterns that related to the research questions. Similarly, notes taken during the interviews were reread and included in the relevant categories. In the process, answers to specific interview questions were identified and matched to the three research questions. Quotations from the interviews to illuminate the themes were selected. There was a category of “other themes” that comprised ideas that might not fit well within stipulated research questions. Ultimately, three steps were followed in the data analysis process: organizing data, coding and categorizing data, and analysis and interpretation. Memos were written and a reflective journal kept.

3.6.1 Organizing Data

A folder labeled “research data” was created. All qualitative data related to this study was grouped in this computer folder. Labeled and dated audio recordings, typed notes from interview sessions, emergent themes and concepts in a table, and transcribed participants’ statements and expressions from which quotations could be generated were in the folder. The labeling of data helped to ensure an organized data system that was easily retrieved during the data analysis process, including when coding.

3.6.2 Coding and Categorizing.

According to Daymon and Holloway (2002), “codes serve as labels or shorthand devices which enable (researchers) to tag segments of interest in the data” (p. 234) thus helping reduce and simplify evidence in view of interpreting it. In the current study, the inductive strategy was employed with preliminary data analysis beginning with a search

for emergent themes from the first recorded interview and notes. This was built from the tentative thematic logs kept and refined with fresh information as the interviews progressed and subsequent playing back of the interviews and the reviewing of notes.

In coding the interviews, participants' key words, themes, issues, and remarks were noted alongside answers to specific research questions and quotations from the interviews were selected to illuminate themes. These codes were refined and adjusted, applying comparative analysis method that produces common patterns and themes across generated data. As Daymon and Holloway (2002) have noted, "the idea of coding is to identify and constantly compare commonalities and differences" in data "in order to formulate categories of interest" (p. 234).

3.6.3 Analyzing and Interpreting Themes

The many categories required integration to facilitate interpretation and their relation to the research questions for insights into professional news journalism practice in Kenya. A deductive approach was used, involving a back and forth between the many coded categories and identification of relationships between them. Emerging themes and patterns were identified and categorized following participants' expressions and created terms during the interview process.

Propositions were formulated by going back to quantitative and qualitative data to test their plausibility. Memos indicating connections between the two types of data were kept. Broad categories such as common news valence, reasons for the common news valence, common news sourcing channels, reasons for particular origins of news reports, dominant news actors, and reasons for exclusion of certain news actors, among others, were identified. These broad categories were interpreted in the discussion section of the study.

While summaries of the findings from quantitative data were presented in tables, narratives characterized the analysis and presentation of qualitative data. From these two data presentations, conclusions have been drawn and indications discussed. Specific insights into the practice of professional news journalism in the Kenyan context have been presented, specifying acts of understanding that relate to news valence and source diversity.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

According to Leavy (2017), ethical considerations in a mixed methods research design address the study's "values system, ethical praxis, and reflexivity" (p. 184). These three are addressed in this subsection in the same order.

3.8.1 Values System

The current study examined concerns about news negativity and source bias. This endeavor had the value of addressing a societal challenge that had mostly been voiced but not researched about, limiting the possibilities of evidence-based solutions. Apart from some audience members avoiding news channels for these channels' perceived negativity, the exclusion of ordinary citizens from news stories and the bias toward the elites were some of the lamentations about journalism practice examined in this study. Thus, this was a timely topic that offered evidence-based perspectives to these concerns and possible research-based solutions.

The analysis of ordinary citizens and women as news actors were part of the consideration the study gave to underrepresented groups in Kenya. Similarly, the distinct coding of sources such as faith-based and civil society actors that has been underrepresented in studies examining news actors fostered this values system. Additionally, special attention was paid to gender-inclusive language in the study

report, avoiding bias toward a particular sex or social gender. Ultimately, the current study aimed to foster positive change in the practice of journalism in Kenya with news people, media managers, and institutions of journalism. Others were media scholars, expected to tap into the study findings to address concerns about news negativity and source bias. The study findings have an impact on policy making, with relevant government entities such as MCK being able to propose policies in news production for the twenty-first century audiences. By this study, it is possible to be specific about strategies to overcome source bias and establish constructive ways of framing news reports and related newsroom practices.

3.8.2 Ethical Praxis

Scholars recommend that researchers obtain institutional review board (IRB) permission before contacting potential participants or beginning data generation (Creswell, 2014; Leavy, 2017). This is aimed at ensuring the upholding of ethical standards and the protection of human subjects. As Leavy (2017) has noted, “do no harm is the primary principle governing the protection of research participants” (p. 32). Thus, approval from Daystar University’s Ethics Review Board (ERB) was sought prior to the qualitative study phase; it was obtained on 12 July 2021. The proposal toward ERB approval highlighted the study purpose, study significance, population, and sampling of participants. The fact that the research was not to pose any risks to participants, the benefits of the study to the participants, and the plan to obtain informed consent were also highlighted.

In line with the requirements for all persons intending to undertake research in Kenya, a research license was sought from NACOSTI. An online application was submitted, attaching the required documentations. These included researcher’s passport size photograph, national identification card, letter of introduction, letter from

institution of affiliation, ERB approval, and research proposal, among other requirements (NACOSTI, 2017). The certificate was obtained on July 16, 2021.

The obtaining of informed consent from each of the participants was part of the ethical considerations. The eligible participants received the consent cover letter (See Appendix I) outlining the basics of the study, including the identity of the researcher. The letter indicated that there would be no payment available for participation in the study, apart from providing light refreshments and reimbursing any travel expenses. The consent cover letter was also explicit about voluntary participation, with the participant being free to withdraw from the interview at any point without any penalty. Each participant was free to pose a question or decline answering any of the questions.

A participant's participation or nonparticipation in no way negatively affected their work at their media house; nor did it affect their subsequent interaction with the researcher. Confidentiality was assured: all data materials were kept in a locked filing cabinet and computer folders with a strong password; they are identified by codes in study reports. Meanwhile, despite best efforts foreshadowing the unfolding of the in-depth interview process, the possibility of unanticipated experiences in what has been termed "ethical messiness" has been acknowledged (Adams, 2008; Leavy, 2017). Thus, there was debriefing at the end of each in-depth interview.

3.8.3 Reflexivity

In research, the ethical dimension of reflexivity covers the issues of "how power comes to bear on the process and how we reflect on our position as researchers" (Leavy, 2017, pp. 47-48). In this study, guided by pragmatism, the researcher strived to pay attention to how his place in society as a religious leader and his professional role as editor-in-chief might have influenced his behavior and attitudes in shaping the study

experience. He did this by fostering a nonhierarchical research relationship with participants, respecting the latter as authorities over their respective knowledge.

To enact his reflexivity, the researcher offered participants the opportunity to access the transcripts of their respective interviews in view of making justifiable adjustments. As Leavy (2017) recommended, one way of enacting reflexivity is for the principal researcher to offer participants “opportunities to check their interview transcripts and expand, revise, explain, or omit aspects of them” (p. 48). This checking was done with a few participants. In addition, the researcher kept a record of his attitudes, feelings, impressions, behaviors, and assumptions throughout the research period in reflexive memo notes, analyzing his role in shaping the study process. Overall, every effort was made to be explicit about the research process to ensure replicability of the study and its validity, as well as the reliability of results.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has discussed pragmatism as the philosophical paradigm that guided this study, including the paradigm’s epistemology and its justification. The chapter has also highlighted multi-case study research method; and discussed mixed methods research design as the approach employed, specifying the explanatory sequential type of this methods and the two-phase four-step procedure. Data generation techniques comprising QCA and in-depth interviews have also been explained. Data generation tools comprising the codebook, code sheets, and the interview guide have been presented. Data analysis involving both statistical and thematic analysis have been explained. For data presentation, while summaries of the findings from quantitative data would be presented in tables, narratives would characterize the analysis of qualitative data. Finally, the chapter has highlighted ethical considerations, specifying the study’s values system, ethical praxis, and reflexivity.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyze data of the study that sought to gain insight into professional journalism practice in Kenya from the perspective of the valence of news frames, the diversity of news sourcing channels, and the diversity of news actors. The study employed a mixed methods research design in a two-phase four-step procedure. Thus, two sets of data were integrated: data from quantitative content analysis (QCA) of 1,132 headlines and 1,132 news stories of seven major news-making events in Kenya (Table 4.1); and data from in-depth interviews with 25 participants who included 8 editors and 17 reporters. The symbols to identify the 25 participants is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Number of Stories and Headlines Analyzed

	Cases				
	Included	Excluded	Total		
	N	N	Percent	N	Percent
Number of stories and headlines analyzed	1132	0	0.0%	1132	100.0%

The two datasets were integrated to correspond to the research questions that this study sought to answer. The research questions included: How does the framing of seven major news-making events reflect news valence across four Kenyan national newspapers? How do the common news sourcing channels of seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers? To what extent do the common news actors in the news coverage of seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers? Additionally, as indicated in the methodological scope, comparisons were considered across the four newspapers, and not across the seven events. This was informed by the

sampling procedure. While the sample size for each event was comparable across the four newspapers, the sample size across the events was varied and mostly incomparable. As such, some events had significantly more stories than others. Table 4.2 depicts the symbols to indicate participants in qualitative data.

Table 4.2: Symbols to Indicate Participants in Qualitative Data

Symbol	Identity
A1	Interview with reporter from NP1
A2	Interview with reporter from NP1
A3	Interview with editor from NP1
A4	Interview with reporter from NP1
A5	Interview with reporter from NP1
A6	Interview with editor from NP1
B1	Interview with editor from NP2
B2	Interview with reporter from NP2
B3	Interview with editor from NP2
B4	Interview with reporter from NP2
B5	Interview with reporter from NP2
C1	Interview with reporter from NP3
C2	Interview with reporter from NP3
C3	Interview with editor from NP3
C4	Interview with reporter from NP3
C5	Interview with reporter from NP3
C6	Interview with editor from NP3
C7	Interview with reporter from NP3
C8	Interview with editor from NP3
D1	Interview with reporter from NP4
D2	Interview with reporter from NP4
D3	Interview with reporter from NP4
D4	Interview with reporter from NP4
D5	Interview with reporter from NP4
D6	Interview with editor from NP4

Themes and patterns emerging during the analysis of the two datasets facilitated the answering of the three research questions. The presentation and analysis of the data follows the successive order of the concepts that formed the basis of the three research questions: the first on the valence of news frames; the second on the diversity of news sourcing channels; and the third on news actors' diversity. Other emergent themes and perspectives that relate to these three concepts are also presented.

4.2 Analysis and Interpretation

4.2.1 Valence of News Frames

The first research question sought to establish and examine how the framing of seven major news-making events reflected news valence across four Kenyan national newspapers. This question was designed to explore eight aspects of news valence: how headlines reflected episodic, thematic, or neutral framing; how news stories reflected negative, positive, or neutral valence; and the extent to which news stories reflected constructive or traditional journalism. While QCA provided statistical findings, in-depth interviews with reporters and editors offered explanatory narratives. For interviews, the questions on the in-depth interview guide (see Appendix K) that corresponded to this research question were questions 4, 5, 6, 7, and 20. There were also follow up questions during the interviews, which enriched the data.

4.2.1.1 Episodic framing of headlines

The analysis of the 1,132 headlines revealed an overall bias towards episodic framing. As Table 4.3 shows, a total of 580 headlines reflected episodic framing, which represented 51.2% of all the analyzed headlines. Analysis of the episodic headlines across the four newspapers indicated marginal variations: NP2 had the highest representation, at 13.9%; NP3 had the lowest representation, at 11.6%, as is shown in Table 4.3.

During interviews, most participants used factors considered in crafting headlines to explain the overall bias toward episodic framing. The consensus among all participants was that editors, not reporters, write headlines. Most participants explained that in considering the need to sell the newspaper, editors are guided by a marketing strategy that deliberately seeks to capture the attention of readers. This marketing strategy, most participants argued, ends up generating more episodic than thematic

headlines. Participant A6 described the news media in Kenya as *a sales-driven, market-driven industry*.

Table 4.3: Frequency and Percentage of Episodic Headlines Across Four Newspapers

			Name of Kenyan National Newspaper				
			NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	Total
Headline episodic?	Yes	Count	141	157	131	151	580
		% of Total	12.5%	13.9%	11.6%	13.3%	51.2%
	No	Count	143	127	152	130	552
		% of Total	12.6%	11.2%	13.4%	11.5%	48.8%
Total		Count	284	284	283	281	1132
		% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%

Participant A3 made reference to an “adage” saying *a newspaper headline on the front page is as much an act of marketing as it is of journalism*. Participant A3 explained that managing editors make deliberate decisions to frame headlines episodically by employing key words and/or someone’s name in view of making the headlines *punchy and attractive with action, forceful words, preferably short*.

All participants who explained the overall bias toward episodic headlines by factors considered in crafting headlines identified the need to grab the attention of readers as one of the major considerations. This is aimed at fostering targeted circulation. Most participants used the following expression:

Arousing curiosity to want to read the story and buy the newspaper.

Participant C8 underscored the psychological underpinnings in the writing of headlines saying, *editors prey on people’s fears, biases, tastes and distastes, just to sell the newspaper*. A headline, participant C5 said,

Has to be catchy, newsy, current, and appealing as to draw the attention of the reader to want to buy the newspaper if on the front page.

Similarly, making reference to headlines that make part of the front page, participant D3 said the following:

In very rare circumstances would the motivation to write the headline be to be a true representation of what the story is. In almost all instances, the headline is written specifically for that sale or that buyer.

Participant D1 said headlines in Kenyan newspapers are mostly influenced by Gonzo journalism, which the participant described as *sensationalized headlining of stories*. Making reference to headlines on the front page, participant B3 said as follows:

A headline on a Kenyan newspaper is not just text; it is what sells the newspaper.

In explaining what editors consider when crafting headlines, participant B3 used the example of the Garissa University attack to underscore the fact that *the most important aspect is the editor's news judgement*. The initial news reports following the attack *were to capture the horror. Later, focus was to shift to other aspects. For instance, it took so long for help to get to those students. The special forces got stuck in traffic, with no helicopter available. We took this story angle to question the security agencies* participant B3 recounted, alluding to bias toward episodic headlines in some major news-making events.

Some participants said that the fact that the bias toward episodic headlines was not a strong one, as Table 4.3 shows, is explained by the multiple roles headlines play in the Kenyan context.

A headline is supposed to appeal to the public, and it's also supposed to appeal to the government because the government, the big man, is watching. It is for this reason that we could not publish a headline such as 'Government Fails to Prevent Loss of Life' in the case of the Garissa University attack and the doctors' strike (Participant D1).

Participant B4 lamented and disclosed the following:

We've had a lot of instances where I've disagreed with headlines that have gone with stories; I've been sued because of a headline, but not because of the story.

To emphasize the multiple roles headlines play and what influences their crafting, participant B3 concluded *it boils down to vested interests, both from the editor and from the government*, the former deliberately avoiding hard-hitting headlines about

the latter, participant B3 added. Similarly, participant D4 whose suggested headlines had been constantly changed cited *vested interests* and concluded as follows:

Headlining of stories is the most controversial thing in our newsrooms today.

In this line of thinking, some participants lamented the fact that the writing of headlines is reserved for editors. Participant A5 shared as below:

There are headlines that I suggested for the stories you analyzed under my name but none of them made it to print. The argument we get as writers is that we give headlines for the stories but not headlines that will sell the newspaper.

Sharing in the lamentation, participant A2 said the following:

I think our bosses think that we do not have the skill to write headlines that will sell the newspaper, maybe because we'll be too truthful or we'll stick too much to the story and not think about what will attract someone; it is a function we have, over the years, grudgingly let go.

Participant B1 expressed surprise about the finding that the overall bias toward episodic headlines was not strong saying,

Actually, the surprising thing is that the sensational headlines were slightly over a half. It is a tragedy that us, as media practitioners, still believe that bad news, sells; that's a thing we need to rethink; and with that mentality, most headlines then become sensational.

Some participants who expressed this surprise attributed the reduced episodic headlines to the power audiences have acquired with digital media. Participant C1 shared as follows:

The power of audiences is gradually bringing us back to the accuracy that journalism needs to revisit. If you do a screaming headline that doesn't match with the content below it, you'll be trending on Twitter in the next 20 minutes.

Participant B2 said,

Internally, in newsrooms, people are aware of this third voice of the audience. So, efforts are being made very deliberately to make sure that for one, your headline is not overly skewed toward sensationalism, and two, that it really matches the content you're producing for audiences.

4.2.1.2 Thematic framing of headlines

The headlines that reflected thematic framing were 33.7% of the total number of headlines analyzed as is shown in Table 4.4. Analysis across the four newspapers revealed marginal differences: NP1 had the highest representation of thematic headlines, at 9.3%; NP3 had the lowest representation, at 7.4%.

Table 4.4: Percentage of Thematic Headlines Across Four Newspapers

		Newspaper				Total
		NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	
Headline thematic?	Yes	9.3%	8.6%	7.4%	8.4%	33.7%
	No	15.8%	16.5%	17.6%	16.4%	66.3%
Total		25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%

Most participants attributed thematic headlines to the nature of the events analyzed in this study. While Garissa university attack was a negative event in itself, participant A1 said as follows:

When the Pope came, it was a feel good for the country; same as when Obama came; and these events happening the same year as the Garissa university attack. Even the audience is screaming for some good news; even me as a writer, subconsciously, I'll put myself out to look for an uplifting story.

In reference to thematic headlines, Participant D6 said the following:

This is a reflection of the variety of stories you analyzed, and the duration of the stories you sampled. Some of the events were positive in themselves. And the negative ones, such as the Garissa University attack and the doctors' strike, had headlines evoking horror, tragedy, and negative emotions initially, but later accounts of survivors, and then narratives of resilience.

Some participants attributed the reflection of episodic, thematic, and neutral headlines to the composition of a newspaper. Participant C7 explained as below:

There is a place for headlines that are positively framed in a newspaper. A newspaper is like a buffet; in a buffet, you'll find food that has pepper, you'll find food that does not have pepper; you'll also find starch, proteins, vegetables.

Making reference to COVID-19 news reports, participant C8 said the following:

Stories meant to educate tend to have positive headlines, and there is a place for this in a newspaper.

Some participants said thematic headlines were an indication that some positive change was being initiated in the newsrooms.

4.2.1.3 Neutral framing of headlines

The headlines that reflected neutral framing were 15% of the total number of headlines analyzed is shown in Table 4.5. Analysis across the four newspapers revealed a major difference between the newspaper with the highest representation and that with the lowest: NP3 had 5.8% representation; NP2 had the lowest representation, at 2.7%. Table 4.5 presents the frequency and percentage of neutral headlines across four newspapers.

Table 4.5: Frequency and Percentage of Neutral Headlines Across Four Newspapers

		Newspaper				Total	
		NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4		
Headline neutral?	No	Count	246	254	217	245	962
		% of Total	21.7%	22.4%	19.2%	21.6%	85.0%
	Yes	Count	38	30	66	36	170
		% of Total	3.4%	2.7%	5.8%	3.2%	15.0%
Total		Count	284	284	283	281	1132
		% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%

Most participants argued that neutral headlines were a reflection of the variety of the events analyzed. Participant B3 said as follows:

Events such as the visit by Pope Francis, also the visit by the Pope, could have generated headlines that are neither negative nor positive.

Other participants attributed the reflection of neutral headlines to time variations.

After reporting on the expected visit by Obama, over weeks and months, the event got a little normal (participant D2).

Meanwhile, in a sentiment that was shared by five other participants, participant A4 said the following:

We are aware of the complaints about negatively framed headlines. In the process of toning down, it is possible that we end up with neutral headlines.

4.2.1.4 Negative valence of stories

QCA data revealed an overall bias toward negative valence. A total of 583 stories emphasized negative valence, which represented 51.5% as is shown in Table 4.6. The analysis of the stories that emphasized negative valence across the four newspapers revealed major variations, particularly between NP2 that had 15.7% representation and NP3, which had 10.9% representation as shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Frequency and Percentage of Negative Valence of Stories Across Four Newspapers

			Newspaper				
			NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	Total
Story: negative valence?	Yes	Count	132	178	123	150	583
		% of Total	11.7%	15.7%	10.9%	13.3%	51.5%
	No	Count	152	106	160	131	549
		% of Total	13.4%	9.4%	14.1%	11.6%	48.5%
Total	Count	284	284	283	281	1132	
	% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%	

Participants attributed the lack of significant variance between the framing of the headlines and stories to the process the construction of stories and their respective headlines follow. Participant A5 shared as follows:

As a writer, my story will go to my sub-editor, my sub-editor will take it to the revise editor; and if it is an important story, it will go to the managing editor for final approval; at this point, if the headline has already been skewed to fit what is thought will sell the newspaper, then the revise editor will rework the story, focusing on the first two, three, four paragraphs to suit the headline.

Participant A5 added the following:

At the end of the day, there will be a sort of match between the headline and the story below it, because there has been a very deliberate effort to make sure that this story coincides with the headline.

Other participants attributed the harmony between headlines and their respective stories to the wealth of experience journalists enjoy, interpreted as a characteristic of professional journalism practice. Participant B3 shared as below:

Over time, journalists and editors have progressed professionally as to give readers quality work.

Participant C7 wrote back to the researcher in response to a follow up question after the interview saying the headline-story harmony established in the study is *a reflection of experience and the integration of feedback from audiences, the latter making editors keen on the content they approve for publication.*

4.2.1.5 Positive valence of stories

Similar to the pattern between episodic headlines and stories that reflected negative valence, thematic headlines and news stories that emphasized positive valence (Table 4.7) almost matched; they had a 0.3% variation. Stories that emphasized positive valence represented 33.4%. Analysis of stories emphasizing positive valence across the four newspapers revealed slight variations. As Table 4.7 shows, NP1 had an edge over other newspapers, with 10.4% representation.

Table 4.7: Percentage of Positive Valence Stories Across Four Newspapers

		Name of Kenyan National Newspaper				Total
		NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	
Story: positive valence?	Yes	10.4%	7.0%	8.5%	7.5%	33.4%
	No	14.7%	18.1%	16.5%	17.3%	66.6%
Total		25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%

Most participants said that what they had shared about thematic headlines could be applied to stories that reflected positive valence. Some of the events analyzed provided an opportunity for positive framing, most participants said. Some participants said the positive stories reflected an effort to address the lamentations about negative reporting.

4.2.1.6 Neutral valence

Table 4.8 presents frequency/percentage of neutral valence across newspapers. Data showed that a total of 167 stories emphasized neutral valence. This number represented 14.8% of the analyzed stories.

Table 4.8: Frequency/Percentage of Neutral Valence Across Newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	167	14.8	14.8	14.8
	No	965	85.2	85.2	100.0
Total		1132	100.0	100.0	

The analysis of the stories that emphasized neutral valence across the four newspapers revealed major variations. NP3 had an edge with 64 stories compared to NP2 that had 24 stories as Table 4.9 demonstrates.

Table 4.9: Frequency of Neutral Valence Stories Across Four Newspapers

		Name of Kenyan National Newspaper				Total
		NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	
Story: neutral valence?	Yes	33	24	64	46	167
	No	251	260	219	235	965
Total		284	284	283	281	1132

4.2.1.7 Traditional journalism

Table 4.10 depicts count and percentage of traditional journalism stories across newspapers. The analysis of the journalism approach in the coverage of the seven events across the four newspapers showed a strong portrayal of traditional journalism at 66.8% of the analyzed stories (Table 4.10). The analysis traditional journalism stories across the four newspapers revealed marginal variations.

Table 4.10: Count and Percentage of Traditional Journalism Stories Across Newspapers

			Newspaper				Total
			NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	
Traditional journalism?	Yes	Count	181	202	167	206	756
		% of Total	16.0%	17.8%	14.8%	18.2%	66.8%
	No	Count	103	82	116	75	376
		% of Total	9.1%	7.2%	10.2%	6.6%	33.2%
Total	Count	284	284	283	281	1132	
	% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%	

Most participants admitted that they have usually practiced traditional journalism and that constructive journalism is a new phenomenon that is only gradually making part of the newsroom conversations. According to Participant C8, the established strong orientation toward conflict and problems that characterizes traditional journalism...

Speaks to my own trajectory in journalism practice and experience. I have mostly emphasized on problems, and people suffering, pointing fingers, the blame game, and all that.

Most participants identified the lack of distinctive ideologies among Kenyan newspapers as a possible reason for marginal variations across newspapers. Participant B3 shared the following:

From my own experiences, one of the biggest challenges in my journalism practice from a writing perspective is to try and evolve the storytelling, the kind of writing that the newspaper upholds. A lot of newspapers locally and across the continent do not have that unique identity voice that distinguishes one from another.

4.2.1.8 Constructive journalism

The news stories that portrayed constructive journalism were a combination of the three branches of this journalism approach. These included the sum of stories that portrayed solutions (Table 4.11), prospective (Table 4.12), and restorative journalism (Table 4.13): a total of 437 stories (38.7%).

Solutions journalism had the highest number of stories that portrayed constructive journalism: a total of 182 stories, which represented 16.1% of all the

analyzed stories. Analysis of these stories across the four newspapers revealed major variations. NP3 had the highest representation at 6.3% of the analyzed stories, compared to NP2 that had the lowest representation, at 2.6% of the analyzed stories (Table 4.11). Count and percentage of solutions journalism stories across newspapers are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Count and Percentage of Solutions Journalism Stories Across Newspapers

			Newspaper				Total
			NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	
Solutions journalism?	Yes	Count	49	29	71	33	182
		% of Total	4.3%	2.6%	6.3%	2.9%	16.1%
	No	Count	235	255	212	248	950
		% of Total	20.8%	22.5%	18.7%	21.9%	83.9%
Total	Count	284	284	283	281	1132	
	% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%	

The restorative branch of constructive journalism had a total of 132 stories, which represented 11.7% of the analyzed stories (Table 4.12). The analysis of restorative stories across the four newspapers revealed major variations. NP2 had an edge over the other newspapers, at 3.6%. NP4 had the lowest representation of restorative journalism, at 2.2%. Table 4.12 demonstrates the count and percentage of restorative journalism stories across newspapers.

Table 4.12: Count and Percentage of Restorative Journalism Stories Across Newspapers

			Newspaper				Total
			NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4	
Restorative journalism?	Yes	Count	30	41	36	25	132
		% of Total	2.7%	3.6%	3.2%	2.2%	11.7%
	No	Count	254	243	247	256	1000
		% of Total	22.4%	21.5%	21.8%	22.6%	88.3%
Total	Count	284	284	283	281	1132	
	% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%	

Prospective journalism had the least representation of constructive journalism. As Table 4.13 shows, this journalism approach had a total of 123 stories, which represented 10.9%. Similar to solutions and restorative journalism, analysis of

prospective journalism stories across the four newspapers revealed major variations between two pairs of newspapers. NP2 and NP1 had a marginal variation between them, at 3.9% and 3.5% respectively. NP3 had the lowest representation, at 1.5% as shown in Table 4.13, which presents the count and percentage of prospective journalism stories across newspapers.

Table 4.13: Count and Percentage of Prospective Journalism Stories Across Newspapers

		Newspaper				Total	
		NP1	NP2	NP3	NP4		
Prospective journalism?	Yes	Count	40	44	17	22	123
		% of Total	3.5%	3.9%	1.5%	1.9%	10.9%
	No	Count	244	240	266	259	1009
		% of Total	21.6%	21.2%	23.5%	22.9%	89.1%
Total	Count	284	284	283	281	1132	
	% of Total	25.1%	25.1%	25.0%	24.8%	100.0%	

Most participants attributed the comparatively limited number of stories portraying constructive journalism when compared with traditional journalism to the newness of constructive journalism approach. Only a few participants expressed their explicit knowledge of constructive journalism, and none about the branches of constructive journalism. A majority of the participants reduced constructive journalism to solutions journalism.

Participants B3 who expressed explicit awareness of constructive journalism shared the following:

I'm familiar with constructive journalism. I think it is also being driven by audiences. We have to acknowledge that we are getting into a situation where there is space for solutions journalism, development-based journalism, human interest journalism, among other journalism approaches that foster in-depth storytelling. This is a key area that even decision makers within our newsrooms are learning when they say, 'don't just tell me there is a problem; tell me about someone who is trying to solve it.' We are gradually beginning to have this conversation as media practitioners.

Participant C8 talked about having taken part in solutions journalism training.

I've been fortunate to be commissioned by other editors outside (my media house) to train to construct my stories towards solutions journalism. It is about being realistic about life; we have ups and downs; alongside the challenges, tell me these

beautiful stories of those trying to do something about these challenges (Participant C8).

To reinforce the role of audiences in fostering constructive journalism, participant B3 shared as follows:

I've been confronted by members of the audience who have told me to write about them, and what they are doing to bring solutions to what I had continually highlighted as problems. I felt challenged. I sat down and realized that audiences want a change from the journalism that stops at highlighting problems.

Participant C1 shared the following:

For my generation, solutions journalism comes with time in the newsroom alongside your experiences and interactions in the field. The more you get into storytelling, the more you realize there cannot be just two sides to the story; and the third side will be solutions.

Most participants made reference to conversations in their respective newsrooms about rethinking the way they tell stories. Hinting to a call for restorative journalism in a newsroom, participant D5 said as follows:

Solutions journalism has a place in the newspaper. Sometimes, it is deliberate: the editor comes in and says we need to frame our stories a little differently, and write more positively, to give people a sense of hope.

Participant C4 shared the following:

Quite a number of times, the editor told us he wanted us to go beyond the telling of the problem of COVID-19 as a pandemic and try to capture some educative content.

In a sharing that revealed a deliberate shift from traditional journalism to one of the branches of constructive journalism, participant B3 recounted as follows:

The stories I've done progressively from around 2015 to recently have always been skewed toward conflict and problems. But now, I'm changing to include solutions. We're not saying we'll not talk about the problems, blame people who fail to do what they're expected to do; the third side of the story is so, what is being done about it.

Participant B3 continued as below:

Even in my COVID-19 reporting, we've highlighted the problem of lack of sufficient testing, we don't have test kits, but what's the solution? The solution is that health experts are saying we need a bigger budget, with which we can get test kits in the Counties.

To underscore the relevance of constructive journalism, participant C3 said the following:

You realize that the people you're writing for know about these conflicts; but an overwhelming percentage might not be knowing about the solutions.

Some participants expressed their awareness of the dangers of continually framing stories negatively and spoke in favor of multiple branches of constructive journalism. Approached and implemented in the right way, participant A1 said as follows:

Solutions journalism can be a useful approach to journalism because what negatively framed stories do is also breed cynicism, and a lack of caring, and people think too much about the problem rather than a way out of it; and if you don't get examples of what other people have done to get out of problems, you might despair and lose hope.

A few participants expressed skepticism about constructive journalism.

Participant D5 observed the following:

Solutions journalism seems to be part of every news outlet, only that it is not yet big, and unfortunately, does not sell. Conflict, drama, seems to trend more and to sell more.

Constructive journalism is possible in theory; in practice, it is very hard because we have not trained our readers to be inclined toward that kind of content, which is very topic specific (Participant B1).

In Kenya, we have political pollution in the media, and with politics, it is very hard to practice constructive journalism, unless it is an opinion piece (Participant D4).

Some other participants blamed the limited practice of constructive journalism to editors.

Journalists don't have a problem; it is the editors. Constructive journalism is emphasized in learning institutions through aspects such as the need to provide multiple sides to a story including what is being done to provide solutions to a problem. If the editors foster constructive journalism, it will be practiced (Participants B2).

The practice of constructive journalism has to be a deliberate effort, engineered by editors. If a managing editor is constructive, everything else will be aligned to constructive journalism (Participant D5).

4.2.1.9 Valence of news frames: Emergent themes and perspectives

Data generated from the interviews revealed other themes and perspectives that related to the valence of news frames. These included audiences' feedback on headlines, newsroom conversations on headlines, and journalism curriculum.

