AN ACTOR-NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF THE WORLD WIDE WEB IN
A KENYAN NEWSROOM'S JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE: A CASE OF CAPITAL
FM

by

Irene Wambui Wamunyu

A thesis presented to the School of Communication, Language and Performing

Arts

of

Daystar University

Nairobi, Kenya

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Communication

November 2017

i

APPROVAL PAGE

AN ACTOR-NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF THE WORLD WIDE WEB IN A KENYAN NEWSROOM'S JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE: A CASE OF CAPITAL FM
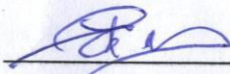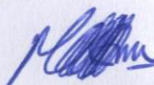
by

Irene Wambui Wamunyu

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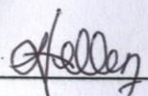
Date:

_____   11/11/2017

Clayton Peel, PhD,
1st Supervisor

_____   11/11/2017
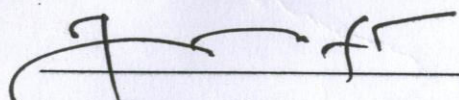
Murej Mak'Ochieng, PhD,
2nd Supervisor

_____   13/11/2017

Rosemary Kowuor, PhD,
HoD, Communication Department

_____   14/11/2017

Levi Obonyo, PhD,
Dean, School of Communication,
Language and Performing Arts

ii

STUDENT'S DECLARATION PAGE

AN ACTOR-NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF THE WORLD WIDE WEB IN A KENYAN NEWSROOM'S JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE: A CASE OF CAPITAL FM

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any

other college or university for academic credit.

Signed: _____   Date: _____

Irene Wambui Wamunyu

(12-1423)

iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFP	Agence France Presse
ANT	Actor-network theory
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CAK	Communications Authority of Kenya
CCTV	China Central Television
CDN	Content distribution network
CMS	Content management system
CNN	Cable News Network
DJ	Disc jockey
DM Administrator	Digital media administrator
FM	Frequency modulation
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IT	Information Technology
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KM	Kilometre
KPTC	Kenya Posts & Telecommunications Corporation
KSH	Kenya Shillings
LSM	Living Standard Measure
MB	Megabyte
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
NMG	Nation Media Group
OPP	Obligatory passage point
PSCU	Presidential Strategic Communications Unit
SEO	Search engine optimisation
UGC	User-generated content
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

The incorporation of digital technologies in for-profit newsrooms has led to disruptions in journalism hierarchies, business models, norms, and practices across the world. In African newsrooms, these disruptions have received a paucity of scholarly attention, and even those have tended towards policy and regulatory matters, or normative analyses founded on the Western liberal democratic model. This study interrogated the incorporation of the web in Kenyan journalistic practice by following the process as undertaken at Capital FM, the country's pioneer commercial radio station. The study set out to establish the human and technological actors engaged in journalistic practice at Capital FM, as well as determine the nature of interaction among those actors, and the outcomes of those interactions. The research used a socio-technical theoretical lens and applied case study research design with four data collection tools, namely observation, interviews, netnography, and document review. The study used a six-step framework to reduce, organise and evaluate the data. Actor-network theory informed the identification of the actors, their interactions, and the outcomes of those interactions. A thematic analysis was also applied to more deeply interrogate and interpret the data. The two analytical approaches established that Capital FM practiced a networked journalism enacted by multiple human, technological and corporate actants, resulting in modifications and disruptions that were manifested in various efforts of labour, controversies, movement among actors, new roles, and spatial location. New roles were enrolled into journalistic practice, and new practices had become routinised. Audiences had acquired a powerful role through web metrics which informed journalists' routines and sense of self-identity. Journalistic practice had a new definition, and the blurring of

lines between editorial and promotional content had opened new lines of revenue generation even while disrupting the normative values underlying news production. Globalised practices, such as the use of open-source applications, had standardised aspects of the journalism enacted in geographically diverse networked newsrooms. The study also held that actor-network theory was useful in interrogating power dynamics within a networked newsroom context. The study further posited that a new type of commercial news media company had emerged in the Kenyan context, and was defined under the following thematic categories: organisational culture, key decision makers, content, revenue, and infrastructure.

The study recommended greater collaboration and interaction between personnel in the two spatial locations to promote greater innovation around content development and an increased understanding among all of the web's potential as a news platform. It also posited that the web was treated as an online version of a newspaper. This frequently limited the news content to two-dimensional presentations of news yet human actants in the news production process could make greater use of the web's multimediality, hypertextuality, and interactivity. The study also called for greater reflection among media houses about the implications of the new revenue generation opportunities vis-à-vis journalistic practice.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Since the 1990s, Kenya's radio, television and print news media outlets have integrated technologies such as the world wide web (also referred to as the web) into their work routines and practice (Loughran, 2010; Sambuli, 2015). This blend of digital technologies (also called online technologies) created what Beckett (2010) described as networked journalism. This form of journalism allows the news media to publish content across platforms, engage more interactively with audiences, as well as access and use audience content.

The scholarly literature gave overviews of online technology use in Kenyan news media with an emphasis on print publications or companies with multiple news platforms (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011; Mudhai, 2014; Sambuli, 2015; World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011). But the literature did not provide in-depth analyses of how Kenyan broadcast companies had incorporated the technologies, especially the web, in their journalistic practice. There was also a lack of scholarship addressing the materially diverse actors involved in this practice.

This study sought to fill this gap by using actor-network theory in investigating one Kenyan commercial radio station's use of the web in journalistic practice. This chapter presented the background of the study, established the research problem and presented the study's empirical focus on establishing the use of the web in Kenyan journalistic practice.

Background of the Study

Starting in the early 1990s, two significant occurrences took place across Africa. The first was a wave of political reforms in the 1990s accompanied by a liberalisation of the news media (Karikari, 2007; Mbeke, Ugangu, & Okello-Orlale, 2010; Mwesige & Kalinaki, 2007; Ugangu, 2012). The second

was an explosive growth in the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) such as mobile

phones and social media sites (Berger, 2007; Mare, 2013). The liberalisation of the news media was

instrumental in the rise of commercial broadcasting across much of the continent, and the entry of

foreign television channels available on satellite. In Kenya, new radio stations were established with

Capital FM being the first to be licensed in 1995 and to go on air in September 1996 (Kenya Yearbook

Editorial Board, 2010; Mbeke et al., 2010; Obonyo, 2011; Walubengo, 2011; Willems & Mano, 2016).

The use of ICTs led to the entry of digital technologies in journalistic practice. This manifested

itself across different parts of Africa in various practices such as: the establishment of websites, blogs

and social media accounts by the news media; the use of the web as a news platform alongside print and

broadcast; the push for journalists to be multi-skilled so as to produce content for the converged

platforms; and the incorporation of user-generated content (UGC) into other news work (Bosch, 2014;

Mabweazara, 2014; Mare, 2014; Mudhai, 2014; Paterson, 2013; Sambuli, 2015; World Association of

Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011). Capital FM, the focus of this study, launched a Digital Media

Division to focus on producing news content for the web and mobile phone platforms (Mudhai, 2014).

The content included links to its video channel as well as stories that run exclusively on the website.

The incorporation of digital technologies in journalism led to adaptations in how journalists in

mainstream news media in different parts of the world work and interact. The study of various US

newsrooms found that the use of the internet in newsrooms helped journalists in sourcing information in

their reporting, influenced editors in their shaping of the news, facilitated the building of community

with audiences, and led to the expansion of news judgment in assessing whether a story was better suited

as a newspaper article or as a blog post (Anderson, 2009; Robinson, 2011).

Witschge and Nygren (2009) found that Swedish newsrooms had incorporated new ways of

working such as focusing on more market-driven news selection. Journalists were also found to have a

more relative attitude towards accuracy, and there was increasing engagement between newsrooms and audiences. In the Netherlands, the internet was perceived to improve efficiency and sourcing among journalists. Journalists also regularly used particular applications such as email, websites and search engines but other applications were less frequently used, such as blogs and instant messaging (Hermans, Vergeer, & d'Haenens, 2009).

There was less extensive scholarship from the African continent but existing studies found that national contexts, media house editorial policies, and proprietary interests had a bearing on the deployment of ICTs in journalistic practice (Mabweazara, 2010; Mudhai, 2014). The political and regulatory environments in which African journalists operated meant publications had constraints in which they operate, such as the case of the Zambian government's ban on the online publication of a newspaper and arrests of bloggers (Mudhai, 2014).

Zimbabwean newsrooms had experienced an increase in the speed and scope of news production because of the mobile phone which enabled reporters to provide content from remote locations. The internet was also essential in routine newsroom tasks such as looking up information and interacting with sources. Among state- and privately-owned news organisations, the former were less likely to use the technologies compared to the former (Mabweazara, 2010).

In Kenyan newsrooms, the internet and mobile phones increased the speed of news production, introduced converged newsrooms and multi-skilling among journalists, and enabled the use of user-generated content among news organisations. The organisations also encouraged audiences to respond to stories or send in their own content (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011).

There was evidence in praxis of widespread use of various digital technologies in newsrooms and among individual journalists in Africa. Yet overall, there was a scarcity of scholarly literature

3

addressing the use and impact of digital technologies on journalism in Africa (Ireri, 2012; Mabweazara, 2014; Obonyo, 2011). The existing scholarship tended to focus on policy and regulatory concerns, or on normative analyses based on a Western liberal democratic model. Other studies done by market research companies or non-governmental organizations took descriptive, a-theoretical approaches leaving gaps in the research concerning the use of digital technologies in day-to-day journalism on the African continent (Banda, 2010; Mabweazara, 2014; Mare, 2014; Willems & Mano, 2016).

It is in this regard that Jordaan (2013) called for ethnographic research of newsrooms that could more comprehensively interrogate the interactions between digital technologies and journalistic practice in African newsrooms. Such studies were done in newsrooms in Egypt, Malawi, South Africa, and Zimbabwe (Bosch, 2014; El Gody, 2014; Mabweazara, 2014; Mare, 2014).

Scholarship of the use of digital technologies in Kenyan newsrooms tended towards cross-sectional studies of print publications or companies with multiple news platforms (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011; Mudhai, 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; Sambuli, 2015; World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011). This study used ethnographic data collection tools in a case study of a broadcast newsroom, to fill the methodological research gap presented by Jordaan (2013) and Mabweazara (2014). The selection of Capital FM for this study also enabled an in-depth investigation into how the web was used in a Kenyan broadcast newsroom that has traditionally had only one platform.

Problem Statement

The years in which the news media incorporated the web in their work were filled with both a sense of expectation and caution. The former came from the developments that have emerged with the use of the web, such as the converged newsroom and multi-media, cross-platform reporting. The caution was informed by concerns about negative outcomes on journalism quality as well as the limited financial

4

returns from the use of the digital technologies despite the large investment in them (Tamerling &

Broersma, 2012).

Thus across the world, the incorporation of digital technologies in news production processes led

to the disruption of newsroom norms, structures, cultures, business models, ethics, as well as the size

and nature of audiences (Dickinson, Matthew, & Saltzis, 2013; Mabweazara, 2014; Mare, 2014;

Mudhai, 2014; Robinson, 2011; Tamerling & Broersma, 2012; Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

These negative disruptions came at cost for news media companies. In Kenya, for-profit

companies struggled to make money from their online media products, leading to staff retrenchments

and closure of news outlets (Sunday, 2016). Non-traditional players such as social networking site

Facebook and telecommunications companies competed with the news media companies for advertisers.

The digital technologies also enabled unethical practices such as plagiarism, and more recently,

contributed to the rise and spread of "fake news." Collectively, these unethical practices undermined

professional journalism values such as accuracy and credibility (Craig, 2003; Mabweazara, 2014; Mare,

2014; Olewe, 2017; Robinson, 2011).

This study posited that as these challenges took place, an understanding of human and

technological interaction in journalistic practice in Kenyan for-profit newsrooms had not been fully

explored. Further, research studies that addressed the use of technology in newsrooms tended to revolve

around techno-deterministic or socio-constructivist approaches. These two approaches addressed the

issue by looking at the impact of technology on the phenomenon under study (techno-determinism), or

by focusing on how human actors interacted with the technology (Barnhurst, 2013; Boczkowski, 2005;

Dickinson et al., 2013; Mabweazara, 2010). The two approaches also tended to focus the theoretical

understanding on the dynamics of journalistic practice vis-à-vis human actors and institutional/societal

factors.

5

This study sought to fill this research gap by using actor-network theory (ANT) to study the Capital FM newsroom. The socio-technical theoretical approach enabled a new understanding of journalistic practice, by viewing the interaction between technology and human personnel as collaborative. The approach acknowledged that material artefacts, objects and other non-human actors have as much agency as human actors. The various actors that had agency in journalistic practice were referred to as actants. This approach thereby demonstrated the contribution of non-human actants such as technology as an integral part of journalistic practice, allowing for new perspectives and understanding of who/what contributes to news gathering, story development and packaging, and to what effect.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to use a socio-technical approach to analyse how a Kenyan for-profit broadcast media house used the web in its journalistic practice.

Objectives of the Study

Specifically, this study sought to:

1.   Determine which human and technological actants in the Capital FM newsroom interacted in journalistic practice.

2.   Establish how the human and technological actants in the Capital FM newsroom interacted in journalistic practice.

3.   Analyse the effects of association among the different actants at Capital FM in the use of the web during journalistic practice.

Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions:

1.   Which human and technological actants interacted in journalistic practice at

6

Capital FM?

2.   How did the human and technological actants in the Capital FM newsroom interact in

journalistic practice?

3.   What were the effects of association among the different actants at Capital FM in the use

of the web during journalistic practice?

Justification of the Study

Dickinson et al. (2013) observed that journalism plays an important role in society, and so when

there are new elements in its practice, there is a need to have a detailed understanding of what work

journalists do, and how they do that work. This study was situated in the sociology of journalism, an

area of scholarship that tended to be addressed largely in the Anglo-American context such as in the

ethnographies of US newsrooms (Gans, 2004; Mabweazara, 2014; Tuchman, 1973). This study sought

to make a contribution to that scholarship corpus by focusing on the use of digital technologies in

African newsrooms, an underexplored area of study (Ireri, 2012; Jordaan, 2014; Mabweazara, 2014).

Some research studies had focused on the use of digital technologies, in countries such as Egypt,

Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. However, these studies tended towards socio-constructivist

approaches which provided a macro-level understanding of newsroom processes within the institutional

and societal contexts of their particular media economies (Bosch, 2014; El Gody, 2014; Mabweazara,

2014b; Mare, 2014).

This study used a socio-technical theoretical approach, focusing on a micro-level assessment of

the dynamics that emerged as technologies and human actants collaboratively associated in the course of

journalistic practice. The theoretical approach enabled an interrogation of the agency of materially

diverse elements – such as content management systems, mobile phones and journalists – and what

7

effect that agency had in the process of journalistic practice. This perspective of journalistic practice had

not received much scrutiny in the African context, as far as this researcher was aware.

Additionally, scholarship tended to focus on the editorial aspect of news production but did not

pay attention to news artefacts and information technology personnel who also contributed to the news

production process (Lewis & Westlund, 2015). By studying other actants alongside editorial personnel,

this study set out to develop a more nuanced analysis of the news production process in the Kenyan

context.

Significance of the Study

This study would be of value to three key stakeholders: the academic community, the journalism

profession, and associated policy makers. In the case of the academic community, the study aimed at

deepening theoretical understanding of the processes involved in the use of an online technology in

journalism within the Kenyan context. Additionally, the processes that underlay the use of the web in

journalistic practice had been documented in other contexts, but not in Kenya or East Africa, as far as

this researcher was aware.

For journalism practitioners and policy makers, the study would provide empirical evidence that

would support policy making within newsrooms concerning how editorial personnel use the web and

other digital technologies, particularly in a context of fast-developing innovation. The aim was to

provide knowledge that could inform policy makers and regulatory bodies in developing guidelines and

policy concerning web use in Kenyan journalism.

Scope of the Study

In the scholarship of African newsrooms, the understanding of the concept of journalistic

practice was disposed towards socio-constructive (Mabweazara, 2010, 2014) or techno-deterministic

stances (Obijiofor, 2003). In each of these cases, the human being was the social actor, influencing or being influenced by technology.

This study used ANT, a socio-technical theoretical framework that provided a different perspective of journalistic practice by exploring the collaborative associations among materially diverse actors, human and non-human. This interrogation expanded sociological understanding of processes and associations, in this case of journalistic practice in the Capital FM newsroom.

The presence and use of digital technologies in journalism, and the associated scholarly literature indicated that this phenomenon was pervasive and complex. These technologies ranged in type from hardware to software, and additionally were frequently upgraded to more advanced versions, or new entities created altogether.

This study recognised the width and breadth of possible research concerning the various tools. But the focus for the study was limited to the web which had a clear starting point, having been established in 1991, and was a central repository for a variety of information (Brügger, 2012). Journalists had also been established to use the web in a variety of ways, whether in their social media interaction, or in their reporting and transmission of stories to editors and audiences (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011; Hermans et al., 2009; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; Sambuli, 2015; Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

This study also recognized that the web had enabled new players to become media entities in themselves through blogs, web sites, and social media. Such players included websites, as well as individuals who provided information to their large numbers of followers on their blogs and Twitter handles (Sambuli, 2015). These new players were not included in the study which instead, confined itself to the journalism practiced in established media houses.

Additionally, the scholarship on technology use in African journalism tended to focus on print journalism (Mabweazara, 2010; Obijiofor, 2003) or to media houses that owned print, broadcast and online news outlets in one stable (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011; Mudhai, 2014). This research used a case study approach to interrogate journalistic practice at Capital FM, a broadcast outlet that made extensive use of the web.

Assumptions of the Study

This study assumed that journalism was practised at Capital FM, and that the human and technological interface there would contribute additional insights into evolving practices in converged media environments. Therefore, it was also assumed that networked journalism was part of journalistic practice at the media outlet. Observations of the Capital FM newsroom undertaken during unrelated past visits as well as a reading of content on the Capital FM website had provided evidence of networked journalism.

The study also assumed that access into the station was enacted at two levels: institutional and individual. The former was granted through a letter of authorisation that is included in the appendices. The latter was dependent on the voluntary consent of the individuals approached. Where an individual chose not to participate in the study or appeared uncomfortable, I did not pursue further interaction.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The theoretical framework used in this study made no *a priori* assumptions about what I would encounter before entering the field. This meant that prior to beginning the research, the actants and their associations in the actor-network under study were not known. This raised challenges as to sample size and sampling approach. I mitigated this by undertaking sampling during the early stages of data collection and halting the collection of information when I reached saturation. This is a viable approach in qualitative research (Mason, 2010; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The methodological approach selected requires the focus on one case to enable in-depth investigation. Stake (2005) indicated that because the case study approach did not typically allow for generalisation, it tended to be less well regarded by some social science scholars. However, there was the differing view that the case study method was one among various methodological approaches that enable the study of a "valued particular" (Stake, 2005, p. 448) which is of empirical worth in itself.

Additionally, the concept of generalisation was usually applied to quantitative studies that used probability sampling and were focused on statistical significance (Donmoyer, 2011). However, generalisability could also be applied even to qualitative research, but only by having a broader definition of the term "generalisability" (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). This broader definition could be empirical or theoretical.

For empirical generalisation, the findings from a qualitative research study could be applied to other populations or settings. For theoretical generalisation, theoretical concepts or propositions could be generated in the course of the study and applied to other contexts, or used to develop a broader theory (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). This study generated findings that could be applied towards an empirical generalisation to other newsrooms within the Kenyan setting.

The use of the case study also allowed for a profound examination of the theoretical underpinnings of technology's adoption and integration in Kenyan journalism. In this study, focusing on one radio station enabled this type of in-depth study thus creating the understanding of an issue by being "particular, descriptive, inductive, and ultimately heuristic" (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011, p. 54). This study looked at a privately owned newsroom that had radio as its mass media platform. This focus enabled an in-depth investigation into the processes that emerged in the use of the web within a Kenyan mainstream newsroom.

Definition of Terms

Actant: This was a technical term in actor-network theory and referred to any actor which could act or make a difference within a network, and could also associate or disassociate with other actors (Latour, 2005, p. 71). Texts, concepts, human beings, technical artefacts, and other objects could all be actants (Crawford, 2005; Latour, 2005). Sociological theory had tended to presume the "actor" to be a human being. However actor-network theory posited that actors may be human or non-human. Therefore "actant" was a more neutral term and was used by the co-developers of the theory (Latour, 2005).

Actor-network: An actor-network theory term used in actor-network theory to refer to the assembly of relations among social, material, and conceptual entities visually represented by nodes interlinked by arrows.

Digital/online technologies: These were alternatively called new technologies (Obijiofor, 2003), new media technologies (Witschge & Nygren, 2009), and online technologies (Boczkowski, 2005). They referred to non-analogue innovations such as mobile phones, social media sites, and the world wide web which used technology that compresses information and data in a numerical code that quickens capture, storage and transmission of that information (Digital technology, n.d.).

Flows of translation: An actor-network term referring to the changing and co-existing of mediators within an actor-network. Because there are multiple mediators in a particular situation, there are multiple translations taking place (Latour, 2005), represented by arrows connecting the various actants.

Internet: Ackerman and Hartman (2013) defined the internet as a collection of computer networks that share and exchange information based on agreed-upon rules or protocols. It is characterized by constant evolution of technologies used by and on it (Dutton, 2013). The internet was

also described as a means of passing on information from one computer to another (Hines, 2000). The internet encompasses applications such as email, the world wide web, newsgroups, social media, blogs, and others. The "internet" is often used interchangeably with the term "world wide web" but they are not synonymous.

Intermediary: A term in actor-network theory referring to an actor that passes on meaning or action without experiencing any transformation (Latour, 2005).

Journalist: A person engaged in journalistic practice in a mainstream media house.

Journalistic practice: This term referred to the "work-practice activities" and "news work" in the newsroom (Hanitzsch, 2005; Lewis & Westlund, 2015). The study established that journalistic practice at Capital FM was comprised of five components namely: story conceptualisation, information gathering, story development, story packaging, and story distribution.

This definition was distinct from the three-stage process described in other literature as follows: (i) gathering of information (which involves a sense of news judgment on the part of the reporter, as well as finding and using relevant sources); (ii) development of stories (compilation of the stories); and (iii) packaging (the editing and production of the news content) (Erjavec, 2004; Mabweazara, 2010; Witschge & Nygren 2009).

Mediator: An actor-network term referring to an actor that undergoes frequent translation and change while interacting with other actants (Latour, 2005).

Network: A term from actor-network theory which referred to a descriptive rendering of the traceable associations between actants, manifested in the activities that took place between them, and in the transformations that resulted. These transformations amounted to flows of translation between mediators (Latour, 2005).

Newsroom: This was a physical and virtual construct in which content that subscribed to journalistic practice – such as gathering, verifying, and packaging information for a mass audience – was produced for multiple platforms such as web and radio, using digital technologies such as smartphones and computers. In this study, the "physical newsroom" was a term used to designate the enclosed space at Capital FM where the news, business, and sports journalists and newsreaders worked from. The "digital space" was a separate area where the Lifestyle and Campus personnel had desks and sitting space.

Network: This technical term within actor-network theory denoted the multiple interactions among various actants. The interactions had to be traceable, meaning that there was evidence that they had taken place. Among the primary objectives of actor-network theory was to establish the stability of a network. A network could refer to the inner workings of a computer to the use of a computer within an organisation (Latour, 2005).

Networked journalism: This term referred to the combining of traditional news journalism with digital technologies such as mobile phones, websites, and social media. Networked journalism allowed for greater interaction between journalists and audiences, as well as allows for collaboration, rather than linear progression, in the creation of news (Beckett, 2010).

Obligatory point of passage: An actor-network term referring to the node through which other actors had to go through and which gave the central actor its principal role (Hemminway, 2005; Latour, 2005).

Social media: These were mobile and web applications that allowed for the development and sharing of user-generated content (Kaplan, 2015).

Traces of association: The evidence left by the interaction/activity between actants, which could be observed or traced. The activity could include efforts of labour, movement among actors, and

controversies (Dolwick, 2009). This study also established new traces of association within the actor-network under scrutiny, namely new roles and spatial location.

World Wide Web (web): The web was an inter-linked collection of different types of information on the internet and accessible to users through graphical interfaces known as pages. The information included text, photographs, and video or audio content. A coding system connected the pages through hyperlinks. Users clicked these links to move from page to page, quickly accessing large amounts of information (Ackerman & Hartman, 2013; Deuze, 2001).

<div align="center">Summary</div>

This chapter established the research problem and the study's focus on empirically establishing the use of the web in Kenyan journalistic practice. New definitions of "journalistic practice" and "newsroom" as observed at Capital FM were also presented in the definition of terms. The following chapter provides a theoretical framework for this study and reviews literature related to technology use in journalism in Kenya and elsewhere.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Since the 17th century, journalism has developed with and through technological innovation (Starr, 2004). Researchers have addressed the interaction between journalism and technology though as Ireri (2012) and Mabweazara (2014) pointed out, there has been limited research from Africa on the subject. The tendency of much of media scholarship was also to address journalism as practiced in the global South from the perspectives of the global North (Willems, 2014).

The research available used different theoretical lenses to interrogate these interactions between journalism, such as techno-determinism and socio-constructivism. These approaches focused on the human actants in relation to technology. More recently, researchers had included socio-technical approaches such as actor-network theory that allowed for a theoretical understanding of how material actors contributed alongside human actants to various journalistic processes (Boczkowski, 2005; Dickinson et al., 2013; Hermans et al., 2009; Mabweazara, 2014).

This study used a socio-technical approach in addressing journalistic practice within the Capital FM newsroom. This chapter presents the theoretical framework, general and empirical literature sections, as well as a sub-section on Capital FM, the case study.

Theoretical Framework

The theorising around technology use in journalism tended to revolve around techno-determinism and socio-constructivist approaches. Techno-determinism posited that there was a causal relationship between technology and mass media, a perspective that was dominant from the early 20th century to the late 1970s as scholars sought to interrogate what import the then new technologies of radio, television and film had on different aspects of society (Hermans et al., 2009; Lievrouw, 2014).

This line of scholarship attributed great power to the different technologies in their influence over their audiences, and was associated with a number of prominent scholars such as Marshall McLuhan (Hermans et al., 2009; Lievrouw, 2014; Mackenzie & Wajcman, 1992; as cited in Mabweazara, 2010). McLuhan, who coined the phrase "the medium is the message," held that a medium has an effect separate from the content it carries. He attributed the impact of media on society by observing that the spread of literacy led to the development of greater introspection and individualism in Western society (Meyrowitz, 2003).

Scholars however begun to move away from this techno-deterministic approach to emphasise process, rather than effects, of using technology. These views, from sociology of journalism researchers among others, held that technologies and their uses are socially constructed (Hermans et al., 2009; Mabweazara, 2014). Where the techno-deterministic approach emphasised technology as the focal point, the socio-constructivist approach explained the interaction between technology and journalists within a larger institutional and societal context.

Mabweazara (2014) advocated for a socio-constructivist approach towards the study of digital technology use in journalism on the African continent arguing that the continent's particularities required scholarship that acknowledged the "unique professional and social dynamics in which African journalists operate" (Mabweazara, 2010, p. 5). Studies of African newsrooms by scholars such as Bosch (2014), El Gody (2014), and Mare (2014) took the approach that Mabweazara (2014) suggested. They are discussed later in this chapter.