Audiences' feedback on headlines

All participants admitted having heard lamentations about sensational headlines from members of the audience in Kenya. Participant A6 said as follows:

Nowadays, you get instant feedback on a sensationally framed headline, particularly on social media. The front page is usually shared before the paper goes to press, and there you begin getting reactions.

Participant B1 dismissed audiences' feedback on episodic headlines and negatively framed stories saying,

Those lamenting can be advised to diversify their sources of information so they do not depend on newspapers when these are causing them depression.

Newsroom conversations on headlines.

All participants expressed their awareness of internal conversations about the framing of headlines. In these conversations, some participants said, the discussion is about addressing the concerns generated from readers. One solution has been to propose alternative headlines during editorial meetings, some participants said. Others spoke about the need to adhere to editorial policies, which generally prohibit what several participants described as *screaming headlines*.

The positive headlines seem to be a response by newspapers to some introspection to reach more readers because of the prevailing circumstances (Participant A3).

Making reference to an editorial policy, participant A3 shared the following:

Sensational headlines are prohibited; we consider ourselves as a quality paper, and so we do not sensationalize things, sometimes we understate things, but overall, we do not scream too much with headlines; we don't engage in tabloidish behavior.

Journalism Curriculum

Most participants identified the lack of a unified curriculum in the training of journalists in Kenya as a gap in subsequent journalism practice. Some participants suggested that constructive journalism be included in the curriculum. Participant B1 said as follows:

In Kenya, we don't have a uniform curriculum in training journalists to nurture students into professionals, a limitation that is further worsened by a lack of a teaching staff with hands-on skills and a lack of facilities and journalism infrastructure in learning institutions.

4.2.2 Diversity of News Sourcing Channels

The second research question sought to establish and assess how common news sourcing channels in the coverage of seven major news-making events reflected source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers. This question was designed to explore nine categories of news sourcing channels: press releases, press conferences and statements, public meetings and rallies, official documents and reports, interviews, analysis by news people, research, online forums, and other news organizations. While QCA provided statistical results, in-depth interviews with editors and reporters offered explanations of the diversity of news sourcing channels. In the case of in-depth interviews, the questions on the interview guide (see Appendix K) that corresponded to this research question were questions 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 20. There were also follow up questions during the interviews, which enriched the generated data.

The seven major news-making events generated a total of 18,205 paragraphs, which were analyzed across the four newspapers. As Table 4.14 shows, a typical story had 16 paragraphs. QCA data revealed a limited diversity of the nine categories of news sourcing channels as shown in Table 4.14. Focusing on what participants identified as their most common news sourcing channels, qualitative data varied in detail and depth

by each news sourcing category. Table 4.14 presents the sum, mean of paragraph across events/newspapers.

Table 4.14: Sum, Mean of Paragraph Across Events/Newspapers

Sum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
18205	16.08	1	70

Most participants identified sourcing for information as the most challenging aspect of their professional news journalism practice. These participants shared about the difficulty in reaching credible sources on one hand, and, on the other hand, the daily pressure from editors to complete stories. Asked about the most common news sourcing channel in the coverage of the major news-making events analyzed in this study, most participants cited two categories: official documents and reports, and press conferences and statements. Table 4.15 shows the frequency and percentage of news sourcing channels in seven events across four newspapers.

Table 4.15: Frequency and Percentage of News Sourcing Channels in Seven Events Across Four Newspapers

Rank	Frame category	Frequency	Percentage
1	Analysis by news people	10,350	88.5%
2	Official documents/reports	671	5.7%
3	Press conferences/statement	191	1.6%
4	Research	112	1.0%
5	Other news organizations	96	0.8%
6	Interviews	87	0.7%
7	Public meetings/rallies	81	0.7%
8	Online forums	75	0.6%
9	Press releases	37	0.3%

4.2.2.1 Analysis by news people

The analysis by journalists was by far the most common category of news sourcing channels. The category appeared 10,350 times, which represented 88.5% of all news sourcing channels is as shown in Table 4.15. The analysis of this category across the four newspapers revealed major variations between two sets of newspapers, NP1 and NP2, at 30.8% and 30.9% respectively (Table 4.16). The other two newspapers

had a comparatively lower representation: NP3 at 21.1%, and NP4 at 17.1%. Table 4.16 presents journalists as news sourcing channel.

Table 4.16: Journalists as News Sourcing Channel

Newspaper	Sum	% of Total Sum
NP1	3187	30.8%
NP2	3199	30.9%
NP3	2189	21.1%
NP4	1775	17.1%
Total	10350	100.0%

While no participant identified the analysis by news people as a common news sourcing channel, most participants concurred with the results from the QCA that established the overwhelming dominance of news people's analysis. Some participants attributed the finding to the nature of the events analyzed in this study. Making reference to the finding, participant B3 argued as follows:

I think it speaks to the nature of the events you're reporting about. If it is event-based, for instance Garissa attack, Obama's visit, the Pope's visit, I'd write from the perspective of me being there, so that all accounts would be told by me as a witness. This is also true for the annulment of elections when I'm writing from the court. This is writing from what I'm observing and hearing, thus from a journalist's perspective.

Participant C8 said the finding indicated experience in professional journalism and explained as below:

After reporting about something for so long, I think you owe it to yourself as a reporter to become an authority in it. It is a badge of the trade (that) comes with time.

A similar sentiment was shared by participant A4 who said the following:

Given your experience of years of professional journalism practice, you want to show it in your writing, avoiding 'according to' all the time.

Other participants the dominance of analysis by news people in the current study is part of the fact that journalists behind news reports "own" the narrative. Some participants described this as a *personalized* style of writing.

In deciding the angle of the story and the elements in the story, the journalist owns the story and the story becomes his or her analysis from the onset; then attribution is used to reinforce the analysis (Participant D1).

According to participant A3...

What you write as a journalist is your story; you see, listen, sometimes read, and integrate all into your system and bring it out to readers in a personalized style. The information has gotten into your system, you've analyzed it, and you've put it into text.

For participant C8, the words a journalist decides to use in a story *are part of your own sourcing; even when you have a brilliant editor, as a qualified journalism, a great deal of your words will likely remain in the story.*

While most participants sought to justify the dominance of journalists' analysis, a few participants expressed surprise about this finding. These participants underscored the need for attribution *at all times*. Participant D4 said *having quotes in your stories is one of the house style practices emphasized*. Participant C1 shared the following:

In my stories, I have always acknowledged my sources. The exceptions are when I'd go to an actual event, and see what has happened, I will write as my report. But even then, when someone speaks on record, I'd acknowledge that person in my report.

4.2.2.2 Official documents and reports.

This category had 671 appearances that represented 5.7% (Table 4.15). Most participants identified official documents and reports among their most common news sourcing channels. Data from CQA revealed variations across the four newspapers, especially for NP2 that had the highest number of appearances at 34%. Table 4.17 presents official documents as news sourcing channel.

Table 4.17: Official Documents as News Sourcing Channel

Newspaper	Sum	% of Total Sum
NP1	160	23.8
NP2	228	34.0
NP3	135	20.1
NP4	148	22.1
Total	671	100.0

As Table 4.17 shows, the other three newspapers had marginal variations between them, all at less than 25%. Making reference to the ease with which news people work with official documents and reports, participant B3 said the following:

You do not need the extra time to verify these documents when they have the obvious marks such as a government seal, or a speech from a press conference.

Participant D2 explained as follows:

It is the credibility that the government and official sources enjoy that puts them ahead of other news sourcing channels, including online forums.

Other participants related the reliance on official documents and reports to the challenge of sourcing. Participant A6 said the following:

The major challenge in my practice of journalism has been variety in terms of sourcing. In the Kenyan society in general, people are not very open toward talking to journalists, so a lot of the journalism uses official sources, that is, people who'll talk to you because it is their mandate; or they have an interest or a mission; or they are attention seekers such as politicians. It is a problem of sourcing, which contributes to a deficiency in the storytelling.

Other participants explained the reliance on official documents and reports in terms of a *structural bias*.

Bias toward official sources is a natural consequence of how the media is structured including media's history. Official sources have always been more believed than unofficial ones (Participant C3).

The emphasis on acknowledging sources unless there is a justification drives us journalists to rely on official sources and people who will agree to be quoted (Participant D6).

Some participants were critical about the reliance on official documents, especially from the government. Participant A4 described such reliance as presenting a *structural bias*, considering that the media exists within the framework of government systems and its regulations. Even when government is accused, you have to speak to it in a right of reply. Meanwhile, some participants revealed that news media houses are no longer having press conferences as a major news sourcing channel. Participant A2 explained as follows:

We are increasingly having fewer diary stories, which include press conferences and events; we do not give such events much prominence, because times have changed. Content of press conferences breaks on social media and begins trending even as live coverage. As an editor, putting the same story on the newspaper will not sell the paper.

Participant A2 continued as below:

What is considered for the newspaper is the extra details that can be added; this means going behind the scenes, talking to insiders, finding out what prompted the press conference, thus explaining the what and the why the following day, thus shifting from the press conference to interviews and sometimes, the use of unnamed sources.

Participant B1 attributed the shift to the pervasiveness of digital media and explained as follows:

Previously, journalists had exclusive access to news sources. It was difficult to get government officials such as ministers. Nowadays, the ministers have their own Twitter and Facebook accounts and they're updating you.

The card a professional news journalist has, participant C3 said, is that of facilitating the analysis of the messages delivered at press conferences and given in official reports, thus giving *people extra info, reflective pieces, properly done special reports and investigative articles*. Participant B3 who shared these sentiments, said the following in conclusion:

The events-based reporting is still there; but specifically for print, you need to add value to the event. So, we try to make sense of the events, asking the why.

4.2.2.3 Press conferences and statements

This category had a total of 191 appearances in the seven news events across the four newspapers, which represented 1.6% (see Table 4.15). When compared across the four newspapers, data revealed major variations between NP1 that had the highest representation at 31.9% and NP4 that had the lowest representation, at 19.4% (Table 4.18). Most participants likened press conferences and statements to official documents and reports. The pervasiveness of digital platforms has changed the dynamics of reporting public events, most participants observed. Table 4.18 shows press conferences as news sourcing channel.

Table 4.18: Press Conferences as News Sourcing Channel

Newspaper	Sum	% of Total Sum
NP1	61	31.9
NP2	47	24.6
NP3	46	24.1
NP4	37	19.4
Total	191	100.0

4.2.2.4 Research reports

This category of news sourcing channels had a total of 112 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 1%. Reacting to research reports as one of the common news sourcing channel, participant A2 shared the following:

We are coming from a background where we either don't like to do the hard work that research entails or, as a writer, newsrooms do not give you enough time to do your research. Therefore, relying on research by others, a result of very heavy and time-consuming initiatives, can be justified for writers in newsrooms.

Table 4.19 demonstrates the research reports as news sourcing channel. When research reports were compared across the four newspapers, the variations were major. While NP2 had the highest representation at 50.9%, NP2 had the lowest representation at 0.9% (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Research Reports as News Sourcing Channel

Newspaper	Sum	% of Total Sum
NP1	40	35.7%
NP2	57	50.9%
NP3	14	12.5%
NP4	1	.9%
Total	112	100.0%

4.2.2.5 Other media organizations

The category explored three subcategories: Kenyan-based media, African-based media, and Western-based media. Analysis across the seven news events and four newspapers revealed a combined sum total of 96 appearances, which represented 0.8% (see Table 4.15). Data from QCA also revealed more reliance on other Kenyan-based and Western-based organizations at 47 appearances and 42 appearances respectively,

compared with African-based media organizations that had seven appearances as is shown in Table 4.20. The analysis across newspapers showed NP1 having had an edge, with 42 appearances across the three subcategories, followed by NP2 that had 30 appearances; the other two newspapers had less than 15 appearances each (Table 4.20).

Some participants acknowledged the practice of relying on other news media entities as one facilitated by digital media and the need for networking. Participant B3 shared as follows:

Media houses are trying to get into partnerships where wire services are brought on board, which is partly about cost-cutting initiatives. Wire services are bringing down their payrolls. The agreement is usually that you have to acknowledge the source.

Participant A4 described the practice of sourcing from other media entities as:

Cross-referencing, where media houses quote each other. It is cheaper for news media houses to source from other media houses that grant access to their content because these organizations usually have correspondents on the ground and are authoritative.

Citing Western-based news media entities as having been the most common category of inter-media sourcing, participant D5 said the following:

They seem to be ahead of others, better resourced, and have a better access to privileged information, some with reporters all over the place, and enjoy much more credibility than African-based and Kenyan-based outlets... BBC is able to deploy a journalist in Garissa when the attack happens, whereas some local media have to debate budget.

Table 4.20 presents other news organizations as news sourcing channel.

Table 4.20: Other News Organizations as News Sourcing Channel

Newspaper		Western-based	African-based	Kenyan-based
NP1	Sum	15	2	25
	% of Total Sum	35.7%	28.6%	53.2%
NP2	Sum	18	2	10
	% of Total Sum	42.9%	28.6%	21.3%
NP3	Sum	3	1	7
	% of Total Sum	7.1%	14.3%	14.9%
NP4	Sum	6	2	5
	% of Total Sum	14.3%	28.6%	10.6%
Total	Sum	42	7	47
	% of Total Sum	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4.2.2.6 Interviews

The QCA data showed that interviews were among the least common news sourcing channels, at 0.7% (see Table 4.15). In the eight forms of interviews examined, four were not established in any of the analyzed news events, namely: Email, Skype, Messenger, and WhatsApp interviews. Those that featured, as shown in Table 4.21, ranged from face to face and telephone. A total of six interview appearances were unspecified, all from NP1. Meanwhile, a total of 23 appearances of interviews did not feature in any of the eight interview forms examined; these included virtual meetings, video conferencing, Zoom, and Google Meet. There were major variations when interviews were compared by each newspaper: NP1 had a substantive edge 45 of the 87 appearances, while NP2 and NP4 had 6 and 8 respectively. Table 4.21 depicts the frequency of interviews as news sourcing channels.

Table 4.21: Frequency of Interviews as News Sourcing Channels

Newspaper	Interviews: Face-to-Face	Interviews: Phone	Interviews: Unknown	Interviews: Others
NP1	13	8	6	18
NP2	3	3	0	0
NP3	5	18	0	0
NP4	3	5	0	5
Total	24	34	6	23

Most participants cited interviews as their most common news sourcing channel. In a sharing reflecting the sentiments of most participants, participant C8 said as follows:

For me, the most common news sourcing channel has been talking to people through interviews. The second is documents, from public and private sectors. On the other spectrum, the least common news sourcing channel is press releases and press conferences.

4.2.2.7 Public meetings and rallies

Data from QCA revealed 81 appearances for this category of news sourcing channels, which represented 0.7% (see Table 4.15). Analysis across the four newspapers showed major variations between NP3 and NP4, at 34.6% and 17.3% respectively as shown in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22: Sum and Percentage of Public Meetings as News Sourcing Channels Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	21.0%	17
NP2	27.2%	22
NP3	34.6%	28
NP4	17.3%	14
Total	100.0%	81

4.2.2.8 Online forums

A sum total of 75 appearances were established across the nine online forums that were examined, which represented 0.6% as is shown in Table 4.15. The frequency of online forums as news sourcing channels is presented in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: Frequency of Online Forums as News Sourcing Channels

Newspaper	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	WhatsApp	Other Online
NP1	6	7	1	1	2
NP2	1	9	1	0	4
NP3	3	22	0	0	0
NP4	5	7	0	2	0
Total	15	45	2	3	6

Twitter had significant edge over all other online forums with 45 appearances compared to Facebook that followed, with 15 appearances (Table 4.23). Analysis of

online forums as a news sourcing channel across the four newspapers revealed major variations when compared by each newspaper as well as by each online forum. For instances, in the case of Twitter, out of the 45 appearances, NP3 had 22 appearances. NP1 had six out of the 15 Facebook appearances, as shown in Table 4.23.

All participants acknowledged their daily use of social media. However, rather than quote them in stories, most participants said they use online forums as tips to follow up on other news sourcing channels. Participant C7 shared the following:

We have been cautioned against the use of online forums as sources, but to use them as tips to reach out to more reliable sources.

Sharing similar sentiments, participant B3 said as below:

We insist on quoting credible sources and a number of online forums, such as blogs are not credible.

Participant A5 shared about the daily engagement with Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, but noted the following:

I've been a bit hesitant to do my sourcing from online because it is not very defensible; in case someone pulls down a Tweet or a Facebook post, you can be hard-pressed to prove that the post was there, (especially) in this era of accounts being hacked.

The phenomenon of fake news reduces the reliance on online forums as news sourcing channels, all participants said, citing limited trust and their lack of credibility.

Participant B3 explained as follows:

The last four years have been heavy on fake news, a lot of it perpetuated from online forums. Media houses are being cautious. They will see the online post, but they will not cite it, until there is some confirmation that it is true; and in the process of confirming, one leaves the online forum to speak to the person behind the post, who is then cited directly in an interview.

News media houses, according to Participant D6...

Are shying away from online forums because they are afraid of libel and defamation. One will need to do a lot of fact checking to make sure the online post is true.

Some participants shared about their cautious approach to online forums as news sourcing channels. Participant A1 said as follows:

In instances that I've something interesting on social media of a person of interest, I'd have to verify that from them or people close to them just to make sure it is accurate.

Meanwhile, participant C5 attributed the finding of a limited reliance on online forums to the timing of some of the analyzed events saying the following:

In 2015 and some years after, the Internet was not as vibrant as it is now. Now, the Internet is a major reference for journalists.

4.2.2.9 Press releases

QCA data showed that this category of news sourcing channels had been referenced 37 times, which represented 0.3% of all references (Table 4.15). Analysis of these references across the four newspapers showed major variations, with NP2 and NP3 having a significant edge, with 15 appearances for each. Table 4.24 presents the sum and percentage of press releases as news sourcing channels across newspapers.

Table 4.24: Sum and Percentage of Press Releases as News Sourcing Channels Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	2.7%	1
NP2	40.5%	15
NP3	40.5%	15
NP4	16.2%	6
Total	100.0%	37

As shown in Table 4.24, NP1 referenced the category of press releases only once. For most participants, the category of press releases was their least common news sourcing channel. As most participants agreed, participant C8 said *Press releases are simply not a common culture in the Kenyan society.*

4.2.3 Diversity of News Actors

The third research question sought to establish and examine the extent to which the diversity of news actors in the news coverage of seven major news-making events

reflected source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers. This question was designed to explore 15 categories of news actors: national government officials, county government officials, the Executive, independence commissions, politicians, business leaders, academics, media practitioners, professionals, civil society representatives, faith-based actors, foreign leaders, ordinary citizens, women, and unnamed sources. While QCA data provided statistical findings about news actors' diversity, in-depth interviews with news people offered explanations of the diversity of those given a voice in the analyzed news reports. In the case of in-depth interviews, the questions on the interview guide (see Appendix K) that corresponded to this research question were questions 4, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20. Follow up questions during the interviews enriched the data.

Data from QCA revealed a limited diversity of the 15 categories of news actors in the reporting on the seven events across the four newspapers as is shown in Table 4.25. Participants in the in-depth interviews focused on six categories of news actors: the executive, politicians, and national government officials, ordinary citizens, women, and unnamed sources. Table 4.25 demonstrates the frequency and percentage of news actors in seven events across four newspapers.

Table 4.25: Frequency and Percentage of News Actors in Seven Events Across Four Newspapers

Rank	Frame category	Frequency	Percentage
1	The Executive	2,192	19.7%
2	Politicians	1,244	11.2%
3	National government officials	1,076	9.7%
4	Ordinary citizens	1,048	9.4%
5	Woman	897	8.1%
6	Professionals	847	7.6%
7	Foreign leaders	807	7.3%
8	Faith-based actors	626	5.6%
9	Civil society representatives	537	4.8%
10	Business leaders	465	4.2%
11	County government officials	384	3.5%
12	Unnamed sources	328	3.0%
13	Independence commissions	310	2.8%
14	Academics	223	2.0%
15	Media practitioners	121	1.0%

4.2.3.1 The executive

This category had 2,192 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, the highest of all the 15 categories examined, which represented 19.7% (Table 4.25). The variations of this category when compared by each newspaper were marginal: all the four newspapers had an over 20% representation and none above 27.3% as shown in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26: Sum and Percentage of Executive as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	24.4%	534
NP2	22.2%	486
NP3	27.3%	598
NP4	26.2%	574
Total	100.0%	2192

Most participants who had been involved in the coverage of most of the stories analyzed in this study identified national government officials and members of the executive as having been their most common categories of news actors. Making reference to government officials in general, participant A3 shared the following:

Those are the people who drive the news agenda in the country. I can bet, if you look at the news headlines 30-50 days, it has Raila, Uhuru, and Ruto.

For the events analyzed in the current study, participant C2 said, the members of the executive *were adding voice to the events of the day. Talk about Obama, the doctors' strike, the annulment of elections, the Handshake, it is them.* While some participants did not identify the executive as their most common category of news actors, they still had this category among the top three. In a sentiment shared by some of the participants, participant A1 noted as follows:

Prominent news actors in my stories that you examined would be the common person, then, part of the executive, including the Cabinet Secretaries, and unnamed sources.

4.2.3.2 Politicians

This category had 1,244 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 11.2% (Table 4.25). The variations for politicians across the four newspapers were major between two pairs of newspapers: the two newspapers with the highest representation, NP3 and NP2, were at 30.9% and 29.7% respectively. The two newspapers with the lowest representation had a marginal difference 0.4% between them, but varied significantly when compared with NP3 and NP2 as is shown in Table 4.27.

Some participants admitted having received what they called *justifiable* criticisms about strong bias toward politics and politicians.

One of the biggest criticisms is that we have too much politics on our front pages, and the same faces (Participant B3).

In response to the criticisms, participant B3 continued as below:

We have argued that a newspaper has many pages, and inside, there are not as many political stories as people tend to think.

Participant D6 termed the criticism a paradox, and explained as follows:

While people criticize us for being biased toward politics and express preference for more human-interest stories, the day you attempt this alternative, your circulation, which is a key indicator of how well you're doing, plunges.

Table 4.27 presents the sum and percentage of politicians as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.27: Sum and Percentage of Politicians as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	19.9%	248
NP2	29.7%	369
NP3	30.9%	384
NP4	19.5%	243
Total	100.0%	1244

Some participants highlighted the vested interests in the media as the most challenging aspect of their journalism practice, participant C2 describing them as follows:

Political vested interests owing to the fact that most Kenyan news outlets are owned by politicians or business persons connected with politicians.

The challenge of vested interests, participant C8 said, *has affected professional journalism practice so that some journalists have become fans of politicians.*

4.2.3.3 National government officials

This category had 1,076 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 9.7% (Table 4.25). The analysis of this category revealed major variations between the four newspapers: NP4 had the highest representation at 31.7%, and NP3 had the lowest representation at 21.2% as is shown in Table 4.28. Most participants said their sentiments about the executive could be applied to national government officials. *They combine to make official sources on national matters in Kenya*, participant B3 said in reference to the executive and national government officials as categories of news actors.

The sum and percentage of national government officials as news actors across newspapers is shown in Table 4.28.

Table 4.28: Sum and Percentage of National Government Officials as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	22.1%	238
NP2	25.0%	269
NP3	21.2%	228
NP4	31.7%	341
Total	100.0%	1076

4.2.3.4 Ordinary citizens

This category had 1,048 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 9.4% (Table 4.15). The analysis of this category of news actors across the four newspapers revealed major variations between two pairs of newspapers. As Table 4.29 shows, NP2 and NP1 that had the highest representation at 32.3% and 29.1% respectively varied substantively with NP3 and NP4 that had the lowest representation at 18% and 20.6% respectively.

Most participants discussed this category of news actors as a challenge that is part of the newsroom conversations. This conversation, participant B1 said,

Is being driven by audiences; people want to see themselves in the news; people want to hear their voices in stories and in the kind of news we're telling. Bit by bit, media organizations are realizing that we need a more representative face.

To illustrate the challenge, participant D6 made reference to revenue generation saying the following:

The numbers, in terms of sales and audience broadcast reach, are not yet showing that there is this conversation. We might say, ordinary people want to read about themselves, but when you put them on the newspaper, people don't buy.

All participants in the in-depth interviews expressed awareness of lamentations about citizens being undermined in news reports. Some participants described the phenomenon as *a fair criticism*. Participant C8 said as follows:

I think the complaints are true because we write for the people; in a fair and just setting, the voice of the people ought to be the loudest. So, ordinary people being the fourth most common category of news actors is a disservice to audiences.

Participant B1 shared the following:

I'm aware of the lamentations about ordinary citizens being left out. This needs to be addressed because at the end of the day, it is ordinary people who are affected and as such, they need to be given media visibility. Garissa university attack is a good example: there were students and their parents who were to be given visibility.

Table 4.29 presents the sum and percentage of ordinary citizens as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.29: Sum and Percentage of Ordinary Citizens as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	29.1%	305
NP2	32.3%	338
NP3	18.0%	189
NP4	20.6%	216
Total	100.0%	1048

Some participants said the finding is a reflection of the kind of decisions those in the newsrooms make. *In the media, there is a level of mistrust of ordinary citizens' voices*, participant D3 said. Participant A2 shared the following:

Not having ordinary citizens as the most common news actors speaks to our decision-making as media practitioners, in terms of whom do we think is the most important.

Participant D5 said the finding that ordinary citizens were not among the top three categories of news actors,

Translates to how we have socialized ourselves in believing what will sell and what will not sell, with editors asking, who knows this ordinary person as to sell the newspaper? What issues will an ordinary person be talking about to be of interest to the 42 million people in the country?

Participant C3 highlighted the aspect of familiarity with news actors as the reason behind limited diversity of news actors saying,

You want to go to people who can give you punchlines, soundbites, and in the process, you starve other people of visibility; we get addicted to specific sources.

All Participants confirmed internal discussions about the need to increase the number of ordinary citizens in news reports. Participant B3 stated as follows:

Including more and more ordinary people in news media reports is a conversation that is taking place within the media house, because there has been a deliberate effort to make news coverage more representative.

Participant D1 suggested a reflective approach saying,

It is unfair; the bias will be there; but the question for me as a journalist would be: how then do we try and include the voice of the local person into conversations held by the three top categories of news people in your study; how do we represent the issues that are faced by the ordinary people.

Participant D4 advocated for source diversity saying,

I think we journalists should try to diversify our sources, and also look at angles beyond the official sources.

Some participants went beyond journalists, to include the media industry.

Participant A5 said the following:

The only way we'll try to elevate the voice of ordinary people would be the rise of independent media; we talk about independent media in Kenya, but if you really go back into the ownership, you realize you're talking about the same guys, whose associations with the country's leadership are too entangled.

For participant B3, the need to *take the newsrooms back to the people* is a process that is critical. Participant B3 explained as follows:

Kenyan media is at a very critical state in time, where we are like on the runway. Only two things can happen: either take off to become the media that we can become, an authoritative, factual media that is basically truth telling, fact-seeking, and holding power to account, or crush.

Expressing optimism in the former end result, participant B3 continued as below:

I think there is a sort of awakening within this space; we have people who've been in media for so long, and have seen the kind of bottlenecks that exist in legacy and traditional media, and they're trying to branch out, and take the newsrooms back to the people, because journalism is basically reporting about the people.

Expressing the same optimism, participant C8 shared the following:

We have restructurings within media houses where we're realizing for us to survive, we have to get back to telling stories that matter to the people, not to the people

in the room, but to the people out there; we're realizing we write and report for audience that is bigger than the people in the room that are making decision... a media that stands for what the people expect us to stand for.

Some participants shared about deliberate initiatives to address the complaints about excluding ordinary citizens in news reports. Vox pop was highlighted as one way of giving ordinary citizens media standing, which in newspapers comprises *people's pictures and a caption of what the person said*, participant C7 shared. The initiative of County pages in newspapers is a way of addressing the complaint about ordinary citizens being left out, participant A4 said, adding, *but still, the focus is biased toward the elite in the Counties*. In response to discussions about the need to make news coverage representative, participant D6 said as follows:

We're having segments in newspapers that speak to particular audiences away from these traditional newsmakers; we've magazines, inserts, pullouts.

Participant A6 highlighted a news media's investment in generating feedback from audiences saying,

We have a new structure where we have an engagement editor whose role is to follow feedback, mostly online; we also have a public editor who is the ombudsman, receiving complaints, criticisms, and contacts journalists internally.

4.2.3.5 Women

Data from QCA revealed that this category of news actors had 897 appearances, which represented 8.1% (see Table 4.15) When compared by each newspaper, data showed major variations between some of the newspapers. Two newspapers with the highest representation of women as news actors had a marginal variation between them: NP1 at 32%, and NP2 at 30.2% (Table 4.30). NP4 had the lowest representation, at 15.7%. Table 4.30 shows the sum and percentage of women as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.30: Sum and Percentage of Women as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	32.0	287
NP2	30.2	271
NP3	22.1	198
NP4	15.7	141
Total	100.0	897

All participants confirmed having participated in meetings where the need to deliberately include women in news stories was part of the agenda.

For a long time now, we have discussed about the lamentation of depriving women a voice in our media and taken deliberate measures to address this. We have urged our reporters to seek to achieve gender diversity in their sourcing (Participant B4).

The complaint that fewer women than men are given a voice in the media is not a recent one, participant C7 said, and added, whenever possible, we strive to balance our gender representation.

Most participants said the finding that women were among the top five categories of news actors was a fruit of deliberate efforts on the part of Kenyan newspapers to cite women as news actors.

Your study demonstrates the strides we are making toward gender diversity in our reporting (Participant C3).

Participant B2 said in reference to women, *you'd have found less numbers if you sampled events before 2015*. Some participants compared the concerns raised about the exclusion of women in journalistic content and those about ordinary citizens, most of them saying that as the number of women increases in the public sector, their visibility in the media also increases.

4.2.3.6 Unnamed sources

This category of news actors was among the categories with least appearances in the reporting of the seven events across the four newspapers. QCA data showed 328 appearances, which represented 3% as is shown in Table 4.15. However, some

participants identified it among their common news actors' category. When compared by each newspaper, the variations were major. As Table 4.31 shows, NP1 had the highest representation of unnamed sources as news actors, at 35.7%, followed by NP2 at 27.7%. The representation was comparatively lower for NP4 at 20.4%, and NP3 at 16.2%.

Table 4.31: Sum and Percentage of Unnamed Sources as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	35.7%	117
NP2	27.7%	91
NP3	16.2%	53
NP4	20.4%	67
Total	100.0%	328

Participant A6 spoke about the *high standards for unnamed sources* including the reporter revealing the source to the editor, the claim made being counterchecked with two other sources, and the reason for anonymity being sought. Participant A6 underscored the principle of protecting sources. Participant B2 explained as follows:

In Kenya, we are not yet at that level of saying we have a free flow of information; you have to seek for information every day; we are not in places like the U.S. or Britain where you wake up in the morning, for example, and find the police have updated their last night's events. Here, you have to call and seek; people have to call you and tell you what's happening; we are still in the era of hiding information.

4.2.3.7 Professionals

This category of news actors 847 appearances in the reporting on the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 7.6% (Table 4.15). Analysis across the four newspapers revealed major variations: NP1 had the highest representation at 37.2%, followed by NP4 at 25.1% as is shown in Table 4.32. The other two newspapers that had the lowest representation of professionals as news actors varied slightly: NP3 at 19%, and NP2 at 18.7%. Table 4.32 presents the frequency and percentage of professionals as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.32: Frequency and Percentage of Professionals as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	37.2%	315
NP2	18.7%	158
NP3	19.0%	161
NP4	25.1%	213
Total	100.0%	847

4.2.3.8 Foreign leaders

This category of news actors had 807 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 7.3% (Table 4.15). There were major variations when compared by each newspaper. As is shown in Table 4.33, NP2 had the highest representation of foreign leaders as news actors at 34.7%; NP4 had the lowest representation, at 19.5%. Table 4.33 demonstrates the frequency and percentage of foreign leaders as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.33: Frequency and Percentage of Foreign Leaders as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	24.4%	197
NP2	34.7%	280
NP3	21.4%	173
NP4	19.5%	157
Total	100.0%	807

4.2.3.9 Faith-based actors

This category had 626 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 5.6% (see Table 4.15). When compared by each newspaper, NP2 had a significant edge over the others, at the highest 34.3%, compared to NP4 that followed at 24.1%, as shown in Table 4.34.