This study took a different theoretical approach however, to address an aspect that the techno-deterministic and socio-constructivist approaches do not account for, namely the collaborative interaction between the material and human actants that interact in the course of journalistic practice. This socio-technical approach is known as actor-network theory or ANT. ANT was developed in the

mid-1980s by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, and John Law (Latour, 2005). The theory emerged in response to a need for theoretical explanation that could be applied to processes observed in the development of scientific knowledge in laboratories. ANT scholars found that traditional social theory considered the concept of the "social" to be an established dimension of reality in which actors are placed and activities occur (Latour, 2005).

But ANT had a radically different view, holding that there is no pre-existing context in which actors and activities are embedded, and that indeed society itself is an actor. ANT thus redefined sociology, by seeing it as not as a science focused on the social but as the tracing of associations between different elements or actors, which in turn would reveal the social. (Couldry, 2008; Latour, 2005). For ANT scholars, the "social" is the assembly of a collective whole which is made up of the associations between materially diverse actors. For this study, this meant that "journalistic practice" was a process enacted by materially heteregenous actors, human and technological, associating with one another to form an actor-network. The acknowledgement of non-human actants towards the formation of the actor-network and of journalistic practice is a key difference between ANT and other theoretical approaches, such as techno-determinism and socio-constructivism (Dolwick, 2009).

The associations between the actors are made evident through tracing the activity that has taken place between them. Such activity can include a controversy or conflict that has taken place, an effort of labour or production, a movement of some kind between actors, or the flows of translation between actors (Dolwick, 2009). This study also established new roles and spatial location as other traces of association among actors in this study. The concept of "flows of translation" is explained later in this section.

A key tenet of ANT is its view of human beings and of objects/non-humans. Earlier sociological scholarship tended to ascribe influence either to technology over human beings (techno-determinism) or

vice versa (socio-constructivism). ANT accords equality to each of the human and non-human elements – known as actants – as they associate with one another (Crawford, 2005; Latour, 2005). "Actant" is a key term in this study, as are "intermediary," "mediator," "translation," and "network." These terms are explained in the following section.

The term actant draws from the term "actor" and refers to "something that acts or to which activity is granted" (Latour, 1996, p. 373). The actant is the actor who can associate or disassociate with other actors, and so has volition. Texts, concepts, social beings and technical artefacts can all be actors (Crawford, 2005; Latour, 2005). Prior use of the term "actor" tended to assume that it was about the human individual who as a conscious being, has agency. Munro (2009) defined agency as the means to accomplish something.

However, ANT does not assume agency only involves human consciousness, as is the case in traditional sociological theory. ANT posits that both human and non-human actants have agency, in that they each may cause transformation and that transformation creates an account of itself. This means that transformation can be observed or traced (Latour, 2005).

Actor-network theory indiscriminately ascribes the term "actant" to both human and non-human actors. The interaction between the actants is crucial in ANT as this is where the notion of the "social" emerges. How the actants interact with each other reflects the role they play, as intermediaries or as mediators. Intermediaries are actants which pass on meaning but do not transform or cause transformation. Mediators are the actants which cause distortion, modification, or transformation in other actors (Latour, 2005).

This study established various intermediaries and mediators. ANT holds that intermediaries leave no trace of their interaction with other actants, but mediators do because they cause transformation to occur (Latour, 2005). Therefore ANT focuses on the transformations between mediators. How the

mediators change and co-exist with each other is known as "translation" (Latour, 2005). Because there

are usually multiple mediators in a particular situation, there are multiple translations taking place

known as flows of translation. The combined flows of translation comprise a "network" and are

symbolised by arrows linking the actants.

In ANT, the network is comprised of the flows of translation taking place between mediators that

associate with each other (Latour, 2005). A network is also a descriptive rendering of the traceable

associations between actants, manifested in the activities that take place between them, and in the

transformations that result. ANT seeks to establish how durable and stable a network is, and to examine

how the actors and actants in the network change each other in the process (Latour, 2005).

ANT is interested in explaining how the associations among the actants form and how these

associations have developed within the actor-network. Turner (2005) was an early proponent of using

ANT in journalism studies, saying that news media offered a new site of study to interrogate through an

ANT lens particularly because the entry of digital technologies in journalistic practice warranted "a need

for new theories with which to make sense of the production and circulation of public discourse and for

the role of what Latour and others might call socio-technical hybrids in the process" (Turner, 2005, p.

321).

The difference between this study and other studies focused on the African newsroom

(Mabweazara, 2010, 2014; Mare, 2014; Obijiofor, 2003) is that the former acknowledged that

materiality contributes to social action, much as human actors do. The other studies limited the

understanding of agency to human actors.

In this study therefore, journalistic practice emerged from the collaborative interactions between

human and non-human actants, of which the latter were seen to have equal agency while associating

with the former (Dolwick, 2009). The actor-network of journalistic practice in Capital FM's newsroom is presented and discussed in Chapter Four of this study.

Critique and Discussion of ANT

Crawford (2005) observed that ANT goes beyond the binary conceptualisations in sociology - such as human versus object or structure versus agency – and enables the conceptual analysis of collective socio-technical processes that are often taken for granted. Instead ANT sees science as "a process of heterogeneous engineering in which the social, technical, conceptual, and textual are … juxtaposed and transformed (or translated)" (Crawford, 2005, p. 1). This means that the individual elements within an actor-network – be they human, textual, or physical artefact – associate with each other to form a transformative interaction.

A critique against ANT is that it does not do enough in enabling an understanding of power dynamics within a social context. Couldry (2008) noted that ANT addresses the formation of a network but not what happens to it after it forms nor the nuanced power dynamics inherent in networks and their long-term consequences. Why a particular actant is more dominant than others - evidenced in the flows of translations that go to and from it – is also not explained. This limitation means that other dynamics – such as gender in the case of human actants or design in the case of technological actants- are not accounted for in the development of the actor-network (Couldry, 2008).

The counter position was that power dynamics can be explained in the actor-network, but require strong description of the actor-network (Lawford, 2005). Additionally, Crawford (2005) stated that ANT enables an interrogation of the resilience and strength of the actor-network, assesses which interactions surpass others, and which actors cause greater translation than others. "Rather than power as possession, power is persuasion, 'measured' via the number of entities networked" (Crawford, 2005, p. 2).

I agree with Crawford and Latour because the observations and interviews at Capital FM indicated that power emerged in journalistic practice during the enrolment and modification of actors by other actors. The number of associations actors had with one another were not complete reflections of power however. This is because the visible expression of an actor's influence could only be gauged by the number of interactions evident in the actor-network.

This meant that even actors with few associations had the potential to possess great power. Sources within the actor-network for example associated primarily with editors, journalists and the web. These were only three associations. Yet without sources, there would be no stories. The nuances in power dynamics were therefore best explained by a descriptive account that exposed a holistic view of the actor in relation to the actor-network. This is what this study sought to provide.

ANT was also useful in addressing key aspects of this study. One of the contributions made by ANT is that it offers a counter position to the functionalism frequently found in media theory (Couldry, 2008; Crawford, 2005). For instance, the theorising around the concept "journalistic practice" from scholars such as Gans (2004) and Hanitzsch (2007) assumed a functionalist stance because it focused on the role(s) of journalism within wider social and political-economic contexts.

Functionalism is associated with Talcott Parsons, a scholar who held that individuals (actors) generally do what is required by their roles in the larger social system (structure), and these roles come from culture, and the motivations come from socialisation (Münch, 2005). One criticism of functionalism is that it ascribes roles but does not fully address meaning as an embodied and mindful experience (Craig, 1999). Another criticism from Couldry (2008) was that the institution of the media was often viewed as the full expression of the social, rather as one means of representing the social. Overall, Couldry (2008) found functionalist approaches to journalism to be limiting and said that ANT

enabled new ways of studying media as a whole as well as an understanding of meaning as ascribed within the actor-network.

I would agree with Couldry (2008) as to the ability of ANT to offer new perspectives of news in the Kenyan context. The use of ANT in this study allowed for an understanding of how journalists view their work not only in relation to society, but what the use of technologies within their work meant for their professional self-identity, interactions with audiences, and views of news. In the last case, a key finding was that what constituted news was a dynamic rather than fixed idea, with new players in the newsroom shaping those new views. This perspective is discussed further in chapters four and five.

ANT also explains the progression of associations that come to form a network. This enabled an understanding of the sequences of action that took place and pointed to the significance of time in explaining "how networks come to be established as normal, regular, and, gradually, as natural" (Couldry, 2008, p. 100). The use of ANT in this study contributed towards establishing the sequence in which different actions take place in a network and in understanding which actants served as mediators within the journalistic practice at Capital FM.

<div align="center">General Literature Review</div>

This section provides an overview of radio in Kenya, the use of the web in mainstream journalism, and the use of the web in Kenyan journalism.

<div align="center">Radio in Kenya</div>

In 2016, Kenya had an estimated 139 radio stations, 63 television stations, 4 morning daily papers, 1 evening daily paper, and about 60 periodic publications. The Communications Authority of Kenya, a government regulatory body, categorized the news media as commercial, community, or public. The majority of Kenya's news media were commercial, owned either as stand-alone media

outlets or as a stable of outlets publishing or broadcasting on print or radio and/ or television platforms respectively (Bwire, 2015; Communications Authority of Kenya, 2016).

Radio was the mass medium with the greatest countrywide reach and had become even more widely accessible through digitally networked technologies such as mobile phones and computers. Many of those news organisations had a presence online as a complement to existing traditional print or broadcast platforms, primary news platform, or a platform to receive feedback and produce news (Ogola, 2014; Sambuli, 2015; Synovate, n.d.).

The history of the mainstream news media in Kenya dates back to the establishment of the print press in the late 1800s with the subsequent introduction of radio and television in 1928 and 1962 respectively. The broadcast sector – radio and television – remained under government ownership until the early 1990s. Political changes then led to a media liberalisation that enabled the entry of new players such as privately owned FM radio stations. It is during this liberalisation period that Kenyan news media begun to adopt the use of the web (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988; Communications Authority of Kenya, n.d., Karikari, 2007; Loughran, 2010; Mwesige & Kalinaki, 2007; Obonyo, 2011; Ogola, 2015; Ugangu, 2012).

Radio was established in 1928 in Kenya when the colonial government set up a single radio channel with the aim of providing settlers with news and information from their home country and other parts of the world. The Kenyan broadcasting system was therefore directly inherited from British colonial authorities who controlled and held on to them until independence in 1963. Radio remained in the hands of the ruling political regime and was soon renamed the Voice of Kenya. It became a department under the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism. In 1989, it would revert to its old name Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and would be granted partial autonomy to allow it to raise

revenue partly through government funding and partly from advertising. (Museum of Broadcast

Communications, n.d.).

Traces of the colonial history remained evident such as in the mission statement of Capital FM

which observed that the company seeks to "responsibly entertain, educate and inform a dynamic

audience" (Company documentation, n.d.). The first director-general of the British Broadcasting

Corporation (BBC) had ascribed the role of entertaining, educating and informing the audience to the

medium of radio in the early 1920s. The BBC was established by the British state and was a model for

broadcasting in the British colonies (Teer-Tomaselli, 2015).

The 1970s and 1980s saw significant changes across the political, and socio-economic

environments of many African countries, including increasingly repressive regimes, changes of

leadership, continued economic dependence, and significant societal challenges. These would then be

followed by demands for greater political freedoms and multi-partyism, which led to the emergence of a

non-State controlled media, and the beginning of media pluralism in the 1990s (Berger, 2012; Karikari,

2007; Ogola, 2011).

Not until the mid-1990s did new players enter Kenya's radio broadcasting scene. During this

period, the Kenyan government liberalised the news media sector, enabling a plethora of new

commercial media organisations, particularly broadcast outlets, to emerge (Githaiga, Minnie, & Bussiek,

2011; Mbeke et al., 2010). These new organisations included FM radio stations, of which Capital FM

was the first privately owned outlet to be licensed in 1995. The station begun transmission in September

1996 (Kenya Yearbook Editorial, Board, 2010; Walubengo, 2011). By 2011, Capital FM was among six

dominant for-profit radio broadcasting entities. The others were Radio Media Services, Radio Africa

Group, Nation Media Group, Kass FM, and Milele FM (Githaiga et al., 2011).

It was also during the mid-1990s that internet access was first made available in Kenya. In October 1995, the African Regional Centre for Computing paid for an international leased telephone line that launched access to the internet. Two for-profit companies – Africa Online and FormNet – soon entered the market to offer internet services. By the end of 1995, there were more than 10 internet service providers in Kenya with a reported 5,000 accounts (Mureithi, 2017). Internet access was costly and exclusive because it was availed on leased telephone lines only offered by one government entity - the Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (KPTC). There were also a limited number of leased lines available. By the end of 1997, Kenya could only connect between 10,000 to 13,000 lines annually, yet had a waiting list of 77,163 (Mureithi, 2017).

Since those early years, the use of fixed lines to access the internet drastically declined. The entry of private telecommunications companies offering access to the internet through mobile telephony saw an exponential increase in the number of people accessing the internet. The Communications Authority of Kenya, regulator of the country's broadcast and internet sectors, reported the upward rise of demand for internet enabled by the reduced cost of internet-enabled devices. Most users gain internet access through mobile phone (Communications Authority of Kenya, 2015; Communications Authority of Kenya, 2016). However, as Paterson (2013) observed, internet access on the African continent remains mostly accessible to an urban middle class.

News media companies were among the early clients of the ISPs. Loughran (2010) reported that the *Daily Nation* of Kenya launched three websites in the mid-1990s. In late 1997, a year after starting transmission, Capital FM had set up a website powered by Africa Online. Since 1997, Capital FM's website underwent various transformations. The site changed from a basic site offering livestreaming of radio programming and company announcements, to an interactive, user-focused site with thousands of pages worth of multimedia content.

As a commercial radio station, Capital FM extensively used the web through its website and social media accounts. This, combined with its longevity in radio and demonstrated journalistic practice, led to its selection as the bounded case for this study. The company is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

<div align="center">The Use of the Web in Mainstream Journalism</div>

The web and the internet are terms different in meaning though often used synonymously. The internet is a global collection of computers which share and exchange information based upon agreed-upon rules or protocols. It is about 50 years old, whereas the web, developed in 1989 by engineer Tim Berners-Lee, is just over a quarter century old (Ackerman & Hartman, 2013).

The web is a collection of different types of information and documents accessible through the internet. The information and documents may be linked to others through three technologies, namely: hypertext transfer protocol (HTTP); hypertext markup language (HTML), and uniform resource locator (URL). The web was developed in response to the need for scientists in different locations to share data and findings using the infrastructure of the internet. The first web page was created by the end of 1990, and in 1991, a web community begun to emerge (Ackerman & Hartman, 2013; Berners-Lee, n.d.).

Brügger (2012) indicated that the web had become a pivotal part of the internet and of internet studies, and incorporates analogue media (such as radio and television) and formerly individual network applications (such as email). It also has its own distinct forms such as blogs and social media sites. It is for this reason that the material it is comprised of may be placed in three categories: digitised, born digital, and reborn-digital (Brügger, 2012).

The first refers to material originally in analogue form from which digital versions are created. These include written and printed documents (semiotic material), as well as photographs, films, etc. (artifacts). Born digital refers to material that has only existed in digital form, such as that on computer

networks and mobile phones. Reborn-digital refers to either of the first two types of material which has

been collected and stored, and may have changed in the process. Through these formats, the web can

serve as a distributor of formerly analogue content, as a source of born-digital content, and as a source of

reborn-digital content in a web archive (Brügger, 2012).

By 2016, the web had been used globally in journalism for nearly 25 years. The *Chicago Tribune*

launched its first newspaper service online in May 1992 **(**Carlson**,** 2001; as cited in Deuze, 2001). The

site was hosted on America Online, an internet service provider in the United States. By 1993, the first

web browser Mosaic had been developed and the journalism department of the University of Florida

launched a basic online news website that was updated on nights and weekends (Siapera & Veglis,

2012).

In November 1994, the *Daily Telegraph*, a news publication based in the United Kingdom,

launched its own news website which was updated once a day (Siapera & Veglis, 2012). These various

websites were among the early beginning of "the history of online journalism, and the creation of a new

kind of journalism that has changed the face of journalism forever" (Siapera & Veglis, 2012, p. 1).

There are different categorisations of journalism on the web with Deuze (2001) discussing four, while

Beers (2006) referred to three. Their cateogisations are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Categorisations of Journalism on the Web

Types of journalism	Deuze (2001)	Beers (2006)
Multiple platforms	Mainstream news web sites	
Online platform	Index & category sites	E-zines
	Meta & comment sites	Blogs
	Share & discussion sites	Open publishing sites

Sources: Beers (2006); Deuze (2001)

According to Deuze's (2001) categorization, there were: mainstream news sites, index and

category sites, meta and comment sites, share and discussion sites. The mainstream news sites referred

to institutional news organizations that had mass media platforms such as radio, television and print, and then added the online platform. In many news outlets, the web would become a channel of distribution for content produced for other mass media platforms (Deuze, 2001; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). This study focused on the use of the web by Capital FM, a mainstream news site.

The index and category sites referred to news aggregators, such as Google. They did not engage in news gathering and production, but would gather news from assorted sources to present to audiences. The meta and comment sites were defined as those that focused on addressing media processes and media issues in general. These would include industry-focused publications such as *Freedom Forum*. The share and discussion sites where the shared platform of the web allowed different users to interact, as well as share ideas, stories and views (Deuze, 2001). Deuze wrote before the full emergence of blogs and social media sites including Facebook and Twitter, but these would fit within the last category.

Beers (2006) defined the e-zine news media as websites that used traditional journalism approaches that have original content (not repurposed from another platform). The blog is "an electronic notebook kept and updated by one or more persons" (Beers, 2006, p. 118). Bloggers may provide the information, analyse and interpret it, and can be "deliberately personal and idiosyncratic in perspective" (Beers, 2006, p. 124). The open publishing site is where users exclusively provide the content. Examples that Beers (2006) gave of such sites were OhmyNews.com from Korea, Indymedia.org, and Flikr.com, based in Vancouver. This study used aspects of both Deuze and Beers' typologies, by focusing on a mainstream news outlet which produced original content for its website and also published news commentary articles referred to on the website as "blogs."

By the beginning of the 21st century, the mainstream news website was the most pervasive form of news content online. The content generally included content created specifically for the website or had been broadcast or published on broadcast or print media before being repurposed for the website.

There was also a minimal form of participatory interaction with audiences, such as in the form of a comment section (Deuze, 2001).

Early sites tended to follow traditional media's production schedules and were static, meaning that they would not change much once content was posted (Siapera & Veglis, 2012). It is only later that the web's features and applications would be adopted in journalism. This led to an online journalism that had the characteristics of: frequent updating; participatory communication between news personnel and audiences (interactivity); the use of different media such as audio, video, and text (multimediality); and the linking to other information and stories on the same page new story structures (hyperlinking). The online journalism also led to a convergence in news production and the rise of user-generated content (Siapera & Veglis, 2012). For many news outlets, the web would be a channel of distribution for content produced for other mass media platforms (Witschge & Nygren, 2009).

The use of the web in journalism continued to expand. By 2016, the rise of social media had led to a situation where "no self-respecting journalistic site remains without a blog, a Facebook, and Twitter account" (Siapera & Veglis, 2012, p. 1). Scholarship exclusively focused on online and networked journalism emerged and included the 2012 publication of the first edition of *the Handbook of Global Online Journalism* (Siapera & Veglis, 2012), the 2013 special edition of *Equid Novi: African Journalism Studies* (Paterson, 2013), and a collection of papers on online journalism in Africa, edited by Mabweazara, Mudhai, & Whittaker (2014).

<center>Use of the Web in Kenyan Journalism</center>

Ogola (2015) noted that in African mainstream journalism, there was widespread adoption of the use of the web and social media applications.

These applications "helped meet some of the resource challenges that have long frustrated journalists and media organisations across the continent. Print media organisations without

<center>30</center>

television or radio stations in their portfolios can now feature video packages or audio clips on

their [w]ebsites alongside text. This is common in countries such as Uganda, Tanzania and

Rwanda" (Ogola, 2015, p. 99).

In Kenya, digital technologies were used by commercial and non-profit news media outlets. In

the latter case, the use of mobile phones had been incorporated into broadcasts and had enabled radio

listeners to call in to discuss issues relevant to them (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013).

Among the early users of the web in Kenyan journalism was the Nation Media Group, whose

first website went online in 1997 and was aimed at providing news to Kenyans in the diaspora. In the

first quarter of 2016, the company had more than 20 websites (C. Otieno, personal communication,

February 5, 2016) and had incorporated digital technologies in journalistic work in various ways, such

as by: forming special teams to repurpose print content for the web; creating new posts such as

managing editor in charge of media convergence and social media editor; offering a breaking news alert

via text message in 2006; and having mobile phone versions of their various web sites among other

activities (Mudhai, 2014; Sambuli, 2015; World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers,

2011).

Other Kenyan news media companies had also adopted the web as a news platform, and reached

diverse audiences. The Standard Group, another prominent Kenyan news media house, launched a text

messaging service to its audiences in 2005, followed by a mobile version website. User-generated

content in the form of photographs, videos and contributions to popular discussion topics sent in by

audience members was also encouraged. The company observed that "the target group wants to

participate, interact and be seen and heard" (World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers,

2011, p. 31).

Radio Africa Group, another news media company, repurposed its newspaper content for its website. The company also promoted newspaper stories on social media, and enabled user-generated content from *Star Reports*, a citizen journalism application found on the company's website (E. Okumu, personal communication, November 3, 2014). The application was designed to enable audiences to create and share stories that could be published on the company's website (Gachiri, 2014; Olewe, 2012).

The use of the web among Kenyan journalists and editors was generally seen positively due to the efficiencies it provided in the gathering, analysis, production and distribution of news, and in the opportunities to share news and boost relationships with audiences through sites such as Facebook, Twitter and Youtube. These social media sites were in common use among for-profit and community media (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013).

New ways of linking television and radio broadcasts to mobile telephony had also enabled greater audience participation such as through the receiving of text messages by news anchors during live bulletins. "One of the most successful forms of interaction that has been promoted by networks such as *Royal Media*, the *Standard*, and the *Nation* [news media companies] has been allowing citizens to participate in opinion polls and vote on critical issues by sending SMS to the studios, for example during the evening news bulletin" (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011, p. 28).

Radio Africa Group had also partnered with Code for Africa (a self-described data journalism and civic technology initiative) to provide *Star Health*. This was a section on the *Star* web site devoted to health-related stories. *Star Health* also enabled audiences to check on the registration status of a particular doctor or medical facility, to find a medical specialist, and to establish the hospitals which accept a government medical insurance scheme (Star Health, n.d.).

Social media sites were also much used in Kenya's mainstream media, with Twitter and Facebook being the most popular (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; Sambuli, 2015). The feeding of social

media sites and interaction with audiences therein had also led to the creation of new jobs, such as social media or digital content editors. At Radio Africa Group, the social media editor's duties include "promoting website stories, growing social media followership, and monitoring breaking news and trending topics on social media, on which to do stories" (Sambuli, 2015, p. 83).

However, there was a novelty element to the use of digital technologies in the newsroom with one report indicating that journalists and news media organizations would experiment with tools or gadgets only to abandon them after some time. This abandonment would happen because of a lack of mastery of the tools even as the journalists were required to keep up with deadline cycles (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011).

Capital FM, the focus of this study, maintained an active presence on social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, Google Plus, and Youtube. Capital FM also had an application that enabled audiences to access, download, and send in content using devices such as laptops and mobile phones (Capital FM, n.d.; Capital TV, n.d.; Kaberia, 2015).

Additionally, media houses were developing customized applications that enable audiences to receive news on the web via mobile phone or tablet, and to interact with the media house personnel in real-time. The leading print publications in Kenya used mobile versions of their websites, as well as mobile applications (Sambuli, 2015). These illustrations point to work undertaken within the institutional framework of the media house.

However, Banda (2010) also found that a number of mainstream journalists in Kenya also individually engaged in a form of citizen journalism. They maintained blogs "where they share information that is not governed by editorial policies stipulated by their employers, giving rise to a form of non-institutional citizen journalism" (Banda, 2010, p. 44). His definition of citizen journalism was where "individuals write and/or comment on issues they feel are left out of the mainstream media.

Content is the main distinguishing feature; while in mainstream media the content is generated by

professional journalists, in citizen media spaces the content is generated by users and readers" (Banda,

2010, p. 44). This study found that citizen journalism was not included in Capital FM's journalistic

practice, a finding that is further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 in relation to the concept of user-

generated content (UGC).

Overall, the general literature demonstrated the pervasive use of digital technologies in Kenyan

newsrooms including the web as a whole and social media. The extensive use of mobile and digital

applications, as well as the entry of the social media editor (referred to as the digital media

administrator) position, were also established at Capital FM whose personnel also frequently pointed to

the positive attributes of digital technologies, such as increased efficiency in journalistic practice, greater

opportunities to engage and interact with audiences, and increased visibility through bylines on web

stories and the development of positive professional identities. The section that follows provides

examples of empirical scholarship related to technology use in journalism.

<div align="center">Empirical Literature Review</div>

Various technological innovations had been used in journalism since the 17th century, including

the printing press, the telegraph, and the internet (Dickinson et al., 2013; Siapera & Veglis, 2012; Starr,

2004). The scholarship on the use of technology in journalism followed different trajectories, such as the

historical overview (Siapera & Veglis, 2012; Starr, 2004); the focus on newsroom practice (Anderson,

2009; Dickinson et al., 2013; Mabweazara, 2010; Robinson, 2011; Tameling & Broersma, 2012); news

production (Bandyopadhyay & Gupta, 1996); and context-specific studies such as on Kenya and Africa

(Banda, 2010; Mudhai, 2014; Ogola, 2015). This section provides an overview of the empirical

scholarship related to journalistic practice and the use of digital technologies in newsrooms.

Journalism and Journalistic Practice

There was a lack of scholarly agreement on the definition of the terms "journalism" and "journalistic practice" (Hanitzsch, 2007; Steeves & Awino, 2015). Journalism had been described as an ideology even though it has variously been considered a profession, social system, industry, a literary genre, or a culture (Deuze, 2005). Journalism as ideology refers to the dominant means by which journalists give meaning to their work and is a collection of "values, strategies and formal codes characterizing professional journalism and shared most widely by its members" (Deuze, 2005, p. 445).

Van der Haak, Parks, and Castells (2012) referred to journalism as a public utility that provides meaningful, contextualised, relateable storytelling that is explained and made available to others for their use through various means such as text, images and sound. Hanitzsch (2007) viewed journalism as a social contract in the public interest that aims at verifying knowledge. In this view, journalism takes place within the setting of an institution. This study integrated the definitions of Van der Haak et al. (2012) and Hanitzsch (2007) to view journalism as an institutionalised public utility that seeks to provide meaningful, verified information in the public interest through text, images and sound on a variety of platforms such as radio, television, newspapers, and the web.

There are diverse views about what constitutes "journalistic practice," making it a contested term. Other terms that have been used synonymously with it include "journalism culture," "journalistic culture," "newspaper cultures" and the "culture of news production" (Hanitzsch, 2007).

Bourdieu and Hanitzsch developed theories of journalistic practice that provide socio-constructivist conceptualisations of journalistic practice (Hanitzsch, 2007; Jenkins, 2005). The "journalistic field," associated with Bourdieu, examines the series of relationships the journalist has within the working context, and beyond to include larger societal structures such as class and gender. Hanitzsch (2007) developed the concept of "journalistic culture," which has three primary elements:

institutional, epistemological, and ethical. In each case, the scholars explain that the work of journalism involves particular practices being operated within a particular institutional, normative, ethical, and societal context (Hanitzsch 2007; Jenkins, 2005).

Other researchers conceptualised journalistic practice more narrowly, by focusing on what Lewis and Westlund (2015) referred to the "work-practice activities" of the newsroom. Hemmingway (2008) used the term "news episteme" in reference to journalistic practice which she defined as "the internal daily routines, practices, tasks and responsibilities of both humans and technologies that together and in conjunction with one another constitute what we understand as news practice" (Hemmingway, 2008, p. 220).

Other scholars characterised these activities as being comprised of three linear concepts, though they applied different names to the concepts. These names included news gathering, writing, and editing (Erjavec, 2004); news gathering, evaluation, and production (Witschge & Nygren, 2009); and news selection, gathering and packaging (Mabweazara, 2010). These activities comprised a blend of informal individual practices and formal institutionalised processes "predicated on differences in the constraining impact of time and deadlines in the newspapers' work cycles before going to print" (Mabweazara, 2010, p. 120).

Overall, the scholarship tended to refer to three key practices: the gathering of information (which involves news judgment, developing story ideas, selecting and finding relevant sources); story development (writing of the stories); and packaging (the production of content – also known as texts – developed for a variety of platforms). This study originally defined journalistic practice using the three steps identified above.

Based on the findings however, the study developed a definition that comprised of five steps in journalistic practice, namely story conceptualisation, information gathering, story development, story

packaging, and story distribution. The entry of new personnel in the first and last two steps but not in the other three differentiated contemporary journalistic practice which in this study was found in the networked newsroom as opposed to the pre-web newsroom. The two types of newsroom are explained in Chapter Four.

Story conceptualisation referred to the development of the story idea or angle. In pre-web journalistic practice at Capital FM, story conceptualisation was undertaken exclusively among the editors and reporters in the physical enclosed space known as the "newsroom." In the networked newsroom at Capital FM, the webmaster and digital media administrator contributed to story ideas alongside the reporters and editors. The webmaster and digital media did not undertake the next three steps, but the digital media administrator would participate in story distribution on social media together with other personnel in the networked newsroom.

<p style="text-align:center">The Use of Digital Technologies in Newsrooms</p>

There was an abundance of empirical literature from the West on the use of the web and other digital technologies in newsrooms. Starr (2005) said that since the seventeenth century, journalism had developed with and through technological innovation. Boczkowski (2005) and Dickinson et al. (2013) indicated that past scholarship on the use of technology in journalism has tended to investigate effects of use, while more recently, researchers have begun to focus on the process of using the technology.

In assessing the scholarship that has focused on the web and journalism, Tamerling and Broersma (2012) referred to two primary directions the research has taken. One has sought to develop models that would indicate the stages a news organization needed to get through to become convergent. Another has focused on how convergence has interacted with journalistic practice. This study took the latter course.

A body of American scholarship had addressed the use of digital technologies in the newsroom, much of it taking ethnographic approaches (Anderson, 2009; Boczkowski, 2005; Lewis & Westlund, 2015). But there was relatively less scholarship from the African continent, and even that tended to address journalism as practiced in the global South from the perspectives of the global North. Areas of analyses included political systems and democratisation as well as usage of technologies in various aspects such as in information gathering or the repurposing offline content for web (Banda, 2010; Berger, 2012; Ireri, 2012; Jordaan, 2013; Mabweazara, 2014; Mabweazara et al., 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; Obonyo, 2011; Willems, 2014).

However, the use of digital technologies in journalism routines and practice begun to gain increasing scrutiny among African journalism scholars, with research moving from general accounts of usage to include perspectives on social media and citizen journalism, as well as the daily practices and activities of journalists in newsrooms (Banda, 2010; Jordaan, 2013; Mabweazara, 2010; Obijiofor, 2003; Paterson, 2013; Sambuli, 2015). The last set of perspectives tended towards socio-constructivist approaches which provided a macro-level understanding of newsroom processes within the institutional and societal contexts of media economies such as those in Egypt, Malawi, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Bosch, 2014; El Gody, 2014; Mabweazara 2014; Mare, 2014).

Scholarship on digital technology use in African journalism also tended to focus on print journalism (Mabweazara, 2010; Mudhai, 2014; Obijiofor, 2003) or to media houses that owned print, broadcast and online news outlets in one stable (Allen & Gagliardone, 2011; Mabweazara, 2010; Mudhai, 2014). While there were studies that addressed digital technology use in distinctly broadcast outlets (Bosch, 2014; Mare, 2014), there was a paucity of research in this area. Additionally, Jordaan (2014) and Mabweazara et al. (2014) called for ethnographic approaches in journalism research which

are not common in African contexts. The following section summarises and critiques a section of empirical literature that addresses the use of digital technologies in African newsrooms.

Obijiofor (2003) conducted a study of the use of new technologies in journalism at five news organisations based in Nigeria and Ghana which employed the survey method and had 100 respondents. "New technologies" referred to a variety including video display terminals, pagination systems, computer graphics terminals, the internet, and the mobile phone. This study found a perception among journalists that new technologies allowed for greater efficiency, enabled reporting of a wider range of stories, and improved the aesthetic quality of the product such as by the use of colour photographs.

However, the study also found that there was insufficient equipment available to all the journalists, a lack of skill and training in the use of the new technologies, and some lapses in ethical practice due to the ease of access to content (Obijiofor, 2003). The study took a techno-deterministic stance seen in the observation that "[t]he emergence of new technologies in newspaper journalism … has dramatically altered traditional newsgathering processes and production formats" (Obijiofor, 2003, p. 36).

Mabweazara (2010) undertook a comparative study of public and private print news organisations in Zimbabwe. In his analysis of the use of the internet, email and mobile phone in the different organisations, he found that state-owned newspapers were more reluctant than privately owned newspapers to adopt interactivity with audiences and to have user-generated content. When access to digital technologies was limited in the newsrooms studied, it would tend to be granted to more senior members. There were journalists who faced challenges such as in assessing the quality of online content, and using search engines. The mobile phone was also an integral part of journalistic culture, used for filing stories from distant locations, and had enabled greater blurring of the news gathering and news writing process (Mabweazara, 2010).

The study by Mabweazara (2010) established that many Zimbabwe journalists sourced for stories from traditional sources – such as calling sources or listening to radio on their way to work – or from the internet, often by using search engines or reading the websites of news outlets. Journalists in both private and public media houses had similar perspectives on what counted as news such as news values such as proximity, impact, and timeliness (Mabweazara, 2010).

Mudhai (2014) found that Kenyan newsrooms were using social media sites for breaking news updates as well as to promote content on their other platforms. Mudhai (2014) employed qualitative content analysis and genre analysis in a comparative study of how the two leading national dailies covered the 2005 and 2010 constitutional referenda. The study found that live coverage of events on the web meant that news outlets would have a platform to provide relevant background information, reporter observations as the event unfolded, and audience comments and reactions sent in via Facebook and Twitter (Mudhai, 2014).

The mobile phone had also enabled what Mudhai (2014) referred to as mobile journalism or mojo. Mobile journalism refers to the use of the mobile phone in reporting, disseminating and promoting news through text messaging. Mobile phones also enable the taking of photos which are sent to the newsroom and sometimes published without always going through the editing/gatekeeping process. The phone was also useful in calling sources to set up and conduct interviews, recording interviews, and sending web links and information to their sources (Mudhai, 2014).

Other scholarship included Jordaan's (2014) mixed- methods study of two South African newspapers. The data was drawn from self-administered questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and observations undertaken over a duration of one week for each newspaper. The study showed that a majority of journalists at the two newspapers had a presence on Facebook and/or Twitter, spent a large amount of their working time on those media, and used social media to: stay informed on what citizens

were talking about, locate sources, engage with audiences, and promote their work and themselves. Jordaan (2014) also found that newsroom culture "played a significant role in journalists' acceptance of social media as a professional tool" (Jordaan, 2014, p. 29), a finding validated in this study which found organisational culture contributed to the use of digital technologies at the Capital FM newsroom.

A comparative study of the uses of internet and mobile phone at two Malawian radio stations took a critical, socio-constructive theoretical approach in assessing how radio has experienced various changes on the African continent in its "form, content, practices and cultures," due to the "ever-increasing convergence between telecommunications, broadcasting and computing in the continent" (Moyo, 2014, p. 51). The study focused on participation, power, and access within the two radio stations in their use of digital technologies.

Moyo (2014) described a radio broadcasting scene similar to Kenya's where the collapse of the one-party state in the 1990s led to a deregulation of broadcasting, the establishment of a three-tier system denoting the categories of radio and television (public, private, and community), the emergence of a plethora of FM radio stations, and a regulatory regime that was perceived to be pro-government (Moyo, 2014).

The study found that news production in a commercial news organisation was tied to the interests of the owner and the larger business elite (Moyo, 2014). Further, internet and mobile technologies were provided within a context of the competing interests of the owner, management and journalists. As Moyo (2014) explained it, "journalists largely perceived digital platforms in terms of the professional affordances associated with them, whereas management emphasized commercial imperatives" (p. 57). The investment in infrastructure at the commercial radio station, the link between news production and external influences, and the larger political environment in which the news

organization operates, were among the similarities established between this study and that undertaken by Moyo (2014).

Ogola (2014) undertook a comparative case study of two donor-funded community radio stations in Kenya, using observation and interviews. He found that both stations had an online presence, with one station livestreaming its programmes, a Facebook page and dormant Twitter account. The other station did not have a website but had a blog updated by station editors with plans to establish a website designed for a wider, global audience beyond the local community. The use of digital technologies among news production staff mostly revolved around social media, which was also limited and sporadic. Twitter was said to be little used by listeners but the editors used Twitter to see what other media organizations were doing and saying, to get a sense of where to send reporters. The lack of internet access was cited as one of the reasons for the relatively low engagement online.

Story ideas were mostly garnered from community members and only occasionally from social media. The study also found that the two stations had incorporated certain digital technologies in newsgathering, programming, distribution of content, and relationship with audience. The mobile phone had also become the most used technology among station personnel and audiences.

The tendency in the empirical studies on digital technology use in African newsrooms – including the last three presented above - was to use techno-deterministic or socio-constructivist theorising. These studies enabled an understanding of institutional policies and hegemonic structures, audience interactivity, and the creative appropriations of technologies in various contexts. However, these studies did not explain an aspect of journalistic practice that scholarship found significant in other geo-political contexts, namely the theorising around the material actors in the newsroom – such as content management systems and mobile phones.

Elsewhere, studies of newsrooms also included socio-technical approaches in their theoretical analyses which allowed for the understanding of the contribution of material actors to journalistic processes. One illustration of this is Anderson's (2009) ethnographic study of the Philadelphia news ecosystem that applied ANT. Anderson (2009) found similarities as well as distinct differences in the reporting process for traditional news media and for the web. The two forms still required the gathering of information and presenting them in particular news narratives.

However, the routines of reporters working online were different. There were rolling rather than fixed deadlines, due to the constant demand for new content on the web. There was also a blurring of reporting practices such as writing and editing. The re-write desk was also re-established in the newsroom. The study also found that the production of news work was not restricted to the traditional mainstream newsroom and had expanded to new sources such as citizen journalists. Journalistic labour was also described as constituting of reporting, editing, web production, and blogging (Anderson, 2009).

Anderson's study (2009) illustrated how an innovation – in this case the internet – had interacted with other actants leading to changes in journalistic work. These changes emerged in the tracing of associations among the identified actants in the Philadelphia news eco-system. Anderson's study also found a redefinition of journalistic practice, in the blurring of boundaries between previously distinct tasks and in his categorization of what constituted journalistic labour.

Berger (2012) and Karikari (2007) indicated that Africa's mass media – be it the technology and genres they use or the roles they ascribed themselves – were imports, and products of colonialism. But there was an interaction of encounters, influences and perspectives among Africans evident even in the use of technology and journalism, starting from colonial times. Nyamnjoh (2006) called for African scholarship that engaged in "the systematic study of ongoing processes of creative negotiation by Africans of the multiple encounters, influences and perspectives evident throughout their continent"

43

(Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 393). This study sought to respond to Nyamnjoh's call by investigating the use of digital technologies in a broadcast newsroom's journalistic practice through the lens of ANT.

The literature on African newsroom culture and journalistic practices in relation to digital technologies tended to focus on the workers engaged in journalistic work, such as reporters and editors, or the political and socio-economic contexts in which they operate. However, less research had been done on technological artefacts – such as the mobile phone and content management systems - and information technology personnel who also contribute to the news production process (Lewis & Westlund, 2015; Mabweazara, 2010). In the Mabweazara (2010) study, for example, the focus was mainly on the editorial personnel. The IT manager was interviewed but on infrastructural matters, not editorial.

Studies referenced in the literature also reveal that the mobile phone had a significant presence in the African newsroom (Mabweazara, 2010; Mudhai, 2014). The interactions between journalist and source were not only about gaining information from the source (through interviews). They also could be about sharing information with the source as Mudhai (2014) observed about journalists sharing links with their sources. This study built upon these previous studies to establish the smartphone's entry into Capital FM's actor-network as a mediator that had contributed to changes in newsroom routines and practices.

Boczkowski (2005) and Dickinson et al. (2013) indicated that past scholarship on the use of technology in journalism tended to investigate effects of use, though researchers were beginning to focus on the process, rather than the effects, of using the technology. In assessing the scholarship that focused on the web and journalism, Tamerling and Broersma (2012) referred to two primary directions the research had taken. One sought to develop models that would indicate the stages a news organization

44

needed to get through to become convergent. Another focused on how convergence has interacted with journalistic practice.

This study fell within this latter line of research and in it, adopted the posture taken by actor-network theory in not making any *a priori* assumptions concerning which actants would comprise the actor-network of the Capital FM newsroom. I established that there were traditional and new newsroom personnel, such as the reporters in the case of the former, and the digital media (DM) administrator in the case of the latter. Technological artefacts and corporate entities were also found to be actors in the actor-network. This study therefore addressed the gap pointed out by Lewis and Westlund (2015) about the exclusion of technical personnel and digital artefacts in the scholarship on technology use in journalism.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

This chapter presented the theoretical framework, as well as general and empirical literature related to radio and the use of the web in newsrooms with an emphasis on the African context. The chapter also provided a description of the bounded case for this study, which is Capital FM, a commercial radio station. The next chapter presents the methodological approach used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study investigated the collaborative interactions taking place among materially diverse actors during the course of journalistic practice at Capital FM, and the outcomes of those associations. The study used actor-network theory which required the researcher to identify and describe the actants and the flows of association among them.

This study focused on Capital FM's networked newsroom as its actor-network, and used the case study approach, commonly used in ANT research (Law, 2009). The case study enables in-depth scrutiny of a phenomenon *in situ*. ANT's methodological framework fits within the qualitative research paradigm in its epistemological requirement that the researcher locate themselves within the phenomenon under study, and in its inductive analytical approach. This chapter explains the overall methodological approach used in this study, provides a description of data collection tools and process, and discusses pertinent ethical issues.

Research Design

Research designs are "procedures for collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting data in research studies" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 53). This study used a qualitative case study design with multiple data collection tools, discussed later in this section. Case study design is one of five widely used qualitative research approaches, the others being phenomenology, ethnography, narrative research, and grounded theory. The case study may be viewed as both a methodology and a focus of study (Creswell, 2007). It is useful in reflecting on lived experience and in setting policy, as well as in addressing "how" or "why" questions. It can also help refine theory, establish the limits of what can be

46

generalised, and provide suggestions for further research on a particular phenomenon (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2014).

Using Yin (2014) and Stake (2005) as guides, I found the case study design useful in investigating the networked newsroom as a contemporary phenomenon that cannot be manipulated. In the case, I gathered information on the activity and functioning of the networked newsroom at Capital FM, as well as contextual details on the company's historical background and physical setting. I also interviewed informants who could speak to aspects of the networked newsroom.

Case study research is justifiable from epistemological and heuristic viewpoints. It adds to knowledge by enabling in-depth inquiry into a particular issue, individual or event; its focus provides descriptive as well as explanatory information which enables deep understanding; and its findings are of general relevance and usefulness that can inform theoretical development (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011; Stakes, 2005).

Case study research involves the investigation of a bounded system or multiple bounded systems over a period of time. A bounded system may be a particular setting, context, time or activity (Creswell, 2007). There is no consensus on where the boundaries of a case may be drawn, and how far a researcher can go in providing a conclusive telling of the phenomenon under study (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011). There is guidance in this regard from Miles and Huberman (1994) who stated that the boundaries of the case can be defined in various ways. These include: spatially (by physical or virtual location), temporally (events and processes taking place over a particular period of time), role (the particular function being studied), organisation, or individual. This study used temporal, spatial, and role boundaries by addressing journalistic practice in the Capital FM newsroom during the period of observation, which took 32 days spread from June to September 2016.

Philosophical Assumptions of the Study

The qualitative approach on which this study was based draws from a constructivist perspective. In this paradigm, the ontological assumption is that reality is socially constructed and interpreted, while epistemologically, it holds that knowledge is not fixed but instead is dependent on the meaning and the interpretations assigned to it by different people (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). To attain the meanings that people assign to the phenomenon under study, qualitative researchers situate themselves within the setting in which the phenomenon under investigation is taking place and use multiple methods – in the case of this study, that would include observations, interviews, netnography, and document review – to make representations of the reality under observation.

This entry into the study setting constituted the naturalistic approach that Denzin and Lincoln (2005) considered to be typical of qualitative research. The qualitative approach seeks to establish "how … experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 10). This study was interested in interrogating what emerges in and about journalistic practice from the associations among different actants at Capital FM in the course of using the web.

The Case Study

The bounded system for this study was the purposively selected Capital FM newsroom, and the study's focus was journalistic practice as observed within the commercial media. The paucity of literature on journalistic practice particularly in African single-platform broadcast newsrooms contributed to the selection of a commercial news company that owned one single radio station. I chose to focus on Capital FM, given its commercial success, longevity in the business, and extensive use of the web. A comprehensive description of the case study is provided in Chapter Four.

For this study, the boundaries were the journalistic practice undertaken at Capital FM during the period of observation in the physical location, and in the organisation's public sections of the web. In the

48

latter case, these were limited to social media accounts (official) and official website. Many company

staffers also had a variety of personal social media accounts and blogs, but the vast amounts of content

on these platforms proved to be beyond the scope of this study. Capital FM also provided a letter

authorising me to conduct the study. A copy of the letter is provided in the appendix section.

<div align="center">Sampling Procedure</div>

Sampling was used in the selection of interviewees. Qualitative research requires small samples,

located in context, and studied comprehensively (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Due to the nature of the

theoretical framework, the number and nature of the participants are not determined before fieldwork

begins since a key aspect of ANT is to first identify the actants in the actor-network. However, the

sample can be determined or evolve during the early stages of data collection (Miles & Huberman,

1994).

This study determined sample size during the early stages of data collection using forms of

purposeful sampling. Purposeful or purposive sampling is intended to best assist the researcher to

understand the research problem and question, and to develop generalisations from individual cases

(Creswell, 2003; Sandelowski, 2000). The study had initially proposed to apply purposeful sampling in

the selection of actors, specifically criterion sampling. In criterion sampling, the researcher uses pre-

determined criteria to select who or what will be studied. The criterion that was to be applied was that

the actant was established during observation to be a mediator in the actor-network (Creswell, 2003;

Patton, 1990; Sandelowski, 2000).

However, during observation, there emerged a need to find data sources that did not belong to

the actor-network but could provide information related to it. Thus for example, the group managing

director, finance and traffic managers, a radio show producer, and two former employees were

interviewed for this study. This was theory-based sampling, which also falls under purposeful sampling as identified by Patton (1990).

For interviewee selection, this study used criterion and theory-based sampling with the limit determined when the data reached saturation. Mason (2010) indicated that saturation is an important guiding principle in qualitative data sample size even though there is little scholarly agreement on what constitutes it. A qualitative sample is presumed to be much smaller than that of a quantitative study but should capture the perspectives needed without getting repetitive or unnecessary.

Sample Size

There is no unanimity on what saturation amounts to, however. Bertaux (1981), as cited in Mason (2010), posited that 15 should be the smallest sample size in any qualitative study. Creswell (1998) and Green and Thorogood (2009), both as cited in Mason (2010), said a range of 5 to 25 is acceptable. The study began with an extended period of observation and informal interviews, after which starting in July 2016, there were formal open-ended interviews held with 23 personnel identified during the course of observation. By September 2016, the data had reached saturation as there was no new information on journalistic practice, other than that to be gained about strategic thinking related to digital operations. This information emerged from interviews with senior management and a former web designer held in October 2016 and February 2017.

Data Collection Instruments

Case study data collection is detailed and in-depth and involves various sources. Yin (2003), as cited in Creswell (2007), referred to six data forms: direct observation, participant observation, interviews, archival records, and physical artefacts and documents. Merriam (2002) categorised them more broadly as researcher observation, interviews, and documents.

50

Digital technologies are also now acknowledged in scholarship through new data collection tools (Murthy, 2008). These tools include the observation of and immersion into virtual communities variously termed as digital ethnography (Murthy, 2008), virtual ethnography (Hines, 2000), or netnography (Kozinets, 2010). This study used the term netnography which comprised of observation of the company's website and social media accounts, as well as a review of select content from those sites.

The level of immersion in the online community varies, as the researcher can opt to be passive or active in online activity (such as interacting on a social network site). The researcher may also choose to take a covert or overt stance (Murthy, 2008). I applied the categories presented by Merriam (2002) and Murthy (2008) by: observing the physical location as well as the website and social media accounts of the company (researcher observation and netnography); interviewing select personnel, and reviewing the documentation that was provided. This study made no presumption that all documents requested would be provided and therefore document review was treated as a secondary source of data.

In the observation and netnographic aspects of the study, I maintained a non-participant (passive), overt observer stance in which company personnel knew I was conducting research among them without my making any contribution to any aspects of their work. Specifics related to the different data collection tools are provided later in this chapter. Using Creswell (2003) as a guide, I developed data collection protocols for collecting, analysing and reflection on the data from the various sources. These protocols included guides for collecting observations and for documenting artefacts. The protocols are provided in the appendix section.

The data collection tools yielded various valuable data as predicted by Chadderton and Torrance (2011). Observations exposed me to the realities of journalistic practice at Capital FM and the reflections of those engaged in its enactment. Interviews provided descriptions and explanations of the participants' views about the incorporation of the web in journalistic practice, and gained insight into

51

their thinking and memories. Document review provided a contextualised understanding of the incorporation of the web in company operations, and the impact this event had had on the company. The different data collection tools are discussed in more detail in the following section.

<div align="center">Non-Participant Observation</div>

Guest, Namey, and Mitchell (2013) described observation as a relatively unstructured process that is generally linked to understanding why something happens and exposing the underlying intangible reasons behind what is seen, such as rules and norms. It is useful in explaining and contextualizing the phenomenon under study as well as providing causation and confirmation. It also is useful in exposing knowledge that cannot be articulated or recounted in an interview (Mason, 2011).

Using the Guest et al. (2013) framework of conducting non-participant observation, I spent time at Capital FM and was known to them as a researcher. I shadowed and sat with different personnel, listened to the station's content on radio and spent time on the company's website and social media accounts. I also subscribed to the GETIT411 alerts to which the company sent news for mobile phone clients. I documented what I observed, went through documented relevant material in visual, oral, written and audio form, as well as asked questions to understand what was underlying the activities and interactions that I observed. A schedule of days spent in observation is in the appendix section.

I spent the first month (June 2016) in observation and informal interviews before scheduling the formal interviews in July. This preliminary observation period enabled me to immerse myself in Capital FM's physical and web space, develop rapport and familiarity with the personnel, gain an understanding of the setting, locate relevant documents or artefacts, begin to identify the actants in the actor-network, and start developing a sampling procedure.

Rubin and Rubin (2012) argued that undertaking observation before conducting interviews allows the researcher to become aware of key issues, get acquainted with the setting, and allows

<div align="center">52</div>

interviewees to become acquainted with the researcher prior to the interview(s). I took a low-key profile to reduce having any influence in the newsroom during documentation, and also focused on identifying the relevant actants in journalistic practice, so as to be able to trace the associations between them. All observations were recorded in hand-written field notes which were later typed using a format presented in the appendix section. I maintained a separate template to record highlights from all data gathered, and included preliminary analysis, as well as my own reflections as a researcher.

<div align="center">Interviews</div>

This study used two types of qualitative interview as defined by Rubin and Rubin (2012). These were unstructured interviews, as well as casual conversations and in-passing clarifications. The unstructured interview allowed me to start with a general topic but to formulate specific questions as the interview proceeded in response to what the interviewee said. This approach also encouraged the interviewees to speak at length and in vivid detail.

Interviews were held with personnel in the newsroom and digital space, senior management, administration, and radio production. Additional interviews were held with two former Capital FM employees who had insights into the early years of the incorporation of the web into journalistic practice, as well as with three individuals working with Capital FM's content distribution partners. Interviewees were purposively sampled based on the work they did (for instance, reporter and editor), their accessibility, and willingness to be interviewed. Information on the 23 unstructured interviews are provided in the appendix section.

The study had anticipated the occurrence of casual conversations and in-passing clarifications. These took place throughout the period of observation with multiple individuals within the company and provided a basis for selecting interviewees to be sampled, confirming the actants in the actor-network,

and providing preliminary analyses of the data. It is impressions from these casual interactions that informed early identification of organisational culture as a key concept at Capital FM.

Interviews begun to be scheduled a month after I begun observation, and interviewees were identified during the initial observation period. For each individual interview, the subject was asked whether they wished to participate and were given an opportunity to decline. Two individuals who were approached did not appear comfortable with being interviewed. One person asked me to clear it with the department head first, though was willing to do the interview. In the case of the first two, I did not interview them. In the case of the third person, I ended up receiving what I needed in an interview with the department head. The interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and transcribed. An interview guide is provided in the appendix section.

<center>Netnography</center>

Netnography in this study comprised of observation of Capital FM's web activities in relation to journalistic practice, and of document review of publicly available online content. In the latter case, this included the following: metrics from sites such as alexa.com; past incarnations of the website available on the Internet Archive (alternatively known as the Wayback Machine); video interviews of five senior members of Capital FM including the owner and group managing director; company website content; and posts on official company social media accounts. The data was captured through transcriptions of video clips, screenshots of website and social media accounts, and the recording of metrics information from company documentation and social media accounts.

During the period of observation, these accounts were Facebook, Twitter, and Google Plus. But Lifestyle and Campus had begun to experiment with Instagram and SnapChat, but had not developed official policy surrounding their use. I therefore restricted my attention to Facebook, Twitter, and Google Plus.