Table 4.34: Frequency and Percentage of Faith-based Leaders as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	22.8%	143
NP2	34.3%	215
NP3	18.7%	117
NP4	24.1%	151
Total	100.0%	626

4.2.3.10 Civil society representatives

This category of news actors had 537 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 4.8% (Table 4.15). Data showed minimal variations between three of the four newspapers analyzed in the current study. As Table 4.35 shows, NP3 had the highest representation at 27.9%, followed by NP4 at 26.8%, and then NP1 at 25.7%. NP2 had a comparatively lower representation, at 19.6%. Table 4.35 presents the frequency and percentage of civil society representatives as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.35: Frequency and Percentage of Civil Society Representatives as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	25.7%	138
NP2	19.6%	105
NP3	27.9%	150
NP4	26.8%	144
Total	100.0%	537

4.2.3.11 Business leaders

This category of news actors had 465 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 4.2% (Table 4.15). Data from QCA revealed major variations in the representation of business leaders as news actors when compared by each newspaper. As Table 4.36 shows, NP2 had the highest most of the appearances at 36.3%, compared to NP1 that followed at 30.5%. NP4 had the lowest representation at 13.1%. Table 4.36 depicts the frequency and percentage of business leaders as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.36: Frequency and Percentage of Business Leaders as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	30.5%	142
NP2	36.3%	169
NP3	20.0%	93
NP4	13.1%	61
Total	100.0%	465

4.2.3.12 County government officials

This category had 384 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 3.5% (Table 4.15). Data showed major variations when compared by each newspaper. As Table 4.37 shows, NP2 that had the highest representation of this category at 35.9% was followed by NP3, at 27.1%. Each of the other two newspapers had below 20% representation of county government officials as news actors. Table 4.37 presents the frequency and percentage of county government officials as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.37: Frequency and Percentage of County Government Officials as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	19.0%	73
NP2	35.9%	138
NP3	27.1%	104
NP4	18.0%	69
Total	100.0%	384

4.2.3.13 Independent Commissions

This category of news actors had 310 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 2.8% (Table 4.15). Data showed that NP3 was by far the newspaper with the highest representation of this category of news actors at 45.8%, followed by NP2 at 29.4%. As Table 4.38 shows, NP1 and NP4 had a combined representation of 24.6%.

Table 4.38: Frequency and Percentage of Independent Commissions as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	14.2%	44
NP2	29.4%	91
NP3	45.8%	142
NP4	10.6%	33
Total	100.0%	310

4.2.3.14 Academics

This category of news actors had 223 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 2.0% (see Table 4.15). When compared by each newspaper, data showed major variations. As Table 4.39 shows, NP1 had the highest representation at 42.6%, followed by NP2 at 30%. NP3 had by far the lowest representation of this category of news actors, at 4.5%. Table 4.39 presents the frequency and percentage of academics as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.39: Frequency and Percentage of Academics as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	42.6%	95
NP2	30.0%	67
NP3	4.5%	10
NP4	22.9%	51
Total	100.0%	223

4.2.3.15 Media practitioners

This category of news actors had 121 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 1.0% (Table 4.15). When compared by each newspaper, data revealed major variations. As Table 4.40 shows, NP2 had the highest representation of this category of news actors at 61.2%, compared to NP1 that followed, at 33.1%. The other two newspapers shared the remaining 5.8% representation. Media practitioners as news actors appeared only twice in NP3, which represented 1.7%. Table 4.40 shows the frequency and percentage of media practitioners as news actors across newspapers.

Table 4.40: Frequency and Percentage of Media Practitioners as News Actors Across Newspapers

Newspaper	% of Total Sum	Sum
NP1	33.1%	40
NP2	61.2%	74
NP3	1.7%	2
NP4	4.1%	5
Total	100.0%	121

4.2.3.16 News sources: Other emergent themes and perspectives

Data generated from the interviews with news people revealed other themes and perspectives that related to news sourcing channels and news actors. These themes and perspectives included bias toward government sources, media entities in Kenya as elitist, brown envelop journalism, resources and the challenge of a high turnover in newsroom. These are presented below.

Bias toward government sources

Most participants said they were aware of a bias toward government sources in newsrooms. Some participants described the phenomenon as problematic. Participant B3 shared the following:

We are gradually trying to get away from a situation where we, in the Kenyan media, were in unholy union with the government, only reporting what they were saying. When we fell out with government, after the annulment of the election, and there was no longer a friendly relationship, media collectively had a challenge to report in an in-depth manner on issues of national importance, be it economy, be it security, be it basic services. We are gradually moving away from that, getting our sourcing from a diverse sourcing to enrich our storytelling.

Some participants attributed news actor bias to remuneration of journalists.

The issue of bias toward news actors will be resolved by pay; pay journalists well, (Participant D5).

Participant C3 explained as follows:

If you pay your journalist peanuts, and he is going to interview an MP who is willing to offer money, the journalist will be compromised.

Paying journalists well, according to participant D2...

Will not be the silver bullet, but it will reduce instances where it becomes so easy to put a price on a journalist and so easy to course a journalist into compromising principles for financial gain.

Media as elitist

All participants said they were aware of the criticism that Kenyan mainstream newspapers are elitist. Most participants argued that media in general and newspapers in particular are elitist by their very nature. Participant C6 said the following:

By the way the newspaper is designed and the way it frames things, it is really elitist, targeting policy makers and people who make decisions. If an MP speaks, he is speaking on behalf of his people in what is representative democracy.

Participant C5 was categorical, *media does not exist for the common man. In theory, it does, but in practice, it doesn't. Media is very elitist, and structurally so.*

Sharing similar sentiments, participant A5 explained as follows:

Prominence as one of the news values taught in schools of journalism speaks to this fact; it is the prominence of events and the prominence of persons; that is to say, the elite will always control the narrative.

Participant A2 said the following:

Media is not really pro-poor as people may think; it is elitist in the framing of things, in the language used, in everything.

Participant B3 underscored the difficulty in realizing source diversity saying,

Inasmuch as we'd want a balance within the media that would put all of us on the same pedestal as news actors, it is not possible; we like it or not, from a news perspective where we are going for numbers, Raila, Ruto, Uhuru, will always command the biggest clout.

Participant D1 sought to justify the bias toward government sources saying,

These people are considered responsible over institutions, and the buck stops with them. Journalists reach out to them because they have to explain issues and provide answers to questions that audiences might be asking.

Brown envelop journalism.

In discussing about bias toward some categories of news actors, all participants confirmed the practice of brown envelop journalism (BEJ) in their respective media houses. Participant D3 said as follows:

We have a culture called brown envelop culture; it is there and it is deep, deep. It is not a new phenomenon.

Participant B1 described the practice as *a terrible problem because on daily basis, it skews how we report*. Some participants cited specific events. Participant A1 said the following:

We've heard stories of people who were in positions of authority in newsrooms during the Goldenberg scandal and how their lives transformed; brown envelop journalism has always been there.

Participants also highlighted the various levels of the vice. In reference to BEJ, participant B3 said as follows:

Unfortunately, it is not just on the level of journalists, or editors; it is all the way to the level of board chair, board members, and even media owners. So, it is there.

Participant B5 placed the practice of BEJ within the wider context of Kenya saying,

Inasmuch as we hope and think that journalists should be above reproach, we forget that journalists are just a representation of the society we are coming up with; if we have corruption in parliament, we have corruption in government, we have corruption in church, you don't expect newsrooms to be corrupt-free. So, the same solutions you're trying to put up to deal with corruption in all these other arms of government or these other spaces in society, are the same things we need to put in media houses.

Resources and high turnover

Some participants identified scarce resources to operationalize newsrooms as a major challenge in professional journalism practice. This challenge, a few participants said, causes high staff turnover.

Resources is a major challenge in the newsroom, as you go about interacting with sources for news reports. Money paid in newsrooms is not enough to cater for these needs (Participant A4).

Speaking to the same challenge of resources, participant A1 said as follows:

There are not enough resources to deploy people. Previously, we would send people around to cover events; now we cannot afford it; we try to get a correspondent close by, who'll have lots of other issues; we no longer have the resources that we used to have.

Meanwhile, participant A2 linked scarce resources to lack of continuity in the staffing saying,

Because newsrooms are under financial pressure, over the years, we've seen a high turnover: good reporters leaving, going for better jobs or there are layoffs.

Participant A5 shared the following:

From 2015, there has been a cycle of layoffs every year; and COVID0-19 has made it worse. This really destabilizes: sometimes you have a good story, but you don't get the quality delivery that you want.

As a way out of the challenge of resources, some participants spoke about getting a revenue model that works. Participant A6 highlighted the model of moving *from reliance on advertising to growing our subscription; this might take long, but in the end, having more subscribers will help raise revenue.* Participant C3 spoke about the need for efficiency in the utilization of resources and explained as follows:

As a multimedia entity, we do not need to send out reporters for each of our outlets; instead, we can promote multitasking and engaging reporters who are multiskilled.

Some participants noted the need for diversifying sources of income, but did not provide the specific ways to this.

4.3 Summary of Key Findings

Data showed that for one, there has been an overall bias toward episodic framing of headlines, negative valence of news stories, and a strong portrayal of traditional journalism. Second, the analysis by news people has been by far the most common news sourcing channel, participants attributing this to newsroom experience and professionalism. Third, the executive has been the most predominant category of news actors, the categories of politicians and national government officials also having a significant degree of dominance, and the three combining to demonstrate a strong reliance on official sources.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has presented and analyzed data that was collected from QCA and generated from interviews with reporters and editors sampled from four Kenyan national newspapers. The presentation and analysis have been organized along the successive order of the concepts that formed the basis of three research questions. The first has been on the valence of news frames. The second has been on the diversity of news sourcing channels. The third has been on news actors' diversity. Ultimately, the data has shown that for one, there was an overall bias toward episodic framing of headlines; negative valence of news stories; and a strong portrayal of traditional journalism. These three patterns have been explained by a media industry that is driven more by sales than by public interest. Second, journalists' analysis has been by far the most common news sourcing channel. This has reflected a limited diversity of news sourcing channels through a reliance on low-cost and easy-to-access sources. Most participants have attributed this to newsroom experience and professionalism. Third, the executive, politicians, and national government officials have combined, as the top three categories of news actors, to demonstrate a limited diversity of news actors; it is a strong reliance on official sources. Most participants have expressed their awareness of lamentations about negative framing of stories, media as structurally elitist, the high turnover in newsrooms, BEJ, and the need for unified curriculum for schools of journalism in Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter interprets and discusses the findings of the study that sought to gain insight into professional journalism practice in Kenya from three perspectives: the valence of news frames, the diversity of news sourcing channels, and the diversity of news actors. The interpretation and discussions will follow the order of the study's three perspectives, derived from the three research questions that this study answered. Conclusions drawn from the interpretation and discussions as well as recommendations are presented in this chapter.

5.2 Discussions of Key Findings

5.2.1 Valence of News Frames

The analysis of data revealed reflections of the valence of news frames along three concepts: the framing of headlines, the valence of news stories, and journalism approach. This was in response to the research question: How does the framing of seven major news-making events reflect news valence across four Kenyan national newspapers? The news valence frames were reflected along eight aspects. These included: the episodic framing of headlines; the thematic framing of headlines, the neutral framing of headlines; the negative valence of stories; the positive valence of stories; the neutral valence of stories; traditional journalism; and constructive journalism. The interpretation and discussion of how the framing of the events reflected news valence along the eight aspects follow this order.

5.2.1.1 Episodic framing of headlines

Data from QCA revealed an overall bias toward episodic framing of headlines. Most participants explained this bias as part of deliberate efforts by news media entities to capture the attention of readers to buy newspapers. This finding speaks to studies that have examined contexts where competition for audiences exist and advertisement is a critical source of revenue. To attract audience attention in view of securing advertisers, journalists have had to employ strategies to make news reports relevant, urgent, or even unusual, including the strategy of sensationalism (Kilgo & Sinta, 2016; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013).

The overall bias toward episodic framing of headlines established in the current study relates to the scholarly tradition that has operationalized framing theory in general and Iyengar's (1991) typology of thematic and episodic frames in analyzing headlines in particular (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Metila, 2013). However, while Iyengar's (1991) series of experiments in the U.S. and MacRitchie and Seedat's (2008) examination of newspaper articles about traffic accidents in South Africa found an overall strong bias toward episodic framing, the current study did not establish an overall strong bias, at 51.2% (see Table 4.3).

It is possible that the multiple events examined in the current study, as opposed to a single event as in MacRitchie and Seedat (2008), contributed to the current study's finding. The inclusion of neutral framing in the analysis of the headlines could also be a factor. The nature of the events the current study examined is worth considering. In particular, while the current study had negative events including Garissa University, the doctors' strike, and COVID-19, the analysis included positive events such as the visits by Obama and Pope Francis and the Handshake. This line of thinking is supported by

scholars arguing that negative events tend to generate negative news (Gieber, 1955; Kleinnijenhuis et al., 2006).

The context in which the current study has been undertaken is another factor worth considering. The interaction between participants and the researcher revealed years of newsroom discussions about the need to tone down on sensational headlines as well as instant feedback from audiences through social media. It is possible that the overall bias rather than a strong bias toward episodic headlines is a result of journalists' efforts to address audience concerns.

The fact that the study did not focus on front page headlines could also be a factor worth considering. Most participants who underscored the fact that Kenyan media industry is a sales-driven entity in the context of headlines made reference to front page headlines. In addition, some participants spoke about vested interests that see news media entities avoid hard-hitting headlines when reporting about government. While this is a possible explanation of the finding about a lack of a strong bias, further studies could examine the concept of vested interests in news media entities in view of establishing, for instance, causality.

The analysis of data established marginal differences for episodic framing of headlines across the four newspapers. This could be a reflection of the media environment the sampled newspapers operate in, including the aspect of vested interests. In addition, some participants attributed the marginal differences across the newspapers to the lack of specific ideologies for each Kenyan newspaper. This line of thinking is consistent with the scholarly tradition that has compared Western news media entities and Kenyan newspapers. The argument has been that unlike news media entities in the global West, national newspapers in Kenya are not identified with particular ideologies (Ileri, 2012; Obonyo, 2003). While political leanings of Kenyan

newspapers have been influenced by considerations such as ownership, ethnicity, and business interests (Esipisu & Khaguli, 2009; Ngoge, 2014), the current study did not seek to analyze political events. Still, further studies could seek to establish if the lack of ideology is actually behind the insignificant variation in the framing of episodic, thematic, and neutral headlines across Kenyan national newspapers.

5.2.1.2 Thematic framing of headlines

The analysis of data established a considerable number of thematic headlines in the reporting on the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, at 33.7% (see Table 4.4). This finding speaks to studies that have established both episodic and thematic headlines in analyzed data (Bleich et al., 2015; Nevalsky, 2015). However, the finding is inconsistent with studies that have established a strong bias toward thematic framing (Wouters, 2015).

The finding that thematic headlines were not dominant in the current study is not surprising considering the dynamics around competition for audiences and the need to secure advertisers discussed under episodic headlines above. It is a media environment that fosters episodic framing. The fact that the analysis did not focus exclusively on front page headlines is an important consideration. Still, the considerable reflection of thematic headlines at 33.7% speaks to efforts to address concerns about sensational headlines (NTV Kenya, 2017).

The analysis of thematic headlines in the reporting of the seven news-making events established marginal differences across the four newspapers. This finding speaks to the Kenyan news media environment, including vested interests and the lack of specific ideologies among other factors discussed under episodic headlines above. Nonetheless, further studies are recommended in view of establishing, with some precision, factors behind such marginal variations across Kenyan national newspapers.

5.2.1.3 Neutral framing of headlines

The reflection of neutral framing in the reporting of the seven major news-making events across the four newspapers was minimal, at 15%. This finding speaks to studies that have included neutral framing in the analysis of news reports in general and headlines in particular. The current study fills the gap in research examining neutral framing of headlines. Previous scholarship operationalizing the concept of neutral framing have focused on news stories (Tiung & Hasim, 2009). In the Kenyan context, previous framing studies have omitted neutral frames and operationalized episodic and thematic frames (Ileri, 2013, 2014).

The fact of having established headlines that reflected neutral framing, though minimal, illustrates a journalism practice that is toning down on sensational headlines. This is based on qualitative data, which revealed newsroom discussions about the need for alternative headlines. In the process of avoiding sensational headlines, it is possible that journalists end up with headlines that reflect neutral framing, as QCA data has shown.

Unlike episodic and thematic headlines, the analysis of the framing of the headlines showed a major difference between the newspaper with the highest representation and that with the lowest. This speaks to variations in newsroom policies across the newspapers. It is possible that while some newspapers foster neutral headlines, other newspapers limit this kind of framing. Further research is needed to establish, with some precision, newsroom policies that might be guiding the framing of neutral headlines.

5.2.1.4 Negative valence of news stories

The analysis of QCA data showed an overall bias toward negative valence of news stories; most participants said their journalism practice has emphasized negative

valence. In a comparative analysis, QCA data showed a close match between stories that had emphasized negative valence and headlines that had been framed episodically, at 51.5% and 51.2% respectively (see Table 4.6 and Table 4.3). This can be interpreted as implying consistency between headlines and their respective stories across the seven news-making events analyzed in this study. QCA data showed that similar to episodic headlines, the bias toward negative news stories was not strong.

This finding illustrates journalists' deliberate efforts to align headlines and their respective stories. Similar to the framing of the headlines, this finding could also be a reflection of the opportunities the digital media have given to audiences. These include immediate feedback on instances of disharmony between headlines and their respective stories and the public backlash this can generate on social media through negative trending. In addition, as many participants said, the positive relationship between episodic headlines and news stories emphasizing negative valence could also be a reflection of the years of experience and professionalism on the part of reporters and their respective editors. It is also possible that the variety of news-making events analyzed in the current study contributed to this finding, unlike previous studies that focused on a single event or issue (MacRitchie & Seedat, 2008; Nevalsky, 2015).

The finding of the overall bias toward negative news valence relates to journalism studies demonstrating that media frames can portray a situation or an issue as negative, positive (Schuck & de Vreese, 2006) or as neutral (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003; Tiung & Hasim, 2009). The overall bias toward negative valence in the current study relates to the scholarly tradition illustrating the dominance of negative valence over positive valence (Anderson, 1965; Soroka & McAdams, 2015). Scholars have justified this bias toward negativity by the concept of news values,

explained by negative events' frequency (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) and the watchdog function of professional news journalism to highlight abuses in society (Zaller, 2003).

For the current study, however, considering that the bias toward negative valence is not strong, this finding shows a limited application of various adages used to explain negative bias, including “if it bleeds, it leads” (Miller & Albert, 2015), “all news is bad news” (Baumgartner & Bonafont, 2015), and “no news, is good news” (Hendrix & Salehyan, 2015). The overall bias toward negative valence in the current research particularly speaks to studies that have revealed not only negative valence but also positive valence (Irer, 2013, 2014; Nevalsky, 2015).

The analysis of news stories that emphasized negative valence across the four newspapers revealed some variations, particularly between NP2 that had the highest representation at 15.7% and NP3 that had the lowest representation at 10.9%. As earlier indicated, this speaks to the distinct newsroom policies.

5.2.1.5 Positive valence of news stories

Data from QCA showed that a good number of stories emphasized positive valence, at 33.4% (see Table 4.7). This finding is consistent with the scholarly tradition that has established the presence of positive news stories amid negative ones (Leung & Lee, 2015; McIntyre & Gibson, 2016). As observed by Leung and Lee (2015), the fact that news negativity dominates “does not entail the complete absence of positive news stories” (p. 289). A comparative analysis of QCA data showed a close match between stories that had emphasized positive valence and headlines that had been framed thematically, at 33.4% and 33.7% respectively (see Table 4.7 and Table 4.4). As observed earlier in the case of negative valence, this close match implies consistency between the framing of headlines and the construction of their respective stories across the seven news-making events this study analyzed.

The finding that stories emphasizing positive valence were not dominant in the current study is not surprising. Similar to what has been observed earlier under episodic headlines, the dynamics around competition for audiences and the need to secure advertisers are factors that possibly contribute to a higher emphasis on negative valence at the expense of positive valence. In addition, the fact that the analysis did not focus exclusively on negative events might have contributed to this finding of considerable emphasis on positive valence. The considerable emphasis on positive valence, at 33.4%, also speaks to efforts, on the part of journalists, to address concerns about news negativity in Kenya (NTV Kenya, 2017; TIFA Research, 2019; USIU Africa, 2020).

The QCA data showed that similar to thematic headlines, news stories that were found to emphasize positive valence had marginal differences across the four newspapers. This can be interpreted to mean that Kenyan newspaper journalists share in the decisions they make about thematic headlines and news stories that emphasize positive valence. Additionally, as in the case of the framing of headlines, the common and shared Kenyan media environment could be a factor worth considering. In this regard, factors such as vested interests and the lack of specific ideologies discussed earlier are relevant.

5.2.1.6 Neutral valence of news stories

News stories that were found to emphasize neutral valence were comparatively minimal, at 14.8% (see Table 4.8). This finding relates to previous studies that have gone beyond the traditional two-category typology of negative and positive valence and included a third category (Mcintyre & Gibson, 2016; Tiung & Hasim, 2009). The finding demonstrates the existence of journalistic content that does not fit into the two categories of positive and negative valence, which previous studies operationalizing a two-category typology may have overlooked (Jonkman et al., 2020; Schuck & de

Vreese, 2006). As observed earlier under neutral headlines, further studies operationalizing a three-category typology of news valence are recommended.

As noted in the discussion about neutral headlines above, the fact of having stories that emphasized neutral valence, however minimal, demonstrates a journalism practice that is toning down on negativity. This is in line with data from interviews, which revealed discussions in newsrooms about the need to avoid a constant focus on negativity. In the process of avoiding the skewing of stories toward negativity, journalists could have stories that emphasize neutral valence, as data in the current study has shown.

The analysis of the stories that emphasized neutral valence across the four newspapers revealed major variations. NP3 had close to three times the stories of NP2. As noted earlier, this reflects differences in newsroom policies with regard to constructing neutral stories. Further research could explore these policies, establishing factors behind the fostering or the limiting of neutral stories, including newsroom culture with regard to neutral stories.

5.2.1.7 Traditional journalism

Data from QCA showed a strong portrayal of traditional journalism, at 66.8% (see Table 4.10); and most participants expressed a strong orientation toward this approach to journalism. The overall strong portrayal of traditional journalism speaks to the scholarship that has operationalized the concept of news values as factors that have traditionally assisted in determining the selection, ordering, and production of news stories (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Studies that have operationalized the various taxonomies of news values over the years show how professional news journalism is biased toward conflict, bad news, drama, and general negativity, including the framing of events (Bednarek, 2015; Helfer & Aelst, 2016).

In explaining their tendency to emphasize problems and conflicts, some participants indicated that constructive journalism as an alternative approach to journalism practice is a relatively new phenomenon that is yet to win acceptance in newsrooms. The strong portrayal of traditional journalism speaks to this. This is further reinforced by the finding that stories portraying traditional journalism varied minimally across the four newspapers.

The marginal variation across the newspapers fits into the earlier discussion about Kenyan newspapers operating within the same environment characterized with vested interests and the lack of specific ideologies. The similarity in the framing of news stories across newspapers could also be related to the training of journalists both in institutions of journalism and in newsrooms. Studies that have established that most journalists in Kenyan newsrooms have received their training in Kenyan institutions could also be a possible explanation of the marginal variations across newspapers (Ireru, 2015). However, considering that the journalists do not go to the same Kenyan institutions and that there is no uniform curriculum across the institutions of journalism in Kenya, further research is recommended.

5.2.1.8 Constructive journalism

Despite the strong portrayal of traditional journalism, news stories that portrayed constructive journalism were not insignificant, at 38.7% across all the three branches (see Table 4.11, Table 4.12, and Table 4.13). Solutions journalism had an edge at 16.1%, followed by restorative narratives at 11.7%, and finally, prospective journalism at 10.9%. Most of the participants familiar with constructive journalism recognized its novelty; and they reduced it to solutions journalism.

These findings, which demonstrate evidence of constructive journalism in the reporting of major news-making events in Kenya, speak to this emerging approach to

journalism that has been proposed as a response to changes in news consumption (Mcintyre, 2019; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017). Consistent with the scholarly tradition around the concept of constructive journalism (Mcintyre, 2015; Tenore, 2015), it is possible that journalists in Kenyan newsrooms are beginning to embrace this emerging approach to news journalism that sees news people construct news stories that enable audiences relate with challenging situations positively (Tenore, 2015). The fact that most participants expressed their awareness of this emerging journalism approach and the evidence of stories that portrayed the three branches of constructive journalism analyzed combine to show efforts in newsrooms to go beyond traditional journalism.

Most participants' familiarity with solutions journalism corroborates data from QCA. The dominance of this branch of constructive journalism implies a deliberate effort on the part of journalists to go beyond conflicts and challenges and to report about the way forward and solutions. This is consistent with studies that have operationalized this branch of constructive journalism (Lough & McIntyre, 2018; McIntyre, 2019; Powers & Curry, 2019). These scholars have indicated that the practice of solutions journalism takes deliberate efforts on the part of news people, including "endorsement by the organization, whether it be an editor, publisher or supervisor" (Lough & McIntyre, 2018, p. 45). Considering the limited scope of the current study, further research is needed, exploring the concept of solutions journalism in Kenyan newsrooms. The fact that most participants expressed their awareness of this branch of constructive journalism provides an opportunity for such a study, which would serve to fill a research gap that other scholars have noted (Mcintyre & Gyldensted, 2017).

The analysis of the three branches of constructive journalism across the four newspapers mostly revealed major variations. This finding speaks to the newness of this journalism approach, and that news media entities in Kenya are applying it

independently. The fact that some participants said they had changed their style of writing to include qualities that define branches of constructive journalism such as solutions, hope, and future prospects, provides evidence that it is being practiced. Thus, the variations across newspapers could be indicative of distinct newsroom policies with regard to this approach to journalism. It is possible that there are newsroom policies that foster constructive journalism, while others limit it.

There is need for further research, which would, for instance, focus on how news media organizations in Kenya are operationalizing the various branches of constructive journalism. Further studies could also explore the degree to which constructive journalism is being embraced in Kenyan newsrooms, considering that some participants expressed skepticism.

5.2.2 Diversity of News Sourcing Channels

The analysis of data revealed reflections of the diversity of news sourcing channels along nine categories in the following order, from the one with the highest appearances to the category with the lowest. Analysis by news people; official documents and reports; press conferences and statements; research; other news organizations; interviews; public meetings and rallies; online forums; and press releases. The interpretation and discussion of the diversity of news sourcing channels reflected in the nine categories follow this order. Conclusions are drawn in each category and recommendations are made thereafter.

5.2.2.1 Analysis by news people

Data from QCA established that the analysis by journalists was by far the most common news sourcing channel with 10,350 appearances, which represented 88.5%, compared with the category of official documents and reports that followed with 671 appearances (5.7%). Most participants attributed this finding to journalists' many years

of newsroom experience and professionalism. This finding can be explained by the hierarchy of influences theory (HIT), particularly the influence at the first two micro levels: the individual journalists and their routine work in the newsroom (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). While these initiators of this theory conceptualized the individual journalists as wielding the least influence in the process of news production because of the pressure from other levels, the overwhelming dominance of the journalists' analysis in the current study demonstrates a significant influence.

The participants' attribution to the journalists' experience and professionalism is consistent with the second level of HIT, media routines, which Shoemaker and Reese (1996) described as "patterned, repeated practices and forms media workers use to do their jobs" (p. 105). Qualitative data revealed the overlooking of audience-centered routines that see the process of news production focusing on content that is acceptable to consumers. The information supplier-centered routines are applicable to the current study, which analyzed various categories of news sourcing channels. In this study, this form of media routines explains how journalists heavily relied on official sources as suppliers for their journalistic content.

The overwhelming dominance of journalists' analysis also speaks to the scholarly tradition that has included journalists' analysis in the suggested typologies of categorizing news sourcing channels (Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). However, a review of empirical studies that have examined news sourcing channels found studies that omitted the category of journalists' analysis (Collins, 2017). In fact, many recent studies have focused on a single category of news sourcing channels, especially online forums (Boumans, 2018; Willnat & Weaver, 2018).

An oft-omitted category of news sourcing channel that is established as the channel with the highest number of appearances is surprising. This finding is also

surprising considering the emphasis professional news journalism places on attribution (Bednarek, 2015; Culbertson, 1975). Journalists are expected to indicate the source of their news reports when constructing journalistic content even when using reported speech. It is possible that the many years of experience in newsrooms and the expected professionalism in mainstream news media houses justifies the dominance of journalists' analysis. And as some participants explained, it is also possible that the nature of a good number of the stories examined involved event-based reports where journalists were witnesses thus employing a "personalized" style of writing. Still, there is need for further studies, applying the concepts of fact-checking and attribution.

Data from CQA established an almost similar number of appearances of journalists' analysis between two newspapers, NP1 and NP2, at 30.8% and 30.9% respectively (see Table 4.16). The other two newspapers had a comparatively lower representation: NP3 at 21.1%, and NP4 at 17.1%. These statistical representations combine to illustrate a prevalent practice of having journalists' analysis in news reports across the newspapers, albeit in varying degrees. These varying degrees could be attributed to editorial policies at the level of each newspaper. Further studies could also explore this phenomenon, examining journalists' practice of reporting without attributing across mainstream news media entities in Kenya.

5.2.2.2 Official documents and reports

The 671 appearances that represented 5.7% ranked this news sourcing category as the second most common origin of the analyzed news reports across the four newspapers. Most participants identified this category among their most common news sourcing channels. This finding speaks to studies that have included this categorization among the typologies of categorizing news sourcing channels (Wheatley, 2020).

Over the years, studies have found heavy reliance on official documents and reports to be part of source bias traced to Walter Lippman's institutional-focused and elite-oriented model of journalism (Voakes, 2004). The current study's finding furthers this trend. It is particularly consistent with Collins (2017) who examined three Kenyan national newspapers and established official reports from government to have been the second most common news sourcing channel after public meetings and rallies.

Data from CQA on official documents and reports established variations across the four newspapers, especially for NP2 that had the highest number of appearances. The variations between the other three newspapers were marginal. These results combine to show that while all newspapers had a strong reliance on official documents and reports, the reliance was in varying degrees. As observed earlier, this could be attributed to the distinct newsroom policies.

5.2.2.3 Press conferences and statements

This category had a total of 191 appearances in the seven news events across the four newspapers, which represented 1.6%. Most participants indicated that the category was among their most common news sourcing channels. The fact that the category was established among the top three common news sourcing channels is consistent with previous studies that have established the dominance of official sources, based on the assumption that press conferences and statements are official forums (Collins, 2017; Wheatley, 2020).

While this category emerged the third most common news sourcing channel, it generated a relatively minimal number of appearances when compared with the first two. As some participants explained, it is possible that the digital media has altered the priority newspapers used to give to press conferences. The fact that most press conferences are livestreamed on social media forums might have reduced their function

as direct news sourcing channels for newspapers. Instead, journalists highlight some details of the conference but for the bulk of the news report, they engage other news sourcing channels like interviews and research.