<center>54</center>

As in the physical newsroom, I was a non-participant observer of Capital FM's public online presence. This entailed determining and describing the content related to journalistic practice on the company's website and social media accounts. Data capture was in the form of screenshots of sections of the website, and of past manifestations of the site. It begun in July 2016 and continued into September 2016. As with observation of the physical newsroom, I followed up explanations of what I observed online with clarifications during conversation and interviews. I viewed the website and social media sites as artefacts, whose details were captured in tables, charts, and screenshots.

<p align="center">Document Review</p>

Document review was a secondary source of data in this study. Not all documents and information requested for this study were provided, and in some instances, the person concerned preferred to have a discussion about the information rather than provide it to me directly.

The documentation that was provided included:

- select emails concerning performance of stories;

- the social media policy;

- promotional content given to clients and advertisers;

- company rate cards;

- Select metrics on amount of content on the site;

- Select metrics on location and size of audiences.

I was also able to access past coverage about the owner and of Capital FM in a range of publications such as Executive (1998) and Superbrands (2008; 2010), as well as local dailies. During the period of observation, the owner was heavily involved in the development of Two Rivers Mall, billed as the second largest mall in sub-Saharan Africa. The mall was opened in February 2017 (Njanja, 2017). Company staffers observed that the owner was spending a lot less time at the station than was his habit

and attributed it to his focus on the mall. However, he had a large digital footprint and a selection of YouTube videos (Capital FM Kenya, 2014; Uvie-Emegbo, 2013) provided an understanding of his thinking.

Overall, the various documents and texts provided an understanding of the company's beginnings and growth, contributed to understanding the entry of new actants in the actor-network, and exposed certain texts – such as the monthly emails showing performance of stories – to be material inscriptions with the ability to shape journalistic practice. This last observation comes from ANT research which acknowledges the agency of texts as material actors whose value is not only in what they say, but in what they do (Prior, 2008; as cited in Nimmo. 2011).

<div align="center">Data Capture and Reflexivity</div>

The different data were captured in various formats: field notes for the observations, transcriptions of the interviews, screenshots and tabulations of metrics for the netnography, and the transcription of select YouTube video interviews and note-taking for document review. The data capture also included protocols that served as a guide to record observations, and to capture information gathered from conversations and in-passing clarifications (Holly & Altrichter, 2011). These protocols also acted as a form of memory, and captured relevant artefacts, contextual information, researcher reflections, and ideas for use in the research process.

The last two roles facilitated the beginning of data analysis and interpretation, as well as researcher reflexivity. Reflexivity is used in qualitative research as a tool to enable the researcher to be self-aware and critical about their relationship with the data and participants, as well as allows for greater reflection on data interpretation and theorising (Frankham & Macrae, 2011). Also, Latour (2005) advocated for the keeping of multiple notebooks in data collection as part of researcher reflexivity.

In this study, I stayed cognisant of my subjective role in the research process by maintaining a field notes log, which was typed up every few days during data collection. The log had seven columns which had the following titles:

Date	Location	Time	Total time	Person(s) talked to	Observations	Reflection

I also maintained separate records of the raw data, my responses to the data, and preliminary analyses of the data. A sample page from the field notes log is available in the appendix section.

<div align="center">Data Credibility and Dependability</div>

There are differing views among qualitative researchers on how to evaluate the quality of qualitative studies. Some scholars retain the terminology used in quantitative research – reliability and validity – while others argue that the positivist and constructivist paradigms cannot be assessed in similar ways (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). This latter group calls for different evaluation terms for qualitative research such as dependability and credibility (Shenton, 2004). This study took this second view, based on Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) position that the constructivist paradigm acknowledges multiple realities, considers meaning and understanding to be co-created, and bases its methodological procedures in the natural world.

Evaluation criteria for qualitative research include the dependability, credibility, and transferability of the data (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Credibility in qualitative research is treated as the equivalent of validity in quantitative research. Credibility refers to whether the researcher has accurately represented the phenomenon under study. Dependability in qualitative research is viewed as the equivalent of the concept of reliability, which refers to the accuracy and consistency of tools used. To ensure dependability, the researcher focuses on keeping track of the processes and procedures used to collect the data.

<div align="center">57</div>

I established credibility in this study through the following methods: keeping a field notes summary guide that captured key highlights of observations and interviews, as well as my responses and/or reflections to them; providing in the appendices section a schedule of observations and interviews; providing quotations from interviews and observation accounts to provide detail about the site and the participants; and providing discrepant findings, such as the mostly consistent attitude of trust towards web metrics, but the emergent mistrust of alexa.com statistics for competitors' web site rankings.

To establish dependability, I presented my data collection and analysis procedures in this chapter. I also included information collection templates as well as a schedule of interviews and observations in the appendices section. Qualitative studies typically make use of multiple sources of data allowing for multiple perspectives of the phenomenon under study. This practice is referred to as triangulation, described as the simultaneous display of multiple, refracted realities" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 6). Triangulation accords the case study credibility and dependability in ensuring the clarity of meaning, and verifying an observation or explanation (Richards, 2009; Stake, 2005).

The combination of multiple methodological practice and perspectives add "rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5). I applied triangulation by using several data collection tools, namely observation and informal conversations, open interviews, netnography, and document analysis. The multiple methods of data capture allowed for confirmation and clarification of events, and provided for multiple perspectives of controversies.

The concept of generalisation of data is not typically applicable to qualitative research, particularly because this type of research does not use large representative samples. Transferability refers to whether processes and aspects seen in the phenomenon under study may be applied elsewhere (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). Through providing rich descriptions and extensive quotations from

informants, this study aimed to provide a holistic picture of the procedures used and the context of this study. Additionally, the five themes that emerged also provided a model of the context in which networked journalistic practice takes place in commercial newsrooms, and may be used as a conceptual model to explain networked journalism in other contexts.

<div align="center">Data Management and Storage</div>

The researcher should have a plan to manage and store the large amounts of data that are generated in qualitative research. Further, there is the need to separate the various data that accumulate in the course of the research. These include the empirical data collected, a log of researcher thoughts and reactions over the course of the research, and analytical ideas that emerge in the course of the research (Latour, 2005; Richards, 2009).

I created a password-protected folder which had sub-folders for each of the different types of data collected including audio files, observation notes, interview transcriptions, YouTube clips, screenshots of website and social media content, emerging conceptualisations of the actor-network, and researcher reflections. The separate storage of each type of data enabled within and cross-data comparison efficiently enable within and cross-data comparison. Data were also stored on a back-up drive for safeguarding. The back-up drive and hard copies of all data were locked away for safekeeping when not in use.

<div align="center">Data Analysis Plan</div>

Actor-network theory seeks to render the three-dimensional social world in two dimensions so as to more clearly expose the associations between actants (Latour, 2005). Data analysis, as Holly and Altrichter (2011) described it, is a re-reading of data "with the intention of making connections, reorganising, interpreting and evaluating them with respect to [the] research interest" (p. 44). It is a recursive process that often begins even as data collection is taking place.

<div align="center">59</div>

There are two essential steps to the process of analysis. The first involves describing the data (by organising and summarising them), and the second is interpretation "where there is an attempt to theorise the significance of the patterns, and their broader meanings and implications… often in relation to previous literature" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). There are also different categories of data as follows: data corpus (all data collected for the research project); data set (data from corpus used for a particular analysis); data item (individual piece of data in a data corpus or data set); data extract (individual coded piece of data from a data item) (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

This study used a two-pronged analytical approach. There was a preliminary theoretical analysis guided by ANT, and focused on analysing which actants were in the actor-network and the nature of their interactions. The analysis was drawn from a review of the data corpus and emerged iteratively a month into data collection and well into the post-data collection phase. The theoretical analytical approach occurs when the researcher has a particular analytical focus and is interested in addressing an aspect of the data. Theoretical analysis is handled by research question rather than inductively. The presentation of data by research question in Chapter 4 reflected this approach.

Chapter Five applied thematic analysis, which seeks to organize and interpret the data within each item, data set, and across the data corpus. Thematic analysis is used in different forms of qualitative research and can be applied within different theoretical frameworks. A theme is a representation of a pattern of responses from data that is in relation to the research question(s) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In applying these steps, I was looking for and coding themes across the data set and data corpus. The codes were then analysed for patterns to enable them to be grouped further as themes. The identification of themes was inductive, that is drawn from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This conforms with what is described as the outcome of a robust ANT account, which is when "the concepts of the actors [are] allowed to be stronger than that of the analyst's" (Latour, 2005, p. 30).

Braun and Clarke (2006) described six steps in thematic analysis as follows: getting familiar with the data; generating initial codes; reviewing themes; clustering codes into themes; defining and naming themes; and writing the report. I used this six-step framework for thematic analysis as explained below. I read the different data capture artefacts – including observation notes, transcriptions, and information recording protocol – after I wrote them or after receiving the transcriptions from my research assistant. In reviewing the various data capture artefacts, I found that analysis had begun even as I was collecting the data recorded in initial impressions. As observed by Braun and Clarke (20060), I ended up moving recursively through the data during the collection and post-data collection phases. Initial reflections were captured in the information recording protocols and in a summary I wrote on July 27, 2016 reviewing my progress in the data collection phase.

Codes are a means of organizing data into meaningful groups. I made hard copies of the observation notes and transcripts and as I reviewed them, would note down short phrases against the relevant section. I also opened an Excel spreadsheet to record these phrases with a separate column to capture illustrations of that phrase in the data. There were 156 codes generated from the data recorded under the tab "open coding." In the review of the various data and of the preliminary themes, I begun to see patterns within the data items, and across the corpus. For example, initial observations had noted distinctly different hierarchical structures within two spatial locations in the company. Observation of publishing rights on the CMS indicated an extension of these hierarchies into the virtual sphere. Overall, there were 28 of these patterns recorded within the Excel spreadsheet referred to earlier, under the tab "axial coding."

The fourth and fifth steps in thematic analysis as per Braun and Clarke (2006) were combined in this study. I clustered the codes and patterns identified earlier to form larger groups which constituted the themes. The five themes were assigned a name, and recorded within the excel spreadsheet under the

tab "selective coding." I begun to develop an outline separating the information related to the case study – such as historical context and demographic data – from the thematic analysis that was emerging.

The next aspect of analysis entailed selecting illustrations from the data corpus, analysing those extracts, linking the analysis to research questions and literature, making conclusions and completing the document. The aim of the study was to establish and describe the materially heterogeneous individual mediators, and the activities and associations among them, leading to an inductively developed account of journalistic practice as embodied in the Capital FM newsroom.

<div align="center">Ethical Considerations</div>

Stake (2005) observed that "case studies often deal with matters that are of public interest but for which there is neither public nor scholarly right to know" (p. 459). Those being studied risk loss of privacy, possible embarrassment, and exposure. Therefore there should be a discussion of what the observation and data collection will entail, and a consensus reached on the negotiation of access and its limits (Stake, 2005).

Before, during and after data collection, I chose to be open to company management and staffers about my research intentions and activity, and committed myself to presenting a report based on my findings to the company. To gain access into the company, I successfully sought permission from the management of Capital FM to undertake research at the company. The letter of authorisation is in the appendix section.

Several days before I began collecting data, an associate editor took me round the company introducing me to company members. On subsequent days, I reinforced to those I interacted with my role as a researcher and my interest only in matters related to journalistic practice. Consent to observe and/or interview a staffer was always asked prior to the activity taking place. One person questioned my

caution but when I explained that I needed to ensure the voluntary consent of participants, he agreed it was appropriate.

Where someone seemed uncomfortable or chose not to make themselves or information asked for available, I did not pursue my request for data or time. But overall I found the people at Capital FM to be friendly and curious about the research, which made for an enjoyable, mutually respectful data collection period. Other ways in which I sought to avoid exposure of participants or loss of privacy was through the careful handling and storage of data. All hard copies of data and back-up storage were locked when not in use. One research assistant handled data transcriptions which were submitted to me, and was under close supervision during the recording of data to ensure there was no breach of privacy or confidentiality.

For the netnographic aspect of this research, I also chose to be an overt, non-participant observer which meant that the company was aware of my study of their website and official social media accounts. But I did not post or comment on social media accounts or the website. This study also sought to provide a benefit to Capital FM, by providing the company with the study's recommendations and a summary of the report. I also received authorisation to conduct my research from the National Council of Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The research permit is also in the appendix section.

Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research design used and describes the data collection process. It further discussed the theoretical and thematic approaches applied to analyse the data, and concludes with an explanation of the handling of ethical issues in the research process. The next chapter describes the case study and presents the data using a theoretical analysis, by applying concepts from the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY AND DATA PRESENTATION

Introduction

This chapter describes the case study and presents the findings from the four data collection tools used to investigate the use of the web in Capital FM's journalism practice. The findings are presented and linked with concepts from actor-network theory, the theoretical framework for this study. The study sought to analyse interactions in the course of journalistic practice that distinguished the contemporary networked newsroom from previous newsgathering configurations. Observation, interviews, netnography, and document review were the data-gathering tools used to address the following research questions:

1. Which human and technological actants interacted in the process of journalistic practice in the Capital FM newsroom?

2. How did the human and technological actants in the Capital FM newsroom interact in the process of journalistic practice?

3. What were the effects of association among the different actants at Capital FM in the use of the web during journalistic practice?

Case study description and data presentation

The following section describes Capital FM, the bounded case for this study, then presents the data. The data presentation begins by defining the term "newsroom" as observed at Capital FM. The traces of association used to identify the actants and their interactions in Capital FM's journalistic practice are also explained. The data is then presented by research question and a theoretical analysis is engaged by using concepts from the theoretical framework.

Capital FM: The Case Study

To investigate the use of the web in journalistic practice, I focused my attention on Capital FM, a commercial radio station that celebrated its 20th year of broadcasting in 2016. Capital FM was Kenya's first privately owned radio station, and the second radio station in Kenya to have been awarded a broadcasting license following the liberalisation of news media in the mid-1990s. Metro FM, which belonged to the state broadcasting station Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, was the first.

Capital FM was based on the 19th floor of the 20-storey Lonrho House in Nairobi's Central Business District. The company's track record as an established successful commercial radio station and extensive use of the web contributed to its selection as the bounded case for this study. Capital FM fell under one of three divisions within the larger Capital Group. The divisions were: Capital FM (radio programming and news); Capital Digital Media (CDM – digital); and Capital Interactive Agents (events and promotions).

The Capital FM division was comprised of various personnel working in: radio programmes such as *Capital in the Morning, The Fuse, The Jam*, and *Hits not Homework*; and news content presented in two forms – radio and web. The news content was categorised under news, business, and sports. The radio programming was also streamed live on the web.

Capital Digital Media comprised of three groups of personnel: infrastructure, business development, and content creation. Overall, those working in this division were a webmaster; web developers; web designers; web business development, who create advertising and promotional content for the website; and content creation. This last group included the Campus and Lifestyle sections on the web.

Capital Interactive Agents referred to personnel who focused on revenue generation in various forms. These forms included advertising on radio and web, events such as concerts and product

launches, and custom-designed promotional packages such as overseas trips. Company documentation described this last division as an experiential marketing agency which supported events and promotions with digital, radio and on-the ground publicity. The agents included 8 in-house DJS who served as brand ambassadors, and sales people (Observation notes, July 20, 2016).

The ethos of Capital FM was captured in its values and beliefs, the former being passion, diligence, respect and unity. Company beliefs were mentorship, loyalty to employees and audience, accountability, and success (profit-making). This company ethos was shared with all employees during an orientation programme for new hires, and reinforced in company activities such as team-building and corporate social responsibility activities held annually (Observation notes, July 21, 2016).

In 2010, the company was described as having the highest advertising revenue among FM radio stations in the country, thanks to its longevity in the business (Superbrands, 2010). During the period of observation, the company was turning a profit from its digital products with news content being among its prime assets (Finance Manager interview, Aug. 12, 2016; Director of Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016; Head of Business Development interview, 2016).

<div align="center">Capital FM: The Beginnings</div>

Capital FM begun transmission in September 1996. Bob and Linda Holt, a British couple with ties to Kenya's media and political elite, were behind its launch (Sokoni, 2016). Bob was the managing director of the *East African Standard* newspaper, the oldest print publication in the country. With his wife Linda, Bob had joined forces with political operative and *Standard* newspaper Chairman Mark Too to form Magnet Media, which owned Capital FM. Linda was the chief executive officer of Capital FM (Gacheru, 1996; Shimoli, 1998).

Capital FM sought to offer an alternative to the state-run Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, such as by airing rock music and catering to an urban audience (Ngunyi, 2013). During the week of Aug. 25,

1996, the station did a trial transmission and attracted newspaper coverage. In that newspaper article, the

CEO said the station would focus solely on entertainment, and she was quoted as follows "We are

primarily a music station and entertainment service for the city and suburbs" (Gacheru, 1996, p. 9).

However, the station did not attract advertisers and the business eventually begun to struggle.

"With poor revenue, staff went for long without pay, and rent for its offices at the 19th floor of Lonrho

House were [sic] beginning to run into arrears" (Ngunyi, 2013, p. 4). In 2003, the company's ownership

changed hands when businessman Chris Kirubi bought the company from Linda and Too. Linda Holt

kept some shares and retained a management role before eventually being bought out by Kirubi (Group

Managing Director interview, Oct. 25, 2016).

Kirubi was described by *Forbes* magazine as being among Kenya's richest business leaders with

an estimated net worth of $220 million as of January 2015. He made *Forbes* 2011 inaugural list of the

top 40 richest Africans, and his holdings included real estate property and sizeable stakes in a variety of

private and publicly listed companies (Capital FM documentation, 2016; Ngunyi, 2013; Nsehe, 2011,

2015). His prominence as a business figure was seen in a range of press coverage which included legal

troubles, reported scrutiny from the British, financial success, and links to the political elite (Menya,

2016; Mosoku, 2017; Ngesa, 2011; Ngunyi, 2013; Njanja, 2017; Teche, 2017).

From its beginning, Capital FM branded itself as a trend-setting radio station with an

international reach. The first team members included Phil Matthews as the programme controller, Miki

Cardovillis as the senior presenter, and the production team constituting of Wanjiru Githongo, Bob

Kioko, Linda Maina, Brodie Onsome, and Lance Mwambanga (Gacheru, 1996).

The station was consciously setting itself up as being different from existing programming. In

the 1996 news story, Matthews, the programme controller, said that at Capital FM they did not want to

compare themselves with anyone. Cardovillis, the station's senior presenter, said that what made Capital

FM different was "[c]reativity in entertainment. This is the main stuff. We shall in addition to music mix

for instance, offer our listeners travel information, special features, weather forecasts and what's on. We

shall lead while others follow" (Gacheru, 1996, p. 8).

At the start, the station's transmission was meant to reach listeners within a radius of 40

kilometres but in that first week of test transmission, station staff had learned that people living as far as

Embu, Machakos and Kinungi had received the signal (Gacheru, 1996). By 2008, the station was

transmitting to Mombasa, Nyeri, Nakuru, and Timboroa (Superbrands, 2008). In 2016, their reach

extended across Kenya across larger sections of the country with the majority of listeners (60%) in urban

areas. The company also hoped to reach residents of Machakos, Kiambu (considered bedroom

communities for people who work in Nairobi), and Naivasha as well (Traffic Manager interview, July

20, 2016).

From the beginning, Capital FM set out to offer interactive radio. This begun with a telephone

system that would enable the listeners to call in to share their views (Gacheru, 1996). The station was

also an early user of the web and begun streaming its radio programming live on its website in the late

1990s, and would later engage with audiences through user comments on news stories, and social media

interaction (Capital FM Traffic Breakdown, 2013; Superbrands Vol I, 2008).

<div align="center">News on the Web at Capital FM</div>

The Internet Archive, a web-based non-profit digital library, documents and archives screenshots

of web sites over time on a site dubbed the Wayback Machine. The earliest capture of Capital FM's

website was on Feb. 6, 1998, as shown in Figure 2.1. There was no news on the site and content on the

screenshot says that Capital FM was to have launched their full website on Dec. 18, 1997, which would

have been 14 months after the launch of the station.

Figure 2.1: Capture of Capital FM's Website on February 6, 1998

Source: Wayback Machine (1998)

The Feb. 6, 1998 screenshot also indicated that Capital intended to launch a news magazine *Capital Scene* in December of that year. This was a milestone as when the station was launching in 1996, the company's chief executive officer had said the station would focus on music and entertainment with no hard news.

The now defunct magazine *Executive* (1998) observed that the first licensed FM stations did not offer news or political programming when they started transmission. Kenya's then minister of Information and Broadcasting said the government had placed no restrictions on the stations being able to broadcast news, and that instead the stations found it more lucrative to focus on entertainment and music given the high costs of news production. The minister is quoted in this excerpt:

> … most of [the commercial FM stations] find it expensive to get news about, say, El Wak. Why don't they do it? How come BBC are doing it? … Once they [local FM stations] stabilize they will be in a position to do news gathering. If a station owner decides that it is too risky going into a certain business that is his decision. He is censoring himself (Executive, 1998, p. 53).

69

In the same article, CEO Linda Holt agreed that the station's broadcasting license had no

restrictions on what they could offer. But she added that a letter from the minister accompanying the

license did impose limitations (Executive, 1998). The following excerpt provides an explanation of what

then transpired a year after the company had begun transmission.

> A year into the mission we again asked whether we could broadcast news and we got a reply saying yes because we had proved our professionalism," Holt adds. Holt feels that the government was right in writing the letter because she felt a station should prove its professionalism before being allowed to broadcast news and political programmes (Executive, 1998, p. 53).

Capital FM begun broadcasting news in May 1998, prompted by BBC's February 1998 launch of

an FM broadcast station in Nairobi, Capital FM's target market. "Holt said Capital did not want to lose

listeners to BBC and therefore they also begun broadcasting news" (Executive, 1998, p. 53). The

station's bulletin offered "roughly three minutes of general news at the top of the hour three times in the

morning, thrice during lunch time and thrice in the evening. The station also has business news at about

a quarter past the hour at the same times the general news is read" (Executive, 1998, p. 53).

In 2016, the same format had mostly been retained, with the inclusion of sports news read every

other hour at half past the hour. The station would eventually begin to post those bulletins on the website

similar to the format used by the newsreaders on air. There would be headlines at the top, followed by

the fuller stories lower on the web page.

The early news team comprised of an editor and two reporters. One of the reporters doubled up

as a news reader on air. The other reporter, Jim Onyango, described those early years in a 2014 article.

"We were just starting the newsroom. It was going to be a pioneer FM newsroom. The style

was to do news different from KBC. The idea was to break news ahead of everybody else" (Kaberia,

2014, p. 3).

Accommodating new platforms and types of content was a characteristic trait of Capital FM

since the early years. Reporters used the latest gadgets, including pagers and later mini disc recorders.

The production of news would become an integral part of the station and by 2008, the news department

had acquired a reputation for breaking news. It was also described as having a news team which

"includes talented, educated, and skilled professionals who have specialized in various fields, emerging

as reliable and efficient" (Superbrands Vol. I, 2008, p. 30).

The company had also ventured into magazine publishing, and run a franchise of a South

African-based publication titled *Business in Africa* and a lifestyle, youth-focused publication titled *QZ*.

The death of the owner of the South African publication led to the termination of the partnership

business while the challenge to reach young people on *QZ* led to a decision to turn to the platform where

the young people were: online (Group Managing Director interview, Oct. 25, 2016).

> For *QZ*, we had to bite the bullet because it didn't work. The market was transforming and hence maybe that's one of the reasons that pushed us a bit into the digital world. Coz we realized that over time, magazines have come in and gone... We"d find, we have a story and we"ll just give you that story for 30 days in the magazine. But what happens within those 30 days? Another innovation comes in today, another innovation comes in tomorrow, how do you capture that? The world was moving faster than the way the market was. With the opening of the entire world to individuals, you find information is sourced and gotten from all quarters. Whereas stories can remain relevant in a magazine … the information is almost like a book. It's a masterpiece. Did we have time to create masterpieces of stories? No. So we had to count our losses, fold it and move on. That is how we started the Capital Digital Division. Initially it was not fully fledged. That was around 2007, 2008. (Group Managing Director interview, Oct., 25, 2016).

The digital division was comprised of a webmaster, social media managers (also referred to as

digital media administrators), web developers, web designers, business development personnel, and

content creators for the Lifestyle and Campus sections of the Capital FM website. Prior to setting up the

digital division, the company had used the web mostly to stream radio programming live to reach

Kenyans in the diaspora as well as other audiences. But this would also expand. In 2008, Capital FM

station had "emerged from more than just radio to a multiplatform brand spanning club nights … the internet on www.capitalfm.co.ke, plus branded CDs" (Superbrands Vol. I, 2008, p. 30).

By 2010, the company's digital presence had extended to include interactive social media pages (on Facebook, Twitter, and website blogs). "Digital media has opened a whole new spectrum of the market for Capital, with online listeners of all age groups logging on from across the globe" (Superbrands, 2010, p. 14). By 2011, the Capital FM site received three million daily visitors to its website and 3 million people tuning in daily, making it one of the leading Kenyan radio stations in terms of listeners (Nsehe, 2011; Walubengo, 2011).

The company was described as "a broadcaster with a difference using both radio and internet to reach a vast platform of listeners" (Superbrands, 2010, p. 14). The same publication described it as a global station due to its livestreaming of radio content, and as having a website that "boasts different sections for different tastes. Current affairs and real time news, business news, live stock updates, daily Forex rates, and local and international sports coverage" (Superbrands, 2010, p. 15).

In an induction training for new employees held on July 21, 2016, the training manager explained that Capital FM did not view itself as a station focused on a mass audience. Instead it targeted opinion leaders, and people with influence and/or purchasing power. These would include chief executive officers, middle-income earners, and aspirational influencers such as university students. The last group was targeted because the company wanted them to continue as loyal future customers. The station's target audience was affluent people living in urban areas. Applying the living standard measure (LSM) used by advertisers, she explained that Capital FM targeted people with an LSM that ranged between 7 and 12, indicating these were in the upper income-earning bracket (Observation notes, July 21, 2016).

Capital FM in 2016

When Kirubi bought the company, Capital FM had an estimated 25 – 30 employees which had

grown to 127 as of August 2016 (Finance Manager interview, Aug. 12, 2016). Table 2.2 provides the

breakdown of personnel.

Table 2.2: Personnel at Capital FM in August 2016

Personnel	Number	%age of total personnel
News	34	26.7
Programmes	27	21.2
Administration, Finance, HR	24	18.8
Sales	22	17.6
Digital	15	11.8
IT & Technical	5	3.9
Total	127	100

Source: Finance Manager Interview (Aug. 12, 2016)

News and Digital Content

The largest department in the company was news which comprised 27% of the overall staff. By

2016, the personnel producing news content had grown from an initial editor and two reporters (Kaberia,

2014) to 25 permanent members of staff as follows: newsreaders who scripted and read radio news

bulletins; reporters who gathered and wrote general, business, and sports news for radio and web;

camera personnel who shot and edited still and video footage, as well as posted the footage online on

YouTube and the company website; editors who wrote and edited general, business, and sports news for

radio and web; and a social media manager who promote the news content generated on Facebook,

Twitter, and Google Plus platforms.