Despite the digital media explanation, the rank and the relatively minimal number of appearances of this news sourcing category compares favorably with Collins's (2017) study that examined front-page articles during the first quarter of 2012 from Kenya's Daily Nation, The Standard, and The Star. Results in Collins's (2017) study ranked press conferences the third most common news sourcing channel at 13.1%, after public meetings and government reports at 45.9% and 24.6% respectively. When compared across the four newspapers, data revealed major variations between NP1 that had the highest representation at 31.9% and NP4 that had the lowest representation, at 19.4% (see Table 4.18). Similar to other cases of variations, the phenomenon speaks to newsroom policies that might be inclined to foster or to limit the reliance on press conferences and statements.

5.2.2.4 Research

This category had a total of 112 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 1%; participants described research as a credible news sourcing channel. This finding relates to the scholarly tradition that has established research among the possible origins of news reports (Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). However, it is the fourth rank in the current study that is surprising, ahead of interviews and online forums. There is a need for further studies, which could explore the place of research reports in Kenyan newsrooms, including the degree of emphasis particular newsrooms give to research. The aspect of the degree of emphasis could be based on the current study, which established major variations across the newspapers,

ranging from 50.9% for NP2 with most appearances, to 0.9% for NP4 with the least number of research appearances.

5.2.2.5 Other news organizations

This category had a total of 96 appearances across the three subcategories of Western-based, African-based, and Kenyan-based, which represented 0.8%. The Kenyan-based media had a slight edge over the Western-based media at 47 and 42 appearances respectively; compared to 7 appearances established for African-based media. Many participants acknowledged the practice of citing other media, some highlighting the value of networking and cross-referencing, affordability, and even credibility for those with good reputation internationally.

The establishment of other news organizations among the top five categories of news sourcing channels operationalizes the agenda-setting theory (AST) in general and the concept of inter-media agenda setting (IMAS) in particular (Funk & McCombs, 2017; McCombs, 2014). The findings contribute to the scholarly tradition that has seen applied IMAS in various contexts of the world (Groshek & Clough, 2013; Phillips, 2011; Valenzuela et al., 2017; Wheatley, 2020), a few in Africa (Mutie, 2014; Wahutu, 2018). Scholars have cited advantages such as low cost, ease of access, trustworthiness and “inherent legitimacy”, and the canceling of exclusivity of a rival news media entity, among others (Wheatley, 2020). The practice promotes rival media organizations as they are given visibility in applying IMAS.

The finding that Kenyan-based media had an edge over Western-based media is inconsistent with Wahutu's (2018) study that analyzed Daily Nation, The Standard, and The East African in view of identifying news media entities behind the reporting on atrocities in Darfur, Sudan. In the study, Western-based news agencies dominated; Kenyan journalists accounted for 24.87% of the analyzed articles. It is possible that the

limited scope and sample size in the study by Wahutu (2018) is behind the inconsistency considering that the current study examined multiple events. The fact that the events analyzed in the current study were Kenyan-based justifies the overall prominence of Kenyan-based media organizations.

The finding about a considerable reliance on Western-based media entities could be explained by the nature of the events analyzed in the current study. While the events happened in Kenya, the visit by Obama and that by Pope Francis as international figures who are based in the West as well as COVID-19, a global pandemic attracted a degree of reliance on Western-based news media entities. Meanwhile, the comparatively limited reliance on African-based media organizations could be explained by the fact that none of the events analyzed was African-based as such; in the case of the three African-nation visit by Pope Francis, the timeframe of the actual visit was defined by the Holy Father's duration in Kenya.

Data from CQA on the category of other news organizations as news sourcing channels established variations across the four newspapers; NP1, the newspaper with the highest number of appearances mostly from other Kenyan-based media entities, had a significant edge over the other three newspapers. For instance, in the case of Kenyan-based media organizations, NP1 had a 53.2% representation, compared to NP2 that followed, at 21.3%. These variations could be a result of varying newsroom policies for each news media entity, some fostering and others limiting reliance on other news media organizations. Further studies could explore these policies.

On the five most common news sourcing channels. The top five categories of origins of news established in the current study combine to demonstrate a journalism practice that fosters low-cost and easy-to-access news sourcing channels. The established heavy reliance on journalists' analysis, official documents and reports, press

conferences and statements, research, and other news organizations as the top five news sourcing channels is consistent with McManus's (1994) market-driven journalism (MDJ). As discussed in chapter two, MDJ explains how the economic pressures on media entities causes journalists to lean toward low-cost and easy-to-access practices in the process of gathering and producing journalistic content.

In relying on cost-effective and easy-to-access news sourcing channels, news media entities prioritize profits and maximizing returns over service to the public, as established during interviews. This is consistent with the concept of MDJ, which has been used to explain the fostering of news-for-profit, away from news-for-information. When the leaning toward low-cost and easy-to-access practices revealed in this study are analyzed together with the deliberate efforts to sale newspapers demonstrated in the overall bias toward episodic headlines, negative news valence, and a strong traditional journalism practice, the concept of MDJ is further operationalized in the current study.

In the light of the findings so far, the overall implication is that consistent with MDJ, mainstream newspapers in Kenya make compromises to balance journalism tenets that presume unlimited resources and market theories that presume limited resources. The results in the current study demonstrate that Kenyan mainstream newspapers operate more under the influence of economic rationalism than social responsibility; the code of conduct for the practice of journalism is overlooked, and public interest compromised (MCK, 2013). This is consistent with MDJ concept, captured in McManus's (1994) observation, “where investor direction is for maximum profit, market norms will dominate journalism norms when the two conflict” (p. 35). Still, there is need for further studies to specifically explore the interplay between market theories and norms of journalism, enlarging the scope of the current study as to

include the members of the management board and owners of news media entities or their representatives.

5.2.2.6 Interviews

Analysis from QCA established a total of 87 appearances of this category of news sourcing channels, which analyzed eight forms of interviews; this represented 0.7%. Curiously, four of the eight forms of interviews did not feature in any of the analyzed stories; these included Email, Skype, Messenger, and WhatsApp interviews. Contrary to QCA data, most participants identified interviews as their most common origin of news reports.

The use of interviews as news sourcing channels sourcing channel speaks to the scholarly tradition that has described news interviews as the building blocks of journalism (Gaber et al., 2006; Nylund, 2011; Sigal, 1973). Despite technological advancements, a news interview has maintained its label of being “a fairly enduring feature of journalism” (Nylund, 2011, p. 478). The finding that the category of interviews was not among the most common news sourcing channels is surprising. The finding is inconsistent with studies that have established news interviews among the most common news sourcing channels, captured in Schudson's (1994) observation, “reporters rely overwhelmingly on interviews” (p. 565). It is possible the place of news interviews in professional news journalism practice is taken for granted, particularly considering the paucity of empirical research some scholars have noted (Philo, 2007; Van Hout & Macgilchrist, 2010). In a six-category typology of news sourcing channels that examined three Kenyan national newspapers, Collins (2017) omitted the category of interviews.

In the light of the discussion about the top five most common news sourcing channels established in the current study, the limited use of interviews reinforces the

heavy reliance on low-cost and easy-to-access news sourcing channels. In this category of interviews, the leaning toward cost-effective means is corroborated by QCA data that showed that telephone interviews had an edge over face-to-face interviews. It is possible that the news media entities analyzed in this study generally considered telephone interviews more cost effective than facilitating face-to-face meetings with sources. The fact that the use of interviews as news sourcing channels varied significantly across the four newspapers calls for further studies.

5.2.2.7 Public meetings and rallies

There were 81 appearances of public meetings and rallies as news sourcing channels, which represented 0.7%. Most participants related this category with that of press conferences, arguing that digital media has changed the dynamics of reporting about such public events. Considering this, it is not surprising that the category was not among the most common origins of news reports in the current study.

However, the limited reference to public meetings and rallies is inconsistent with the scholarly tradition that places this category among routine origins of news stories (Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). The finding particularly contrasts Collins's (2017) six-category typology study alluded to earlier, which showed that public meetings were the most common news sourcing channel at 45.9%. Having been based on a 2012 sample, it is possible news sourcing dynamics have changed since Collins (2017) conducted the study; the small sample used in the study through one composite week could also be a factor. It is also possible that the nature of the events analyzed in the current study did not give occasion to public meetings and rallies.

Still, further research is recommended, particularly to explore the place of public meetings and rallies as a category of news sourcing channels in contemporary journalism practice in Kenya. Comparisons could be drawn from the discussion about

press conferences above, including the impact of digitality in general and social media in particular in the coverage of these public events. The scholarly tradition in Africa that has associated press conferences and public meetings with BEJ in terms of “cash for coverage” (Lodamo & Skjerdal, 2009; Sampaio-Dias, 2019) could give perspective to such studies. The significant variation across the four newspapers established in the current study could be further examined from the point of view of newsroom policies on public meetings and rallies as a news sourcing channel.

5.2.2.8 Online forums

There were up to 75 appearances of the various online forums in the analysis of the seven news-making events across four newspapers, which represented 0.6%; Twitter had most of the identified appearances, followed by Facebook. Most participants said they use online forums as tips to follow up on other news sourcing channels. These participants argued that amid fake news, online forums do not enjoy the credibility of official documents.

The use of online platforms as news sourcing channels relate to the scholarly tradition examining how journalists routinely engage with various Internet-based sources as they practice their profession (Angelou et al., 2020; Leuven et al., 2018; Wu, 2019). The comparatively low explicit reference to online forums established in the current study is surprising and inconsistent with studies in different parts of the globe showing how journalists heavily rely on Internet-based forums (Cube, 2017; Zhang & Li, 2019). It is possible the scope of the current study contributed to this limited appearance of online forums. While previous studies have usually focused on the category of online forums, sometimes exploring a single platform (Muindi, 2018) or a couple (Santana & Hopp, 2016; Willnat & Weaver, 2018), the current study had a wider scope of nine categories of news sourcing channels. It is possible the category of other

media organizations may have accounted for online forums; in attributing other media entities, journalists were not always explicit whether or not they had sourced the content from an online source.

The finding about Twitter and Facebook as the dominant online forums is consistent with previous scholarship (Cision, 2017; Santana & Hopp, 2016; Willnat & Weaver, 2018). Despite this consistency, there is a need for further studies to gain deeper insight into online forums as news sourcing channels in the Kenyan context. The significant variations in the use of online forums across the newspapers established in the current study reinforces the need for further studies in this area.

5.2.2.9 Press releases

This category of news sourcing channels had a total of 37 appearances, which represented 0.3%, hence the category that was least used as an origin of news reports. Most participants indicated that they hardly sourced news reports from press releases. The evidence of the use of press releases as a news sourcing channel, albeit minimally, is consistent with journalism studies that have identified this news sourcing category among the routine origins of news reports (Boumans, 2018; Leuven et al., 2013). The finding is particularly consistent with Collins's (2017) study that operationalized a six-category typology in examining three Kenyan newspapers; the study found press releases to be the least used as news sourcing channels.

These findings are in stark contrast with studies in other parts of the world where press releases have been established as a routine news sourcing channel (Lee & Basnyat, 2013; Leuven et al., 2013). According to Collins (2017), reliance on press releases is a Western journalism style. It is possible that in the Kenyan context, there are actually a limited number of press releases to use in news reports. The nature of the events analyzed in the current study could also be a factor behind the limited use of

press releases. Still, there is need for further studies to gain deeper insight into the use of press releases by Kenyan mainstream newspapers. In the current study, while NP2 and NP3 had exactly the same percentage representation of press releases, at 40.5% for each, NP4 had 16.2%, and NP1 a single appearance, at 2.7%. These significant variations and commonality in the case of NP2 and NP3 deserve further investigation.

5.2.3 Diversity of News Actors

The analysis of data demonstrated reflections of news actors' diversity along 15 categories in the following order, from the one with the highest appearances to the category with the lowest: the Executive; politicians; national government officials; women; ordinary citizens; professionals; foreign leaders; faith-based; civil society representatives; business leaders; county government officials; unnamed sources; independence commissions; academics; and media practitioners. While all the 15 categories were established in the QCA, during interviews, most participants focused on six categories: the executive, politicians, and national government officials, ordinary citizens, women, and unnamed sources. Therefore, the presentation of the interpretation and discussion of the diversity of the news actors reflected in the 15 categories begin with the six that were analyzed during the interviews. Conclusions are drawn from the interpretation and discussions; recommendations are also made.

The fact that all the examined 15 categories of news actors were established in the analysis of the seven news-making events across the four newspapers operationalizes the concept of media standing, which goes beyond media visibility (Ferree et al., 2004; Tresch, 2009). While media visibility refers to sources who feature in media content passively, the 15 categories of news actors analyzed in the current study was about sources who were treated as agents, not objects "being discussed by others" (Ferree et al., 2004, p. 86). Evidence of sources treated as agents across the 15

categories to be discussed below advances the concept of media standing in Kenyan newspapers, which distinguishes agents who are given a voice through direct or indirect quotes from others who appear in journalistic content passively.

5.2.3.1 The executive

This category of news actors had by far the highest numbers of appearances in the analysis of the seven news-making events, which accounted for 19.7% of all appearances across the four newspapers. Most participants identified members of the executive among their most common sources.

The evidence of the executive as a dominant category of news actors is consistent with the scholarly tradition that has established the elites as the most dominant in news stories (Benson & Wood, 2015; Carlson, 2009). The dominance can be traced to the scholarship arguing that members of the executive fall under the wider category of official sources known to meet the criteria for selecting news actors with relative ease (Brown et al., 1987; Gans, 1979). These sources particularly meet the criterion of availability owing to their social and geographical proximity with journalists; and the criterion of suitability because the power the executive wield puts them at the center of information, which journalists would be routinely seeking (Gans, 1979). Brown et al. (1987) have added the criteria of “reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness” (p. 46), which combine to explain the likelihood of members of the executive to be dominant news actors.

The variations of the executive as news actors across the four newspapers were marginal. All the four newspapers had an over 20% representation and none above 27.3% as is shown in Table 4.26. The marginal variation across the newspapers demonstrate the similar context in which the news media entities analyzed operate. As

discussed earlier, the Kenyan media environment characterized by vested interests and the lack of specific ideologies for each Kenyan newspaper could be applied in this case.

5.2.3.2 Politicians

This was the second most common categories of news actors after the executive. It had 1,244 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 11.2% (see Table 4.27). Similar to the category of the executive, most participants said politicians were among their most common sources. This finding relates to studies that have examined how elected representatives are given a voice in the media (Ileri, 2012; Tresch, 2009). The finding furthers what Ileri (2012) noted in a study that examined variables that contributed to the media visibility of 212 Kenyan legislatures in 2009 across four national newspapers. In Kenya, politicians “exploit the power of the mass media to its fullest in their re-election bids and in other agendas beneficial to them” (Ileri, 2012, p. 717).

In the current study, qualitative data revealed what participant C2 termed *political vested interests*. As Participant C2 explained, *most Kenyan news outlets are owned by politicians or business persons connected with politicians*. This phenomenon could explain the established prominence of politicians in the current study. Some participants admitted having received criticisms about journalists’ strong bias toward politicians, downplaying the voices of ordinary citizens. Some participants argued that attempts to prioritize ordinary citizens has usually plunged the newspaper circulation and sales; this is the reason politicians remain among the prominent news actors.

The slight variations of politicians as news actors across the four newspapers established in the current study relates to the context in which the four newspapers operate. The reference to vested interests through media ownership is shared across the

four newspapers, a factor that was beyond the scope of the current study, and which could be explored in further studies.

5.2.3.3 National government officials

This category had the third highest number of appearances of news actors out of the 15 categories examined; national government officials appeared 1,076 times, which represented 9.7% (see Table 4.28). Most participants identified national government officials among their most common sources. This finding speaks to the scholarly tradition explaining the elites as dominant news actors discussed under the category of the executive above. Falling in the wider category of official sources, national government officials meet, with ease, the criteria for news actors' selection discussed, including availability, suitability, reliability, and authoritativeness.

The analysis of this category across the four newspapers revealed major variations. This contrasted with the top two categories of news actors, which had slight variations when compared across the newspapers. There is need for further studies to explore factors behind such variations across news actors that fall within the category of official sources.

The three most common categories of news actors. QCA data showed that the top three most common categories of news actors had a combined representation of 40.6%. Most participants identified the top three categories of news actors (executive, politicians, and national government officials) among their most common origins of news reports. The three categories are part of the wider category of official sources. The finding demonstrates a Kenyan mainstream newspaper industry that heavily relies on official sources. This is consistent with second level of HIT, media routines, particularly the information supplier-centered routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). This form of media routines explains the reliance on specific category of sources as

suppliers for their journalistic content. The executive, politicians, and national government officials are heavily relied upon for information as a newsroom routine.

Numerous empirical studies have established journalists' heavy reliance on official sources, both as news sourcing channels and as news actors (Carlson, 2009; Collins, 2017; Ericson, 1998; Sigal, 1973). Data from QCA and interviews in the current study speak to Ericson's (1998) conclusion based on a review of empirical studies over decades: "News production is a perpetual process of authorizing facts through official sources" (p. 86). It is a phenomenon of a limited source diversity, with government sources being the most dominant official sources (Beckers & Van Aelst, 2018; Collins, 2017).

The finding about the dominance of the three most common categories of news actors in the current study is particularly consistent with Collins's (2017) study that examined the inclusion and exclusion of Kenyan government sources resulting in the conclusion, "Kenyan newspaper readers get a heavy dose of the government's point of view without hearing from those with differing opinions" (p. 460). In the current study, qualitative data showed that only a few participants said they prioritized ordinary citizens in their stories, adding that in such cases, they still sought the voice of an official. The category of ordinary citizens as news actors had the fourth highest representation, which was below 10%.

The heavy reliance on official sources in terms of news actors and news sourcing channels established in the current study combine to illustrate a professional journalism practice characterized by limited sourcing. Limited sourcing is conceptualized in media diversity frameworks, which Ojebode (2009) has described as "the proportionate representation of the various segments of the particular society that a medium seeks to serve" (p. 216). Limited sourcing goes against "proportionate

representation” considering that mass media is expected to strive to be representative of members of society it claims to serve (Matthews, 2013; Ojebode, 2009). Having operationalized output diversity by analyzing content from seven major news-making events, the current study confirms the growing trend “reflected in the narrow range of sources ... and journalism’s increasing dependence on ready-made news content” (Matthews, 2013, p. 254). When the scholarly tradition advancing the notion that more diversity is a reflection of better journalism practice is applied, the finding about limited sourcing delivers a negative verdict on mainstream newspaper journalism in Kenya (Sjøvaag, 2016).

5.2.3.4 Ordinary citizens

This category had 1,048 appearances in the seven news-making events across the four newspapers, which represented 9.4% (see Table 4.29). In qualitative data, most participants discussed this category of news actors as a challenge that is part of the newsroom conversations. Some participants shared about the challenge of having ordinary citizens drive news reports, arguing that prioritizing ordinary people does not sell newspapers. According to participant D5, ordinary people hardly set the agenda that trigger the wanted circulation and sales. Making reference to the prominence of official sources, participant C3 spoke about the bias toward news actors capable of delivering *punchlines*, *soundbites* and that as journalists, they *get addicted to specific sources*.

This qualitative data reveals justifications for a systemic bias against ordinary citizens. The elites are favored, represented in the top three categories of news actors examined in the current study: the executive, politicians, and national government officials. This limited diversity of news actors is consistent with the propaganda model - PM (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). QCA and qualitative data in the current study

combine to show a Kenyan mainstream newspaper industry that uses source bias for commercial gain. PM that proposes five news filters has been used to explain source bias revealed in the current study.

The first three news filters are applicable: media ownership, advertising, reliance on official sources. While media ownership and advertising were beyond the scope of the current study, many participants made reference to these news filters, captured in the expression “vested interests”. Further studies could explore these two news filters. Reliance on official sources for journalistic content established in this study is consistent with PM. The use of source bias in Kenyan context has also been established in previous studies (Maweu, 2017).

The fact that the analysis of ordinary citizens as news actors revealed major variations between two pairs of newspapers can be interpreted in terms of the decisions for inclusion and exclusion of news actors made in each newsroom. The variations indicate that editorial policies for each news media outlet can either foster or discourage the inclusion of ordinary citizens as news actors. Further studies could explore these decisions, which could be founded on the HIT.

While 9.4% representation of ordinary citizens as news actors is low when compared to the top three categories, it is nonetheless significant when compared with the other categories examined in the current study. This is part of the scholarship that has established that while most empirical studies have revealed strong biases against ordinary citizens (Benson & Wood, 2015; Carlson, 2009; Collins, 2017), a few studies have established considerable inclusion of ordinary people as news actors (Hansen, 1991; Stroobant et al., 2018).

Coming fourth among the 15 categories of news actors can be interpreted as evidence of some efforts to include ordinary citizens in news reports. Qualitative data

supports this interpretation. All Participants confirmed internal discussions about the need to increase the number of ordinary citizens in news reports. Participant C8 remarked as follows:

We have restructurings within media houses where we're realizing for us to survive, we have to get back to telling stories that matter to the people, not to the people in the room, but to the people out there.

Participant A6 highlighted a news media's investment in generating feedback,

We have a new structure where we have an engagement editor whose role is to follow feedback, mostly online; we also have a public editor who is the ombudsman, receiving complaints, criticisms, and contacts journalists internally.

Meanwhile, Participant D4 advocated for source diversity and challenged journalists to *look at angles beyond the official sources*. This qualitative data demonstrates efforts to overcome source bias against ordinary citizens.

5.2.3.5 Women

This category of news actors accounted for 8.1% of all the total number of appearances across the seven news-making events and four newspapers. All participants confirmed having participated in meetings where the need to deliberately include women in news stories was discussed. Empirical studies and media reports have combined to illustrate how the role of women as news actors has been undermined (Booker, 2019; Carlson, 2009; Omari, 2008).

In the Kenyan context, however, the current study shows some progress compared to Omari's (2008) study that had 2.8% space for women and women issues across the three newspapers examined. There is progress when the finding in the current study is compared with the Kenya Media Landscape Report July 2019, which showed that in the period from October 2018 to June 2019, only one woman featured among the top 17 news actors (TIFA Research, 2019). For the current study, this progress was expressed during the interviews. Most participated said the finding that women were

among the top five categories of news actors was a fruit of deliberate efforts on the part of Kenyan newspapers to cite women as news sources. Participant C7 said *whenever possible, we strive to balance our gender representation*. Some participants said that as the number of women increases in the public sector, their visibility in the media also increases.

Meanwhile, there was a slight variation for women as news actors across two newspapers with the highest representation, that is, NP1 at 32% and NP2 at 30.2%. For this category of news actors, NP1 and NP2 varied significantly from NP3 and NP4 that had the lowest representation at 22.1% and 15.7% respectively (see Table 4.30). These variations across newspapers, whether marginal or significant, reflect the influence of newsroom policies on selecting women as news actors. Further studies could examine these policies in view of establishing, with a degree of precision, newsroom cultures in relation to women as news actors.

5.2.3.6 Unnamed sources

While QCA data placed this category of news actors among the least, with 328 appearances, which represented 3%, some participants identified it among their common sources. In justifying the use of unnamed sources, participant B2 said the following:

In Kenya, we are not yet at that level of saying we have a free flow of information; you have to seek for information every day ... people have to call you and tell you what's happening; we are still in the era of hiding information.

Evidence of unnamed sources in the current study contributes to the scholarly tradition that has examined the phenomenon of anonymity in newsrooms (Culbertson, 1975; Sheehy, 2008). Security concerns have usually been given to justify anonymity (Sheehy, 2008). In a previous study in Kenya, Collins's (2017) six-category typology found a 28% representation of unnamed sources, a comparatively higher media

standing for anonymous sources than the current study has established. It is possible that the limited scope and methodology in Collins's (2017) study contributed to the significant difference – the study used one composite week, focused on front-page articles, a story as the unit of analysis.

The analysis of unnamed sources across the four newspapers revealed wide variations, the highest representation at 35.7% and the lowest at 16.2%. As observed above in reference to categories of news actors with major variations across newspapers, the differences are a reflection of newsroom policies. In the category of unnamed sources, the newsroom policies of NP1 fostered the selection of anonymous sources compared to those of NP3. Further studies could examine these policies to determine the newsroom culture with regard to unnamed sources by each newspaper.

The six categories of news actors discussed so far generated substantive data during the interviews. On the contrary, the other nine categories did not generate much qualitative data due to time constraints. In the light of this, the following discussion of the nine categories of news actors will focus on QCA data. There is need for further studies to corroborate the quantitative data collected for the nine categories: professionals, foreign leaders, faith-based leaders, civil society representatives, business leaders, County government officials, independent commission representatives, academics, and media practitioners.

5.2.3.7 Professionals

This had 847 appearances, which represented 7.6% as is shown in Table 4.15. It is possible that the nature of the majority of the events analyzed in the current study and the operational definition of this category combined to limit professionals' representation. As explained in the codebook (see Appendix A), the analysis was limited to people in professions such as medicine, engineering, and legal. As such, the

reporting on the doctors' strike and the election annulment were most likely to use this category of news actors. Still the current study provides data that could be explored in further studies, which could examine newsroom policies with regard to professionals as news actors. The major variations when compared by each newspaper, which the current study established, justifies the suggestion for further studies.

5.2.3.8 Foreign leaders

This category of news actors had 807 appearances, which represented 7.3% (see Table 4.15). The limited representation could be attributed to the fact that most of the analyzed events did not involve foreign leadership. Two events might have boosted the referencing to foreign leaders: the visit by Obama and that by Pope Francis. Still, data from the current study provides an opportunity for further studies examining foreign leaders as news actors in Kenya, thus going beyond the scope of the current study. The variations when compared by each newspaper, which could imply distinct newsroom policies, could also be examined.

5.2.3.9 Faith-based leaders

This category had 626 appearances, which represented 5.6% (Table 4.15). Similar to foreign leaders, it is possible that the nature of events analyzed limited faith-based leaders' appearance. The visit by Pope Francis could have specifically increased references to faith-based leaders, much more than the other events. Still, in a country that fosters faith practice and in which religious leaders have platforms to make pronouncements on matters of national interest, a much higher representation could have been expected. All the seven events analyzed in the current study provided opportunities for faith-based leaders to be given a voice. This is a matter that could be explored in further studies, examining newsroom policies with regard to faith-based leaders as news actors. The variations revealed when compared by each newspaper,

which demonstrate that Kenyan newspapers differ in their selection of faith-based leaders as news actors, could also be explored.

5.2.3.10 Civil society representatives

This category had 537 appearances, which represented 4.8% (see Table 4.15). Similar to faith-based leaders, civil society representatives have made pronouncements on matters of national interest as news actors. While it is possible that the nature of the analyzed events might have limited their place as news actors, further studies could go beyond the scope of the current study, to examine Kenyan newsroom cultures regarding civil society representatives. The minimal variations across three newspapers, which could mean that Kenyan newspapers mostly agree in the manner they give civil society representatives media standing, could be examined in further studies.

5.2.3.11 Business leaders

This category had 465 appearances, which represented 4.2% (Table 4.15). While it is possible that the nature of the events analyzed in the current study limited this category of news actors, business leaders were relevant for each of the events. Going beyond the scope of the current study, further studies could specifically examine business leaders as news actors in the Kenyan context; such research could provide insights into the variations established in the current study when this category was compared by each newspaper. It is possible that while some news media entities foster this category of news actors, other organizations limit it. The possible interpretation that Kenyan newspapers differ in how they select business leaders as news actors could be explored in further studies.

5.2.3.12 County government officials

This category had 384 appearances, which represented 3.5% (see Table 4.15). This limited representation could be based on the fact that the study focused on national events as reported by Kenyan national newspapers. Still, data from the current study could inform further studies aimed at gaining insight into this category of news actors. The variations across the four newspapers that demonstrates that Kenyan newspapers differ in their selection of county government officials as news actors, could be examined.

5.2.3.13 Independent commissions

This category of news actors had 310 appearances, which represented 2.8% (see Table 4.15). The major representation of this category of news actors could have been limited to the election annulment. The major variations when compared by each newspaper is curious, with NP3 having had the highest representation at 45.8%. This finding calls for further research, seeking to gain insight in how Kenyan newspapers differ in their selection of independent commission representatives as news actors.

5.2.3.14 Academics

This category of news actors had 223 appearances, which represented 2.0% (see Table 4.15). When compared by each newspaper, NP1 had the highest representation at 42.6% while NP3 had the lowest representation at 4.5%. As observed about other categories of news actors, this shows that Kenyan newspapers differ in their selection of academics as news actors, could be examined. This is a finding that could be further examined in future studies.

5.2.3.15 Media practitioners

The least common category of news actors, this category had 121 appearances, which represented 1.0% (see Table 4.15). The analysis of this category involved the identification of various groups of journalists as news actors, including reporters, editors, photojournalists, and correspondents. The operationalization of other categories, including journalists' analysis, professionals, and academics, might have overshadowed this category. Still, the very minimal representation calls for further examination considering that news actor typologies have included this categorization (Sigal, 1973; Wheatley, 2020). The significant variations when compared by each newspaper that shows that the Kenyan newspapers differ in their selection of media practitioners as news actors could also be explore in future research.

5.3 Conclusion

This study sought to gain insight into professional journalism practice in Kenya from the perspective of the valence of news frames, the diversity of news sourcing channels, and the diversity of news actors. To achieve this, three objectives were to be met: first, to establish and examine news valence in the framing of seven major news-making events across four Kenyan national newspapers; second, to establish and assess how common news sourcing channels in seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers; and third, to establish and examine the extent to which common news actors in the news coverage of seven major news-making events reflect source diversity across four Kenyan national newspapers.

In line with the first objective, the framing of the seven major news-making events reflected eight categories of news valence across the four Kenyan national newspapers. However, the reflection was biased toward negative valence. The bias toward episodic headlines, the emphasis on negative valence in news stories, and the

strong portrayal of traditional journalism combined to demonstrate a professional news journalism practice that is oriented toward news values that foster general negativity. The established evidence of thematic headlines, some emphasis on positive valence, and a good degree of the three branches of constructive journalism combine to show a professional journalism practice that is making attempts to address concerns about negative framing of news reports.

Regarding the second objective, the framing of the seven major news-making events did reflect diversity of news sourcing channels across four Kenyan national newspapers. However, it was a limited source diversity, characterized by major variations across the nine categories examined. Data showed an overwhelming dominance of journalists' analyses, coupled by a heavy reliance on official documents and reports, press conferences and statements, research, and other news organizations. This was interpreted as a professional news journalism practice that fosters low-cost and easy-to-access strategies in view of maximizing financial returns. Consistent with MDJ, the current study has demonstrated a professional news journalism practice in Kenya that leans toward news-for-profit rather than news-for-information; the code of conduct for practice of journalism is largely ignored and public interest compromised.

As for the third objective, the framing of the seven major news-making events reflected a diversity of 15 categories of news actors across the four Kenyan national newspapers. However, this diversity of news actors was limited. Data from QCA revealed a heavy reliance on the executive, politicians, and national government officials. Qualitative data corroborated this bias toward the elite and confirmed a systemic bias against ordinary citizens. Operationalizing PM, integrated data demonstrated a Kenyan mainstream newspaper industry that uses source bias for commercial gain. When the scholarly tradition advancing the notion that more diversity

implies better journalism practice was applied, the limited sourcing delivered a negative verdict on mainstream newspaper journalism in Kenya.

5.4 Limitations and Recommendations

The current study employed the explanatory sequential design of mixed methods that emphasized qualitative. As such, the analysis of quantitative data did not delve into, for instance, the statistical significance in the variations that were established across newspapers. Further studies could explore the usual explanatory sequential design by prioritizing quantitative data, employing quantitative measurements to establish correlations and statistical relationships with precision. The sample sizes of the seven events could be revised by adjusting their respective timeframes to make them comparable.

Limited by time, the examination of the 15 categories of news actors was partial. Participants focused on six categories. There is need for further studies to examine some of the categories of news actors qualitatively. This study recommends purposive sampling of journalists specialized in, for instance, business stories, religious stories, and gender to facilitate insight into the relevant categories of news actors.