There were also contributors who sent in news content from outside Nairobi. The news editor

who oversaw newsroom operations said that news content was generated in the physical newsroom, by

reporters covering sports, business, security, parliament, and general news (such as what came from

county and national governments) (News editor, Interview, 2016). Figure 2.2 shows the main page –

also referred to as the landing page - of the Capital FM website as it appeared on Sept. 27, 2016.
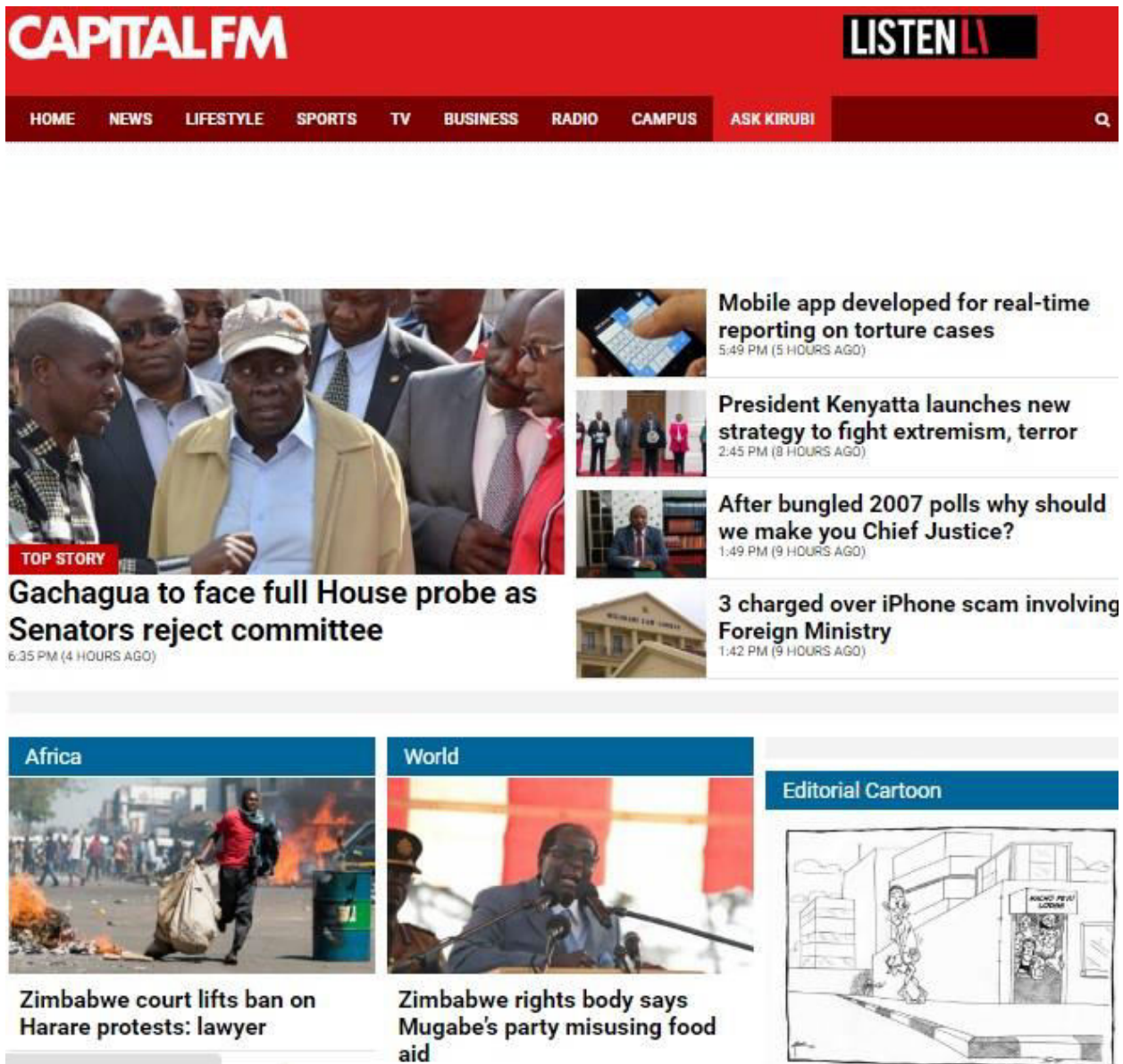

Figure 2.2: Screenshot of Landing Page Content on September 27, 2016

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

The other content generated on the site was produced in the digital division, which had

approximately 12% of the overall staff. Among those in the digital division included content producers

in Capital Campus and Capital Lifestyle, which were two sections of content only available on the website.

Lifestyle had an editor and two permanent writers, and also used content from other sources such as individual contributors and a South African website. Campus had an editor who encouraged university students and other users to send in content, and also sourced content from sources such as news wire service Agence France Presse (AFP). The two sections used the term "writers" or "contributors" while "reporters" were found in the news department.

Lifestyle and Campus were categorised under the Capital Digital Media Division, usually referred to as Digital. The Lifestyle and former Campus editors described their sections or content by using the terms "magazine," "soft news," and "features." The two sections targeted particular audiences, those interested in lifestyle or entertainment, and university students respectively. Lifestyle content included a popular weekly video series titled *Our Two Cents*, news and features of celebrities, and food/restaurant reviews. Campus carried news stories about happenings at Kenyan universities, features, and motivational content. The two sections also used news wire content such as from AFP.

The in-house writers and editors for Campus and Lifestyle sat separately from the news, business, and sports desks. The last three dockets fell within the Capital FM division and were located in one enclosed space, reporting directly to the editorial director and news editor. Campus and Lifestyle fell within the Digital Media division, and were located within sight of the open-space digital area where the webmaster, web programmers/developers, web business developers, and web designers worked.

In the language used in the company, "newsroom" referred to the department that produced news and to the physical location in which that department was situated. However, some of the content produced in Lifestyle and Campus was also referred to within the company as "features" or soft news." The different sections of the website are as shown in the screenshot capture in Figure 2.3.
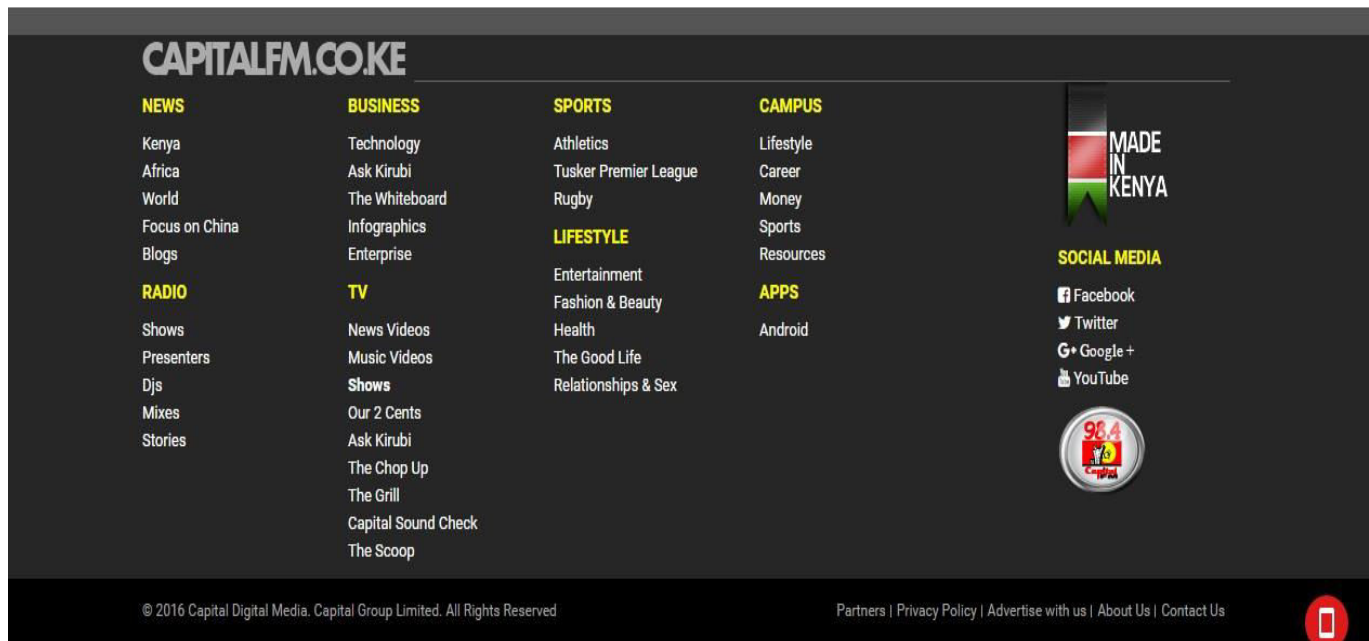
Figure 2.3: Different Sections of the Capital FM Website

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

The capitalised items in Figure 2.3 referred to different sections of the site and links to social

media. "News," "Business," "Sports," "Lifestyle," and "Campus" fell within the purview of this study.

"Radio" referred to content related to on-air programming, including information on the show

presenters, and selections of music mixes from the station's disc jockeys (DJs). There was no news

content developed from radio, and therefore this section of the website was not discussed in this study.

"TV" referred to video content that was embedded in its own section of the site. But this content was

shot, edited and posted on site by camera personnel, who worked within the news, lifestyle and campus

sections. TV was therefore included for discussion in this study.

Apps referred to a section on the site that allowed users to download a mobile phone application

on which they could access the site directly. The "Apps" section of the site was an access point with no

content.

Under "Social Media" were the key platforms in which Capital FM had its official company accounts. The use of social media varied across the site. The newsroom's content was promoted on the company's main Facebook, Twitter, Google Plus, and Youtube accounts. The digital space – Lifestyle and Campus – personnel also posted content on Instagram and had begun experimenting with Snapchat. Social media information counted among the data that Capital FM provided to advertisers.

During the period of observation, the social media numbers continued to increase and by Jan. 20, 2017, the main company accounts had the number of followers shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Capital FM's Followers on Official Social Media Accounts

Social media	Followers/Likes
Facebook	512.649
Twitter	954,868
Google Plus	138,649

The challenge as observed by several staffers was that social media applications were constantly changing which required the frequent updating of the existing social media policy. The policy included information on who ran the social media accounts, where the content posted on the application was generated from, and what kind of content was used. To illustrate, the webmaster explained that Capital FM was still thinking through how to strategically use Snapchat but first wanted to develop its own filters. Filters are a feature on Snapchat that enable a user to imprint images on top of the video. The idea of Capital FM building its own filters was to entrench the brand on Snapchat before actively using the application (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016).

The webmaster said that the use of social media was deliberate and focused on building the Capital FM brand. So even the use of Snapchat would focus on posting relevant and strategic

information, rather than the "random stuff" that he described as seeing on other media houses" social media accounts (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016).

Social media had become tools for multiple activities. These included the promotion of content, the encouragement of audiences to share in distributing the content to their own social networks, the development of credibility for the company and individuals as news brands worth trusting, sites of experimentation with different forms of content (such as videos on Facebook Live), and the blurring of roles where news and promotional content were shared on the same platform such as on Twitter.

The use of open source tools kept costs down for the company. Social media tools such as Facebook, Twitter and Google Plus had no set-up costs, and the company used the free version of WordPress, a content management system used globally by organisations including *Time* magazine, among others. But the personnel engaged to work with the tools exhibited a savviness as to what the tools could do, and how best they could be used. Posting content on Google Plus for example, was seen as a way to leverage on Google's strength as the primary search engine of choice (Digital Media Administrator interview, 2016) even though the Google Plus account itself did not receive much activity in comparison with Facebook and Twitter.

The different sections were updated daily with the content published on WordPress, a content management system popular with a cross-section of news media globally such as *The New York Times* and *National Geographic*. From March 2016, WordPress was "powering 26.5% of the web" and was the most used CMS with 59.4% market share (WordPress, 2016). At Capital, WordPress was used by news, business, sports, Campus and Lifestyle to publish content on the web. Figure 2.4 provided a screenshot of a Lifestyle story being set up on WordPress before it was published live on the site.
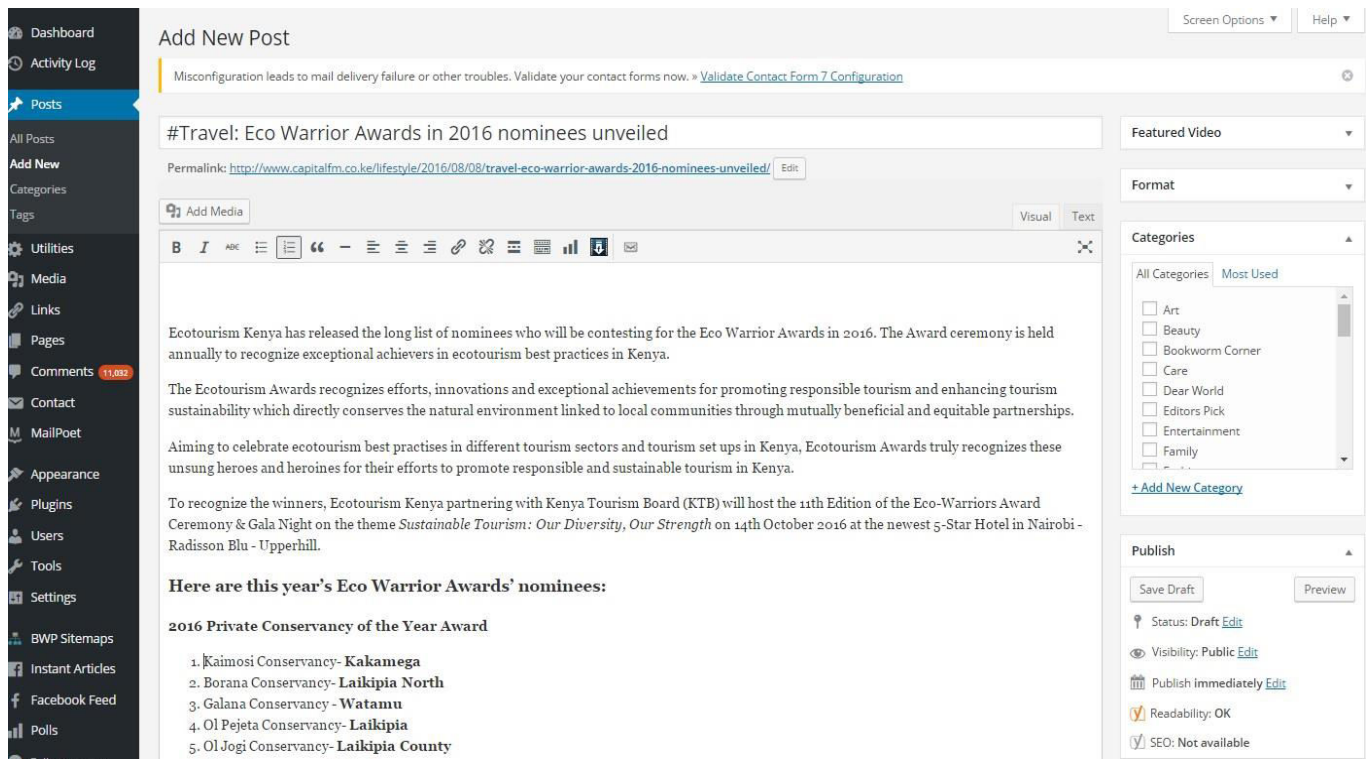
Figure 2.4: Story to be Published on WordPress for the Lifestyle Section

Source: Lifestyle editor, Aug. 8, 2016

The use of WordPress was governed so that that only a limited number of people – including the webmaster and web developers – had access to all its sections. The editors and reporters in the physical newsroom had access to the sites they work on – such as business or lifestyle. Reporters could post content but would not publish it. That task was left to editors, who played a gatekeeping role, thus revealing the hierarchical nature of the newsroom. Campus had one in-house staffer – the editor – who published content sent in by contributors. Lifestyle writers and the editor could all publish to the web, revealing a less hierarchical approach in this particular section.

The lead developer at Capital FM explained that WordPress had an open source (available for free) version which was flexible enough to enable the developers to adapt it to company needs. According to the lead developer, the change to using WordPress as the CMS took place when the then head of the business development unit decided that the management of the sites needed to be

centralized. To that point, the sites each had their own custom content management systems that used

individual log-ins for stand-alone websites. So the decision to combine the sites into one was made,

leading to the importation of the databases with the different content onto WordPress. This task was

outsourced to a company in India with the webmaster travelling there to oversee the work (Lead

developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

The news department also used two other content management systems. There was Burli, a paid-

for software used to upload radio news scripts and audio clips and also ran the clips during broadcast.

There was also a web-based form which editors used to send out headlines and breaking news alerts for

mobile phone. The form, available to Capital FM at no cost, was received by a content aggregating

company which then passed the headlines and news alerts to a telecommunications provider for

distribution to mobile phone subscribers.

There was a protocol for who had access to the different systems and how much access was

granted. Burli was available to newsreaders and editors. The web-based form for mobile phone alerts

was password restricted and available to editors. This was to safeguard the content that was published or

broadcast to audiences and reinforced the gate-keeping role inherent in the newsroom. The editorial

director explained the thinking behind gate-keeping in the newsroom in this edited excerpt.

> There are certain stories that will touch on people. There are stories that will likely cause you
> legal problems, okay? That's why you have to have a keener eye, isn't it? Because you see, it's
> possible that you will have cases where somebody takes an issue with a story that was done. So
> you have to really be hands-on on that. And I would say since I came here, I can count the
> number of times we"ve been served with court papers because of a story that we did. Suits can
> actually shut you down. We don't consider ourselves a huge company. We're small, but we do
> great things. But now if we were to be slapped with suits every other time, then we"d shut our
> business. (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The observation of work, a review of publicly available documentation and interviews with

staffers confirmed Capital FM's introduction of journalistic practice in the late 1990s, the incorporation

and extensive use of the web across the company, and company growth in assets, revenues, and personnel.

<div align="center">Data Presentation</div>

<div align="center">Defining the Newsroom</div>

Many of the company's administration, information technology, sales, digital department and radio production staff worked from a large open area whose one wall was made up of floor-to-ceiling glass overlooking southwards of the city. The studios from which program hosts and newsreaders broadcast their shows and news respectively, were located in an enclosed space past the open area.

The studios were soundproofed and their northward-facing windows offered a view of another news media company, Nation Media Group (NMG). During the data collection period for this study, NMG retrenched staff and announced its increased emphasis on digital and mobile news (Sunday, 2016), manifesting the continuing disruptions brought on by digital technologies within news media companies.

Adjacent to the studios was another windowless, enclosed space which company personnel referred to as the newsroom. In this space, newsreaders, reporters, editors, and camera personnel produced news, business, and sports content for both radio and web. However, I observed that there was content generated outside this enclosed area that could also be categorised as "news."

This content was produced in the open space where the digital division was located, by staffers contributing to the Lifestyle and Campus sections of the website. Lifestyle content was comprised of leisure-related stories, such as celebrity news, relationship and food articles, and short videos on travel and other recreational activities. Campus content included news and events on Kenyan college campuses, or success stories of the young. Figure 4.1 illustrates the layout of the digital and physical newsroom spaces in relation to the other departments.

<div align="center">81</div>
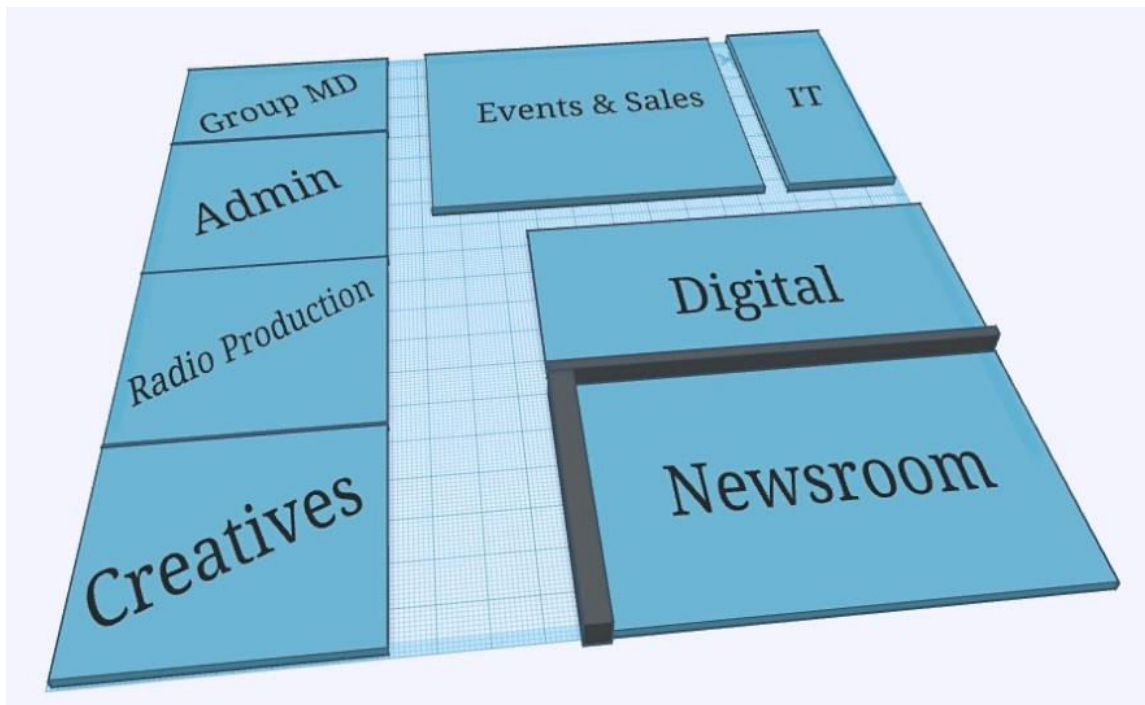
Figure 4.1: The Office Layout

Source: A. Kamau, personal communication, May 8, 2017

The spatial configuration for news production at Capital FM conformed to the finding by

Meyrowitz (1985), as cited in Robinson (2011), that the entry of a new technology leads to changes in

the physical space in which the work it is used for is done. The company's decision to incorporate

digital technologies across operations, including news production, had introduced personnel producing

new types of content and engaged in generating new revenue streams. The location of the new personnel

literally in the middle of the workspace also contributed to symbolically emphasising the importance the

company attached to the technology.

The Lifestyle and Campus sections each had editors and relied on in-house writers as well as

external contributors for content. Editors and writers working for the two sections published stories

from news wire services such as Agence France Presse (AFP), and in the case of Campus, also invited

news stories about local universities from external contributors. Thus across the Lifestyle, Campus and

the physical space referred to as the "newsroom," the term "news" was applied.

How this news content was perceived within the company varied. A reporter described the

content generated for Lifestyle and Campus as "the newer version of soft news – you do things in a

more laid-back way" (Reporter 2 interview, July 6, 2016).

The Lifestyle section editor referred to herself and her colleagues as digital content producers

who aimed to inspire and inform people through unbiased storytelling. She also described the nature of

the content she and other Lifestyle colleagues produced as inspiration, a service, and a product. By

providing a service through unbiased reporting (e.g. providing editor's picks on beauty products), and

sharing the information through the website and on social media platforms, they achieved a certain goal,

as she noted in the interview excerpt below.

> When you do that, you have a lot of visitors. You have people who want to tap into
> our demographic ... We are in the business of product development. It's just our product is not
> tangible (Lifestyle editor interview, Aug. 8, 2016).

In the edited excerpt below, the editorial director described the work of the Lifestyle editor,

distinguishing it from the content produced in the enclosed space termed by Capital staffers as the

newsroom:

> [The Lifestyle editor] knows these things about food. She"ll show you how to make something,
> meals and stuff like that. It's an element of news that people actually look to. And there"ll be lots
> of hits [on the website] when she does those things that she does… So it's an element of news
> that you cannot ignore because there are people who want to look for leisurely stuff. There are
> people who will actually come here to our website, just to read about that. Not necessarily the
> hard news. Maybe let's use that term. The hard news and the soft news. (Editorial director
> interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The terms "hard news" and soft news" have been used in literature to distinguish between types

of news content. Mott (1952), as cited in Tuchman (1973) described hard news and soft news as

information about important and interesting matters respectively. Hard news "concerns events

potentially available to analysis or interpretation and consists of "factual presentations" or events

deemed newsworthy" (Tuchman, 1973, p. 113). "Soft news" is that which concerns human foibles and

the "texture of our human life" (Mott, 1952, p. 8; as cited in Tuchman, 1973, p. 114).

Deuze (2008) described news as information in the general interest presented to audiences in a

manner that is ethical, balanced, and objective. Hard news sits high up on an informal hierarchy of

types of news and has become the "monitoring of bureaucracy, industries, and the state as modernity's

key institutions from a slightly elevated or professionally distant vantage point" (Deuze, 2008, p. 850).

The distinction between hard and soft news described in the literature were seen in Capital FM's

differentiation of "leisurely stuff" and "hard news." These labels denoted two types of content, the latter

of which underwent a more stringent gatekeeping process. The editorial director explained it as follows:

> If you"re doing a story about how you went snorkelling, it's very likely that you will not infringe
> on somebody else, because you"re telling me an experience that you had. You know that's
> different from you reporting about a corruption case… There are certain stories that will touch
> on people, there are stories that will likely cause you legal problems, okay? That's why you have
> to have a keener eye. Because it's possible that you will have cases where somebody takes an
> issue with a story that was done. So you have to really be hands-on on that. (Editorial director
> interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

This differentiation between "hard" and "soft" news was reinforced by the separation of where

these types of content were produced at Capital FM. News content was produced in the physical space

that company discourse identified as "newsroom ," as well as from the Lifestyle and Campus staffers,

who were based in the Digital Division's working area. The Lifestyle and Campus sections of the

website emerged when the web was incorporated into the company's journalistic practice.

In each of the two working areas, there were similar organisational structures (such as editors

working with reporters or writers), similar approaches in gathering and publishing news content (such as

using press releases, talking to multiple human sources, and crafting web stories), engaging with third

party partners for content (such as using AFP content), and promoting website content on social media.

This study therefore defined the newsroom as observed at Capital FM as a physical and virtual construct in which content that was developed through journalistic practice – such as gathering, verifying, and packaging information for a mass audience – was produced for multiple platforms such as web and radio, using digital technologies such as smartphones and computers. To distinguish between spatial locations, as well as between previous and current constructs of the newsroom, this study used the following terms: "digital space," "physical newsroom," "networked newsroom" and "pre-web newsroom."

Spatial locations: "Digital space" and "physical newsroom" were spatial locations where the former designated the location in which the Lifestyle and Campus personnel had desks and sitting space. The "physical newsroom" referred to the enclosed area where the news, business, and sports journalists and newsreaders were based.

Previous and present newsroom constructs: The "networked newsroom" was both a physical and virtual construct that referred to the journalistic output of the personnel in both the digital space and the physical newsroom. The "pre-web newsroom" existed before the "networked newsroom" and referred to the physical newsroom that engaged in producing news content for radio.

Traces of Association

Latour (1996) observed that a network "is not a thing but the recorded movement of a thing" (p. 378). The recorded movement of the actors within an actor-network leaves various forms of evidence which are referred to as traces of association. The traces of association may include a controversy, an effort of labour or production, or a movement of some kind between actors. Establishing the traces enables the investigation of the relationships among the actors, and the outcomes or effects of those relationships (Dolwick, 2009). This study used Dolwick's typology and identified new roles and spatial location as other traces of association.