The overwhelming dominance of journalists' analysis established and examined in the current study might not have been exhaustively explained. There is need for further studies, applying the concepts of fact-checking and attribution. Further studies could also explore this phenomenon, examining journalists' practice of reporting without attributing across mainstream news media entities in Kenya.

The current study focused on newspapers. The findings are limited to this type of media. Considering the reliance on other news media channels in Kenya, including radio and television, further studies could examine news valence and source diversity in broadcast media.

Qualitative data revealed other themes and perspectives that related to participants' awareness of lamentations about negative framing of stories, media as structurally elitist, the high turnover in newsrooms, brown envelop journalism, and the need for unified curriculum for schools of journalism in Kenya. Further studies could examine these themes. Additionally, further studies could explore the interplay between market theories and norms of journalism, enlarging the scope of the current study as to include the members of the management board and owners of news media entities or their representatives.

While data from the current study revealed overall bias toward negative valence, the bias was not strong. The thematic headlines, stories that were found to emphasize positive valence, and evidence of the three branches of constructive journalism combine to demonstrate a professional journalism practice that is making attempts to address concerns about negative framing of news reports. This study recommends the incorporation of constructive journalism in the syllabus of institutions of journalism in Kenya. Such a move could have students become aware of constructive journalism branches such as prospective journalism and restorative narratives, which are least known yet practiced in Kenyan newsrooms. Alongside this, there is need to revise news values. As currently constituted, news values foster traditional journalism.

Finally, in the current study, data has demonstrated that Kenyan newspapers differ more in how they select news actors than in how they select their news sourcing channels. While minimal variations across newspapers was interpreted as a reflection of a common environment characterized by "political vested interests" amid the absence of distinct newspaper ideologies, the variations could be seen as indications of distinct newsroom policies. Taking the evidence of variations across newspapers into account, the overall implication is that newsroom policies have an impact on source

diversity, some fostering and others limiting such diversity. Based on the current study's findings of an overall negative news valence and a limited source diversity, further studies could examine newsroom policies in Kenya in view of exploring the possibility of creating newsroom cultures that foster constructive journalism through positive news valence and source diversity devoid of bias.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has interpreted and discussed the findings of the study that sought to gain insight into professional journalism practice in Kenya. This has been from the perspective of the valence of news frames, the diversity of news sourcing channels, and the diversity of news actors. The interpretation and discussions have followed the order of the highlighted perspectives, which had been derived from the three research questions that this study answered. Conclusions drawn from the interpretation and discussions have been presented. The limitations of the study have been highlighted and recommendations given, including suggestions for further studies.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, J. Y. (2017). Tensions in the scholarship on participatory journalism and citizen journalism. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 41(3-4), 278-297. doi: 10.1080/23808985.2017.1350927
- Adams, T. (2008). A review of narrative ethics. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(2), 175-194. doi: 10.1177/1077800407304417
- Ainslie, R. (1966). *The press in Africa: Communications past and present*. London, UK: Victor Gollancz Ltd.
- Aitamurto, T., & Varma, A. (2018). The constructive role of journalism: Contentious metadiscourse on constructive journalism and solutions journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 12(6), 695-713. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2018.1473041
- Al Nashmi, E. (2018). From selfies to media events: How Instagram users interrupted their routines after the 'Charlie Hebdo' shootings. *Digital Journalism*, 6(1), 98-117. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2017.1306787
- Alexander, J., Breese, E., & Luengo, M. (2016). *The crisis of journalism reconsidered: Democratic culture, professional codes, digital future*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- Alford, M. (2018). A screen entertainment propaganda model. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 145-158). London, UK: University of Westminster.
- Ali, M. (2009). *Globalization and the Kenya media*. Mulgrave, Australia: Images.
- Allan, S. (2010). *News culture* (3rd ed.). Maidenhead, UK: Open University.
- Althaus, S. L., Edy, J. A., & Phalen, P. F. (2001). Using substitutes for full-text news stories in content analysis: Which text is best? *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(3), 707-723. doi: 10.2307/2669247
- Amin, H., & Napoli, J. (2000). Media and power in Egypt. In J. Curran & M.-J. Park (Eds.), *De-Westernising media studies* (pp. 178-188). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Amutabi, M. N. (2013). Media boom in Kenya and celebrity galore. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 25(1), 14-29. doi: 10.1080/13696815.2013.765357
- Anderson, C. (2013). *Rebuilding the news: Metropolitan journalism in the digital age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University.
- Anderson, N. H. (1965). Averaging versus adding as a stimulus-combination rule in impression formation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 70(4), 394-400. doi: 10.1037/h0022280

- Andersson, U., & Wadbring, I. (2015). Public interest or self-interest? How journalism attracts future journalists. *Journal of Media Practice*, *16*(2), 126-138. doi: 10.1080/14682753.2015.1041805
- Andrew, B. C. (2007). Media-generated shortcuts: Do newspaper headlines present another roadblock for low-information rationality? *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *12*(2), 24-43. doi: 10.1177/1081180X07299795
- Angelou, I., Katsaras, V., Kourkouridis, D., & Veglis, A. (2020). Social media followership as a predictor of news website traffic. *Journalism Practice*, *14*(6), 730-748.
- Ansari, S., Panhwar, A., & Mahesar, G. (2016). Mixed methods research: Ontology, epistemological and, methodological underpinnings. *International Research Journal of Language and Literature*, *27*(2016), 133-141.
- AP, A. P. (2015). *Pope Francis to make first trip to Africa*. Retrieved from <https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/pope-francis-to-make-first-trip-to-africa-1.2556344>
- Archibald, M. M., Radil, A. I., Zhang, X., & Hanson, W. E. (2015). Current mixed methods practices in qualitative research: A content analysis of leading journals. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *14*(2), 5-33.
- Aslama, M., Hellman, H., & Sauri, T. (2004). Does market-entry regulation matter? Competition in television broadcasting and programme diversity in Finland, 1993-2002. *International Communication Gazette*, *66*(2), 113-132.
- Association of Media Women in Kenya. (2014). *Laws governing media practice in Kenya: A journalists' handbook 2014*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Atton, C., & Mabweazara, H. M. (2011). New media and journalism practice in Africa: An agenda for research. *Journalism*, *12*(6), 667-673. doi: 10.1177/1464884911405467
- Baden, D., McIntyre, K., & Homberg, F. (2019). The impact of constructive news on affective and behavioural responses. *Journalism Studies*, *20*(13), 1940-1959. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2018.1545599
- Baker, C. E. (2007). *Media concentration and democracy: Why ownership matters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- Bansal, S., & Rosenberg, T. (2014). *Reporting on solutions internationally: A toolkit by the Solutions Journalism Network and Pulitzer Center*. Retrieved from <https://www.park.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Solutions-Journalism-Toolkit.pdf>
- Baumeister, R. F., Bratslavsky, E., Finkenauer, C., & Vohs, K. D. (2001). Bad is stronger than good. *Review of General Psychology*, *5*(4), 323-370.

- Baumgartner, F. R., & Bonafont, L. (2015). All news is bad news: Newspaper coverage of political parties in Spain. *Political Communication*, 32(2), 268-291. doi: 10.1080/10584609.2014.919974
- Beckers, K., & Van Aelst, P. (2018). Look who's talking: An analysis of actors in television news (2003-2016). *Journalism Studies*, 20(6), 872-890.
- Bednarek, M. (2015). Voices and values in the news: News media talk, news values and attribution. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 11, 27-37. doi: 10.1016/j.dcm.2015.11.004
- Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell.
- Benesch, S. (1998). The rise of solutions journalism. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 36(6), 36-39.
- Benoot, C., Hannes, K., & Bilsen, J. (2016). The use of purposeful sampling in a qualitative evidence synthesis: A worked example on sexual adjustment to a cancer trajectory. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 16(1). doi: 10.1186/s12874-016-0114-6
- Benson, R. (2009). What makes news more multiperspectival? A field analysis. *Poetics*, 37, 402-418.
- Benson, R., & Wood, T. (2015). Who says what or nothing at all? Speakers, frames, and frameless quotes in unauthorized immigration news in the United States, Norway, and France. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(7), 802-821. doi: 10.1177/0002764215573257
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Berger, J., & Milkman, K. L. (2012). What makes online content viral? *Journal of Marketing Research*, 49(2), 192-205. doi: 10.1509/jmr.10.0353
- Bergman, T. (2018). American television: Manufacturing consumerism. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The Propaganda Model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 159-172). London, UK: University of Westminster.
- Berkowitz, D. A. (1987). TV news sources and news channels: A study in agenda building. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64(2-3), 508-513.
- Berman, J., & Smyth, R. (2015). Conceptual frameworks in the doctoral research process: A pedagogical model. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 52(2), 125-136. doi: 10.1080/14703297.2013.809011
- Biddle, C., & Schafft, K. A. (2015). Axiology and anomaly in the practice of mixed methods work: Pragmatism, valuation, and the transformative paradigm. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 9(4), 320-334.

- Bleich, E., Stonebraker, H., Nisar, H., & Abdelhamid, R. (2015). Media portrayals of minorities: Muslims in British newspaper headlines, 2001-2012. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(6), 942-962. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002200
- Boczek, K., & Koppers, L. (2020). What's new about Whatsapp for news? A mixed-method study on news outlets' strategies for using WhatsApp. *Digital Journalism*, 8(1), 126-144. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1692685
- Boeijs, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and Quantity*, 36(4), 391-409. doi: 10.1023/A:1020909529486
- Boesman, J., d'Haenens, L., & Van Gorp, B. (2015). Triggering the news story: Reconstructing reporters' newsgathering practices in the light of newspaper type, newsroom centralization, reporters' autonomy, and specialization. *Journalism Studies*, 16(6), 904-922. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2014.953783
- Booker, N. (2019, April 8). Why we need more women in the top media leadership positions. *Nation*. Retrieved from https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/we-need-more-women-top-media-leadership-positions/440808-5062690-wvfn17/index.html?fbclid=IwAR0Q17EtBWk-uNPZAntXHI2RRN139M4QvASZVTa6rNPtxm-Hl8b_ddWhDfg
- Boring, E. G. (1953). The role of theory in experimental psychology. *The American Journal of Psychology*, 66(2), 169-184. doi: 10.2307/1418724
- Boumans, J. (2018). Subsidizing the news?: Organizational press releases' influence on news media's agenda and content. *Journalism Studies*, 19(15), 2264-2282. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2017.1338154
- Boykoff, J. (2006). Framing dissent: Mass-media coverage of the global justice movement. *New Political Science*, 28(2), 201-228.
- Bradshaw, P. (2007). *Wiki Journalism: Are wikis the new blogs?* Retrieved from <http://www2.eca.usp.br/Ciencias.Linguagem/L3BradshawWikisBlogs.pdf>
- Brasted, M. (2005). Framing protest: The Chicago Tribune and the New York Times during the 1968 Democratic Convention. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 13(1), 1-25. doi: 10.1207/s15456889ajc1301_1
- British Broadcasting Corporation. (2015). *President Obama starts two-day Kenya visit*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33656895>
- British Broadcasting Corporation. (2017a). *Kenya doctors end strike after signing government deal*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39271850>
- British Broadcasting Corporation. (2017b). *Kenya presidential election cancelled by Supreme Court*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41123329>

- Brock, G. (2013). *Out of print: Journalism and the business of news in the digital age*. London, UK: Kogan Page.
- Brown, C. R., Wearden, S. T., & Straughan, D. M. (1987). Invisible power: Newspaper news sources and the limits of diversity. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64, 45-54.
- Burch, E. A., & Harry, J. C. (2004). Counter-hegemony and environmental justice in California newspapers: Source use patterns in stories about pesticides and farm workers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(3), 559-577. doi: 10.1177/107769900408100307
- Burke, J. (2017, September 20). Kenyan election annulled after result called before votes counted, says court. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/20/kenyan-election-rerun-not-transparent-supreme-court>
- Burns, L. S., & Matthews, B. J. (2018). *Understanding journalism* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Burns, Z. C., Caruso, E. M., & Bartels, D. M. (2011). *Predicting premeditation: Future behavior is seen as more intentional than past behavior*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Burrows, O. (2013). *Kenyan takes on foreign media for 'negative' coverage on Africa*. Retrieved from <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2013/04/kenyan-takes-on-western-media-for-negative-coverage-on-africa/>
- Caballero, F. S. (2018). Imperialism and hegemonic information in Latin America: The media coup in Venezuela vs. The criminalization of protest in Mexico. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 237-248). London, UK: University of Westminster.
- Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56(2), 81-105.
- Caple, H., & Bednarek, M. (2015). Rethinking news values: What a discursive approach can tell us about the construction of news discourse and news photography. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 17(4), 1-22. doi: 10.1177/1464884914568078
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University.
- Carlson, M. (2009). Dueling, dancing, or dominating? Journalists and their sources. *Sociology Compass*, 3(4), 526-542. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9020.2009.00219.x
- Carvajal, M., García-Avilés, J. A., & González, J. L. (2012). Crowdfunding and non-profit media: The emergence of new models for public interest journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 6(5-6), 638-647. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2012.667267

- Chang, T.-K., Chen, C. H., & Zhan, G.-Q. (1993). Rethinking the mass propaganda model: Evidence from the Chinese regional press. *International Communication Gazette*, 51(3), 173-195. doi: 10.1177/001654929305100301
- Chari, T. (2010). Representation or misrepresentation? The New York Times's framing of the 1994 Rwanda genocide. *African Identities*, 8(4), 333-349. doi: 10.1080/14725843.2010.513242
- Cheeseman, N. (2014, June 15). Walk in journalists' shoes and you will understand they try to deliver. *Sunday Nation*. Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/walk-in-journalists-shoes-and-you-will-understand-they-try-to-deliver-993958>
- Cherryholmes, C. H. (1992). Notes on pragmatism and scientific realism. *American Educational Research Association*, 21(6), 13-17.
- Choto, I. (2016). The propaganda model and the mediation of the land question in Zimbabwe. *Latin American Report*, 30(2), 53-84.
- Christians, C. G., Glasser, T. L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R., A. (2009). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois.
- Cision. (2017). *2017 Global social journalism study*. Retrieved from www.cision.com
- Collins, K., Onwuegbuzie, A., & Sutton, I. (2006). A model incorporating the rationale and purpose for conducting mixed-methods research in special education and beyond. *Learning Disabilities*, 4(1), 67-100.
- Collins, S. (2017). Who makes front page news in Kenya. *African Journal of Communication*, 2(1), 446-465.
- Conde, B., Calderón, A., & Pascual, M. (2016). Negativity in political news of Spanish news media. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 71, 160-178. doi: 10.4185/RLCS-2016-1089
- Connolly-Ahern, C., Ahern, L. A., & Bortree, D. S. (2009). The effectiveness of stratified constructed week sampling for content analysis of electronic news source archives: AP newswire, business wire, and PR newswire. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(4), 862-883.
- Constructive Institute. (n.d.). *What is constructive journalism*. Retrieved from <https://constructiveinstitute.org/Constructive-Journalism.67.aspx>
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., Clark, V. L., Plano, M. L., & Hanson, W. E. (2003). Advanced mixed methods research design. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (pp. 161-196). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Croker, R. A. (2009). An introduction to qualitative research. In J. Heigham & R. A. Croker (Eds.), *Qualitative research in applied linguistics: A practical introduction* (pp. 3-24). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cronin, B. (2005). *Foundations of philosophy: Lonergan's cognitive theory and epistemology*. Nairobi, Kenya: Consolata Institute of Philosophy.
- Cronin, B. (2006). *Value ethics: A Lonergan perspective*. Nairobi, Kenya: Consolata Institute of Philosophy.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cube, C. (2017). *Social media has transformed every newsroom in the country. A recent study talks about journalists' habits*. Retrieved from <https://mediablog.pnnewswire.com/2017/09/21/global-social-media-journalism-study/>
- Cui, D., & Wu, F. (2017). Inter-media agenda setting in global news production: Examining agenda attributes in newspaper coverage of the MH370 incident in the U.S., China, and Hong Kong. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 27(6), 582-600. doi: 10.1080/01292986.2017.1305426
- Culbertson, H. M. (1975). *Veiled news sources-Who and what are they?* Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED130266.pdf>
- Curry, A., & Hammonds, K. (2014). *The power of solutions journalism*. Retrieved from https://mediaengagement.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/ENP_SJN-report.pdf
- Curtin, P. A. (1999). Reevaluating public relations information subsidies: Market-driven journalism and agenda-building theory and practice. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 11(1), 53-90.
- Cushion, S., Kilby, A., Thomas, R., Morani, M., & Sambrook, R. (2018). Newspapers, impartiality and television news: Intermedia agenda-setting during the 2015 UK general election campaign. *Journalism Studies*, 19(2), 162-181. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2016.1171163
- D'Angelo, P. (2010). Introduction: Doing news framing analysis. In P. D'Angelo & J. Kuypers (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspective* (pp. 1-14). New York, NY: Routledge.

- D'Angelo, P. (Ed.). (2018). *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- D'Angelo, P., Calderone, M., & Territola, A. (2005). Strategy and issue framing: An exploratory analysis of topics and frames in campaign 2004 print news. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 13(4), 199-219.
- D'Souza, R. S., D'Souza, S., Strand, N., Anderson, A., Vogt, M. N. P., & Olatoye, O. (2020). YouTube as a source of medical information on the novel coronavirus 2019 disease (COVID-19) pandemic. *Global Public Health*, 1-8. doi: 10.1080/17441692.2020.1761426
- Dahmen, N. S. (2016). Images of resilience: The case for visual restorative narrative. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 23(2), 93-107.
- Daymon, C., & Holloway, I. (2002). *Qualitative research methods in public relations and marketing communications*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- de Gialdino, I. (2009). Ontological and epistemological foundations of qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Research*, 10(2), 52-85.
- de Vreese, C. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, 13(1), 51-62. doi: 10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre
- de Vreese, C., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2003). Valenced news frames and public support for the EU. *Communications*, 28(4), 361-381. doi: 10.1515/comm.2003.024
- de Vreese, C., Peter, J., & Semetko, H. A. (2001). Framing politics at the launch of the Euro: A cross-national comparative study of frames in the News. *Political Communication*, 18(2), 107-122.
- Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. London, UK: Aldine.
- Denzin, N. K. (2009). *Qualitative inquiry under fire: Toward a new paradigm dialogue*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast.
- Digirolamo, G. J., & Hintzman, D. L. (1997). First impressions are lasting impressions: A primacy effect in memory for repetitions. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 4(1), 121-124. doi: 10.3758/BF03210784
- Dodds, T. (2019). Reporting with WhatsApp: Mobile chat applications' impact on journalistic practices. *Digital Journalism*, 7(6), 725-745.
- Domingo, D., & Heinonen, A. (2008). Weblogs and journalism: A typology to explore the blurring boundaries. *Nordicom Review*, 29(1), 3-15. doi: 10.1515/nor-2017-0159
- Donsbach, W. (2004). Psychology of news decisions: Factors behind journalists' professional behavior. *Journalism*, 5(2), 131-157.

- Dor, D. (2003). On newspaper headlines as relevance optimizers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35(5), 695-721. doi: 10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00134-0
- Downie, L., & Schudson, M. (2009). *The reconstruction of American journalism*. Retrieved from https://archives.cjr.org/reconstruction/the_reconstruction_of_a_merican.php
- Drewski, D. (2015). Has there been a European public discourse on the Euro crisis? A content analysis of German and Spanish newspaper editorials. *Javnost - The Public*, 22(3), 264-282. doi: 10.1080/13183222.2015.1059629
- Dworkin, S. L. (2012). Sample size policy for qualitative studies using in-depth interviews. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 41(6), 1319-1320.
- Elahi, M. (2013). "They are not different from others": Ethical practices and corruption in Bangladeshi journalism. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 28(3), 189-202. doi: 10.1080/08900523.2013.798137
- Elmasry, M. H., & el-Nawawy, M. (2019). Can a non-Muslim mass shooter be a "terrorist"? A comparative content analysis of the Las Vegas and Orlando shootings. *Journalism Practice*, 14(7), 863-879.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x
- Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11. *Political Communication*, 20(4), 415-432.
- Ericson, R. (1998). How journalists visualize fact. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 560(1), 83-95.
- Ericson, R., Baranek, P., & Chan, J. (1987). *Visualizing deviance: A study of news organization*. Milton Park, UK: Taylor & Francis.
- Erjavec, K., & Zajc, J. (2011). A historical overview of approaches to journalism studies. *Izvorni Znanstveni Članak*, 17(1-2), 9-29.
- Ersoy, M. (2010). Peace journalism and news coverage on the Cyprus conflict. *The Muslim World*, 100(1), 78-99. doi: 10.1111/j.1478-1913.2009.01303.x
- Esipisu, M., & Khaguli, I., E. (2009). *Eyes of democracy: The media and elections*. London, UK: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Fair, J. E. (2015). African journalism studies: The first 60 years. *African Journalism Studies*, 36(1), 22-29. doi: 10.1080/23743670.2015.1008126
- Fengler, S., & Russ-Mohl, S. (2008). Journalists and the information-attention markets: Towards an economic theory of journalism. *Journalism*, 9(6), 667-690. doi: 10.1177/1464884908096240

- Ferree, M. M., Gamson, W. A., Gerhards, J., & Rucht, D. (2004). *Shaping abortion discourse: Democracy and the public sphere in Germany and the United States* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University.
- Fink, E. J. (1995). Book review of market-driven journalism: Let the citizen beware? *The Journal of Media Economics*, 8(3), 125-128.
- Finnegan, C. (2015). *Barack Obama's trips to Kenya: Then vs. Now*. Retrieved from <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/barack-obamas-trips-kenya-now/story?id=32650996>
- Fiske, S. T. (1980). Attention and weight in person perception: The impact of negative and extreme behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38(6), 889-906. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.38.6.889
- Fitzgerald, K., Paravati, E., Green, M. C., Moore, M. M., & Qian, J. L. (2020). Restorative narratives for health promotion. *Health Communication*, 35(3), 356-363. doi: 10.1080/10410236.2018.1563032
- Fondation Hironnelle. (2018). *A call for 'constructive journalism': Our interview with Ulrik Haagerup*. Retrieved from <https://www.hirondelle.org/en/our-news/476-a-call-for-constructive-journalism-our-interview-with-ulrik-haagerup>
- Frederiksen, B. F. (2011). Print, newspapers and audiences in colonial Kenya: African and Indian improvement, protest and connections. *Africa*, 81(1), 155-172. doi: 10.1017/S0001972010000082
- Frederiksen, B. F. (2020). Censorship as negotiation: The state and non-European newspapers in Kenya, 1930-54. *Colonial Public Spheres and the Worlds of Print*, 44(2), 391-411. doi: 10.1017/S0165115320000212
- Freedom House. (2017). *Freedom of the press 2017-Kenya*. Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/59fc67da6.html>
- From, U., & Kristensen, N. (2018). Rethinking constructive journalism by means of service journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 12(6), 714-729. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2018.1470475
- Funk, M. J., & McCombs, M. (2017). Strangers on a theoretical train: Inter-media agenda setting, community structure, and local news coverage. *Journalism Studies*, 18(7), 845-865. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2015.1099460
- Fusch, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(9), 1408-1416.
- Gaber, I., Ledger, F., & Barber, B. (2006). *Live from Africa: A handbook for African radio journalist, institute for war and peace reporting*. Retrieved from <https://iwpr.net/sites/default/files/download/publication/livefromafrica.pdf>

- Gabielkov, M., Ramachandran, A., Chaintreau, A., & Legout, A. (2016). Social clicks: What and who gets read on Twitter? *Proceedings of the 2016 ACM SIGMETRICS International Conference on Measurement and Modeling of Computer Science - SIGMETRICS '16*, 179-192. doi: 10.1145/2896377.2901462
- Galician, M.-L., & Vestre, N. D. (1987). Effects of 'good news' and 'bad news' on newscast image and community image. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64(2-3), 399-525. doi: 10.1177/107769908706400216
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191.
- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cypress crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64-91.
- Gans, H. J. (1963). *Urban villagers: Group life and class in the life of Italian-Americans*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Gans, H. J. (1979a). *Deciding what is news: A study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.
- Gans, H. J. (1979b). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek, and Time (25 Anniversary)*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.
- Gans, H. J. (2003). *Democracy and the news*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University.
- Gathara, P. (2017). *When the press fails the people: A critique of Kenya's media*. Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/features/when-press-fails-people-critique-kenyas-media/>
- Gathara, P. (2019). *The problem is not 'negative' Western media coverage of Africa*. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/7/9/the-problem-is-not-negative-western-media-coverage-of-africa/>
- Gathura, G. (2018, April 21). How Kenyans died during 100-day doctors' strike. *The Standard*. Retrieved from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/health/article/2001277669/how-kenyans-died-during-100-day-doctors-strike>
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Gieber, W. (1955). Do newspapers overplay 'negative' news? *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 32(3), 311-318. doi: 10.1177/107769905503200305
- Gielan, M. (2015). *Broadcasting happiness: The science of igniting and sustaining positive*. Dallas, TX: BenBella Books.
- Gilbert, D. T., & Wilson, T. D. (2007). Prospection: Experiencing the future. *Science*, 317(5843), 1351-1354. doi: 10.1126/science.1144161

- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.
- Gitonga, E., Ong'ondo, C., & Ndavula, J. (2019). Print media managers' perception of integration of new media by newspapers in Kenya. *African Multidisciplinary Journal of Research (AMJR)*, 4(2), 80-104.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Grabe, M., E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (1999). Sourcing and reporting in news magazine programs: 60 minutes versus hard copy. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76(2), 293-311.
- Green, H. E. (2014). Use of theoretical and conceptual frameworks in qualitative research. *Nurse Researcher*, 21(6), 34-38. doi: 10.7748/nr.21.6.34.e1252
- Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 11(3), 255-274. doi: 10.3102/01623737011003255
- Groshek, J., & Clough, M., G. (2013). Agenda trending: Reciprocity and the predictive capacity of social networking sites in intermedia agenda setting across topics over time. *Media and Communication*, 1(1), 15-27.
- Guillamon-Saorin, E., Osma, B. G., & Jones, M. J. (2012). Opportunistic disclosure in press release headlines. *Accounting and Business Research*, 42(2), 143-168. doi: 10.1080/00014788.2012.632575
- Gyldensted, C. (2011). *Innovating news journalism through positive psychology* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- Gyldensted, C. (2015). *From mirrors to movers. Five elements of positive psychology in constructive journalism*. Charleston, SC: GGroup.
- Haagerup, U. (2008). *Konstruktive nyheder (Constructive news)*. Retrieved from <https://politiken.dk/debat/kroniken/art5471819/Konstruktive-nyheder>
- Habermas, J. (2006). The public sphere: A encyclopedia article. In M. G. Durham & D. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (Rev. ed., pp. 73-78). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Hackett, R. A. (2006). Is peace journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in news media. *Conflict and Communication Online*, 5(2), 1-13.
- Hallin, D., C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- Hallin, D., C., & Mancini, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.

- Hallin, D., C., Manoff, R., K., & Weddle, J., K. (1993). Sourcing patterns of national security reporters. *Journalism Quarterly*, 70(4), 753-766. doi: 10.1177/107769909307000402
- Hampton, M., & Conboy, M. (2014). Journalism history-A debate. *Journalism Studies*, 15(2), 154-171. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2013.816547
- Hanitzsch, T., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B., ... Yuen, K. W. (2010). Modeling perceived influences on journalism: Evidence from a cross-national survey of journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87(1), 5-22.
- Hansen, K. A. (1991). Source diversity and newspaper enterprise journalism. *Journalism Quarterly*, 68(3), 474-482. doi: 10.1177/107769909106800318
- Harcup, T. (2004). *Journalism: Principles and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2017). What is news?: News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies*, 18(12), 1470-1488.
- Harder, R. A., Sevenans, J., & Van Aelst, P. (2017). Intermedia agenda setting in the social media age: How traditional players dominate the news agenda in election times. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 22(3), 275-293. doi: 10.1177/1940161217704969
- Harrison, J. (2006). *News*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Heath, C. (1996). Do people prefer to pass along good or bad news? Valence and relevance of news as predictors of transmission propensity. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 68(2), 79-94.
- Heider, D. (2008). *Construction of reality through the news*. Retrieved from <https://ezproxy.lib.tangaza.ac.ke:2081/10.1002/9781405186407.wbiecc128>
- Helander, E. (2010). A critical view of the Kenyan media system through the perspective of the journalists. *African Communication Research*, 3(3), 521-542.
- Helfer, L., & Aelst, P. V. (2016). What makes party messages fit for reporting? An experimental study of journalistic news selection. *Political Communication*, 33(1), 59-77. doi: 10.1080/10584609.2014.969464
- Hendrix, C. S., & Salehyan, I. (2015). No news is good news: Mark and recapture for event data when reporting probabilities are less than one. *International Interactions*, 41(2), 392-406. doi: 10.1080/03050629.2015.982117
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Hermans, L., & Drok, N. (2018). Placing constructive journalism in context. *Journalism Practice*, 12(6), 679-694. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2018.1470900

- Hermans, L., & Gyldensted, C. (2018). Elements of constructive journalism: Characteristics, practical application and audience valuation. *Journalism*, 20(4), 1-17. doi: 10.1177/1464884918770537
- Hester, J., & Dougall, E. (2007). The efficiency of constructed week sampling for content analysis of online news. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 84(4), 811-824. doi: 10.1177/107769900708400410
- Hill, M. (1973). Diversity and evenness: A unifying notation and its consequences. *Ecology*, 54(2), 427-432. doi: 10.2307/1934352
- Hladik, R., & Stetka, V. (2017). The powers that tweet: Social media as news sources in the Czech Republic. *Journalism Studies*, 18(2), 154-174.
- Hornsby, C. (2013). *Kenya: A history since independence*. London, UK: I.B. Tauris.
- Humprecht, E., & Büchel, F. (2013). More of the same or marketplace of opinions? A cross-national comparison of diversity in online news reporting. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(4), 436-461.
- Humprecht, E., & Esser, F. (2018a). Mapping digital journalism: Comparing 48 news websites from six countries. *Journalism*, 19(4), 500-518.
- Humprecht, E., & Esser, F. (2018b). Diversity in online news: On the importance of ownership types and media system types. *Journalism Studies*, 19(12), 1825-1847. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2017.1308229
- Ifantidou, E. (2009). Newspaper headlines and relevance: Ad hoc concepts in ad hoc contexts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(4), 699-720.
- Iggers, J. (1999). *Good news, bad news: Journalism ethics and the public interest*. Retrieved from <https://www.pdfdrive.com/good-news-bad-news-journalism-ethics-and-the-public-interest-critical-studies-in-communication-in-cultural-industries-e185163028.html>
- Imagination Institute. (2013). *Imagination Institute*. Retrieved from <http://www.imagination-institute.org/>
- Imenda, S. (2014). Is there a conceptual difference between theoretical and conceptual frameworks? *Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(2), 185-195.
- Ileri, K. (2012). Newspaper visibility of members of parliament in Kenya. *Journalism and Mass Communication*, 2(7), 717-734.
- Ileri, K. (2013). A study of newspaper columnists' framing of Kenyan politics in post-2007 election violence. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(2), 109-127. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2013.782284
- Ileri, K. (2014). Four-country newspaper framing of Barack Obama's multiracial identity in the 2008 US presidential election. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 35(3), 23-38. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2014.955867

- Ileri, K. (2015). *Constructing a portrait of Kenyan journalists in the 21st century: Demographics, job satisfaction, influences on news values and autonomy, and standards of journalism training* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
- Ileri, K. (2016). Do they preach water but drink wine? Examining “the corruption dragon” in Kenyan journalism. *Journal of Media Ethics*, 31(4), 245-259. doi: 10.1080/23736992.2016.1220252
- Ileri, K. (2017a). A national survey of demographics composition of Kenyan journalists. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 18(2), 241-261. doi: 10.1177/1464884915599950
- Ileri, K. (2017b). Job autonomy: How Kenyan newspeople perceive their journalistic latitudes. *African Journalism Studies*, 38(2), 90-114.
- Ileri, K. (2017c). A national survey on the professional role conceptions of journalists in Kenya. *Journalism Practice*, 11(8), 1042-1061.
- Ileri, K., Chege, N., Kibarabara, J., & Onyalla, D. B. (2019). Frame analysis: Newspaper coverage of Kenya’s oil exploration in the post-2012 discovery era. *African Journalism Studies*, 40(2), 34-50.
- Ismail, J. A., & Deane, J. (2008). The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: The role of local language medial. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(3), 319-327. doi: 10.1177/1940161208319510
- Ittefaq, M. (2018). Revisiting news value theory in the age of globalization. *Journal of Media Studies*, 33(2), 81-100.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- Jacobsen, F. (2010). *Konstruktive nyheder: Præcisering og placering (constructive news: Precision and position)* (Unpublished master’s thesis). University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark.
- Jahng, M. R. (2018). From reading comments to seeking news: Exposure to disagreements from online comments and the need for opinion-challenging news. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 15(2), 142-154. doi: 10.1080/19331681.2018.1449702
- Jensen, K. B. (2002). Media effects: Quantitative traditions. In K. Jensen B. (Ed.), *A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies* (pp. 138-155). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), 602-611.
- Johnson, B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.

- Johnson, B., Onwuegbuzie, A., & Turner, L. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(2), 112-133. doi: 10.1177/1558689806298224
- Johnson, M., Paulussen, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2018). Much ado about nothing? The low importance of Twitter as a sourcing tool for economic journalists. *Digital Journalism*, 6(7), 869-888. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2018.1490657
- Jonkman, J. G. F., Boukes, M., Vliegthart, R., & Verhoeven, P. (2020). Buffering negative news: Individual-level effects of company visibility, tone, and pre-existing attitudes on corporate reputation. *Mass Communication and Society*, 23(2), 272-296. doi: 10.1080/15205436.2019.1694155
- Junge, K. (1994). Diversity of ideas about diversity measurement. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 35(1), 16-26.
- Kalyango, Y. (2011). *African media and democratization*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang.
- Karanja, M. (2000). Growth of print media in Kenya. In M. Odero & E. Kamweru (Eds.), *Media culture and performance in Kenya* (pp. 27-49). Nairobi, Kenya: East Africa Media Institute and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Kersten, S. (2015). *Links are broken. These three alternatives have improved our users' reading experience*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/de-correspondent/links-are-broken-these-three-alternatives-have-improved-our-readers-reading-experience-796c302c8930>
- Khabaz, D. (2018). Framing Brexit: The role, and the impact, of the national newspapers on the EU Referendum. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 39(4), 496-508. doi: 10.1177/0739532918806871
- Kiai, W. (2011). Media developments and uses in the colonial era. In G. Nyabuga & W. Kiai (Eds.), *The media in Kenya: Evolution, effects and challenges* (pp. 13-38). Nairobi, Kenya: University of Nairobi.
- Kilgo, D. K., & Sinta, V. (2016). Six things you didn't know about headline writing: Sensational form in viral news of traditional and digitally native news organizations. *The Official Journal of the International Symposium of Online Journalism*, 6(1), 111-130.
- Kilgo, D. K., Harlow, S., Garcia-Perdomo, V., & Salaverria, R. (2018). A new sensation? An international exploration of sensationalism and social media recommendations in online news publications. *Journalism*, 19(11), 1497-1516.
- Kilgo, D. K., Lough, K., & Riedl, M. J. (2020). Emotional appeals and news values as factors of shareworthiness in ice bucket challenge coverage. *Digital Journalism*, 8(2), 267-286. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2017.1387501
- Kiplang'at, J. (2015, September 18). Pope Francis to hold talks with Uhuru during maiden visit. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/pope-francis-to-hold-talks-with-uhuru-during-maiden-visit-1128968>

- Klaehn, J. (2018). Media, power and the origins of the propaganda model: An interview with Edward S. Herman. *Media Theory*, 2(2), 95-100.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., van Hoof, A. M. J., & Oegema, D. (2006). Negative news and the sleeper effect of distrust. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 11(2), 86-104. doi: 10.1177/1081180X06286417
- Koehn, C. (2015, July 25). Youth, women biggest winners of GES 2015. *The Standard*. Retrieved from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business-news/article/2000170383/youth-women-biggest-winners-of-ges-2015>
- Koning, R. (2010). Clifford Geertz's account of culture as a resource for theology. *Pacifica: Australasian Theological Studies*, 23(1), 33-57.
- Koopmans, R. (2004). Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere. *Theory and Society*, 33(3/4), 367-391.
- Korthagen, I. (2015). Who gets on the news? The relation between media biases and different actors in news reporting on complex policy processes. *Public Management Review*, 17(5), 617-642. doi: 10.1080/14719037.2013.822529
- Kozman, C. (2017). Measuring issue-specific and generic frames in the media's coverage of the steroids issue in baseball. *Journalism Practice*, 11(6), 777-797. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2016.1190660
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). Reliability in content analysis: Some common misconceptions and recommendations. *Human Communication Research*, 30(3), 411-433. doi: 10.1093/hcr/30.3.411
- Lacy, S., Riffe, D., Stoddard, S., Martin, H., & Chang, K.-K. (2001). Sample size for newspaper content analysis in multi-year studies. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78(4), 836-845.
- Lanson, J., & Stephens, M. (2008). *Writing and reporting the news*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University.
- LaPrairie, R. (2017). *Libya, The New York Times, and a propaganda model of the mass media* (Unpublished master's thesis). Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI.
- Lau, R. W. K. (2004). Critical realism and news production. *Media, Culture & Society*, 26(5), 693-711. doi: 10.1177/0163443704045507
- Leal, S. (2019). "News is about what happens on the inside"-News in an informal urban settlement in South Africa. *Communicatio*, 45(4), 1-18.
- Leavy, P. (2017). *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, arts-based, and community-based participatory research approaches*. New York, NY: Guilford.

- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. (2012). News framing and public opinion: A mediation analysis of framing effects on political attitudes. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 89(2), 185-204. doi: 10.1177/1077699011430064
- Lecheler, S., & Kruikemeier, S. (2016). Re-evaluating journalistic routines in a digital age: A Review of research on the use of online sources. *New Media and Society*, 18(1), 156-171. doi: 10.1177/1461444815600412
- Leckner, S. (2012). Presentation factors affecting reading behaviour in readers of newspaper media: An eye-tracking perspective. *Visual Communication*, 11(2), 163-184. doi: 10.1177/1470357211434029
- Lee, L. (2008). *Print and online newspapers: Working together, becoming stronger*. Retrieved from <https://www.robertniles.com/journals/lorraineklee/200808/59/>
- Lee, S. T., & Basnyat, I. (2013). From press release to news: Mapping the framing of the 2009 H1N1 A influenza pandemic. *Health Communication*, 28(2), 119-132. doi: 10.1080/10410236.2012.658550
- León, J. A. (1997). The effects of headlines and summaries on news comprehension and recall. *Reading and Writing*, 9(2), 85-106.
- Leung, D. K. K., & Lee, F. L. F. (2015). How journalists value positive news: The influence of professional beliefs, market considerations, and political attitudes. *Journalism Studies*, 16(2), 289-304. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2013.869062
- Leuven, S. V., Deprez, A., & Raeymaeckers, K. (2013). Increased news access for international NGOs? How Médecins Sans Frontières' press releases built the agenda of Flemish newspapers (1995-2010). *Journalism Practice*, 7(4), 430-445. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2013.802479
- Leuven, S. V., Kruikemeier, S., Lecheler, S., & Hermans, L. (2018). Online and newsworthy: Have online sources changed journalism? *Digital Journalism*, 6(7), 798-806. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2018.1498747
- Lewis, S. C. (2019). *Journalism*. Retrieved from <https://ezproxy.lib.tangaza.ac.ke:2081/10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0001>
- Li, M. (2018). Intermedia attribute agenda setting in the context of issue-focused media events: Caitlyn Jenner and transgender reporting. *Journalism Practice*, 12(1), 56-75. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2016.1273078
- Lichterman, J. (2019). *How the correspondent exceeded its \$2.5 million crowdfunding goal*. Retrieved from <https://www.lenfestinstitute.org/solution-set/2019/01/17/how-the-correspondent-exceeded-its-2-5-million-crowdfunding-goal/>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences revisited. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 97-128). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Free Press.

- Liu, S., Guo, L., Mays, K., Betke, M., & Wijaya, D. T. (2019). *Detecting frames in news headlines and its application to analyzing news framing trends surrounding U.S. gun violence*. Retrieved from <https://par.nsf.gov/servlets/purl/10219163>
- Lodamo, B., & Skjerdal, T. S. (2009). Freebies and brown envelopes in Ethiopian journalism. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 30(2), 134-154. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2009.9653399
- Löffelholz, M. (2008). Heterogenous - multidimensional - competing: Theoretical approaches to journalism - an overview. In M. Löffelholz & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 15-29). Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell.
- Lough, K., & McIntyre, K. (2018). Journalists' perceptions of solutions journalism and its place in the field. *Research Journal of the International Symposium on Online Journalism*, 8(1), 33-52.
- Lovaas, S. (2008). *Manufacturing consent in democratic South Africa: Application of the propaganda model*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Witwatersrand University.
- Lowrey, W. (2006). Mapping the journalism–blogging relationship. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 7(4), 477-500.
- Luciani, M., Campbell, K., Tschirhart, H., Ausili, D., & Jack, S. M. (2019). How to design a qualitative health research study. Part 1: Design and purposeful sampling considerations. *Professioni Infermieristiche*, 72(2), 152-161.
- Luisi, M. L. R., Barker, J., & Geana, M. (2018). American Ebola story: Frames in U.S. national newspapers. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 26(5), 267-277.
- Luke, D. A., Caburnay, C. A., & Cohen, E. L. (2011). How much is enough? New recommendations for using constructed week sampling in newspaper content analysis of health stories. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 5(1), 76-91. doi: 10.1080/19312458.2010.547823
- Lynd, R. S., & Lynd, H. M. (1957). *Middletown: A study in modern American culture*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt.
- Mabweazara, H. M. (2015). African journalism in the 'digital era': Charting a research agenda. *African Journalism Studies*, 36(1), 11-17. doi: 10.1080/23743670.2015.1008124
- MacRitchie, V., & Seedat, M. (2008). Headlines and discourses in newspaper reports on traffic accidents. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 38(2), 337-354. doi: 10.1177/008124630803800206
- Makali, D. (Ed.). (2003). *Media law and practice: The Kenyan jurisprudence*. Nairobi, Kenya: Phoenix.

- Masaviru, M. (2015). Review of the Code of Conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya; second schedule of the Media Act 2007. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 42, 23-26.
- Masini, A., Van Aelst, P., Zerback, T., Reinemann, C., Mancini, P., Mazzoni, M., ... Coen, S. (2018). Measuring and explaining the diversity of voices and viewpoints in the news: A comparative study on the determinants of content diversity of immigration news. *Journalism Studies*, 19(15), 2324-2343.
- Mast, J., Coesemans, R., & Temmerman, M. (2018). Constructive journalism: Concepts, practices, and discourses. *Journalism*, 20(4), 1-12.
- Matthews, J. (2013). Journalists and their sources: The twin challenges of diversity and verification. In K. Fowler-Watt & S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism: New challenges* (pp. 242-258). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Matumaini, J. (2010). Research on national communication policy in Africa and Tanzania. *African Communication Research*, 3(1), 1-36.
- Maweu, J. (2017). "Peace propaganda"? The application of Chomsky's propaganda model to the 'Daily Nation's' coverage of the 2013 Kenyan elections. *Communicatio*, 43(2), 168-186. doi: 10.1080/02500167.2017.1319873
- McCombs, M. (2005). A look at agenda-setting: Past, present and future. *Journalism Studies*, 6(4), 543-557. doi: 10.1080/14616700500250438
- McCombs, M. (2014). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187. doi: 10.1086/267990
- McDonald, D. G., & Dimmick, J. (2003). The conceptualization and measurement of diversity. *Communication Research*, 30(1), 60-79.
- McIntyre, K. (2019). Solutions journalism: The effects of including solution information in news stories about social problems. *Journalism Practice*, 13(1), 16-34. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2017.1409647
- McIntyre, K. E. (2015). *Constructive journalism: The effects of positive emotions and solution information in news stories* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.
- McIntyre, K., & Gibson, R. (2016). Positive news makes readers feel good: A "silver-lining" approach to negative news can attract audiences. *Southern Communication Journal*, 81(5), 304-315. doi: 10.1080/1041794X.2016.1171892
- McIntyre, K., & Gyldensted, C. (2017). Constructive journalism: Applying positive psychology techniques to news production. *The Journal of Media Innovations*, 4(2), 20-34.

- Mcintyre, K., & Gyldensted, C. (2018). Positive psychology as a theoretical foundation for constructive journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 12(6), 662-678.
- Mcintyre, K., & Sobel, M. (2018). Reconstructing Rwanda: How Rwandan reporters use constructive journalism to promote peace. *Journalism Studies*, 19(14), 2126-2147. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2017.1326834
- Mcintyre, K., Dahmen, N. S., & Abdenour, J. (2016). The contextualist function: US newspaper journalists value social responsibility. *Journalism*, 19(12), 1657-1675. doi: 10.1177/1464884916683553
- McManus, J. H. (1994). *Market-driven journalism: Let the citizen beware?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (1983). *McQuail's mass communication theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (1992). *Media performance: Mass communication and the public interest*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (2013). *Journalism and society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Media Council of Kenya. (2005). *Baseline survey of media in Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Media Council of Kenya. (2013). *Code of conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya: Media Council Act 2013 second schedule of the Media Council Act 2013*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Media Council of Kenya. (2016). *The impact of digital technologies and Internet on media and journalism in Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Mena, P., Barbe, D., & Chan-Olmsted, S. (2020). Misinformation on Instagram: The impact of trusted endorsements on message credibility. *Social Media + Society*, 6(2), 1-9. doi: 10.1177/2056305120935102
- Merriam, S., B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. In S. B. Merriam & R. S. Grenier (Eds.), *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis* (pp. 3-17). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mertens, D. M. (2007). Transformative paradigm: Mixed methods and social justice. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(3), 212-225.
- Metila, R., A. (2013). A discourse analysis of news headlines: Diverse framings for a hostage-taking event. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 2(2), 71-78.
- Milkman, K. L., & Berger, J. (2014). The science of sharing and the sharing of science. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 111(Supplement_4), 13642-13649. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1317511111

- Miller, R. A., & Albert, K. (2015). If it leads, it bleeds (and if it bleeds, it leads): Media coverage and fatalities in militarized interstate disputes. *Political Communication*, 32(1), 61-82. doi: 10.1080/10584609.2014.880976
- Moggi, P., & Tessier, R. (2001). *Media status report: Kenya*. Paris, France: Research and Technological Exchange Group.
- Molek-Kozakowska, K. (2013). Towards a pragma-linguistic framework for the study of sensationalism in news headlines. *Discourse & Communication*, 7(2), 173-197. doi: 10.1177/1750481312471668
- Molotch, H., & Lester, M. (1974). News as purposive behavior: On the strategic use of routine events, accidents, and scandals. *American Sociological Review*, 39(1). doi: 10.2307/2094279
- Montgomery, M. (2007). *The discourse of broadcast news: A linguistic approach*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Morgan, D. L. (2007). Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained: Methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), 48-76. doi: 10.1177/2345678906292462
- Morrison, D. E., & Michael, S. (2007). The defense of public interest and the intrusion of privacy: Journalists and the public. *Journalism*, 8(1), 44-65.
- Morse, J. M. (2015). "Data were saturated . . .". *Qualitative Health Research*, 25(5), 587-588. doi: 10.1177/1049732315576699
- Morton, T., & Aroney, E. (2016). Journalism, moral panic and the public interest: The case of Sharleen Spiteri. *Journalism Practice*, 10(1), 18-34.
- Motsaathebe, G. (2020). Re-imagining news values and labels of controversies with reference to political scandals. *Communicatio*, 46(1), 21-39.
- Moyo, D., Mare, A., & Matsilele, T. (2019). Analytics-driven journalism? Editorial metrics and the reconfiguration of online news production practices in African newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, 7(4), 490-506.
- Muinde, J. (2018, May 16). President Kenyatta assents to Cybercrimes bill amid protests. *Nation*. Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/president-kenyatta-assents-to-cybercrimes-bill-amid-protests-44116>
- Muindi, B. (2013). *Press freedom in Kenya during President Uhuru Kenyatta's government* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Muindi, B. (2018). Negotiating the balance between speed and credibility in deploying Twitter as journalistic tool at the Daily Nation newspaper in Kenya. *African Journalism Studies*, 39(1), 111-128. doi: 10.1080/23743670.2018.1445654

- Mullen, A. (2018). The 2008 financial crisis, the great recession and austerity in Britain: Analysing media coverage using the Herman-Chomsky propaganda model. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 193-221). London, UK: University of Westminster.
- Mullen, A., & Klaehn, J. (2010). The Herman-Chomsky propaganda model: A critical approach to analysing mass media behaviour. *Sociology Compass*, 4(4), 215-229. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00275.x
- Mutambo, A. (2012, February 21). Journalists on the run 'find haven in Kenya'. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/journalists-on-the-run-find-haven-in-kenya--801260>
- Mutambo, A. (2015, December 28). Good year for Kenya in the global arena. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/good-year-for-kenya-in-the-global-arena-1157338>
- Mutambo, A., & Ngirachu, J. (2015, July 24). Barack Obama lands in Nairobi for GES 2015. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/barack-obama-lands-in-nairobi-for-ges-2015-1114326>
- Mutere, A. (2010). Media policy making in Kenya. *African Communication Research*, 3(1), 121-144.
- Mutie, B. (2014). *Social media in Kenya and the practice of Journalism* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Leeds, Leeds, UK.
- Napoli, J. (2002). International journalism education at the end of history, starting in Albania. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 57(3), 260-270. doi: 10.1177/107769580205700307
- Napoli, P. (1999). Deconstructing diversity. *Journal of Communication*, 49(4), 7-34.
- Napoli, P. (2015). Social media and the public interest: Governance of news platforms in the realm of individual and algorithmic gatekeepers. *Telecommunications Policy*, 39(9), 751-760. doi: 10.1016/j.telpol.2014.12.003
- National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation. (2017). *National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI)*. Retrieved from <https://research-portal.nacosti.go.ke/>
- National Council for Law Reporting. (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Nduva, V. M. (2016). *Media portrayal of women leaders in Kenya: An intersection of female politicians and newspaper narratives* (Unpublished master's research project). University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Nerone, J. (2013). Why journalism history matters to journalism studies. *American Journalism*, 30(1), 15-28. doi: 10.1080/08821127.2013.767693

- Neuman, R. W., Guggenheim, L., Jang, M. S., & Bae, S. (2014). The dynamics of public attention: Agenda-setting theory meets big data. *Journal of Communication, 64*, 193-214. doi: 10.1111/jcom.12088
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London, UK: Pearson Education.
- Nevalsky, E. C. (2015). Developing terrorism coverage: Variances in news framing of the January 2015 attacks in Paris and Borno. *Critical Studies on Terrorism, 8*(3), 466-477. doi: 10.1080/17539153.2015.1096656
- Newman, I., Ridenour, C., Weis, D. M., & McNeil, K. (1997). Theses and dissertations: A guide to writing in social and physical sciences. *Educational Leadership Faculty Publications, 82*, 13-22.
- Ngoge, G. T. (2014). *A comparative study of print and online media content in Kenya: A case of 'Daily Nation' newspaper* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Nicola, M., Alsafi, Z., Sohrabi, C., Kerwan, A., Al-Jabir, A., Iosifidis, C., ... Agha, R. (2020). The socio-economic implications of the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19): A review. *International Journal of Surgery, 78*, 185-193. doi: 10.1016/j.ijssu.2020.04.018
- Nielsen, R. K. (2017). News media, search engines and social networking sites as varieties of online gatekeepers. In C. Peters & M. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism again: Societal role and public relevance in a digital age* (pp. 81-96). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Niven, D. (2005). An economic theory of political journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 82*(2), 247-263. doi: 10.1177/107769900508200202
- Nordenstreng, K. (1997). Beyond the four theories of the press. In J. Servaes & R. Lie (Eds.), *Media and politics in transition: Cultural identity in the age of globalization* (pp. 97-109). Leuven, Belgium: Academische Cooperatief.
- Nordheim, G. von, Boczek, K., & Koppers, L. (2018). Sourcing the sources: An analysis of the use of Twitter and Facebook as a journalistic source over 10 years in The New York Times, The Guardian, and Süddeutsche Zeitung. *Digital Journalism, 6*(7), 807-828. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2018.1490658
- NTV Kenya. (2017, December 11). Does Kenyan media contribute to polarizing the nation? [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n65nGRxGgcc&list=PLoKMLcHPKID40E6iWoEmzOXGhYp1RanGR&index=76>
- Nucci, M. L., Cuite, C. L., & Hallman, W. K. (2009). When good food goes bad: Television network news and the spinach recall of 2006. *Science Communication, 31*(2), 238-265. doi: 10.1177/1075547009340337
- Nyabuga, G. (2012). Being sceptical: Deconstructing media freedom and responsibility. *African Communication Research, 5*(1), 99-113.

- Nyabuga, G. (2015). It's the money, stupid! Grappling with media hyper-commercialism in Kenya. In Media Policy Research Centre (Ed.), *Exploring Kenya's media policy: 1963-2013* (pp. 44-65). Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Nyabuga, G. (2016). *Supporting safety of journalists in Kenya: an assessment based on UNESCO's Journalists' Safety Indicators*. Paris, France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- Nyabuga, G., & Booker, N. (2013). *Mapping Digital Media: Kenya*. New York, NY: Open Society Foundation.
- Nyabwa, W. (2015). *Why Pope Francis chose to visit Kenya*. Retrieved from <https://citizentv.co.ke/news/why-pope-francis-chose-to-visit-kenya-104852/>
- Nylund, M. (2011). The news-generating machine: The reporter–source interview in television news production. *Journalism Practice*, 5(4), 478-491.
- Obonyo, L. (2003). Kenya. In Q. Amanda (Ed.), *World press encyclopedia: A survey of press systems worldwide* (pp. 529-539). Farmington Hills, MI: Gale.
- Obonyo, L. (2011). Towards a theory of communication for Africa: The challenges for emerging democracies. *Communicatio*, 37(1), 1-20. doi: 10.1080/02500167.2011.563822
- Obonyo, L., & Nyamboga, E. (2011). *Journalists and the rule of law*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Commission of Jurists.
- Ochieng, R. K., Gachoka, T., & Mureithi, C. (2014). *Ethical journalism: The case of the adherence to the code of conduct in the Kenyan media*. Retrieved from http://41.204.183.105/bitstream/handle/11732/396/EAMARC__Media_Ethics_2014_Final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Ochilo, P. J. (1993). Press freedom and the role of the media in Kenya. *Africa Media Review*, 7(3), 19-33.
- Odhiambo, L. O. (1991). Development journalism in Africa: Capitulation of the fourth estate? *Africa Media Review*, 5(2), 17-29.
- Odongo, D. (2015). 11 of the best and worst moments in Kenya 2015. *The Standard*. Retrieved from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/entertainment/city-news/2000186167/11-of-the-best-and-worst-moments-in-kenya-2015>
- Oduor, E. (2018, February 3). Kenya media feels the heat as state switches off top TV stations. *The East African*. Retrieved from <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/kenya-media-feels-the-heat-as-state-switches-off-top-tv-stations-1383272>
- Ogola, G. (2011). The political economy of the media in Kenya: From Kenyatta's nation-building press to Kibaki's local-language FM radio. *Africa Today*, 57(3), 77-95. doi: 10.2979/africatoday.57.3.77

- Ogongo-Ongong'a, S., & White, R. A. (2008). The shaping of news values of young journalists in Kenya. *African Communication Research, 1*(2), 159-184.
- Oh, D. C., & Zhou, W. (2012). Framing SARS: A case study in Toronto of a mainstream newspaper and a Chinese ethnic newspaper. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 20*(5), 261-273. doi: 10.1080/15456870.2012.728113
- Ojebode, A. (2009). Media diversity with and without a policy: A comparison of the BBC and Nigeria's DBS. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media, 16*(2), 216-228.
- Omanga, D. (2019). WhatsApp as 'digital publics': The 'Nakuru Analysts' and the evolution of participation in county governance in Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies, 13*(1), 175-191. doi: 10.1080/17531055.2018.1548211
- Omari, B. P. (2008). *Portrayal of women in Kenya's print media: A study of Daily Nation, The Standard, and Kenya Times, June 2002 to June 2003* (Unpublished master's thesis). Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.
- Ombuor, J. (2017, September 2). Kenya third country in the world and first in Africa to annul a presidential election. *The Standard*. Retrieved from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/kenya/article/2001253337/kenya-third-country-in-the-world-and-first-in-africa-to-annul-a-presidential-election>
- Omulo, C. (2018). *Media Council of Kenya launches massive crackdown on quacks*. Retrieved from <https://nairobinews.nation.co.ke/news/media-council-kenya-crackdown-quacks>
- Onyebadi, U., & Alajmi, F. (2016). Gift solicitation and acceptance in journalism practice: An assessment of Kuwaiti journalists' perspective. *Journalism, 17*(3), 348-365. doi: 10.1177/1464884914557924
- Oriare, P., Okello-Orlale, R., & Ugangu, W. (2010). *The media we want: The Kenya media vulnerabilities study*. Nairobi, Kenya: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research, 42*(5), 533-544.
- Parahoo, K. (2014). *Nursing research: Principles, process and issues* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Park, C. (2015). Applying "negativity bias" to Twitter: Negative news on Twitter, emotions, and political learning. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics, 12*(4), 342-359. doi: 10.1080/19331681.2015.1100225
- Parkin, W. S., & Green, D. A. (2016). Terrorism in the news: The efficiency and impact of sampling methods on data collection and content analysis. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 39*(7-8), 668-686. doi: 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1141019
- Paterson, C. (2013). Journalism and social media in the African context. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies, 34*(1), 1-6. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2013.767418

- Patterson, T., & Donsbach, W. (1996). News decisions: Journalists as partisan actors. *Political Communication*, 13(4), 455-468.
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pauly, J. J. (2009). Is journalism interested in resolution, or only in conflict? *Marquette Law Review*, 93(1), 7-23.
- Peters, C., & Broersma, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Peters, C., & Broersma, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Rethinking journalism again: Societal role and public relevance in a digital age*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Peters, J., & Tandoc, E. C. (2013). People who aren't really reporters at all, who have no professional qualifications: Defining a journalist and deciding who may claim the privileges. *NYU Journal of Legislation and Public Policy Quorum*, 34, 34-63.
- Peterson, T. (1956). The social responsibility theory. In F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm (Eds.), *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do* (pp. 73-103). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois.
- Petley, J. (2013). Introduction. In J. Petley (Ed.), *Media and public shaming: Drawing the boundaries of disclosure* (pp. xiii-xxii). London, UK: I.B. Tauris.
- Pfauth, E. (2013). *How we turned a world record in journalism crowd-funding into an actual publication*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/de-correspondent/how-we-turned-a-world-record-in-journalism-crowd-funding-into-an-actual-publication-2a06e298afe1>
- Pfauth, E. (2015). *Dutch journalism platform De Correspondent reaches milestone of 40,000 paying members*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/de-correspondent/dutch-journalism-platform-the-correspondent-reaches-milestone-of-40-000-paying-members-a203251c2de2>
- Pfauth, E. (2017). *De Correspondent now has 50,000 paying members*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/de-correspondent/de-correspondent-50k-members-59d105ec9d3>
- Phillips, A. (2011). Faster and shallower: Homogenisation, cannibalization and the death of reporting. In P. Lee-Wright, A. Phillips, & T. Witschge (Eds.), *Changing journalism* (pp. 81-98). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Philo, G. (2007). Can discourse analysis successfully explain the content of media and journalistic practice? *Journalism Studies*, 8(2), 175-196.