The traces of association at Capital FM were evident as follows: various texts and practices constituted the efforts of labour. Across the digital space and physical newsroom, staffers held different views about the term "news" and the nature of the web. These views, coupled with reports of initial resistance to the use of certain digital technologies in journalistic work, amounted to controversies. The movement among actors took place when actors in the two spatial locations – physical newsroom and the digital space - interacted with one another. New roles were seen in the hiring of new personnel, and new jobs given to personnel who had been part of the pre-web newsroom. These traces of association are discussed later in the chapter, but were integral in establishing the actants in this actor-network, as well as the nature and effects of their interactions.

Research Question 1

Which human and technological actants interacted in the process of journalistic practice?

Past journalism scholarship pointed to three main actors in journalistic practice: sources, journalists, and audiences (Gans, 2004; Turner, 2005). However, observations of Capital FM's networked newsroom and interviews established that there were a greater variety of actors beyond the three identified by Gans (2004) and Turner (2005). ANT blurs the traditional analytical distinctions concerning the actors in journalistic practice, and exposes the collaboration between human and non-human actors - also referred to as "actants" - in the creation of processes (Turner, 2005). The actant refers to an entity which is able to act or cause something to happen (Latour, 2005). I used observations from July 7 and July 11, 2016 to illustrate the various actants engaged in journalistic practice at Capital FM.

Observation on July 7, 2016

July 7, 2016 was a Thursday and the government had declared it to be a public holiday marking Eid-ul-Fitr. This is an Islamic celebration marking the end of the month-long fast known as Ramadhan. I

arrived at the station at about 10:15 a.m. A small crew was on duty in the physical newsroom, comprised of one newsreader, a reporter, an intern reporter, a cameraman, and an editor.

The Lifestyle editor arrived before noon to edit an episode of *Our Two Cents*, a video series devoted to matters such as travel, food, and fun events. The series had two co-hosts who produced a new episode every week for uploading on Friday mornings. The Lifestyle editor and a camera person sat in the digital space where each of them had a desk.

In the physical newsroom, the editor had assigned four stories and two stories to the reporter and the intern respectively. The stories were based on a poll done by market research firm Ipsos Synovate. The poll, which had asked Kenyans for their views about the performance of the ruling government in national governance matters, had been released and sent with an accompanying press release to newsrooms via email the previous evening.

The angles of the stories were based on respondents' responses to the following: the main problems facing Kenya; two achievements of the Jubilee government; an overview of Jubilee's performance; approval ratings for the president; and political party and coalition performance.

The reporter had received both the press release and report of the poll on email, and was working at her desktop computer. She said she preferred to focus on developing the story from the report, rather than from the press release which she said had "PR-ish language." By the end of the day, she had written the four stories, starting with the radio versions, and finishing up with those for the web.

While developing the stories, the reporter wanted to combine the story about two achievements of the Jubilee government with the other one giving an overview of Jubilee's overall performance. The editor insisted that the stories stay separate. Later in the day while I was observing him working at his desk, he explained that reporters were encouraged to have as many stories as possible even from one event. He further explained that separating rather than consolidating story angles was a way to stay

ahead of the competition, and served to provide audiences with fresh content easily seen in the top of the

story.

> We want as many [stories] as possible. Other people are competing with us… When you bury a
> lot of content [in one story], a lot gets lost. A lot of people don't read beyond the sixth paragraph.
> We don't want to put what's supposed to be news as background. (News editor, Interview, July
> 7, 2016).

The newsreader developed scripts for the news bulletins. She left her desk a few minutes before

the scheduled time for the radio news broadcasts with a printout of the script. She would go to the studio

to read the news headlines before returning to her desk. She also found international news from the AFP

web site. She accessed the site with a dedicated user name and password, edited the selected stories to fit

house style, and published them on the website via WordPress.

By August 2016, the web developers had used a coding protocol extracted from the AFP website

enabling AFP content to automatically load into WordPress, the content management system (CMS)

used at Capital FM. The coding protocol is known as an application programming interface (API)

(Programmableweb, n.d.). With the AFP content automatically updated on the CMS, editors can quickly

decide which international story from the wire service they want to publish (Lead developer interview,

Aug. 22, 2016).

Meanwhile, the editor was at his desk quickly going through a variety of tasks as the reporter and

intern reporter worked on the stories he had assigned them. He had been away from his desk for a short

part of the morning, while the reporter and intern were writing the first radio stories. When he returned,

he edited stories for radio using Word and posted them in Burli, the content management system for

radio. He would take the same story and post it on the web with the tag line "more to follow …" at the

end. That would change when the web version of the story was uploaded. He had multiple browsers

open to multiple programs and websites, and would spell check each story he edited before posting.

The programs open on his desktop were: Burli (the radio content management system), WordPress (the content management system), Word, the web (with multiple browsers open), and Outlook. He moved rapidly between them, assessing the content for radio and for the website, finding and uploading AFP stories to the news and business sections on the website, glancing at his Twitter feed, finding and cropping photos, and going through emails. As he worked on his computer, he would ask for stories from the reporters, who first provided him with the radio versions, before working on the web versions of the same stories.

The editor was engaged in continuous multi-tasking. In editing, he moved content around, read through it, corrected spelling, added headlines, and published the stories. He did this while guiding the reporter and intern on their stories, urging them to provide copy more quickly, and sending out different mobile phone alerts and headlines via third-party partners.

There were two sets of content that Capital FM sent to third-party partners. The first set was news, sports, and business headlines that were sent to mobile phone subscribers. These were known as GETIT411 alerts and were sent three times a day, in the morning, at 1 p.m., and at about 6 p.m. There were also breaking news alerts that are sent out as and when there is a breaking news item. To send the alerts, Capital FM editors took select headlines and posted them on a password-protected, web-based form. The form was received by a content aggregating company which then passed the headlines and news alerts to a telecommunications provider for distribution to mobile phone subscribers. Sample news and sports headlines from Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, 2016 are shown in Figure 4.2. Each text message begun with the phrase "GETIT411:" and had three headlines. The headlines were sent on the evenings of Nov. 30 (11/30) and Dec. 1 (12/1) respectively. The numerals after the date showed the times the headlines were sent to subscribers e.g. 4:42p was 4:42 p.m.

89

GETIT411:

MUHORONI to hold trials on December 7. |ITEN Cross Country set for Saturday.

GIROURD ruled out of Arsenal's League Cup against Southampton. 11/30 5:11p

GETIT411:

AG appeals ruling ordering PS Kibicho's arrest. GOVERNOR Mutua accuses Kalonzo,

Mavoko MP of landgrabbing. S. AFRICA launches AIDS vaccine. 11/30 5:26p

GETIT411:

KENYA Lionesses beat Belgium 17 – 12 in Dubai Sevens. AFC Leopards release

defender Jackson Saleh. KANE signs new Tottenham deal until 2022. 12/1 4:26p

GETIT411:

FORM One selection out before Xmas. MATIANG'I praised for swift KCPE exams

marking. LAW firm linked to Murkomen to face PAC in NYS probe. 12/1 4:42p

Figure 4.2: Sample Headlines Sent to Mobile Phone Subscribers

Source: GETIT411 headlines (Nov. 30; Dec. 1, 2016)

The second set of content that Capital FM sent to third-party partners was the headlines sent to a

digital signage company three times a day. The digital signage company provided clients with content

such as images, videos, and textual information for display "to a targeted audience for informational or

advertising purposes" (SpanImage, n.d.). During the period of observation, the client receiving the

Capital FM headlines was a supermarket chain. The supermarket chain had screens mounted in its

various shops on which products on sale and other content were displayed. The Capital FM headlines

scrolled across the bottom of the screen at intervals. Figure 4.3 shows the four headlines sent out to the

client on Sept. 9, 2016.

- DP RUTO CHAIRS ADOPTION OF JUBILEE PARTY CONSTITUTION
- SIXTH AFRICAN GREEN REVOLUTION FORUM COMES TO A CLOSE AT UN NAIROBI
- FIRST LADY HANDS OVER LAST OF THE MOBILE CLINICS IN NAIROBI COUNTY
- JOHN MUTUTHO CHALLENGES REMOVAL AS NACADA CHAIR IN COURT

Figure 4.3: Capital FM Headlines Sent to a Supermarket Client
Source: SpanImage headlines (Sept. 9, 2016)

On July 7, as the editor continued to work, he mentioned that he also posted stories on his personal Twitter account to extend the stories" reach to a wider network beyond the website. I made the observation that journalists sometimes used social media to promote themselves or provide personal opinions even on news stories. He said that the editors had agreed among themselves that because they associated their social media accounts with the Capital FM brand, they would keep their social media posts focused on work-related content.

Earlier, the reporter had also talked about the usefulness of social media because it enabled journalists" work to reach large audiences. In her case, she used Facebook and Twitter to share links to her work, and occasionally blogs. On Facebook, she posted her news stories or personal information such as photos of herself in a social context. She posted her news stories and links to her blog on Twitter and chose not to include personal content on this social medium. Beyond that, she also had accounts on Instagram, Snapchat and Pinterest (Reporter 3 interview, July 7, 2016).

The value accorded to audience statistics came up later during the afternoon of July 7 as the reporter and intern chatted. The reporter had recently had some good page view statistics for a story she had done and explained why that mattered.

Reporters work to see how many views their stories get. To me it means everything. If I write and there are no shares, *hiyo inaniumanga* (that bothers me)… I don't like to have only 50 people read my story. (Reporter 3 interview, July 7, 2016).

Later, as I observed the editor, he noted that social media have introduced new aspects to his work. He said that the audience member could share and post information on their Facebook, Instagram, and other social media accounts. Twitter had become a tool where information broke before it was seen or heard on mainstream news media. So the journalist's role had evolved to include verifying and confirming information provided on social media. His example was that the news media would cross check information with relevant authorities, which users on Twitter did not do.

As journalists we have that responsibility. We move [the story] to the more important aspects of that story. The audience of today is knowledgeable and still relies on us to give them information… Our role is still there. I don't see social media replacing the media (Interview, July 7, 2016).

The editor also spoke about the process through which stories were developed. He said that reporters were encouraged to discuss their stories with the editor prior to actually working on them. This was so that by the time the story came in, the editor knew which direction it would take and to avoid reporters unintentionally duplicating each other's efforts. The latter could occur if reporters covered the same event without having coordinated it through their editor first, or if more than one reporter was assigned to cover a story and all of them ended up developing similar angles.

At about 12:50 p.m., the webmaster called the editor to inform him that a certain story that had been scheduled to go live on WordPress at a particular time had not been published. During the period of observation, it was routine practice for the webmaster to get an alert from WordPress every time a story was posted on the website (Webmaster observation, June 6, 2016). The editor published the story and shortly after that, selected five headlines from Burli. He copied them into Word, used spell-check to

ensure they were correctly written, and then shortly after 1 p.m., sent the headlines via email to the digital signage company for posting on the supermarket's screens.

The editor then continued editing copy. He said that the newsroom editors spent much of their time editing stories and monitoring what reporters were doing. But they also had an interest in audience feedback and news story performance, though these last two tasks were also specifically assigned to the digital media (DM) administrator. The DM administrator was not in the newsroom on July 7, 2016 as it was a public holiday. But the stories generated from the physical newsroom on that day were still promoted on the company's official social media accounts. Promoting the content on social media was referred to as "pushing" and was one of the DM administrator's core tasks. It could be done virtually, so long as he had an internet connection and a smartphone (DM administrator interview, July 18, 2016).

In the course of our conversation, the editor described his smartphone and laptop computer as essential tools. The smartphone allowed him to work from anywhere though its relatively small size and screen limited how efficiently he could edit stories or post them on the website. The laptop enabled greater freedoms in working, such as being able to comfortably edit a story. But on the smartphone he had multiple bookmarks to applications that he regularly used, including: administrator access to WordPress, and Dropbox (where he could access pictures and other content on cloud-based servers to post on the web). He observed that the internet also played a vital role in his work.

> If you removed the web for 30 minutes, the IT guys will have a problem… because I can't upload the web, can't access the wire. I must have internet everywhere… I want to work wherever I can. (News editor interview, July 7, 2016).

The editor explained that the website required constant updating. At night, he was able to check the AFP wire using company-provided home internet access (a benefit given to editors and other senior personnel). He also had access to wireless connection in the office as well as mobile phone bundles for when he needed to access the internet in a place with no wireless connectivity (News editor interview,

July 7, 2016). Bundles are payment packages developed by telecommunications companies, allowing users to access calling, texting, and internet services at particular costs. Each member of the newsroom received a monthly allowance to buy bundles for work purposes.

As the editor worked in the physical newsroom, the Lifestyle editor and a cameraman were in the digital space, completing their edit of an episode of *Our Two Cents*. This episode was scheduled to go live the next day at 11 a.m. The two sat at the cameraman's computer discussing the flow of the piece and clarity of its sound. After the edit was complete, the Lifestyle editor left. The cameraman posted the episode on YouTube and scheduled it to go live the following day at 11 a.m. (Observation notes, July 7, 2016). The video had garnered 13,234 views by March 8, 2017.

From about 3 p.m., the editor in the physical newsroom called correspondents in Kisumu, Mombasa, and Nakuru to find out if there were any potential news stories from there. There were none and he continued updating the site with wire stories and editing the web stories sent in by the reporter and intern.

Campus had an in-house editor and no other dedicated staff. On July 7, 2016, the Campus editor was not in the office as it was a public holiday. I observed the work of the Campus editor on July 11, 2016. That morning, the editor had multiple browsers open, and moved quickly between a variety of web- and non web-based programs that included Tweetdeck (which enables one to view multiple Twitter accounts on one screen), WordPress, Gmail, CNN, Capital FM's website, AFP, Outlook email, and Notepad. He would also work at his desk and move periodically to talk with the developers about client-related web content. He moved around between tasks such as editing a story, adding AFP content, and reading through some company promotional content designed for clients.

In one instance, he found a story from AFP about Ethiopia blocking social media before an exam period in the country, did a minimal edit (where he made the lead bold, and added the formatted

dateline), found a picture, resized it, posted it in WordPress, and published the story. He said his day had no fixed format though generally when he arrived in the morning, he would look for stories from AFP and also write stories from mid-morning. He also used stories from Capital FM reporters, press releases, and guest writers. As he worked, a reporter from the physical newsroom came to him to consult on a possible story on the shopping mall building boom in Nairobi. The story was based on a report that had been emailed to the newsroom with a press release. The reporter told the Campus editor he would send him a version of the report.

On that same morning, a contributor had emailed the Campus editor an opinion piece about a father and son interaction. The editor opened the Word document, went through it, made a few changes and then posted it on the site via WordPress. He accompanied the story with a stock photo of a man and a boy from a photography web site to which the company subscribed. The content on the site was available to the editor via a login and password given by the photography site to Capital FM.

The Campus editor found the photograph, downloaded it, edited it on picture Manager to fit site specifications and uploaded it via WordPress. He then emailed the link to the writer. The story took about an hour between when it was sent in to the editor's email box at 10:32 a.m. to when it was posted at 11:25 a.m. After the story was posted, the editor told the writer the story was up via Whatsapp (Campus Editor interview, July 11, 2016). At about 11:30 a.m., the Campus editor scanned his Tweetdeck account where he said he sometimes found relevant stories for Capital Campus. He did not see anything that caught his attention. I left the newsroom shortly after that and left him reading through the real estate report that the reporter had emailed to him.

The role of Campus editor changed hands during the course of the observation period. The current Campus editor was formerly a contributor to the section who also promoted social media content for clients. She took up the editor's role when her colleague left the Campus editor post to serve as

business editor. In either case, the Campus editor worked in the digital space on multiple tasks including

sourcing and writing editorial content, editing motivational and news content from external contributors,

engaging in client-related content such as by pushing clients" social media accounts or generating

business promotional content.

<div align="center">Establishing the Actants</div>

The activities observed at Capital FM on July 7 and July 11, 2016 were focused on the creation

of content for radio, mobile phone, and web. The content came from the news and digital departments,

and was deployed as follows:

- news content aired on radio, published on the website, and select news sent to mobile phone

  subscribers;

- web content under Capital Campus and Capital Lifestyle, published only on the website;

- posts on company social media accounts including Facebook, Twitter, and Google Plus.

Capital FM's pre-web newsroom revolved around the activities of reporters, editors, and

newsreaders. Strong source-networks were required of the editors and reporters to enable access to

information. Editors assigned stories to reporters who gathered information from sources. The reporters

developed radio scripts – of four or five lines with an audio clip - from the information gathered, and

passed them on to editors for review and compilation into news bulletins. The editors then passed on the

bulletins to the newsreaders to present to their audiences through conventional radio broadcasting

(Observation notes, June 15; June 29; July 1, 2016).

Observation of activities at Capital FM in 2016 demonstrated that the journalism practiced in the

pre-web newsroom had incorporated the use of digital technologies such as mobile phones, websites and

social media. This blend of previous journalistic practice with digital technologies has been termed

"networked journalism," which allows for greater interaction between journalists and audiences, as well

<div align="center">96</div>

as enabled collaboration in the creation of news (Beckett, 2010). With the entry of the web in

journalistic practice, Capital FM's pre-web newsroom transformed into a networked newsroom.

From the July 7 and July 11 observations, there emerged three types of actors engaged in

journalistic practice in the networked newsroom. These were human, corporate, and technological

actors, discussed in the following section.

<div align="center">Human Actants</div>

The pre-web newsroom's primary actors conformed to Gans' (2004) assessment of the primary

actors in journalistic practice, namely the editor, reporter, sources, newsreader, and audiences. These

roles remained in the networked newsroom albeit with new responsibilities. New human entrants in the

networked newsroom were the webmaster, digital media administrator, camera personnel, and writers or

external contributors for Lifestyle and Capital Campus. Other observations and interviews indicated that

the owner was also an actant in the networked newsroom's journalistic practice at Capital FM.

In both the physical newsroom and digital areas, the editor was a central figure in the process of

journalistic practice. The newsroom had two news editors, one sports editor and one business editor.

Each of those editors were assigned reporters and newsreaders whose work they oversaw. The editors

also each assigned stories. There were two associate editors, one covering human interest features, the

other one news. They had no managerial responsibilities though one sat in as news editor when the

editors are out of the office.

The editorial director - who oversaw all content from the newsroom, Lifestyle and Campus

sections - also served as a third news editor and worked from the newsroom. Lifestyle and Campus each

had one editor. All editors assigned stories to reporters or writers, edited copy and published it to the

web using WordPress, a content management system (CMS). News, sports and business editors

reviewed stories for radio and compiled the radio news bulletin, published stories on the web, and

<div align="center">97</div>

compiled news alerts for mobile and other clients. Radio was livestreamed from the website and was

also available through conventional broadcasting. Lifestyle and Campus editors worked exclusively on

web content.

Working with the web meant that editors also interacted with web designers and web developers

to discuss the design of their sections, as well as to address various technical concerns. During the

period of observation for example, the web developers had enabled content to be pulled directly from

the AFP website and automatically published on the site through WordPress.

The editorial director said that not all content available from AFP needed to be published on the

Capital FM website. He said the editors needed to continue to choose what their audiences would find

on the website. The developers refined the coding to accommodate this request meaning that editors still

had access to all AFP content, but could choose which of it to publish on the Capital FM website

(Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016; Lead developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

All editors were expected to exercise news judgment in choosing a story's angle, and how the

story should be presented. The editors also tended to have strong source-networks (Observation notes,

Aug. 6, 2016).

However, there were some differences between the physical newsroom and digital space editors.

One was the hierarchical structure where the physical newsroom had a clear chain of command and

strict guidelines on who could publish material on the web. A reporter could post a story within

WordPress, but only an editor could publish it on the web after reviewing the story. When face-to-face

news meetings were held in the physical newsroom, they were convened and moderated by an editor.

The digital space was less hierarchical, and more informal about content development and who

had publishing rights to the web. This meant that the writers and editors could post, edit all content, and

publish to the web. Meetings were not formally constituted but instead tended to be informal

interactions.

Another difference between newsroom and digital space editors was that the former worked with

content for mobile, web, and broadcast platforms, while digital space editors worked exclusively on the

web. In the newsroom, the three news editors were on a daily rota to select and package breaking news

alerts and news headlines for mobile phone subscribers, as well as for a corporate client that distributed

that content on supermarket screens.

While the digital space and newsroom were different in their approach to hierarchy, they were

similar in their view of WhatsApp as a tool that circumvented the face-to-face meeting and allowed

them to connect with colleagues, make decisions, and keep track of what work had been agreed upon.

All editors also promoted content from the website on their personal social media networks to extend the

stories" reach and build audiences.

The Campus editor was the only staffer with rights to publish to the Campus section of the

website and relied on external contributors for content. The Campus editor played multiple roles,

including commissioning and editing content from contributors, as well as managing clients" social

media accounts with fresh content. With this last task, clients paid for their social media accounts to be

updated by Capital FM digital personnel. There were other sources of income generated by the digital

division including banner design and advertising, video livestreaming of events, website design, and

promotional feature articles.

The reporters remained the primary gatherers of information for news stories in the networked

newsroom. As of August 2016, there were two associate editors and six reporters working out of the

newsroom. The associate editors did not assign stories nor have oversight over reporters. But they were

senior reporters who wrote general news stories for web and radio. One of them also produced special

features while the other stood in for the news or digital editors in editing news content and compiling

radio bulletins. Among the reporters, one covered sports, three were assigned the business beat, while

another two covered general news. The general news reporters also each covered the parliament and

crime beats respectively.

Associate editors and reporters worked on stories assigned to them by editors, or generated

through their own initiative. The stories developed each had two versions: one for the web and one for

radio. The radio version ran between four or five lines and usually included an audio clip. The web

version needed to have at least 300 words, include a photograph, and was usually written after the radio

version. The reporters used digital recorders or their phones to record sound. But they were often also

assigned to work with camera personnel who captured still and video images that accompanied the web

version of their stories. All reporter-generated copy was reviewed by an editor before publication.

Different reporters used different applications to write their stories. Within the newsroom, the

radio versions of the stories were written on Word or email interfaces, and then emailed to editors. The

web versions were written in Word and posted on WordPress, where editors reviewed the stories before

publishing them on the web. When in the field, reporters often used their smartphones to type up their

stories before sending them to the newsroom WhatsApp group where editors captured the stories for

editing before presenting them in the radio news bulletins.

Sources of information remained an integral part of journalistic practice. There were distinctions

in the use of and access to sources among the reporters. One of the associate editors was an award-

winning journalist with an extensive network of sources. In her reporting, she used the phone but often

went to the field and engaged in face-to-face interviews (Associate editor interview, July 15, 2016).

Other reporters worked differently, relying on emailed press releases and social media

engagement to select and develop stories. One of these reporters had his own extensive network of

sources for his crime and security beat. But for one story on a nationwide power blackout, no direct

contact with human sources was made. Instead, he used a press release, information from the company's

Twitter handle, and tweets on the issue posted on a hashtag. Several other reporters such as those in

business also relied heavily on press releases and reports emailed to the newsroom (Observation notes,

Aug. 6, 2016).

Human beings, documents, and other artefacts have long served as sources for journalists. But

the web has also enabled new kinds of sources. The emailed press release was ever-present in the work

emails of newsroom and digital space personnel, which led to staffers frequently clearing up their

inboxes to make room for new emails. Social media – Twitter in particular- had also become a news

source where reporters could look up hashtags on a particular subject, or make use of tweets that offered

an opinion or observation related to what the reporter was writing about (Observation notes, July 11,

2016; Aug. 19, 2016; Aug. 30, 2016).

Mudhai (2014) observed that Kenyan media have been using social media to break news and

promote stories. This was the practice at Capital FM. But an additional practice in Capital FM's

networked newsroom was the linking of stories to wider discourses beyond the newsrooms such as with

the inclusion of hashtags. Hashtags are a curated collection of tweets around a particular topic generated

by a myriad of users.

Social media and email applications therefore enabled a new kind of mediated interaction

between human sources and journalists, where the information from the former was found in press

releases and social media posts. Social media content could be used as sources for news stories, as was

observed in the habit networked personnel had in keeping the TweetDeck application open on their

desktop computers so as to monitor new tweets with potential news value. Additionally, when a news

story was linked to a hashtag, it extended the number of people who would come across it, framed the

story as relevant to the issue presented in the hashtag, and contributed to the discussion of the issue

presented in the hashtag.

In the past the journalists and audiences had an asymmetrical relationship because the former

would decide what news content the latter would consume. This study confirmed that as has been seen

in other parts of the world, the relationship between journalists and audiences at Capital FM had become

more symmetrical because journalists were more responsive to audience interests, shown through

activities such as attention paid to web metrics (Bardoel, 2002, Pavlik, 2001; as cited in Hermans et al.,

2009). This study found that hashtag discourses revealed a more symmetrical relationship between

journalists and their audiences.

At Capital FM, the newsreaders were based in the newsroom. As in the pre-web newsroom, they

broadcast the news on radio and developed news scripts for different bulletins. The business and sports

bulletins were generated by a business newsreader and the sports editor respectively. News bulletins

were comprised of local and international news, and were read by four newsreaders. Local news was

generated by reporters, reviewed by editors, who then placed it within Burli, the content management

system for radio.

The newsreaders had also acquired a new responsibility with the incorporation of the web in

journalistic practice. They selected international stories from AFP and other sources, edited them, and

published to the web. This enabled the newsreaders to gain access to two content management systems:

WordPress for web publishing, and Burli for radio. One newsreader also had reporter responsibilities.

This combination of newsreader and reporter roles was introduced in 2016. The news editor said that the

newsreader role alone was insufficient and needed to adjust to the changing needs of the newsroom

which included constant updating of the site (News editor interview, Aug. 6, 2016).

The newsreaders worked with radio production assistants in the studios. The production

assistants retained the same role they had played over the years, by providing technical support for

newsreaders to ensure their broadcasts were heard on air. The production assistants reported to the head

of radio programming, and had no other interaction with the newsroom other than through the

newsreaders.

Audiences had also acquired a new importance in journalistic practice at Capital FM. They were

not only the recipients of news, but had become actants with influence over newsroom decisions on

content. This had happened because of web metrics, which are quantifiable data on audience use and

engagement with content. The data included number of page views a story had garnered, or how much

activity a story had generated on social media.

A former digital editor used the metaphor of a window to explain that web metrics (also referred

to as analytics) had allowed the company to understand who its audiences were, and that had had a

particular effect.

> The analytics we were getting, we actually took them as insights. These finally are able to open
> the window and see who our listeners are. Before, we used to broadcast from this room and we"d
> hear people laughing on the other side of the room, but we never saw them. With online, we
> basically just opened that window. We can see our listener… And we were not really surprised
> because that's what we always thought we were. The person that we actually now saw that was
> listening is the person that we always *thought* [his emphasis] was listening. (Former Digital
> Editor interview, Sept. 19, 2016)

The nature of audiences and their feedback - such as that given on the comments section of a

story - also informed the reporters and editors. That information filtered into the thinking around stories,

as indicated by the news editor in a July 7, 2016 interview.