- Podkalicka, A. (2008). Public service broadcasting as an infrastructure of translation in the age of cultural diversity: Lessons for Europe from SBS Australia. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 14(3), 323-333. doi: 10.1177/1354856508091084
- Pollick, B. (2018). The sport of shafting fans and taxpayers: An application of the propaganda model to the coverage of professional athletes and team owners. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 173-190). London, UK: University of Westminster.
- Potter, D., & Gantz, W. (2000). *Bringing viewers back to local TV*. Retrieved from <http://newslab.org/bringing-viewers-back-to-local-tv-news/>
- Powers, E., & Curry, A. (2019). No quick fix: How journalists assess the impact and define the boundaries of solutions journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 1-21. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2019.1586565
- Powers, M., & Benson, R. (2014). Is the Internet homogenizing or diversifying the news? External pluralism in the U.S., Danish, and French press. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(2), 246-265. doi: 10.1177/1940161213519680
- Ragas, M. W., Tran, H. L., & Martin, J. A. (2014). Media-induced or search-driven? A study of online agenda-setting effects during the BP oil disaster. *Journalism Studies*, 15(1), 48-63. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2013.793509
- Reese, S. D. (2001). Understanding the global Journalist: A hierarchy-of-influences approach. *Journalism Studies*, 2(2), 173-187. doi: 10.1080/14616700118394
- Reese, S. D. (2007). The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 148-154.
- Reese, S. D., & Shoemaker, P. J. (2016). A media sociology for the networked public sphere: The hierarchy of influences model. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(4), 389-410. doi: 10.1080/15205436.2016.1174268
- Rees-Jones, L., Milkman, K., & Berger, J. (2015). *The secret to online success: What makes content go viral-The psychological dimensions of what gets shared and shared and shared again*. Retrieved from <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-secret-to-online-success-what-makes-content-go-viral/>
- Reich, Z. (2008). The anatomy of leaks: Tracing the path of unauthorized disclosure in the Israeli press. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 9(5), 555-581. doi: 10.1177/1464884908094159
- Reich, Z. (2011). Comparing reporters' work across print, radio, and online: Converged origination, diverged packaging. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88(2), 285-300. doi: 10.1177/107769901108800204

- Reich, Z. (2016). Comparing news reporting across print, radio, television and online: Still distinct manufacturing houses. *Journalism Studies*, 17(5), 552-572. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2015.1006898
- Riffe, D., Aust, C., F., & Lacy, S., R. (1993). The effectiveness of random, consecutive day and constructed week sampling in newspaper content analysis. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 70(1), 133-139.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rodny-Gumede, Y. (2015). An assessment of the public interest and ideas of the public in South Africa and the adoption of Ubuntu journalism. *Journal of Media Ethics*, 30(2), 109-124. doi: 10.1080/23736992.2015.1020379
- Rogstad, I. (2016). Is Twitter just rehashing? Intermedia agenda setting between Twitter and mainstream media. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 13(2), 142-158. doi: 10.1080/19331681.2016.1160263
- Ronning, H., & Kupe, T. (2000). The dual legacy of democracy and authoritarianism: The media and state in Zimbabwe. In J. Curran & M.-J. Park (Eds.), *De-Westernising media studies* (pp. 157-177). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Rosen, J. (1999). *What are journalists for?* London, UK: Yale University.
- Ross, S. D., & Bantimaroudis, P. (2006). Frame shifts and catastrophic events: The attacks of September 11, 2001, and New York Times's portrayals of Arafat and Sharon. *Mass Communication and Society*, 9(1), 85-101.
- Rossmann, G. B., & Wilson, B. L. (1985). Numbers and words: Combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single large-scale evaluation study. *Evaluation Review*, 9(5), 627-643.
- Rupar, V. (2006). How did you find that out? Transparency of the newsgathering process and the meaning of news: A case study of New Zealand journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 7(1), 127-143. doi: 10.1080/14616700500450426
- Ryfe, D. (2017). *Journalism and the public*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Ryfe, D. M. (2009). Broader and deeper: A study of newsroom culture in a time of change. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 10(2), 197-216. doi: 10.1177/1464884908100601
- Salim, M. K. (2010). *Negative media practice and the Kenyan Tourism Industry: A study of the mainstream print media with special reference to the Daily Nation and the East African Standard newspapers* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Sampaio-Dias, S. (2019). Per Diem payments as a form of censorship and control: The case of Guinea-Bissau's Journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 20(16), 2349-2365. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2019.1593883

- Santana, A. D. (2016). Controlling the conversation: The availability of commenting forums in online newspapers. *Journalism Studies*, 17(2), 141-158.
- Santana, A. D., & Hopp, T. (2016). Tapping into a new stream of (personal) data: Assessing journalists' different use of social media. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 93(2), 383-408. doi: 10.1177/1077699016637105
- Sarati, R. (2012). *History of print media in Kenya*. Retrieved from <https://legendtouch.wordpress.com/2012/05/17/history-of-print-media-in-kenya/>
- Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., ... Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: Exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & quantity*, 52(4), 1893-1907.
- Scheufele, B. (2004). Framing-effects approach: A theoretical and methodological critique. *Communications*, 29(4), 401-428. doi:10.1515/comm.2004.29.4.401
- Schneidman, W. (2015). *Obama in Kenya: A report from the field and a recap of the Global Entrepreneurship Summit*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Schramm, W. (1956). The soviet communist theory. In F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm (Eds.), *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do* (pp. 105-146). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois.
- Schuck, A. R. T., & de Vreese, C. H. (2006). Between risk and opportunity: News framing and its effects on public support for EU enlargement. *European Journal of Communication*, 21(1), 5-32. doi: 10.1177/0267323106060987
- Schudson, M. (1994). Question authority: A history of the news interview in American journalism, 1860s-1930s. *Media, Culture & Society*, 16(4), 565-587.
- Schudson, M. (1999). *The good citizen*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Schudson, M., & Anderson, C. (2009). Objectivity, professionalism, and truth seeking in journalism. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 88-101). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Schultz, I. (2007). The journalistic gut feeling: Journalistic doxa, news habitus and orthodox news values. *Journalism Practice*, 1(2), 190-207.
- Schwalbe, C. B., Keith, S., & Silcock, W. B. (2018). Researching the framing of still and moving images across media platforms: Challenges and opportunities. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 221-246). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Seligman, M., Railton, P., Baumeister, R. F., & Sripada, C. (2013). Navigating into the future or driven by the past. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 8(2), 119-141. doi: 10.1177/1745691612474317

- Servaes, J. (2015). Beyond modernization and the four theories of the press. In C.-C. Lee (Ed.), *Internationalizing 'international communication'* (pp. 66-89). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.
- Sheehy, M. (2008). Foreign news stories more likely to include unnamed sources. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 29(3), 24-37.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Longman.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (2014). *Mediating the message in the 21st century: A media sociology perspective* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Siebert, F. (1956a). The authoritarian theory. In F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm (Eds.), *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do* (pp. 9-37). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois.
- Siebert, F. (1956b). The libertarian theory. In F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm (Eds.), *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do* (pp. 39-71). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois.
- Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet Communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois.
- Sieff, K. (2015, November 25). Pope Francis starts Africa trip with visit to Nairobi. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/pope-francis-starts-africa-trip-with-visit-to-nairobi/2015/11/25/655d0c62-915b-11e5-befa-99cee9cbb272_story.html
- Sieff, K. (2017, September 20). Kenya's Supreme Court: Here's why we annulled the results of the presidential election. It was a mess. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/kenyas-supreme-court-heres-why-we-annulled-the-results-of-the-presidential-election-it-was-a-mess/2017/09/20/c22066cf-7fcf-4bc8-8655-33657c584afa_story.html
- Sigal, L. V. (1973). *Reporters and officials: The organization and politics of newsmaking*. Lexington, MA: D C Heath & Co.
- Silva, D. S. (2019). Digitally empowered: New patterns of sourcing and expertise in cultural journalism and criticism. *Journalism Practice*, 13(5), 592-601. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2018.1507682
- Simon, M. K., & Goes, J. (2013). *Dissertation and scholarly research: Recipes for success*. Seattle, WA: Dissertation Success LLC.

- Sjøvaag, H. (2016). Media diversity and the global superplayers: Operationalising pluralism for a digital media market. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 13(3), 170-186. doi: 10.1080/16522354.2016.1210435
- Skalski, P., D., Neuendorf, K. A., & Cajigas, J. A. (2017). Content analysis in the interactive media age. In K. A. Neuendorf (Ed.), *The content analysis guidebook* (2nd ed., pp. 201-403). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Skjerdal, T. S. (2012). The three alternative journalism of Africa. *International Communication Gazette*, 74(7), 636-654. doi: 10.1177/1748048512458559
- Skogerbø, E., & Krumsvik, A. H. (2015). Newspapers, Facebook and Twitter: Intermedia agenda setting in local election campaigns. *Journalism Practice*, 9(3), 350-366. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2014.950471
- Song, Y., & Chang, T.-K. (2012). Selecting daily newspapers for content analysis in China: A comparison of sampling methods and sample sizes. *Journalism Studies*, 13(3), 356-369. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2011.605594
- Soontjens, K. (2018). The rise of interpretive journalism: Belgian newspaper coverage, 1985-2014. *Journalism Studies*, 1-20. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2018.1467783
- Soroka, S., & McAdams, S. (2015). News, politics, and negativity. *Political Communication*, 32(1), 1-22. doi: 10.1080/10584609.2014.881942
- Sosi, J. (2018). *Uhuru cautions media against negative reporting*. Retrieved from <https://www.kenyans.co.ke/news/34457-uhuru-cautions-media-against-negative-reporting>
- Stempel, G. H. (2003). Content analysis. In G. Stempel, D. Weaver, & C. Wilhoit (Eds.), *Mass communication research and theory* (pp. 209-219). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Stempel, G. H., & Culbertson, H. M. (1984). The prominence and dominance of news sources in newspaper medical coverage. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 61(3), 671-676. doi: 10.1177/107769908406100329
- Stirling, A. (2006). *On the economics and analysis of diversity*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/247036152_On_the_Economics_and_Analysis_of_Diversity
- Stirling, A. (2007). A general framework for analysing diversity in science, technology and society. *Journal of The Royal Society Interface*, 4(15), 707-719. doi: 10.1098/rsif.2007.0213
- Storey, J., Salaman, G., & Platman, K. (2005). Living with enterprise in an enterprise economy: Freelance and contract workers in the media. *Human Relations*, 58(8), 1033-1054. doi: 10.1177/0018726705058502
- Strömbäck, J. (2005). In search of a standard: Four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 6(3), 331-345. doi: 10.1080/14616700500131950

- Stroobant, J., De Dobbelaer, R., & Raeymaeckers, K. (2018). Tracing the sources: A comparative content analysis of Belgian health news. *Journalism Practice*, 12(3), 344-361. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2017.1294027
- Suri, H. (2011). Purposeful sampling in qualitative research synthesis. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 11(2), 63-75. doi: 10.3316/QRJ1102063
- Tamene, E. H. (2016). Theorizing conceptual framework. *Asian Journal of Educational Research*, 4(2), 50-56.
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tenore, M. J. (2015). *The case for restorative narratives: A strength-based storytelling genre that can improve media coverage*. Retrieved from <https://www.kosmo.org/article/the-case-for-restorative-narratives/>
- Tewksbury, D., & Riles, J. (2018). Framing in an interactive news environment. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 137-162). New York, NY: Routledge.
- TIFA Research. (2019). *Kenya media landscape report July 2019*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Tiffen, R., Jones, P. K., Rowe, D., Aalberg, T., Coen, S., Curran, J., ... Soroka, S. (2014). Sources in the news: A comparative study. *Journalism Studies*, 15(4), 374-391. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2013.831239
- Tiung, L. K., & Hasim, M. S. (2009). Media framing of a political personality: A case study of a Malaysian politician. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 9(3), 408-424.
- Tomaselli, K. G. (2000). South African media, 1994-7: Globalizing via political economy. In J. Curran & M.-J. Park (Eds.), *De-Westernising media studies* (pp. 279-292). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Tresch, A. (2009). Politicians in the media: Determinants of legislators' presence and prominence in Swiss newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 14(1), 67-90. doi: 10.1177/1940161208323266
- Trussler, M., & Soroka, S. (2014). Consumer demand for cynical and negative news frames. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(3), 360-379.
- Tucher, A. (2011). Teaching journalism history to journalists. *Journalism Practice*, 5(5), 551-565. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2011.601905
- Tuchman, G. (1973). Making news by doing work: Routinizing the unexpected. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(1), 110-131.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York, NY: Free Press.

- Tuckett, A. G. (2004). Qualitative research sampling: The very real complexities. *Nurse Researcher*, 12(1), 47-61.
- Turk, J. V. (1985). Information subsidies and influence. *Public Relations Review*, 11(3), 10-25. doi: 10.1016/S0363-8111(85)80078-3
- Ugangu, W. (2015). Political influence and shifts in Kenya's media policy: 1963-2013. In Media Policy Research Centre (Ed.), *Exploring Kenya's media policy: 1963-2013* (pp. 2-20). Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- United States International University Africa. (2020). *The Kenyan social media landscape: Trends and emerging narratives, 2020*. Nairobi, Kenya: Author.
- Valenzuela, S., Puente, S., & Flores, P. M. (2017). Comparing disaster news on twitter and television: An intermedia agenda setting perspective. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 61(4), 615-637.
- van Cuilenburg, J. (2007). Media diversity, competition and concentration: Concepts and theories. In E. De Bens (Ed.), *Media between culture and commerce* (Vol. 1-4, pp. 25-54). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- van Cuilenburg, J., & McQuail, D. (2003). Media policy paradigm shifts: Towards a new communications policy paradigm. *European Journal of Communication*, 18(2), 181-207. doi: 10.1177/0267323103018002002
- Van Hout, T., & Macgilchrist, F. (2010). Framing the news: An ethnographic view of business newswriting. *Text & Talk - An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies*, 30(2), 169-191.
- Varma, A. (2019). When empathy is not enough: The possibilities for solidarity in the San Francisco homeless project. *Journalism Practice*, 13(1), 105-121. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2017.1394210
- Vatican, V. (2015). *Apostolic journey of His Holiness Pope Francis to Kenya, Uganda and the Central African Republic (25-30 November 2015)*. Retrieved from <http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/travels/2015/outside/documents/papa-francesco-africa-2015.html>
- Vázquez-Herrero, J., Direito-Rebollal, S., & López-García, X. (2019). Ephemeral journalism: News distribution through Instagram stories. *Social Media + Society*, 5(4). doi: 10.1177/2056305119888657
- Venkatesh, V., Brown, S., A., & Bala, H. (2013). Bridging the qualitative-quantitative divide: Guidelines for conducting mixed methods research in information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 37(1), 21-54. doi: 10.25300/MISQ/2013/37.1.02
- Vidija, P. (2018, November 1). Put Kenya first, Uhuru tells media amid concerns of negative press. *The Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2018-11-01-put-kenya-first-uhuru-tells-media-amid-concerns-of-negative-press/>
- Vine, J. (2012). News values and country non-daily news reporting: The online revolution's impact. *Rural Society*, 21(2), 158-171.

- Visonã, M. (2012). *Issue salience of Facebook users in Egypt: An agenda-setting experiment* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Cairo, Giza, Egypt.
- Voakes, P. S. (2004). A brief history of public journalism. *National Civic Review*, 93(3), 25-35. doi: 10.1002/ncr.58
- Vos, D. (2016). How ordinary MPs can make it into the news: A factorial survey experiment with political journalists to explain the newsworthiness of MPs. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(6), 738-757.
- Wahutu, J. S. (2018). What African media? Rethinking research on Africa's press. *Global Media and Communication*, 14(1), 31-45.
- Waisbord, S. (2007). Democratic journalism and "statelessness". *Political Communication*, 24(2), 115-129. doi: 10.1080/10584600701312837
- Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Wall, M. (2015). Citizen journalism: A retrospective on what we know, an agenda for what we don't. *Digital Journalism*, 3(6), 797-813. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2014.1002513
- Wargo, W. G. (2015). *Identifying assumptions and limitations for your dissertation*. Retrieved from <http://www.academicinfocenter.com/identifying-assumptions-and-limitations-for-your-dissertation.html>
- Wasserman, H. (2015). African journalism studies in a globalised world. *African Journalism Studies*, 36(1), 1-10. doi: 10.1080/23743670.2015.1007686
- Wasserman, H., Chuma, W., & Bosch, T. (2018). Print media coverage of service delivery protests in South Africa: A content analysis. *African Studies*, 77(1), 145-156. doi: 10.1080/00020184.2018.1426312
- Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., & Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive measures*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.
- Wendelin, M., Engelmann, I., & Neubarth, J. (2017). User rankings and journalistic news selection: Comparing news values and topics. *Journalism Studies*, 18(2), 135-153. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2015.1040892
- Wenzel, A., Gerson, D., & Moreno, E. (2018). Engaging stigmatized communities through solutions journalism: Residents of South Los Angeles respond. *Journalism*, 19(5). doi: 10.1177/1464884917703125
- Wheatley, D. (2020). A typology of news sourcing: Routine and non-routine channels of production. *Journalism Practice*, 14(3), 277-298.
- White, B. (2011a). *Mapping your thesis: The comprehensive manual of theory and techniques for masters and doctoral research*. Camberwell, Australia: ACER.

- White, M. (2011b). Cracking the code of press headlines: From difficulty to opportunity for the foreign language learner. *International Journal of English Studies*, 11(1). doi: 10.6018/ijes/2011/1/137121
- White, M. D., & Marsh, E. E. (2006). Content analysis: A flexible methodology. *Library Trends*, 55(1), 22-45. doi: 10.1353/lib.2006.0053
- Whitney, C. D., & Ettema, J. S. (2005). Media production: Individuals, organizations, institutions. In A. Valdivia (Ed.), *A companion to media studies* (pp. 157-187). Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell.
- Whitney, D. C., Fritzier, M., Jones, S., Mazzarella, S., & Rakow, L. (1989). Geographic and source biases in network television news 1982-1984. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 33(2), 159-174.
- Willnat, L., & Weaver, D. H. (2018). Social media and U.S. journalists: Uses and perceived effects on perceived norms and values. *Digital Journalism*, 6(7), 889-909. doi: 10.1080/21670811.2018.1495570
- Wilson, D. (1987). Traditional systems of communication in modern African development: An analytical viewpoint. *Africa Media Review*, 1(2), 87-104.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2006). *Mass media research: An introduction* (8th ed.). Mason, OH: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Winfield, N. (2015). *Pope enters third year with soaring popularity, pressing questions*. New York, NY: Associated Press.
- Winter, J. (2018). 'Dynamic' Obama lectures 'bumbling' Castro on race relations in Cuba, while wilfully blind to Black Lives Matter Movement in the US. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 249-262). London, UK: University of Westminster.
- Witschge, T. (2009). *Street journalists versus 'ailing journalists'?* Retrieved from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/street-journalists-as-an-answer-to-ailing-journalism/>
- Wouters, R. (2015). Reporting demonstrations: On episodic and thematic coverage of protest events in Belgian television news. *Political Communication*, 32(3), 475-496. doi: 10.1080/10584609.2014.958257
- Wu, Y. (2019). How age affects journalists' adoption of Social Media as an innovation: A multi-group SEM analysis. *Journalism Practice*, 13(5), 537-557. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2018.1511821
- Yin, R. K. (2011). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York, NY: Guilford.
- Yusuf, M. (2017). *Kenya doctors call off 100-day strike*. Retrieved from <https://www.voanews.com/africa/kenya-doctors-call-100-day-strike>

- Zaller, J. (2003). A new standard of news quality: Burglar alarms for the monitorial citizen. *Political Communication*, 20(2), 109-130.
- Zhang, Y., & Jin, Y. (2017). Thematic and episodic framing of depression: How Chinese and American newspapers framed a major public health threat. *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications*, 3(2), 91-106.
- Zhang, X., & Li, W. (2019). From social media with news: Journalists' social media use for sourcing and verification. *Journalism Practice*, 1-18. doi: 10.1080/17512786.2019.1689372
- Zhang, Y., & Matingwina, S. (2016). A new representation of Africa? The use of constructive journalism in the narration of Ebola by China Daily and the BBC. *African Journalism Studies*, 37(3), 19-40.
- Zillmann, D., Gibson, R., Ordman, V., L., & Aust, C. F. (1994). Effects of upbeat stories in broadcast news. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 38(1), 65-78.
- Zollmann, F. (2009). Is it either or? Professional ideology vs. corporate-media constraints. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 6(2), 97-108.
- Zollmann, F. (2018). Corporate-market power and ideological domination: The propaganda model after 30 years - relevance and further application. In J. Pedro-Carañana, D. Broudy, & J. Klaehn (Eds.), *The propaganda model today: Filtering perception and awareness* (pp. 223-236). London, UK: University of Westminster.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Codebook

**Conceptualizing Professional Journalism Practice:
Valence of News Frames and Source Diversity in Kenya**

Task: quantitative content analysis of seven recent major news-making events in Kenya in order to establish the occurrence of three categories of frames: news valence, sourcing channel, and news actors.

Sampling Period: Six Years (2015 – 2020)

Units of Analysis: headline, paragraph, and news story.

- ❖ **News Valence:** Two units of analysis will be used in coding the news valence frames comprising episodic versus thematic frames for the coding of the headlines, and constructive journalism branches versus traditional journalism for the news story alongside positive versus negative valence of the stories. The unit of analysis for coding headlines will be the entire headline. Similarly, the entire news story will be the unit of analysis for coding the news story. A news valence frame will count only once in a headline and in a news story even if the frame appears more than once in the same headline and news story. However, for the three branches of constructive journalism, if more than one orientation frame appears in one news story (for example solutions journalism frame and prospective journalism frame), the valence frames will be coded distinctly because “a story with a restorative narrative might also be considered an example of solutions journalism” (McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017, p. 25). The other frames are mutually exclusive.
- ❖ **News Sourcing Channels:** The unit of analysis for the origins of a news report will be a paragraph. An origin of a news story (e.g., press release) will count only once. If a paragraph will have more than one sourcing channel (e.g., press release and Twitter), it will be coded distinctly.
- ❖ **News Actors:** The unit of analysis for the inclusion of a news actor (e.g., a national government official) will be a paragraph. A news actor will count only once in a paragraph even if that actor is included more than once in the same paragraph. However, if more than one news actor has been included in one paragraph (e.g., a faith-based leader and an ordinary citizen, or two different politicians), the news actors will be coded distinctly. In cases of collective terms like “they, the two” for actors in the same category, this will be one count.

Operationalization of Categories

News Valence Frames in headlines: Framing

Episodic Framing:

- ❖ Is the headline framed in tragic, alarmist, catastrophic, and dramatic construction, tone, and mood?
- ❖ Does the headline evoke shock or horror?
- ❖ Does the headline evoke feelings of loss, sadness, helplessness?
- ❖ Does the headline draw attention to individual responsibility or culpability?

Thematic Framing:

- ❖ Is the headline framed in a constructive manner, with no trace of alarm, tragedy, or drama?
- ❖ Does the headline evoke empathy, solidarity, and communion?
- ❖ Does the headline evoke feelings of worthiness, hope, restoration, future, etc.?
- ❖ Does the headline draw attention to social responsibility rather than individual culpability?

News Valence Frames in news stories: Framing

Negative valence

- ❖ Does the news story underscore conflict and negativity?
- ❖ Does the news story show a tendency to apportion blame?

Positive valence

- ❖ Does the news story go beyond the challenging situation to highlight solutions?
-

News Valence Frames in News Stories: Framing**1. Traditional Journalism Frame:**

- ❖ Does the news story portray the conflict as consisting of only two parties, focusing on divisions?
 - ❖ Does the news story only focus on the conflict to be in a specific place, here and now?
 - ❖ Does the news story mainly focus on the immediate and visible effects of the conflict: casualties, the wounded, destroyed property, horror and violent acts, suffering, fears, and grievances?
 - ❖ Does the news story mainly quote leaders' statements, restatements that depict familiar demands, positions, solutions, portraying elite-oriented reporting; or stop at release/signing of a document?
 - ❖ Does the news story blame someone for starting the conflict and dichotomize between the good versus the bad, the victims versus the villains?
 - ❖ Does the news story focus on the wrongdoings of one side – biased and partisan orientation?
 - ❖ Does the news story include victimizing language that disempowers people with words such as devastated, tragedy, pathetic, defenseless; demonizing adjectives like barbaric, brutal, vicious, cruel; demonizing labels like terrorist, fanatic, fundamentalist, extremist?
 - ❖ Does the news story include emotive words: genocide, massacre, assassination?
-

2. Solutions-oriented Frame:

- ❖ Does the news story explain causes of a social problem, going beyond simple statements?
- ❖ Does the news story present associated response to the explained problem? – “if the story doesn't describe a response, it's not solutions journalism”.

- ❖ Does the news story get into the solving of the problem, including the how-to details?
- ❖ Does the news story have the process of solving the problem as central to the narrative?
- ❖ Does the news story present evidence of results that are linked to the response?
- ❖ Does the news story provide insights into the problem, or some teachable lesson?
- ❖ Does the news story avoid advocating for certain models, ideologies, or institutions?
- ❖ Does the news story draw on news actors at the grassroots, with ground-level knowledge and understanding, beyond the innovators, leaders, experts?

3. Prospective Journalism Frame

- ❖ Does the story focus on the future, with aspects such as future prospects, predictions, and planning?
- ❖ Does the story include goals to be achieved over time, and progress being envisioned?

4. Restorative Journalism Frame:

- ❖ Does the story get beyond the narration of tragedy, conflict, crime, and the doom and gloom of existential problems as to include narratives of hope and progression?
- ❖ Does the story provide a highlight of what has been broken and place more emphasis and focus on what is being rebuilt, revealing some meaningful “progression from heartbreak to hope, tragedy to possibility, suffering to recovery”?
- ❖ Does the story foster prosocial behavior to trigger a motivation to help those infected, affected?
- ❖ Does the story stimulate positive emotions, including: hope, progression, resilience, recovery, restoration, change, renewal, redemption, transformation, and rebuilding?

News Actors Frames

1. National government officials

- ❖ Excluding the President and his Deputy, does the paragraph cite a person accountable to the national government: government spokesperson, state house officials, ambassadors, Kenyan diplomat, military personnel; national government-related figures: judges, prosecutors, police officers, etc.?

2. County government officials

- ❖ Excluding the Governor and his Deputy, does the paragraph cite a person accountable to the county government: Ministers and other persons employed by a County government?

3. The Executive

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite the Executive at national level, namely, the President, his Deputy, a Cabinet Secretary; Executive at County level, that is, the Governor or his Deputy?
 - ❖ Former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga is part of the executive, given his political clout.
-

4. Independence commissions and offices

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite an official of any of the independent commissions in Kenya: the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission (KNHREC)? National Land Commission (NLC)? Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)? Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC)? Judicial Service Commission (JSC)? Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA)? Public Service Commission (PSC)? Salaries and Remuneration Commission (SRC)? Teachers Service Commission (TSC)? National Police Service Commission (NPSC)?
 - ❖ Does the paragraph cite an official of the independent offices in Kenya: Auditor-General? Controller of Budget?
-

5. Politicians

- ❖ Apart from the President, his Deputy, County Governors and their respective Deputies, does the paragraph cite a person actively involved in politics, such as a Senator, MP, MCA, opposition leader, Women representative?
-

6. Business leaders and individuals

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a leader of a business organization or an organization that brings together business persons, a business person such as an individual economic actor?
-

7. Academics

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a person in academia such as a scholar, a researcher, a university professor, or a lecturer (students are excluded from this category); a person presented as an authoritative voice on a matter being explained or discussed, including analysts?
-

8. Media practitioners

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a media practitioner such as a journalist, an editor, a producer, a photojournalist, or a correspondent?
-

9. Professionals

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a professional such as a doctor, an engineer, a lawyer, or an expert (excluding analysts)?
-

10. Civil society representatives

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a representative of a civil society organization such as a trade union, a social movement, or interest groups? (faith-based actors are excluded).
-

11. Faith-based actors

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a religious leader: Priest, Pastor, Prelate, a Pope, Imam, etc.?
-

12. Foreign leaders

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite individuals representing entities out of Kenya such as a President of another country, a representative of another country (an ambassador)?
-

13. Ordinary citizens

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a citizen who is affected by the news event such as an involved citizen, an eye witness, a passerby, or a non-official? Traditional “elders” are in this category.
-

14. Woman

- ❖ Does the paragraph cite a female or a group of women as a source of information in the news?
-

15. Unnamed sources

- ❖ Does the paragraph include a phrase that denote unnamed sources, such as: officials, spokespersons, sources, members, observers, experts, anonymous? The phrases could include a modifying adjective like high, high-ranking, senior, responsible, top (Culbertson, 1975, p. 13)
-

News Sourcing Channels Frames

1. Press releases
2. Press conferences/statement
3. Public events/meetings/rallies
4. Official documents and reports
5. Interviews (face to face; mediated – telephone, Email, Skype, Messenger, WhatsApp, others)
6. Analysis by news people
7. Research
8. Online Platforms – search engines, websites, wikis, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Blogs, WhatsApp, Other
9. Other news organizations: Western-based; Africa-based; Kenya-based news agencies

Appendix B: Code Sheet - Focus: News Valence for Headlines and News Stories

**Conceptualizing Professional Journalism Practice:
Valence of News Frames and Source Diversity in Kenya**

Focus: News Valence for Headlines and News Stories

Name of the Coder:

Article Number:

Name of Newspaper:

Date of Publication:

Title of Article (headline):

Name of the Author:

Number of paragraphs:

Is the framing of the headline episodic _____?

Is the framing of the headline thematic _____?

Is the framing of the headline neutral _____?

Does the news story emphasize negative valence _____?

Does the news story emphasize positive valence _____?

Does the news story emphasize neutral valence _____?

Which of the following category frame(s) did the news story portray?

	Category of Frame	Category Portrayal
1	Solutions journalism	
2	Restorative narratives	
3	Prospective journalism	
4	Traditional journalism	

Appendix C: Code sheet - Focus: News Sourcing Channels

**Conceptualizing Professional Journalism Practice:
Valence of News Frames and Source Diversity in Kenya**

Focus: News Sourcing Channels

Name of the Coder:

Article Number:

Name of Newspaper:

Date of Publication:

Title of Article (headline):

Name of the Author:

Number of paragraphs:

How many times did the following categories of news sourcing channels appear?

	Category of Frame	Category Frequency
1	Press releases	
2	Press conferences	
3	Public meetings and rallies	
4	Official documents and reports	
5a	Interviews: Face to face	
5b	Interviews: Telephone	
5c	Interviews: Email	
5d	Interviews: Skype	
5e	Interviews: Messenger	
5f	Interviews: WhatsApp	
5g	Interviews: Other mediation	
6	Analysis by news people	
7	Research	
8a	Online Platforms: Search engines	
8b	Online Platforms: Websites	
8c	Online Platforms: Wikis	
8d	Online Platforms: Facebook	
8e	Online Platforms: Twitter	

8f	Online Platforms: Instagram	
8g	Online Platforms: YouTube	
8h	Online Platforms: Blogs	
8i	Online Platforms: WhatsApp	
8j	Online Platforms: Other	
9a	Other news organizations: Western-based	
9b	Other news organizations: Africa-based	
9c	Other news organizations: Kenya-based	

Appendix D: Code Sheet - Focus: News Actors

**Conceptualizing Professional Journalism Practice:
Valence of News Frames and Source Diversity in Kenya**

Focus: News Actors

Name of the Coder:

Article Number:

Name of Newspaper:

Date of Publication:

Title of Article (headline):

Name of the Author:

Number of paragraphs:

How many times did the following categories of news actors appear in news story?

	Category of Frame	Category Frequency
1	National government officials	
2	County government officials	
3	The Executive	
4	Independence commissions and offices	
5	Politicians	
6	Business leaders and individuals	
7	Academics	
8	Media practitioners	
9	Professionals	
10	Civil society representatives	
11	Faith-based actors	
12	Foreign leaders	
13	Ordinary citizens	
14	Woman	
15	Unnamed sources	

Appendix E: List of Authors of News Stories - Daily Nation:

**Garissa University Attack, Obama's Visit, Pope Francis' Visit, Doctors' Strike,
Elections Annulment, Handshake, and COVID-19**

	Journalist	Garissa	Obama	Pop e	Doctors	Annulled	Handshake	COVID-19	Total
1.	J001	0	0	0	11	0	0	85	96
2.	J002	10	9	5	12	13	2	34	85
3.	J003	3	0	0	12	0	0	45	60
4.	J004	2	0	0	1	0	0	57	60
5.	J005	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	57
6.	J006	16	20	2	0	0	0	10	48
7.	J007	0	0	0	18	0	0	25	43
8.	J008	0	0	0	0	11	3	28	42
9.	J009	1	7	6	1	0	0	24	39
10.	J010	2	1	4	32	0	0	0	39
11.	J011	22	9	1	0	0	0	2	34
12.	J012	1	4	1	1	16	0	9	32
13.	J013	10	8	1	0	3	0	9	31
14.	J014	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	31
15.	J015	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	28
16.	J016	5	2	3	2	3	0	12	27
17.	J017	2	0	0	4	0	1	19	26
18.	J018	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	26
19.	J019	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	25
20.	J020	0	0	0	0	13	4	7	24
21.	J021	0	0	0	4	2	0	18	24
22.	J022	0	0	0	3	3	0	16	22
23.	J023	0	0	0	0	20	0	2	22
24.	J024	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	21
25.	J025	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	21
26.	J026	0	0	0	12	2	0	6	20
27.	J027	2	3	4	0	8	3	0	20
28.	J028	0	0	0	0	0	2	18	20
29.	J029	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	20
30.	J030	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	20

Appendix F: List of Authors of News Stories - The Standard

**Garissa University Attack, Obama's Visit, Pope Francis' Visit, Doctors' Strike,
Elections Annulment, Handshake, and COVID-19**

	Journalist	Garissa	Obama	Pope	Doctors	Annulled	Handshake	COVID-19	Total
	JJ001	0	0	2	18	0	0	64	84
	JJ002	10	6	1	4	10	3	19	53
	JJ003	13	5	7	1	0	0	10	36
	JJ004	10	1	1	0	0	0	22	34
	JJ005	0	0	11	2	0	0	17	30
	JJ006	4	1	0	2	0	0	18	25
	JJ007	8	8	7	1	0	0	0	24
	JJ008	0	0	1	0	8	1	12	22
	JJ009	0	0	1	0	8	1	8	18
	JJ010	3	1	2	0	7	1	4	18
	JJ011	1	1	4	0	1	2	8	17
	JJ012	1	0	0	0	1	0	14	16
	JJ013	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
	JJ014	3	2	0	1	6	0	4	16
	JJ015	6	4	0	0	0	0	6	16
	JJ016	0	1	0	0	0	0	14	15
	JJ017	1	2	1	0	7	1	3	15
	JJ018	1	0	0	0	7	4	3	15
	JJ019	0	0	0	4	0	0	10	14
	JJ020	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	13
	JJ021	1	0	0	7	0	0	4	12
	JJ022	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	11
	JJ023	0	3	0	0	7	1	0	11
	JJ024	4	0	1	3	0	0	2	10

Appendix G: List of Authors of News Stories - The Star

**Garissa University Attack, Obama's Visit, Pope Francis' Visit, Doctors' Strike,
Elections Annulment, Handshake, and COVID-19**

	Journalist	Garissa	Obama	Pope	Doctors	Annulled	Handshake	COVID-19	Total
1.	JJJ001	6	22	8	29	14	1	99	179
2.	JJJ002	0	0	0	0	0	0	73	73
3.	JJJ003	0	5	0	4	0	1	57	67
4.	JJJ004	5	3	0	7	4	5	43	67
5.	JJJ005	0	0	0	0	0	1	64	65
6.	JJJ006	11	1	0	7	0	0	43	62
7.	JJJ007	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	60
8.	JJJ008	12	4	0	4	3	2	28	53
9.	JJJ009	4	1	0	3	3	0	40	51
10.	JJJ010	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	47
11.	JJJ011	1	0	0	19	0	0	27	47
12.	JJJ012	3	7	1	7	0	1	24	43
13.	JJJ013	0	0	0	0	1	0	41	42
14.	JJJ014	0	0	0	3	0	0	36	39
15.	JJJ015	1	2	7	18	8	0	0	36
16.	JJJ016	5	4	0	9	2	1	12	33
17.	JJJ017	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	32
18.	JJJ018	5	22	0	2	1	0	2	32
19.	JJJ019	0	2	2	0	0	0	27	31
20.	JJJ020	1	0	0	0	0	0	29	30
21.	JJJ021	0	0	0	6	0	0	22	28
22.	JJJ022	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	27
23.	JJJ023	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	27
24.	JJJ024	0	0	0	1	2	0	24	27
25.	JJJ025	1	1	0	1	0	0	23	26
26.	JJJ026	0	0	1	1	2	0	21	25
27.	JJJ027	4	2	0	3	2	0	14	25
28.	JJJ028	1	0	0	2	0	0	21	24
29.	JJJ029	3	1	0	1	1	0	18	24

Appendix H: List of Authors of News Stories - People Daily:

**Garissa University Attack, Obama's Visit, Pope Francis' Visit, Doctors' Strike,
Elections Annulment, Handshake, and COVID-19**

	Journalist	Garissa	Obama	Pope	Doctors	Annulled	Handshake	COVID-19	Total
1.	JJJJ001	4	5	3	2	5	0	46	65
2.	JJJJ002	3	5	4	0	22	1	26	61
3.	JJJJ003	1	0	1	4	16	2	36	60
4.	JJJJ004	6	0	3	3	22	2	13	49
5.	JJJJ005	0	1	1	0	7	1	35	45
6.	JJJJ006	2	0	1	7	18	0	17	45
7.	JJJJ007	1	0	2	0	4	0	33	40
8.	JJJJ008	0	0	1	1	3	0	31	36
9.	JJJJ009	0	1	0	0	5	1	29	36
10.	JJJJ010	1	0	1	5	16	0	7	30
11.	JJJJ011	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	29
12.	JJJJ012	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	28
13.	JJJJ013	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	24
14.	JJJJ014	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	23
15.	JJJJ015	2	2	2	0	0	0	16	22
16.	JJJJ016	0	4	0	0	4	0	13	21
17.	JJJJ017	0	0	0	0	2	0	18	20
18.	JJJJ018	5	1	1	0	0	2	10	19
19.	JJJJ019	5	11	0	0	0	0	0	16
20.	JJJJ020	0	0	0	0	1	0	15	16
21.	JJJJ021	1	0	0	0	2	0	12	15

Appendix I: Consent Cover Letter

(Mr./Ms.), Full name,
Address (Media House)
Date

Dear Mr./Ms. (name)

My name is Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla and a doctoral candidate in Daystar's School of Communication in Nairobi, Kenya.