> Sometimes people write in [on the comment section] or Twitter and we can follow up if we think
> it can move the story to another level… A story is a story but the audience is changing. Today's
> audience is almost a journalist. He has Facebook, Instagram … We treat our audience as being
> more knowledgeable than before…. and [the audience] still rely on us to give them information.
> (Interview, July 7, 2016).

It is because of the need to track audience activity and engagement with stories that new players – the digital media administrator and webmaster – had become part of the networked newsroom's journalistic practice. The digital media administrator role was introduced in the newsroom in 2015 (DM Administrator interview, July 18, 2016). The title remained fluid since the DM administrator's counterpart in the radio production department referred to himself as the "social media manager." The differing nomenclature is discussed later in this chapter. But to ensure consistency, this study used the term digital media (DM) administrator.

The DM administrator role was introduced after the physical newsroom editors realised they could not effectively manage their existing editorial duties with the additional need that had arisen to promote their stories on social media networks. The Editorial Director recalled how this position came about:

> I think I'm the one who brought up the discussion, and I said it was becoming a bit of a challenge having the person in the news, let's say the editors, pushing content. Coz we're the ones who used to do it. But it was a bit of a challenge. There's need to push content out a lot and if you"re not somebody else is. Now when you"re focusing on other things, you lose track. And you know you may end up making mistakes. So we suggested that we need to have somebody whose business when they wake up and go to sleep is pushing our content on the digital platform. So that's how [the digital media administrator] role came about. (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The DM administrator was tasked with pushing company website content on social media, an activity designed to extend a story's reach beyond the website, and to generate enough interest in it among audiences that the audiences themselves would choose to pass the content on to their own social media contacts. The Lifestyle and Campus editors doubled up as their own digital media administrators while the physical newsroom had a dedicated digital media administrator. The physical newsroom produced a greater volume of news content compared to the digital space, and for a wider variety of

platforms. One reporter observed that having a dedicated digital media administrator in the physical

newsroom was to ensure consistency.

> The website is a bit of a sensitive platform…You need to have uniform content. There's one person communicating all the way. Before it was different people tweeting [such as editors and the webmaster] so there would be blind spots. (Reporter observation, July 6, 2016)

Pushing content called for posting links to individual website stories on various social media.

The newsroom's content was pushed on the company's main Facebook, Twitter, and Google Plus

accounts. Lifestyle and Campus also pushed their content on their own social media accounts, including

Instagram.

The webmaster was another new actor in journalistic practice. He did not gather or process news,

but paid attention to what audiences viewed or engaged with on social media, to determine what kind of

content would attract those audiences. The Lifestyle editor observed that the webmaster monitored

online trends and stories and could suggest to her story ideas or headlines (Lifestyle editor interview,

Aug. 8, 2016). One camera person said the webmaster often contributed to different aspects of

journalistic work, such as by commenting on the quality or framing of shots. The camera person added

that the webmaster's input was focused on ensuring the content brought or built up more page views.

"[The webmaster] is the genius with creativity. He knows what brings in the numbers." (Camera person

observation, June 27, 2016).

The webmaster was also member of various WhatsApp groups, including those for the physical

newsroom and the digital division. The former group had reporters, editors, and newsreaders as well as

the webmaster, who described his role as follows:

> I'm in every group [WhatsApp] because I throw in what I think. Even angles of stories…Sometimes I'll feel one story can get 7 stories from that. (Webmaster observation, June 6, 2016).

In an October 2016 interview, the webmaster explained that he was engaged in conceptualising a new video news bulletin that would air on the website. In doing so, he was sharing ideas and gaining feedback through informal interactions with editors and reporters in the newsroom as well as with colleagues in the digital division. He described his interaction with the newsroom as a form of activism, where he tried to suggest new ways to handling content to news professionals (Webmaster interview, Oct. 2016).

A task the webmaster had developed was to generate a monthly report of the top 15 stories by page views. He sent it to the news and digital teams showing how many views the stories received. This was his way of challenging the reporters, writers, and editors to produce content that will attract audiences. The list he sent showing the top 15 stories in March 2016 is shown in Figure 4.4.

Subject: Top 15 stories of the month

Cops gang-raped me, imprinted name on my thigh -19yr old 209,809 views | News

Panic as van drops off lions on Kenyatta Avenue, speeds off 58,468 views | News

You have never been to University, but you want the court to verify your 'degree' – Matiang'i 23,641 views | Campus

Prince William in Kenya for ex-girlfriend's wedding, meets Uhuru 22,015 views | News

How social media chased a bank into receivership 21,571 views | Business

7 banks hold 80 percent of Kenya's population cash 20,398 views | Business

CBK boss accused of introducing Opus Dei rules in banking 15,669 views | Business

Why we revealed identity of girl in cops gang-rape saga 14,116 views | News

Chase Bank collapse rumors not true – CBK Governor 12,441 views | Business

ICC cases made me fall in love with Kenya – Karim Khan QC 11,385 views | News

Drama as man is injured by lion on Mombasa Rd 10,973 views | News

Why Uhuru Kenyatta deserves second term as President 10,973 views | Blog

8 Things mature women don't do in relationships 9,698 views | Lifestyle

Officer accused in gang rape of 19yr-old turns guns on senior 9,309 views | News

Gallery: Koffi Olomide delivers epic performance for sold-out Koroga Festival 9,140 views | Lifestyle

Figure 4.4: The 15 Top Website Stories by Page View in March 2016

Source: Webmaster (2016)

The webmaster and digital media administrator also paid attention to the social media activity for stories. The graphic below shows the tracking of social media activity of a story, managed on an application called a "widget." The widget was coded to sit at the top and bottom of each story published on the website, as shown in Figure 4.5. The numeral 590 in the top left side of Figure 4.5 showed the number of times the story had been shared among audiences on Facebook, Twitter, Google Plus, among other social media, all represented by their logos.
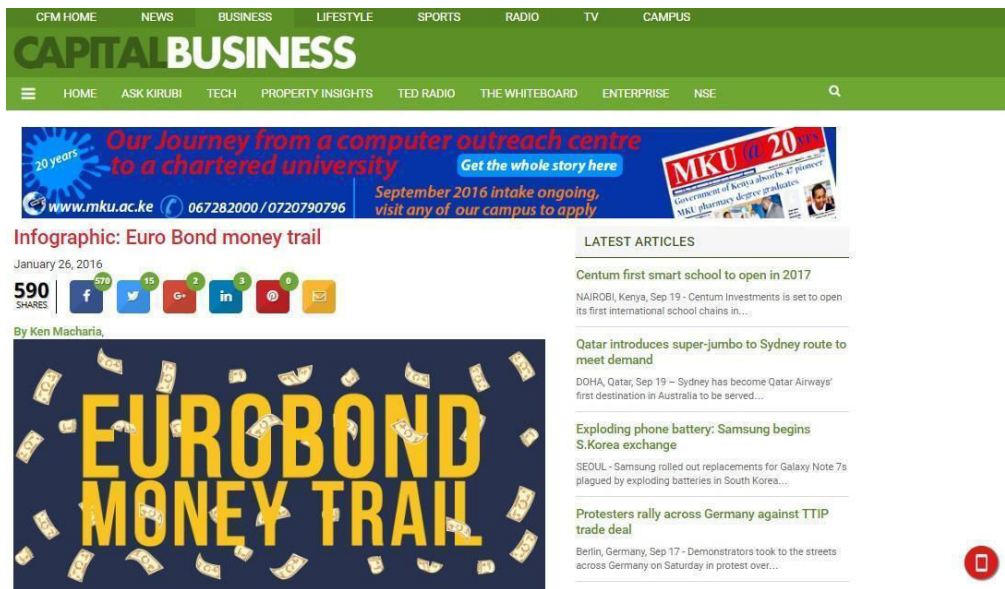
Figure 4.5: A Business Story on the Capital FM Website

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

The webmaster had three company-issued smartphones, namely an iPhone, an Android-based phone, and a Windows-based phone. He said that the three phones enabled him to get a sense of what audiences saw when they visited the Capital FM website, and how they looked for information (Observation notes, June 6, 2016).

Additionally, how the audience accessed the web was a consideration for editors and reporters in how headlines were framed, how stories were selected to draw readers, and the length of videos. Video length was tied to how audiences access the web, with an increasing majority accessing via mobile phone bundles or wireless connection. For instance, the Lifestyle editor co-presented a weekly web video series known as *Our Two Cents*. The videos often ran for less than 10 minutes each, though travel videos could take between 15 to 20 minutes (Observation notes, Aug., 8, 2016).

There were several other new actants in the networked newsroom, namely the camera personnel, writers and external contributors. The camera personnel came on board in 2011 (Observation notes, June 27, 2016). At the time, the owner was thinking about setting up a television station. This is an expensive undertaking and was yet to come to fruition during the period of observation even while it remained under discussion. But in the meantime, the department decided it needed professional photographers to provide still photographs for the web stories among other jobs (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

In 2016, the camera people worked with editors, reporters, and writers, mostly to provide still photographs that accompanied stories and video clips that ran with stories or as stand-alone content. But the camera personnel also captured audio used in radio bulletins and short video clips that could accompanied a web story or ran stand-alone on the company website. Video clips were uploaded to the company's YouTube channel as well as embedded directly on the company website (Observation notes, June 27, 2016; July 1, 2016).

Writers and contributors were also new actants in journalistic practice at Capital FM. They played a similar role to the reporters in the newsroom, by gathering information and developing them into web-exclusive news stories, features, and opinion pieces for Lifestyle and Campus. The content was

frequently presented as text stories with accompanying photographs. But there were also exclusively

visual forms. These included video series such as *Our Two Cents*, which focused on travel and lifestyle.

Campus relied on external contributors and wire services for news stories, motivational articles,

and opinion pieces related to young people and university life. Campus had an editor, the lone in-house

staffer for this section. In Lifestyle, the two in-house writers wrote stories and also had publishing rights

on WordPress. The latter enabled them to source for other content – such as celebrity, entertainment,

health and fitness stories from news wire services and blogs – and post them to the Lifestyle section.

The Lifestyle personnel differed from reporters because they aimed to have a social media

presence that the company could use to extend its reach to audiences (Lifestyle editor, interview, Aug. 8,

2016). The Lifestyle editor, for example, had large followings on her personal Twitter and Facebook

accounts, and a growing number of followers on her Instagram account. To illustrate, Table 4.1 shows

the number of followers that the Lifestyle staffers had on Twitter as of March 2017, together with those

of the Capital Lifestyle account and the Capital FM main Twitter account.

Table 4.1: Number of Followers on Various Twitter Accounts

Twitter accounts	No. of followers as of March 2017
Personal accounts of Lifestyle editor and two in-house writers combined	36,307
Capital Lifestyle account	7,732
Capital FM's main account	928,912
Total	972,951

The content generated for Lifestyle was promoted on the personal and company social media

accounts. Table 4.1 showed that each Lifestyle story, when pushed on Twitter, had the potential to reach

more than 972, 000 followers.

Other actants that played a supporting role in the networked newsroom at Capital FM were the

web developers and web designers. They worked on the programming and maintenance, and aesthetic

109

aspects of the website respectively. How the content was uploaded on the CMS and how the content

would appear on the website were among the concerns of the developers and designers respectively. The

designers focused on how well the website functioned, the users" ability to navigate around it, and its

aesthetic appeal. These various attributes were achieved through design principles such as layout and

composition, browser compatibility, selection of fonts, colours, and images, and navigability of site

(Beaird & George, 2014; Morris, n.d.).

Before 2006, the design of the Capital FM website was handled by contracted companies. One of

the web designers, who left the company in late 2016, recalled how the owner came by the office one

day as the designer and his colleagues were putting the finishing touches to a magazine that Capital FM

was also publishing at the time. The now-defunct bimonthly magazine was called *QZ*, and was targeted

at a youth and entertainment-focused audience. The owner's initials are CK, which is how some

personnel referred to him.

> One day CK comes to the office and tells us to stop, to literally stop what we are doing. It was towards the end of 2006. So he comes and tells us, "stop what you"re doing." We were actually in the last page of designing, waiting for approvals for the design then we send it out to Dubai. That's where we used to do the printing. So he comes and tells us "what are you working on?" And we tell him, "*QZ*." He tells us "stop what you"re doing. No more *QZ,* I want us to go into web." So of course it was a surprise for us… We didn't know what web was at the time. I had not studied web design. I"d majored in graphic [design]. So I was more conversant with Photoshop, Illustrator, and Indesign, basically software for publications and just basic graphics. So he told us, "guys of sales, for *QZ*, move into radio and digital. We don't have a web portal yet or a platform but we're going to make one in a few years." He told us, "for those of you who don't know web design, you have YouTube at your disposal so go online, look for tutorials, I'm giving you six months to study and start building a website." (Former web designer, Feb. 14, 2017).

The designers taught themselves web design and eventually pushed for the hiring of an in-house

web developer to provide the programming expertise needed to handle the maintenance of the website.

In 2016, the designers focused on the aesthetic and functionality of the site and the web developers

maintained and updated the website. The developers and designers worked together to ensure that the

designs created were coded into the website.

 The developers had no direct input on the development of stories. But they ensured the

infrastructure to post the stories worked, and made any additions or changes that were required by the

newsroom or digital space content creators. For example, during the period of observation, the web

developers used software coding from the AFP website to automatically load into the CMS without the

editors having to login to the AFP site. This coding was known as an Application Programming

Interface (API) which was "a list of commands as well as the format of those commands that one

program can send to another. It is used so that individual programs can communicate with one another

directly and use each other's functions" (Kang, 2011).

The automatic loading of AFP content on WordPress enabled editors to see at a glance which

international stories they would publish on the website. The lead developer recalled that at first, the

installation of the feature meant that AFP content published automatically on the Capital FM site

without being reviewed by any of the editors. However, the editorial director indicated that he would

prefer that the editors select which of the AFP stories would go live on the Capital FM site. The

developers then tweaked the coding on WordPress to reflect this change. This enabled editors to see at a

glance what AFP copy was within their system and thus more quickly decide which international story

to publish (Lead Developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

In this edited excerpt, the lead developer explained that the open source version of WordPress

that Capital FM uses, was flexible enough to enable the developers to adapt it to company needs. The

lead developer made reference to US President Barack Obama's visit to Kenya in July 2015, and the

modifications made to the website when Capital FM got an exclusive interview with him:

> [WordPress] is open source, for one. It has a lot of people who build stuff on top of it.
> Plug-ins. And they're free. Like when Obama came, we changed our landing page to be

just Obama, a video. Because we interviewed him, remember? It was easy and it was over the weekend. "Eh, guys we're interviewing Obama, we need to change the landing page, as in, instantly." [It was] Just design and then, *haraka, haraka* [quickly, quickly]. That's the beauty of it. [WordPress] has overtaken Joomla. Joomla used to be the most popular CMS... But WordPress is flexible. And a lot of developers find it easier to use. (Lead developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

The Owner as Actor

The owner was a key driver in the incorporation of the web in all company operations. He had several monikers at the company such as chairman (of Capital Group), *mzee* (a respectful Swahili term directly translated as "old man"), and DJ CK (his name on *The Fuse*, the rock music radio show he occasionally co-hosts).

Interviews with various staffers indicated that the owner's input included being a strong advocate for the appropriation of technology within the company, listening to the advice and thinking of staffers, and taking a hands-on approach towards all aspects of the digitisation of the company. He provided design ideas for the website, contributed towards the inclusion of new roles and development of content in the networked newsroom, and insisted on revenue growth from the digital division. In this excerpt from an interview published on YouTube in 2013, the owner explained why he was so involved in the uptake of digital technology in the company:

> My senior management, they hardly understood what I was up to. But since I was the owner of the station, I didn't have to ask anybody if we could do this. To actually do digital media, you need to win from the top because it's a total conversion. It's a new thing, it's a new way, it's a new culture. And if the top man in an organisation is not himself convinced and doesn't understand it, it is not going to work. Because there are a lot of changes that have to be done. (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a)

The owner was also an active contributor of content as seen in the videos or opinion pieces – termed blogs - penned under his byline and posted under "Ask Kirubi," a section of the site categorised under the business section. The opinion pieces were co-written with select staffers. But he also made himself available to other sections of the website. On one occasion during the period of observation, he

112

passed by the desk of the Lifestyle editor, who referred to him as CK. Within a two-minute conversation, they had agreed on a Lifestyle video about cooking that would later be shot at his house. After he moved on to talk to someone else, the editor said that had constituted a content meeting (Observation notes, Aug. 8, 2016).

One associate editor recalled that the change to include writing stories for the web happened in 2008, following the post-election violence of 2007/2008. There was an urgent need among readers for information and the reporter recalled the owner directing that the news team should begin producing 100-word stories that would be published online. This would grow to 300 words as the required minimum for each story (Associate editor 1 interview, July 15, 2016).

The camera people also came on board with the owner's interest in developing a television station and in having more visual content on the website. The owner was also an early adopter of Twitter and Facebook, and required staffers to have social media accounts (Webmaster interview, 2016) on which stories could be distributed to audiences.

From staffer accounts and video interviews, it emerged that the owner had played a strategic role in enrolling the web and other actants into Capital FM's journalistic practice, contributed to providing content on the website and social media accounts, and pushed for Capital FM's aggressive stance towards growing revenues on its digital platform.

<div align="center">Technological Actants</div>

Apart from the human actants, there were technological actants that contributed to the work of the networked newsroom. The technological actants were: internet access; devices through which the access was gained (mostly mobile phones and desktop computers); web and mobile applications that enabled certain activities on the web (such as WhatsApp and various social media); and the web itself.

<div align="center">113</div>

Without internet access, Capital FM would have no website or any means of getting to the web for content updating, revenue generation, or social media interaction. Internet access therefore was an intangible technological actant which was central to the running of the actor-network. Access was provided through internet service providers sourced by Information Technology (IT) personnel.

Through devices such as mobile phones and desktop computers, users then got to applications which enabled them to undertake various activities on the web. For example, WhatsApp was an application that was originally mobile phone-based, but had also become available on the web. At Capital FM, it was much used in assigning of stories, and sending in stories from the field to the newsroom. Facebook, Twitter and Google Plus were social media applications on the web which enabled the sharing of content to networks beyond the company website. WordPress, another frequently used application, is the content management system (CMS) that served as an essential web application enabling personnel in the physical newsroom and digital space to publish web content using easy-to-use templates. The content was comprised of written text, photos, videos, and graphics.

Access, devices and applications (ADA) were considered integral to reaching the web for the various actants. In the networked newsroom's actor-network, the three were linked and viewed as one actant that provided access to the web. For analytical purposes however, they were treated as separate entities. For example, a device such as a smartphone is loaded with applications and networked to enable internet access. Smartphones fall within a variety of mobile devices such as tablets and cell phones that "integrate multimedia (typically a microphone and camera), an always-on network connection, and often, the running of mobile software or "apps"" (Schrock, 2015, p. 1234).

Smartphones engaged in tandem with applications and internet access allowed editors, reporters and writers to each work even when away from their desks. The applications they had on their phones enabled different activities, such as the quick submission of stories for publication on the web through

WordPress, and the promotion of content on Twitter and Facebook. The smartphone was a pervasive

presence among the digital and physical newsroom staffers. During observation, the different personnel

used their phones to talk to and get information from sources, interact with their professional peers and

bosses on WhatsApp and email, write and post news content, as well as push stories on social media.

     Apart from the smartphone, networked newsroom personnel also used computers or laptops. The

intent was to gain access to the web which was an actor that provided space for the creation of new

content (such as videos embedded on the website) and had enabled the entry of new roles in the

networked newsroom. The latter included the camera people who provided news content exclusively for

the company website. Due to the web, reporters were required to develop two versions of one story, one

for radio, the other published on the company website. The latter version followed a certain format,

including having a minimum of 300 words and the inclusion of a photograph or a graphic. This format

was also designed to enhance how search engines found the story.

     Another role the web played in the networked newsroom at Capital FM was enabling quick

access to varied types of information, such as word usage from an online dictionary, historical or

contextual data relating to a story one is working on, and textual or visual content from sources.

     The web had also enabled access to audience metrics such as social media likes and shares which

provided a sense of what audiences were reading and liking. Figure 4.6 shows that for the story titled

"Infographic: Euro Bond money trail," 590 users had shared the story on their social media networks.

More than 570 of the users had used Facebook, while the other shares were on Twitter, Google Plus, and

Linked In, as shown by the icons.

Figure 4.6: Social Media Shares of a Business News Story

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

Corporate Actants

Capital FM's networked newsroom collaborated with external partners for the sharing and/or distribution of content. The physical newsroom sent news headlines to a digital signage and advertising company, and a mobile phone content aggregator. There were other actors that provided or shared content with Capital FM, such as blogs and news wire services.

Across the news, business, sports, Lifestyle, and Campus sections, relevant AFP content was used such as university-related news on the Campus section and sports news on the sports section. The Lifestyle section also used content from an entertainment wire-service based in the United States, from which the editor selected celebrity news (Observation notes, July 15, 2016; Aug. 8, 2016).

On Aug. 8, 2016, the Lifestyle editor also published content from a Kenyan author's blog, and a South African-based website focused on stories about and for women. She included a link to each of those two entities' websites. In this collaborative partnership, the two entities reciprocated by publishing

Lifestyle's content on their websites. This cross-promotion of content exposed the different entities to each other's audiences. The Lifestyle editor also mentioned that she received many requests from people who wanted to contribute to the site. But she was selective because she wanted people of influence as contributors, since they would also push Capital content on their own brands (Observation notes, Aug. 8, 2016).

Capital FM paid for the content that it received from wire services such as AFP. But the arrangement that Lifestyle had with selected websites and blogs deliberately did not require any payment for content. The Lifestyle editor said that allowing content to be shared by other partners, rather than purchased, was good for business. It drew in audiences, who are the main target for advertisers. "If your platform is good and interesting, it will sell itself," she said (Lifestyle editor interview, Aug. 8, 2016).

Capital FM's collaborations with the corporate actants achieved several goals. The company's audiences had grown beyond the radio listeners and Capital FM website users, to include: mobile phone subscribers; niche clients (such as the supermarket); and global audiences, such as those reached on the Kenyan author's blog and South African-based website. Growing audiences also meant new revenue-generating opportunities for Capital FM. There was money made through the partnerships with the mobile phone content aggregator and digital signage company. Growing audiences also attracted new advertising clients to the point where the Lifestyle section of the website had begun making more money than the news section of the website (Director of Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

<div align="center">Summary of Research Question 1</div>

Prior to the web's entry in newsroom work, journalistic practice at Capital FM revolved around sources, newsroom personnel (editors, reporters, and newsreaders), and audiences. The owner's 2006 decision to enrol the web more fully into company operations triggered a series of events that

<div align="center">117</div>

culminated in the formation of the networked newsroom which incorporated new human, technological

and corporate actants into Capital FM's journalistic practice.

New players entered the picture including camera personnel, the webmaster, developers,

designers, and digital media administrator. The web became a second news platform, and audiences

acquired a new importance, because their interests and responses to stories were made available by web

metrics. The various actants contributed towards content and revenue generation, supported by a

technological infrastructure. Figure 4.7 illustrates the three concepts.
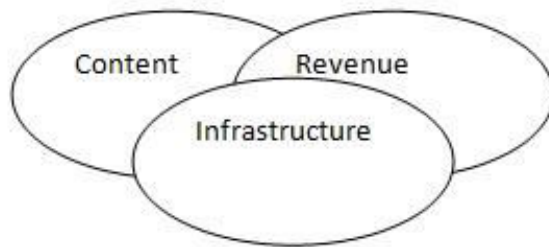
Figure 4.7: Three Conceptual Categories in which the Actants Fall

Source: Author (2017)

Research Question 2

How did the different actants in the Capital FM newsroom interact in the process of journalistic

practice?

Past scholarship tended to view journalistic practice as revolving around the activities of

journalists (reporters and editors), who got information from sources and pass it on to audiences (Gans,

2004; Mabweazara, 2014; Turner, 2005). Sources were integral in providing information which the

journalists would use to develop into stories that were packaged and distributed to audiences. The

considerations journalists made in how to package the information so as to attract and maintain

audiences demonstrated the audience's agency in journalistic practice (Gans, 2004).

The entry of digital technologies in news production led to the combining of traditional news journalism with digital technologies such as mobile phones, websites, and social media. Using Gans" (2004) analysis of newsroom actors as well as data collected from the Capital FM newsroom, an actor-network of the pre-web newsroom at Capital FM was constructed as shown in Figure 4.8.
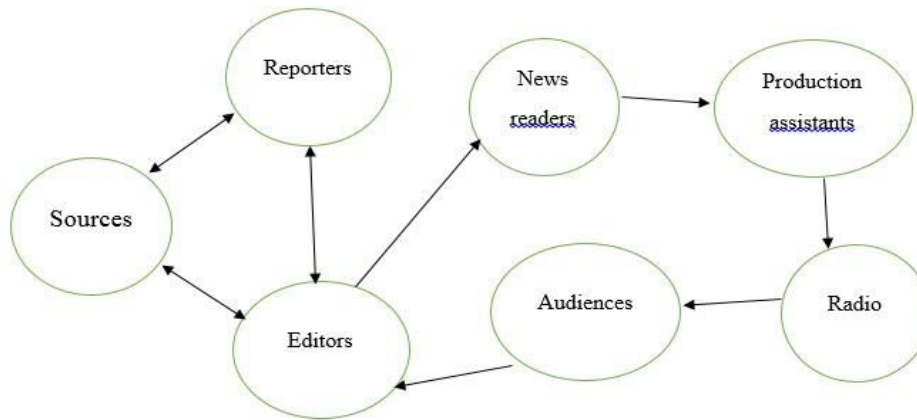
Figure 4.8: Actants in Pre-Web Journalistic Practice at Capital FM
Source: Author (2017)

In Figure 4.8, pre-web journalistic practice was constituted as a linear process with the story beginning from the sources. The reporters would gather the information required and pass it on to the editors who would review and then aggregate multiple stories into a bulletin that would be forwarded to the newsreaders. The newsreaders would broadcast the news on radio to reach audiences, with technical support from production assistants who pre-recorded certain segments, and ensured the smooth live transmission of the news bulletins. The audience was unseen and not fully known, said the former digital editor.

> We used to broadcast from this room and we"d hear people laughing on the other side of the room, but we never saw them. With online, we basically just opened that window. (Former digital editor interview, Sept. 19, 2016)

Reporters and editors used their own judgement to present stories that would be of interest to this unseen audience, which Bunce (2017) described as being imagined or ignored. In the pre-web model of journalistic practice at Capital FM, the editor was the actant with the most connections to other actants within the actor-network. Of the editor's four connections, two were two-way or dialogical, meaning that each actor had agency over the other. Editors assigned stories to reporters who provided editors with stories for editing and publication. The agency of the sources came from sources providing editors and reporters with the information needed for story development. The two-way interaction is signified by double-pointed arrows.

The other interactions were uni-directional, meaning that agency emanated from where the arrow begun. The stories received from reporters were edited by the editor who then compiled a news bulletin based on these stories, and passed on the script to the newsreader who would read it on air. The scripts, read by the news readers and provided by the editors would be received by audiences through radio. The producer would work with the newsreader to pre-record segments, meaning that the producer acted at the prompting of the newsreader. In effect, the newsreaders, producers, and the medium of radio were intermediaries linking sources, reporters and editors on one hand to audiences on the other.