I am writing to request your participation in a research that I am conducting to gain insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya by examining news valence, diversity of news sourcing channels, and diversity of news actors. As the principal investigator, I am collecting information from news people for my doctoral dissertation. I am interested in understanding what I have established in a quantitative content analysis. The information I obtain from this interview will be incorporated in my dissertation manuscript and may be quoted for academic purposes. This information may also be used in paper conferences, academic journal articles, and other publications in future. However, your name will not be associated with any of the direct and indirect quotations.

Thus, this study started with a quantitative content analysis of seven major news-making events in Kenya, namely, *Garissa University attack in April 2015; Obama's visit in July 2015; Pope Francis' visit in November 2015; 100-day doctors' strike from December 2016 to March 2017; annulment of Presidential elections in September 2017; Handshake in March 2018; and COVID-19 in 2020*. If you accept, you will be among participants in the second phase of the study.

Therefore, I am inviting you to participate in an open-ended semi-structured interview. During the interview, I will ask questions about your perceptions about the practice of journalism in Kenya. The purpose of these questions is to examine news valence and source diversity.

For instance, I might ask the following types of questions.

How would you describe the valence of the major news-making events you have been reporting about (negative, positive, neutral)?

Please, tell me about the most common origins of your news reports

A quantitative content analysis of news actors in seven major news-making events in the last six years established that... Please, share your perceptions about these findings.

If you agree to participate, I will consult with you regarding the day, time and venue for the interview, working around your schedule. The interview session, which will last 60-90 minutes, could be held in my office, your office, or another quiet place of your choosing. These will be at your convenience.

Rest assured, if you agree to participate, I would take steps to maintain your confidentiality by keeping all data materials in a locked filing cabinet and computer

folders with a strong password. All records will remain confidential, and your participation or nonparticipation will in no way negatively affect you or your work at your media house.

Kindly note that there will be no payment available to you for your participation, apart from providing you with light refreshments and reimbursing you for any travel expenses. Additionally, at your own request, I will provide you with a copy of the completed study at no cost. Also, the information you provide will be helpful to journalists, media managers, institutions of journalism, media scholars, government, as well as policy makers within the context of the news media industry. For instance, your sharing will shed light on the concerns about news negativity, bias in news sourcing, including the inclusion and exclusion of news actors in news reports, and could contribute to the updating of policies in news media entities for twenty-first century audiences.

Other benefits of this study include the fact that you and your colleagues could use the findings from this study to engage your managers in source diversity strategies in view of overcoming the possibility of source bias and establishing constructive ways to framing your news reports. Besides, on the basis of this study findings, your managers could review their decision-making process and newsroom routines.

Dr. Erneo Nyamboga is supervising this study. Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decline participation in this study. If you agree to participate, you may refuse to answer specific questions; you will be also free to pose a question. Acknowledging unanticipated experiences, you may also decide to withdraw from the interview at any point without any penalty. Besides, our decision as to whether or not to participate will have no influence on either party, nor will your participation or nonparticipation influence future interactions between you and the primary investigator.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. I would welcome your consent and participation in this study. If you agree to participate, please read and follow the directions on the attached consent form.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me by phone at 0712349777; by e-mail to dbonline2005@gmail.com. You may also contact Dr. Erneo Nyamboga at enyamboga@gmail.com

Sincerely,

Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla
School of Communication, Daystar University
Valley Road, Nairobi, Kenya.

Appendix J: Informed Consent Form

Consent to be a Research Participant for In-depth Interview

Purpose and Background

Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla, primary investigator, Daystar University, is doing a study to gain insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya by examining news valence and source diversity in the newspaper reporting of seven major news-making events in the last six years.

You are being asked to participate in an in-depth interview because of your substantive contribution in the journalistic content of the seven issues, which this study is examining.

Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be expected to do the following:

1. Meet at a pre-determined location, to be agreed upon with you
2. Meet for a period not exceeding 1 hour and 30 minutes.
3. Discuss topics related to my study of news valence, the diversity of the news sourcing channels and that of news actors. The questions may include the following examples:
 - a. How would you describe the valence of the major news-making events you have been reporting about (negative, positive, neutral)?
 - b. Please, tell me about the most common origins of your news reports.
 - c. A quantitative content analysis of news actors in seven major news-making events in the last six years established that... Please, share your perceptions about these findings.

Your identity will remain confidential and none of the information obtained from the interview or questionnaire will be associated with your identity.

Risks or Discomforts

1. If at any point you feel uncomfortable, you are free to decline to answer any questions or to stop participation at any time with no penalty.
2. Participation in this study will be confidential. Study records will be kept as confidential as possible. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Study information will be coded and kept in locked files and folders with strong password. Only principal researcher will have access to the files.

Benefits

There will be no direct benefit for participating in this study. However, the information you provide will be helpful to journalists, media managers, institutions of journalism, media scholars, government, as well as policy makers within the context of the news media industry. For instance, your sharing will shed light on the concerns about news negativity, bias in news sourcing, including the inclusion and exclusion of

news actors in news reports, and could contribute to the updating of policies in news media entities for twenty-first century audiences.

Other benefits of this study include the fact that you and your colleagues could use the findings from this study to engage your managers in source diversity strategies in view of overcoming the possibility of source bias and establishing constructive ways to framing your news reports. Besides, on the basis of this study findings, your managers could review their decision-making process and newsroom routines.

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs to you for participating in this study other than basic transportation to and from the meeting venue.

Payment/Reimbursement

There will be no payment for participation in this study. However, you will be provided with complimentary snacks and beverages in the duration of the interview.

Questions

I have talked to Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have further questions about the study, I may contact his dissertation supervisor at enyamboga@gmail.com

If I have any questions or comments about my participation in this study, I should first talk with the researcher. If, for some reason, I do not wish to do this, I may contact Daystar University's Ethics Review Board (ERB), which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the Board by: ...

Consent

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to be in this study or to withdraw from it at any point.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Principal Investigator's Name (Print)

Participant's Name (Print)

Principal Investigator's Signature

Participant's Signature

Date of Signature

Date of Signature

Appendix K: In-depth Interview Guide

Pre-Brief

My name is Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla, a doctoral candidate in Daystar's School of Communication in Nairobi, Kenya. I am collecting information from news people for my doctoral dissertation. I am interested in gaining insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya. In particular, I am interested in understanding what I have established in a quantitative content analysis. The information I obtain from this interview will be incorporated in my dissertation manuscript and may be quoted for academic purposes. This information may also be used in paper conferences, academic journal articles, and other publications in future. However, your name will not be associated with any of the direct and indirect quotations. I will record this interview on my digital device in order to ensure accuracy when I later review and analyze your responses. Do you have any questions before I proceed?

Consent

1. Do I have your permission to conduct and audio record this interview? (Obtain signature on the consent form).
I'm now recording.

Interview

2. For the record, please state your first name only, and your present position.
 - a. Out of curiosity, where do you trace your journalism interest?
 - b. What does your present position entail?
 - c. How long have you been in your current position?
 - d. What were your previous positions before this current one?
3. What do you identify as the most challenging aspect of your professional news journalism practice?
 - a. *Probe:* How do you go about overcoming this challenge on daily basis?
4. From the bylines (referees), you have been involved in the reporting of major news-making events in the last years. From the following (Garissa, Obama's visit, Pope Francis' visit, doctors' strike, annulment, handshake, COVID-19):
 - a. How were you involved in the process of reporting these major news-making events?
 - b. Did you work in collaborate with others? If yes, how would you describe that collaboration?
5. This study seeks to examine how these events were framed, from the headlines to the story body.
 - a. So, to what extent were you personally involved in the construction of the headlines of stories published under your name?
 - b. What were some of the main considerations in the construction of those headlines?
 - c. A quantitative content analysis of the headlines of the news reports showed that just over half were framed sensationally, evoking tragedy, drama, shock, sadness, negative feelings. How do these findings speak to your own experiences of writing these stories?

- d. A third were constructively framed, evoking empathy, hope, solidarity, social responsibility, positive feelings. Your reaction to the construction of such positive headlines?
 - e. Media practitioners and audience members have expressed concerns about a tendency toward sensational headlines. What explanations would you offer in the face of these lamentations?
6. Regarding the stories below the headline, how were you involved in their final publication?
- a. The quantitative content analysis revealed a negative valence for just over half of the stories, with an emphasis on conflict and the tendency to remain at apportioning blame. How do these findings speak to your experience in the writing of the reports?
 - b. A third portrayed positive valence, going beyond conflict to emphasize solutions. Your reaction to the publication of positive stories?
 - c. Media practitioners and audience members have expressed concerns about a tendency toward stories focusing on conflict and negativity. What explanations would you offer in the face of these lamentations?
7. In the face of the complaints about a tendency to focus on conflict and framing issues negatively, some media houses have sought to practice constructive journalism.
- a. To what extent are you familiar with constructive journalism?
 - b. Do you recall having had some deliberate instructions to frame the stories in a particular way that would reflect constructive journalism?
 - c. A quantitative content analysis of these reports revealed a strong orientation toward a journalism that recounts immediate problems, tragedy, differences, suffering, grievances, and generally devoid of solutions, hope, and future plans. To what extent does this speak to your own practice of reporting on these major news-making events?

We have discussed about news valence in the recent major news-making events in Kenya. Let us for a moment focus on news sourcing channels.

8. Please, recalling the news sourcing channels you used (from attending press conferences, public rallies, press releases, official reports, interviews, research reports, other media entities, online forums)
- a. Which were the most common in your day-to-day reporting of these events?
 - b. Which were the least common?
 - c. How would you justify these news sourcing channels?
 - d. How would you compare the use of these channels, and you yourself as information source?
9. A quantitative content analysis of the most common news sourcing channels established that journalists were by far the most common news sources of the news reports. How does this finding speak to your own experience as a journalist/editor?
10. The analysis also revealed a considerable reliance on official documents and reports, then Press conferences and statements, then research, and other news organizations. To what extent does this speak to your own experience of reporting on these major news-making events?

11. The analysis did not have the various online forums among the top five common news sourcing channels, they came eighth, after interviews and public meetings.
 - a. How does this relate to your reporting experience on major news-making events?
 - b. Are you aware of a bias toward online sources?
12. Are you aware of situations where there has been a bias toward news sourcing channels such as public meetings and press conferences because of money?
 - a. *Probe*: Please, briefly explain the possible justifications for such bias
 - b. *Probe*: How do you think such bias impacts on Kenya's professional news journalism practice?
13. From your present role, how do you think is the way forward to ensure appropriate and ideal diversity in news sourcing channels?
14. Anything else you would want to remark about news sourcing channels in Kenya?

Let us now focus on news actors.

15. Recalling people and institutions you quoted and gave a voice to in your news reports (from the national gov't, county gov't, the executive, independent commissions, politicians, business people, academics, professionals, civil society, faith-based, women, ordinary citizens, unnamed)
 - a. Who could have been the most common in your day-to-day reporting of these events?
 - b. Least common?
 - c. Any justifications?
16. A quantitative content analysis of news actors in seven major news-making events in the last six years established that members of the executive were the most common, almost twice the number of politicians who were ranked second, with National government officials as the third.
 - a. What are your thoughts about this finding?
 - b. How does this finding speak to your own experience as a journalist/editor?
17. There have been complaints that ordinary citizens are excluded from (not given adequate visibility in) news reports.
 - a. Have these lamentations reached you?
 - b. *Probe*: If yes, please explain the motivations behind such exclusion.
18. Are you aware of situations where some news actors have been allowed to dominate the recent major news-making events in what would be called biased inclusion?
 - a. *Probe*: If yes, please briefly explain the motivations behind such biased inclusion.
19. Anything else you would want to remark about the inclusion and exclusion of news actors in the recent major news-making events?
20. Is there anything you would like to add?

Debrief

This concludes the interview. Thank you for your participation. Again, the purpose of my study is to gain insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya, particularly an understanding of news valence and source diversity in terms of news sourcing channels and news actors. This is towards my doctoral dissertation. Your participation in this study and the information you have provided has been very useful. Please contact my supervisors, Dr. Erneo Nyamboga or Prof. Levi Obonyo, or

me, using information on the copy of the consent form that has been provided to you, if you have questions or comments about this study.

Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla
School of Communication
Daystar University
Valley Road, Nairobi, Kenya
Phone: +254 712349777
E-mail: dbonline2005@gmail.com
donyalla@tangaza.ac.ke

Appendix L: Data Generation, Analysis, and Write-up: Timetable

Below is the revised timetable of the activities after the defense that took place on April 26, 2021. The activities include generation of data, analysis, and the reporting of the results and the discussion of the findings. They follow the two-phase four-step procedure.

Phase/Step	Activity	Date/Timeframe
Approvals	Seek approval from Daystar Ethics Review Board	From June 8, 2021
Approvals	Seek research license from NACOSTI	From June 15, 2021
Phase I/Step 1	Selecting relevant news stories	May 2-30, 2021
Phase I/Step 1	Recruiting coders	June 1-8, 2021
Phase I/Step 1	Training of coders, Pre-test	June 12, 2021
Phase I/Step 1	Coding	June 14-26, 2021
Phase I/Step 1	Data entry into SPSS	June 26 –July 3, 2021
Phase I/Step 2	Identifying relevant results from content analysis	July 4-5, 2021
Phase II/Step 3	Design qualitative study: refine interview guide	July 6, 2021
Phase II/Step 3	Reconfirm approvals: NACOSTI	
Phase II/Step 3	Contacting sampled participants	July 7, 2021
Phase II/Step 3	In-depth interviews, identifying relevant results	From July 9, 2021
Phase II/Step 4	Presenting two data sets	From July 26, 2021
Phase II/Step 4	Interpretating two data sets - Discussion	From August 2, 2021

Appendix M: Budget Estimates

The process of generating data is expected to have cost implications. These costs are approximated below.

	Item	Cost
1	Internet: @Ksh.5,000.00/month for 6months	30,000
2	Library fees: @25,000.00	25,000
3	Coders: @Ksh.30,000/person for 9 persons	270,000
4	Travels: @Ksh.30,000	30,000
5	Refreshments: @10,000	10,000
6	Writing material	8,000
7	Binding manuscripts	10,000
8	Contingencies	17,000
	Total (Ksh)	400,000

Appendix N: Transcribed Interview: Participant B3

My name is Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla, a doctoral candidate in Daystar's School of Communication in Nairobi, Kenya. I am collecting information from news people for my doctoral dissertation. I am interested in gaining insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya ... Do you have any questions before I proceed?

Consent

21. Do I have your permission to conduct and audio record this interview? (Obtain signature on the consent form). *Yes.*
I'm now recording.

Interview

22. For the record, please state your first name only, and your present position.

Name/position stated.

- a. Out of curiosity, where do you trace your journalism interest? *Answered.*
- b. What does your present position entail? *An editor (explained)*
- c. How long have you been in your current position? *Over 13 years.*
- d. What were your previous positions before this current one? *Explained.*

23. What do you identify as the most challenging aspect of your professional news journalism practice?

From my own experiences, one of the biggest challenges in my journalism practice from a writing perspective is to try and evolve the storytelling, the kind of writing that the newspaper upholds. A lot of newspapers locally and across the continent do not have that unique identity voice that distinguishes one from another.

a. *Probe:* How do you go about overcoming this challenge on daily basis?

24. From the bylines (referees), you have been involved in the reporting of major news-making events in the last years. From the following (Garissa, Obama's visit, Pope Francis' visit, doctors' strike, annulment, handshake, COVID-19):

- a. How were you involved in the process of reporting these major news-making events?

I received news reports, and reviewed them for publication.

- b. Did you work in collaborate with others? If yes, how would you describe that collaboration?

25. This study seeks to examine how these events were framed, from the headlines to the story body.

- a. So, to what extent were you personally involved in the construction of the headlines of stories published under your name?

I was involved in the reporting of all the issues you analyzed. Reporters submitted stories and I was involved in reconstructing the headlines they suggested. Except for front page headlines, I was involved in the writing of many headlines of the events in your study.

- b. What were some of the main considerations in the construction of those headlines?

A headline on a Kenyan newspaper is not just text; it is what sells the newspaper. The writing of headlines, most especially those on front pages, becomes critical. The most

important aspect is the editor's news judgement. In the case of Garissa university attack, we were to capture the horror. Later, focus was to shift to other aspects. For instance, it took so long for help to get to those students. The special forces got stuck in traffic, with no helicopter available. We took this story angle to question the security agencies. The editors' news judgement combines with vested interests to foster the sale of the newspapers. Ultimately, it boils down to vested interests, both from the editor and from the government when it comes to the writing of headlines.

- c. A quantitative content analysis of the headlines of the news reports showed that just over half were framed sensationally, evoking tragedy, drama, shock, sadness, negative feelings. How do these findings speak to your own experiences of writing these headlines and stories?

I think it is about the variety of the events you were analyzing in your study. There were negative events that were most likely to generate headlines skewed toward sensationalism.

- d. A third were constructively framed, evoking empathy, hope, solidarity, social responsibility, positive feelings. Your reaction to the construction of such positive headlines?

The stories I've done progressively from around 2015 to recently have always been skewed toward conflict and problems. But now, I'm changing to include solutions. We're not saying we'll not talk about the problems, blame people who fail to do what they're expected to do; the third side of the story is so, what is being done about it. Even in my COVID-19 reporting, we've highlighted the problem of lack of sufficient testing, we don't have test kits, but what's the solution? The solution is that health experts are saying we need a bigger budget, with which we can get test kits in the Counties. But again, for the events you analyzed in your study, events such as the visit by Pope Francis, also the visit by the Pope, could have generated headlines that are neither negative nor positive.

- e. Media practitioners and audience members have expressed concerns about a tendency toward sensational headlines. What explanations would you offer in the face of these lamentations?

I've been confronted by members of the audience who have told me to write about them, and what they are doing to bring solutions to what I had continually highlighted as problems. I felt challenged. I sat down and realized that audiences want a change from the journalism that stops at highlighting problems. Over time, journalists and editors have progressed professionally as to give readers quality work.

26. Regarding the stories below the headline, how were you involved in their final publication?

- a. The quantitative content analysis revealed a negative valence for just over half of the stories, with an emphasis on conflict and the tendency to remain at apportioning blame. How do these findings speak to your experience in the writing of the reports?
- b. A third portrayed positive valence, going beyond conflict to emphasize solutions. Your reaction to the publication of positive stories?
- c. Media practitioners and audience members have expressed concerns about a tendency toward stories focusing on conflict and negativity. What explanations would you offer in the face of these lamentations?

27. In the face of the complaints about a tendency to focus on conflict and framing issues negatively, some media houses have sought to practice constructive journalism.
- To what extent are you familiar with constructive journalism?
 - Do you recall having had some deliberate instructions to frame the stories in a particular way that would reflect constructive journalism?
 - A quantitative content analysis of these reports revealed a strong orientation toward a journalism that recounts immediate problems, tragedy, differences, suffering, grievances, and generally devoid of solutions, hope, and future plans. To what extent do does this speak to your own practice of reporting on these major news-making events?

We have discussed about news valence in the recent major news-making events in Kenya. Let us for a moment focus on news sourcing channels.

28. Please, recalling the news sourcing channels you used (from attending press conferences, public rallies, press releases, official reports, interviews, research reports, other media entities, online forums)
- Which were the most common in your day-to-day reporting of these events?
 - Which were the least common?
 - How would you justify these news sourcing channels?
 - How would you compare the use of these channels, and you yourself as information source?
29. A quantitative content analysis of the most common news sourcing channels established that journalists were by far the most common news sources of the news reports. How does this finding speak to your own experience as a journalist/editor?

I think it speaks to the nature of the events you're reporting about. If it is event-based, for instance Garissa attack, Obama's visit, the Pope's visit, I'd write from the perspective of me being there, so that all accounts would be told by me as a witness. This is also true for the annulment of elections when I'm writing from the court. This is writing from what I'm observing and hearing, thus from a journalist's perspective.

30. The analysis also revealed a considerable reliance on official documents and reports, then Press conferences and statements, then research, and other news organizations. To what extent does this speak to your own experience of reporting on these major news-making events?

You do not need the extra time to verify these documents when they have the obvious marks such as a government seal, or a speech from a press conference. The events-based reporting is still there; but specifically for print, you need to add value to the event. So, we try to make sense of the events, asking the why. Media houses are trying to get into partnerships where wire services are brought on board, which is partly about cost-cutting initiatives. Wire services are bringing down their payrolls. The agreement is usually that you have to acknowledge the source.

31. The analysis did not have the various online forums among the top five common news sourcing channels, they came eighth, after interviews and public meetings.
- How does this relate to your reporting experience on major news-making events?

The last four years have been heavy on fake news, a lot of it perpetuated from online forums. Media houses are being cautious. They will see the online post, but they will not cite it, until there is some confirmation that it is true; and in the process of confirming, one leaves the online forum to speak to the person behind the post, who is then cited directly in an interview. We insist on quoting credible sources and a number of online forums, such as blogs are not credible.

- b. Are you aware of a bias toward online sources?
32. Are you aware of situations where there has been a bias toward news sourcing channels such as public meetings and press conferences because of money?
One of the biggest criticisms is that we have too much politics on our front pages, and the same faces. We have argued that a newspaper has many pages, and inside, there are not as many political stories as people tend to think.
- a. *Probe:* Please, briefly explain the possible justifications for such bias
 - b. *Probe:* How do you think such bias impacts on Kenya's professional news journalism practice?
33. From your present role, how do you think is the way forward to ensure appropriate and ideal diversity in news sourcing channels?
34. Anything else you would want to remark about news sourcing channels in Kenya?

Let us now focus on news actors.

35. Recalling people and institutions you quoted and gave a voice to in your news reports (from the national gov't, county gov't, the executive, independent commissions, politicians, business people, academics, professionals, civil society, faith-based, women, ordinary citizens, unnamed)
- a. Who could have been the most common in your day-to-day reporting of these events?
 - b. Least common?
 - c. Any justifications?
36. A quantitative content analysis of news actors in seven major news-making events in the last six years established that members of the executive were the most common, almost twice the number of politicians who were ranked second, with National government officials as the third.
- a. What are your thoughts about this finding?
Members of the executive and national government officials have mostly featured in our stories. They combine to make official sources on national matters in Kenya.
 - b. How does this finding speak to your own experience as a journalist/editor?
37. There have been complaints that ordinary citizens are excluded from (not given adequate visibility in) news reports.
- a. Have these lamentations reached you?

Kenyan media is at a very critical state in time, where we are like on the runway. Only two things can happen: either take off to become the media that we can become, an authoritative, factual media that is basically truth telling, fact-seeking, and holding power to account, or crush.

I think there is a sort of awakening within this space; we have people who've been in media for so long, and have seen the kind of bottlenecks that exist in legacy and

traditional media, and they're trying to branch out, and take the newsrooms back to the people, because journalism is basically reporting about the people. We are continually seeing the need to take the newsrooms back to the people. Including more and more ordinary people in news media reports is a conversation that is taking place within the media house, because there has been a deliberate effort to make news coverage more representative.

b. *Probe:* If yes, please explain the motivations behind such exclusion.

38. Are you aware of situations where some news actors have been allowed to dominate the recent major news-making events in what would be called biased inclusion?

Yes. Government officials have had an upper hand in news reports, and favorably so. Inasmuch as we'd want a balance within the media that would put all of us on the same pedestal as news actors, it is not possible; we like it or not, from a news perspective where we are going for numbers, Raila, Ruto, Uhuru, will always command the biggest clout.

a. *Probe:* If yes, please briefly explain the motivations behind such biased inclusion.

We are gradually trying to get away from a situation where we, in the Kenyan media, were in unholy union with the government, only reporting what they were saying. When we fell out with government, after the annulment of the election, and there was no longer a friendly relationship, media collectively had a challenge to report in an in-depth manner on issues of national importance, be it economy, be it security, be it basic services. We are gradually moving away from that, getting our sourcing from a diverse sourcing to enrich our storytelling.

39. Anything else you would want to remark about the inclusion and exclusion of news actors in the recent major news-making events?

Not really.

40. Is there anything you would like to add?

Debrief

This concludes the interview. Thank you for your participation. Again, the purpose of my study is to gain insight into the practice of professional news journalism in Kenya, particularly an understanding of news valence and source diversity in terms of news sourcing channels and news actors. This is towards my doctoral dissertation. Your participation in this study and the information you have provided has been very useful. Please contact my supervisors, Dr. Erneo Nyamboga or Prof. Levi Obonyo, or me, using information on the copy of the consent form that has been provided to you, if you have questions or comments about this study. Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla.

Appendix O Ethical Clearance

VERDICT: APPROVAL WITH COMMENTS

Daystar University Ethics Review Board

Our Ref: **DU-ERB/12/07/2021/000542**Date: 12th July 2021

To: Don Bosco Onyalla

Dear Don Bosco,

RE: CONCEPTUALIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM PRACTICE: VALENCE OF NEWS FRAMES AND SOURCE DIVERSITY IN KENYA

Reference is made to your ERB application reference no. 070721-01 dated 7th July 2021 in which you requested for ethical approval of your proposal by Daystar University Ethics Review Board.

We are pleased to inform you that ethical review has been done and the **verdict is to revise as per the attached comments and then proceed to the next stage**. As guidance, ensure that the attached comments are addressed. Please be advised that it is an offence to proceed to collect data without addressing the concerns of Ethics Review board. Your application approval number is **DU-ERB-000542**. The approval period for the research is between **12th July 2021 to 11th July 2022** after which the ethical approval lapses. Should you wish to continue with the research after the lapse you will be required to apply for an extension from DU-ERB at half the review charges.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements.

- i. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA) will be used.
- ii. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by Daystar University Ethics Review Board.
- iii. Death and life threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to Daystar University Ethics Review Board within 72 hours of notification.
- iv. Any changes anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to Daystar University Ethics Review Board within 72 hours.
- v. Clearance for export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions.
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
- vii. Submission of a signed one page executive summary report and a closure report within 90 days upon completion of the study to Daystar University Ethics Review Board via email [duerb@daystar.ac.ke].

Prior to commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://oris.nacosti.go.ke> and other clearances needed.

Yours sincerely,

Sr. Prof. A. L. Lando PhD
Chair, Daystar University Ethics Review Board

Encl. Review Report



Appendix P: Research Permit


REPUBLIC OF KENYA
 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION
Ref No: 408979

Date of Issue: 16/July/2021

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Fr. Don Bosco Onyalla of Daystar University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: CONCEPTUALIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM PRACTICE; VALENCE OF NEWS FRAMES, AND SOURCE DIVERSITY IN KENYA for the period ending : 16/July/2022.

License No: NACOSTI/P/21/11845
Applicant Identification Number: 408979


Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code


NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

Appendix Q: Training Schedule for Coders

Recruitment Criteria

- ❖ Prior experience with coding process in quantitative content analysis.
- ❖ Familiarity with current affairs in Kenya.
- ❖ Post undergraduate studies – graduated, pursuing or having pursued postgraduate studies.

Action	Action by	Channel	Expected Outcome
Contacting potential coders	Researcher	Telephone/online	Suitability assessed, availability discussed, format agreed (virtual/physical)
Avail tools (codebook/sheets)	Researcher	Email/WhatsApp	Acknowledge receipt
Gathering of coders	Researcher and coders	Physical or Virtual	Timeliness; available for entire session
The training	Researcher and coders	Physical or Virtual	Mastery of concepts (news valence, news sourcing channels, news actors); categories; units of analysis
The training	Researcher and coders	Online	Coders have all the stories (same for all)
Physical training (coding)	Researcher and coders	Room, furniture, personal comp.	Pilot study begins – to end with inter-coder reliability test
Virtual training (coding)	Researcher and coders	Stable Internet connection, Comp	Pilot study begins – to end with inter-coder reliability test
Pilot study	Researcher and coders	Codebook, code sheets, stories	Continued pilot study, test for reliability (The Krippendorff's Alpha of at least $\alpha = 0.80$)
Other	Research		Review process; evaluate strengths, weaknesses of channels of training; scrutinize coders; full coding, monitoring the coders for continued reliability of data

Appendix R: Plagiarism Report

Don Bosco - dissertation - 22nd October 2021			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
6%	5%	2%	1%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	www.tandfonline.com Internet Source		1%
2	hdl.handle.net Internet Source		<1%
3	www.ejecs.org Internet Source		<1%
4	mafiadoc.com Internet Source		<1%
5	www.kosmosjournal.org Internet Source		<1%
6	www.sagepub.com Internet Source		<1%
7	journals.sagepub.com Internet Source		<1%
8	pure.uva.nl Internet Source		<1%
9	aura.antioch.edu Internet Source		<1%