Following the incorporation of the web, new personnel and technological entities became part of the networked newsroom's actor-network. The actants engaged in news production in 2016 at Capital FM had increased from seven to 21. The different actants in this actor-network also manifested a myriad of roles explained in actor-network theory, namely: the actor, the actant, the intermediary, the mediator, and the obligatory point of passage (OPP). Other terms from actor-network theory that are exhibited in the actor-network are enrolment and translation.

Hemmingway (2008) defined these various roles, explaining that the actant, intermediary, and the mediator all fall under the umbrella term of actor. The actor denotes anything that can act or to

which another actor can grant an activity. The actant is an actor that is the source of any action. The term actor is usually associated with human beings, yet ANT ascribes agency to any kind of entity. Therefore the term "actant" serves as a neutral terminology that gives room for the heterogeneous elements that make up the actor-network. Akrich and Latour (1996), as cited in Hemmingway (2008), described an actant as "whatever acts or shifts action where action is defined by a list of performances" (p. 224).

The intermediary is an actor that passes on meaning or action without experiencing any transformation. A mediator is an actor that undergoes frequent translation and change while interacting with other mediators. The OPP is defined by the central actor and is the node through which other actors must go through and which gives the central actor its principal role. Enrolment refers to getting other actants to participate in the construction of the actor-network. Translation denotes how actants interpret the various interests they have in the actor-network (Latour, 1987). The various actants in journalistic practice as seen at Capital FM are discussed in the following section. They are described through sociograms, which Hemmingway (2008) described as the interactions an actant has with other actants.

The web was a central mediator in this actor-network. It was the primary platform on which the content produced in the networked newsroom was published, and had led to the modification of pre-web newsroom roles as well as the entry of multiple new roles into the networked newsroom. The web was accessible through the interlinked interactions between internet access, devices, and applications, and had the greatest number of associations with other actants in the networked newsroom's actor-network.

The web was also a mediator that had caused news practices to change. Reporters and associate editors routinely wrote a web and radio version of each story, and had multiple stories from a single event. New roles such as the camera personnel were enrolled into the networked newsroom because the web needed visual content such as video and still images. The website and social media networks passed

on the content to audiences, who had been incorporated into the networked newsroom as co-distributors of news content.

The various actions that the web caused to take place were traceable through multiple means, such as the content produced, social media interactions, new roles within journalistic practice, and new activities that had taken place, such as the development of two versions for every story produced by the reporters. Figure 4.9 provides a graphical illustration of the actants with which the web interacted.
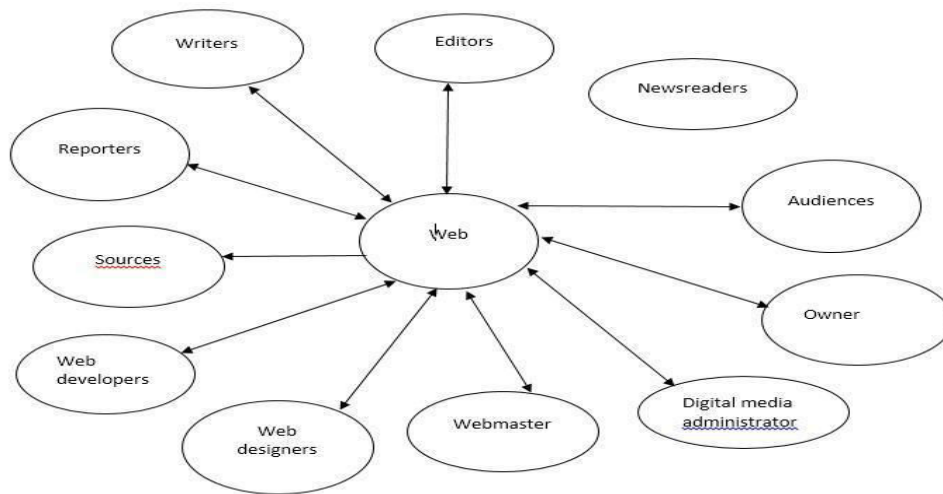
Figure 4.9: The Web's Interaction with Other Actants

Source: Author (2017)

Access to internet, devices, and applications (ADA) worked in tandem to enable different actants to reach and use the web as shown in Figure 4.10.
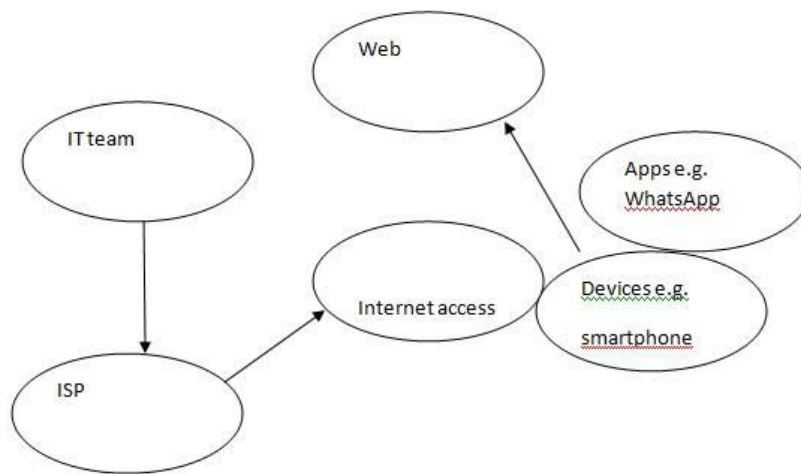
Figure 4.10: The Interaction among Intermediaries and Mediators

Source: Author (2017)

The triad of ADA collectively was an OPP enabling the majority of actants to reach the web. During observation on Aug. 1, 2016, the head of the IT department explained that he found the internet service providers (ISPs) that the company used to provide access to the web. The IT department also allocated bandwidth to the different departments. News tended to get the largest share of bandwidth because it had heavy digital content that needed uploading and downloading, such as photos, audio, and video clips. The newsroom also tended to use high resolution content that used up more bandwidth (Head of IT interview, Aug. 1, 2016).

The head of IT also set up the livestreaming of particular events. Parliamentary proceedings and news events such as a presidential addresses could be livestreamed as a news event. There was also revenue- generating livestreaming, where clients paid to have their event aired on the Capital FM website (Head of IT interview, Aug. 1, 2016). The head of IT and the ISPs were intermediaries who were vital in the provision of the internet infrastructure to news operations. But they did not experience any transformation as they enabled the provision of internet access for the networked newsroom.

Internet access was essential for all actants in the networked newsroom. To get to the web, various staffers used different gadgets and applications as illustrated in the July 1, 2016 observation of a newsroom reporter and cameraman. At about 10 a.m. on that day, the reporter was at his desk working on a story about the disappearance of three men. While he was working on the story, he received a call from a source informing him that the bodies of the three men had been found and taken to the city's mortuary. The three men were a lawyer, a taxi driver, and a motor cycle driver. I joined the reporter, the cameraman, and a driver as they drove to the mortuary.

Two colleagues of the dead lawyer came to the mortuary where they gave a brief press conference confirming that they had identified the lawyer's body. The cameraman had set up his camera on a tripod alongside those of two other media houses. The cameraman also took still photographs using an Android-enabled digital camera that has social media and WhatsApp, among other applications. On returning to the office later that afternoon, the cameraman would download the footage and photo. The photo would be used in the web version of the story. The video would be edited, posted on the Capital FM YouTube channel, as well as embedded directly on the TV section of the Capital FM website.

At the mortuary, the reporter took notes during the press conference and would later use his phone to send the story via WhatsApp to a newsroom group account. All newsroom personnel receive a mobile phone bundle allowance enabling them to access internet on their phones even when away from the office.

The reporter also used the phone to call and talk with an editor to brief him on what was going on in the field. In all, the reporter used his phone to: take notes during the press conference; receive pictures of the dead lawyer's body from the lawyers; send a brief to his news editor; write the radio version of the story which comprised of about 4 lines; retrieve audio from the cameraman's video of the

press conference; send the audio and radio version of the story via WhatsApp to the editor; and access

WordPress to post the web version of his story.

The smartphone and its applications enabled him to multi-task and work at speed while out in

the field. "Without a phone you cannot do this [work]. It's next to impossible… You want to be the first

person to break the story" (Observation notes, July 1, 2016).

Other than the head of IT and internet access, there were four other intermediaries in the

networked newsroom's actor-network, namely the newsreaders, production assistants, radio, and news

content distributors. The intermediaries interacted with the following mediators: editors, web, and

audiences. Figure 4.11 illustrates the interactions among the seven actants.
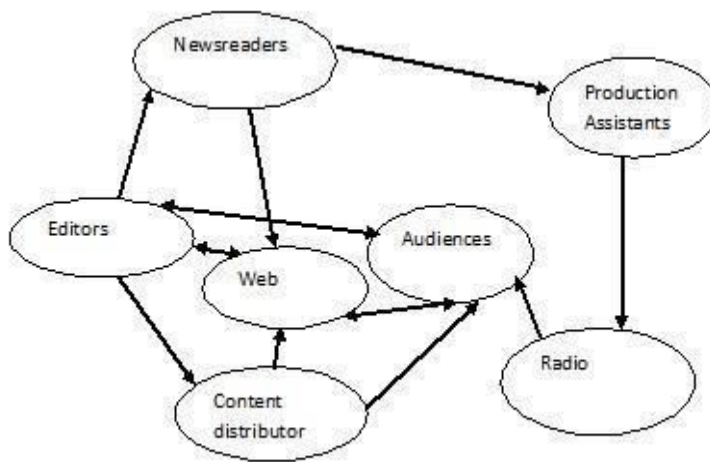
Figure 4.11: The Intermediaries in the Actor-Network at Capital FM
Source: Author (2017)

The production assistants, content distributors, and radio were each intermediaries. Production

assistants enabled the broadcasting of news content by providing newsreaders with the technical support

they needed to broadcast and pre-record news content. Content distributors received information from

the editors via web, to pass on to audiences that consumed the news content on mobile phone and

supermarket screen.

Radio was the medium through which that content was consumed by audiences. Past scholarship

describing journalistic practice such as that of Gans (2004) did not acknowledge non-human beings as

actors. But the particular form in which radio news was written and presented at Capital FM indicated

that radio had had past agency over the presentation of news. The format of the hourly radio bulletin

revolved around a script comprised of five stories. Each story tended to comprise of between four or five

lines and some in the bulletin would have an audio clip of approximately 20 seconds. The bulletin

tended to air for about two minutes. The medium of radio required a certain length and packaging of

news stories, distinct from that written for print. Through an ANT lens, radio would be viewed as a

mediator.

But in 2016, this presentation style was a routinised, taken-for-granted form within the

networked newsroom, and the medium of radio did not have a direct impact on journalistic practice.

However, radio news and programming was livestreamed on the company website, and various radio

personnel – such as the producers, show hosts and disc jockeys – had turned to social media to promote

content and interact with audiences. This meant that the medium of radio was contributing to the

modification of the web's content, thus retaining a mediator role in the actor-network.

The newsreader was an intermediary whose role was changing into that of a mediator. When

handling news for radio broadcast, the newsreader did not experience any transformation but was only a

means to pass on content. But during the period of observation, the newsreader published international

news online. One newsreader, hired in 2016, was also going to the field as a reporter who produced

content for radio and web. Thus the newsreader had been enrolled into the actor-network as a mediator,

and was required to contribute to the updating of the website with fresh, local content.

There were several other mediators in the networked newsroom. The web developers and web designers were mediators, albeit largely playing a supporting role. Web developers worked on different software used in news production, such as providing changes on WordPress as required by editors, enabling the embedding of content on the site such as videos, and adding or removing users from the different sections on WordPress. During the period of observation, the developers automated the entry of AFP content into WordPress so that editors and newsreaders could select the stories to publish from there. Editors and newsreaders no longer had to go to the AFP website to select stories for publication on the Capital FM site.

Web designers designed the different sections of the website, as well as designed site graphics, such as for shows like *Our Two Cents.* However, the Campus and Lifestyle sections also engaged with designers and developers to think through content. On one occasion, the Campus editor asked a designer for advice on which picture to post on the company's Instagram account (Observation notes, June 6, 2016). In the digital space, there was greater interaction among editors, writers, web developers, and web designers, as compared to the more hierarchical newsroom, where reporters did not directly engage with designers or developers. Figure 4.12 shows the interactions among the web developers and web designers.
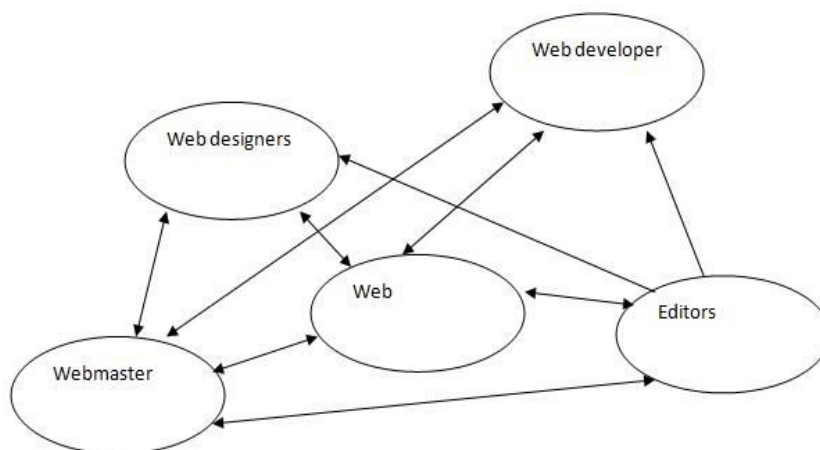
Figure 4.12: Interactions among the Web Developers and Designers

Source: Author (2017)

Sources were other mediators in the actor-network. They were revealers of information (Turner,

2005) and Carlson and Franklin (2011) described them as an integral part of journalistic practice, and

the starting point for many stories. In the networked newsroom's actor-network, sources were mediators,

as they were in the pre-web actor-network. The sources provided reporters/writers and editors with

information used in a story or with background contextual details. Figure 4.13 illustrates the four actants

with which sources interacted.
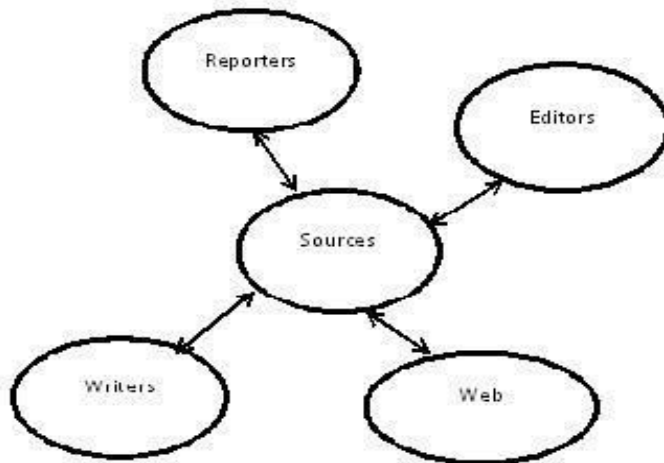
Figure 4.13: Interactions the Sources Have with Other Actants

Source: Author (2017)

In Capital FM's networked newsroom, sources for newsroom and digital space stories included human beings, press releases, reports, surveys, television content (such as a game being aired on television or live proceedings of a parliamentary session), and social media (such as tweets on Twitter and video clips on 4sharing.com). Documented sources such as press releases, surveys and reports were usually emailed to various newsroom email accounts. The editors had a group email account as did the individual reporters, in-house writers, newsreaders, and editors (Observation notes, June 6, 2016; July 7, 2016).

But the nature of sources was not restricted to social or material entities such as human beings and press releases respectively. The web had enabled access to mediated human sources, such as when tweets from a particular Twitter handle were used in story development. Tweets were made in the public domain, were easily found such as when they were linked to a hashtag, and could provide perspective to a story without having to talk to the source directly.

Other mediators in the actor-network were reporters, camera personnel and writers. Reporters worked from the newsroom and relied on various sources to garner the information that was used in

129

story development. The reporters submitted news stories for web, radio and mobile phone alerts. They also provided audio clips to accompany radio stories. The reporters were assigned to work with camera personnel who shot still and video images for use in the reporters" stories, and as stand-alone content.

Writers were based in the digital space and submitted feature and opinion pieces on lifestyle issues such as travel and food. The Lifestyle editor and one writer were also the co-hosts of a popular web video series known as *My Two Cents*, which was one among several web video series produced at Capital FM. Figure 4.14 illustrates the associations the reporters, camera personnel and writers had with one another and with other actants.
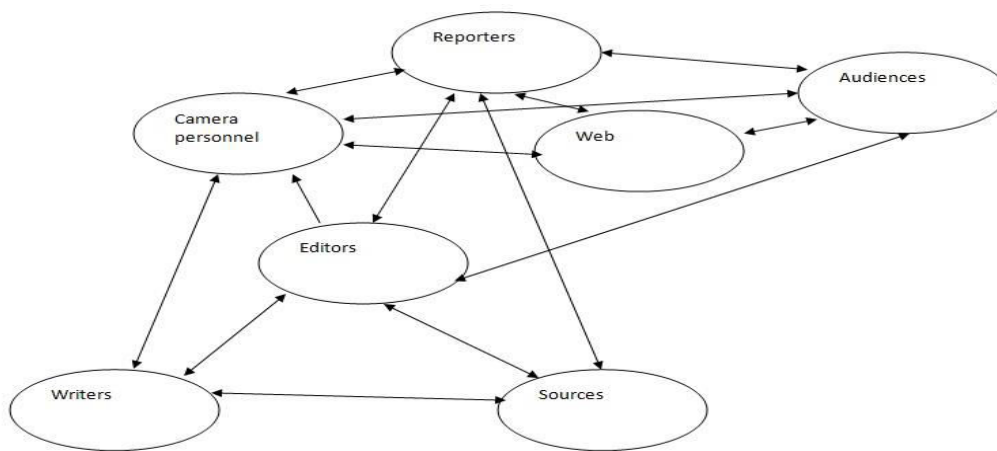
Figure 4.14: The Interactions among Reporters, Camera Personnel, and Writers
Source: Author (2017)

Reporters, camera personnel, and writers also all pushed content on their personal social media networks, and paid attention to web metrics. Their individual agency was evident in the content they provided for the web. The web in turn had caused the reporters, camera personnel and writers to have a closer interaction with audiences through social media interactions, web metrics and comment sections of stories.

Audiences were actants with multiple connections in the networked newsroom's actor-network, and were no longer passive consumers of news as they were in the pre-web actor-network. In 2016,

through analytics information, audiences also informed reporters, writers, editors, and the webmaster

about which stories they were reading and how they were engaging with those stories. Capital FM also

distinguished between audiences for its different products, and considered the sections of the website

(e.g. News, Business, Lifestyle, Sports, and Campus) to be individual brands with particular audiences

(Webmaster observation notes, June 6, 2016).

The company had a radio audience, which listened to the programming and news through

conventional broadcasting means. This is the audience that was described as influential and aspirational

by the Traffic Manager (Observation notes, July 21, 2016). There were also the audiences for the

different sections of the website. Capital Campus targeted university students. The business section

targeted professionals and leaders in industry, and Lifestyle focused on leisure- and entertainment-

focused groups. Due to web metrics which provided assorted data on audience access and engagement

on the website, audiences were therefore easily disaggregated and defined. Figure 4.15 illustrates the

connections audiences had with other actants in the network.
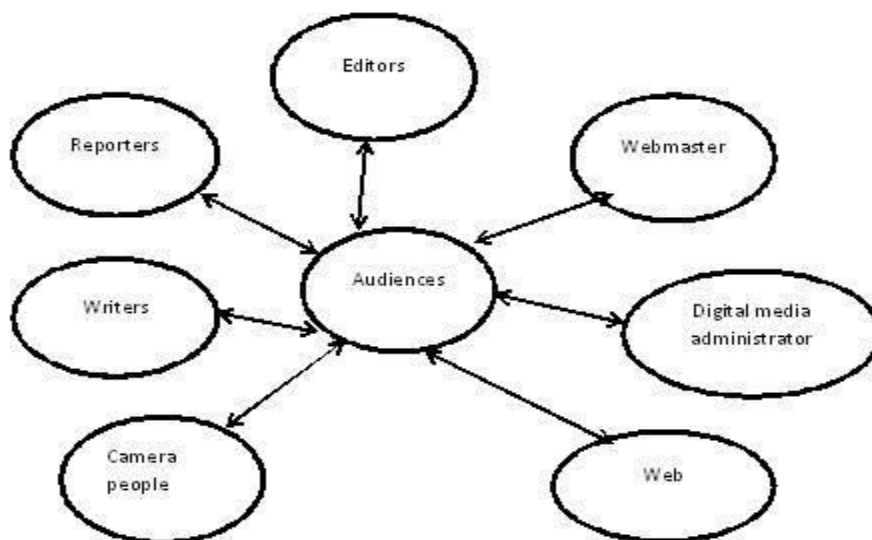
Figure 4.15: Audiences' Connections with Various Actants

Source: Author (2017)

Site metrics such as social media likes and shares, evident through a widget on every web story, provided a sense of what audiences were reading and liking. How the audience accessed the web for example, was a consideration for editors and reporters in how headlines were framed, how stories were selected to draw readers in, and how long videos were. The webmaster had three types of company-issued phones (iPhone, other smartphone, and a basic feature phone) to view what audiences saw when accessing the website on mobile phone.

Video length was tied to how audiences accessed the web, with an increasing majority accessing via mobile phone bundles or wireless connection. Because a large number of audience members accessed content using mobile phone, the networked newsroom was conscious of producing short video clips which would use fewer bundles as compared to long clips (Reporter observation, July 6, 2016). Therefore audiences were an actant with multiple connections, and had acquired greater power in journalistic practice through the web than they had in the past.

The digital media administrator was a mediator, and was a new role enrolled by the editorial director in the actor-network. The editorial director said that with the emergence of social media, the newsroom editors found it useful to promote content but could not consistently do so. This led to the hiring of a digital media administrator for the newsroom in 2015.

In pushing the news generated in the physical newsroom on three social media platforms, the digital media administrator had a two-fold role: to grow audience views and engagement, and to ensure that audiences received information from the website consistently rather than periodically. The Lifestyle and Campus editors pushed their own content. In the digital space, the digital media administrator participated in conceptualisation of content but also belonged to the newsroom's WhatsApp group to see the stories in the pipeline for publication on the web. Figure 4.16 illustrates the actants with which the networked newsroom's digital media administrator interacted.
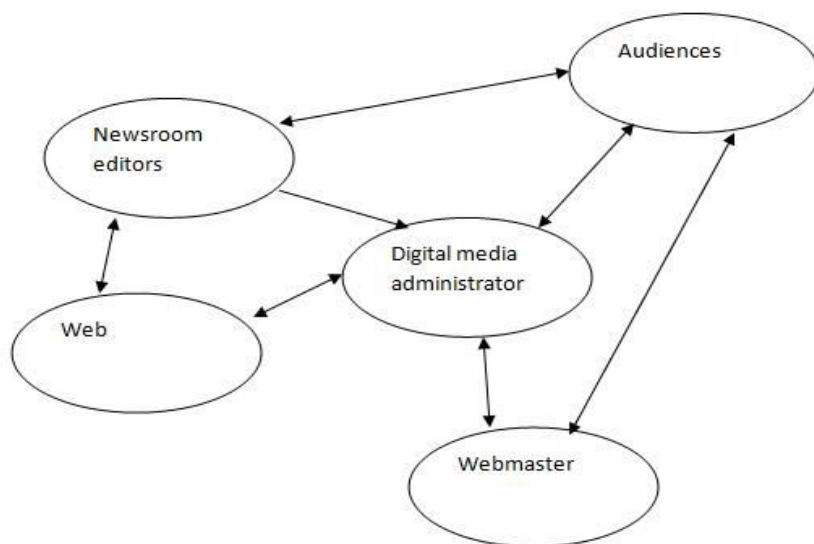
Figure 4.16: The Digital Media Administrator's Newsroom Interactions

Source: Author (2017)

Using social media required knowledge of how the different applications worked and their conventions. In the illustration below, for example, the digital media administrator took a news video story from the web and pushed it on Twitter, as shown in Figure 4.17.

Figure 4.17: A Tweet, Left, and the Video Clip it Promoted on Capital TV

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

133

The tweet retained the headline of the clip, used a photograph as an accompanying visual, and also subscribed to Twitter conventions. It shortened the web link to the story (to fit within Twitter's 140-word character limit), indicated that the story was a video with the word "Watch," and extended the story's reach by using hashtag # LipaKamaTender. A hashtag is a phrase preceded by the symbol #, and that serves to index keywords or topics on Twitter (Twitter Help Centre, n.d.).

 # LipaKamaTender started as a rallying call by doctors on strike calling to be paid in the same way that Kenya government tenders are paid at great public cost. It was later taken up by other tweets focusing on reports of Kenyan government graft. The use of the photograph was deliberate, since as the digital media administrator explained, a tweet with a visual tended to be more likely to cause readers to click on the link (Digital Media Administrator, Interview, July 18, 2016).

In the pre-web actor-network, the editor was the central mediator, having the most interactions compared to the other actants. In the networked newsroom's actor-network, the editor remained an important mediator alongside other mediators. Figure 4.18 demonstrates the interactions among the two types of editors, those located in the physical newsroom (news, sports, business), and those located in the digital space (Lifestyle, Campus).
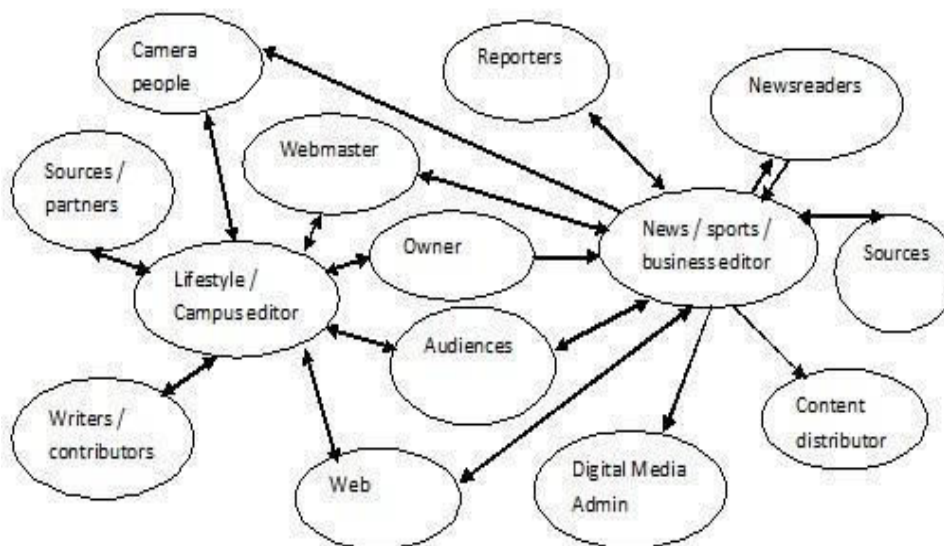
Figure 4.18: The Interactions among Editors in the Networked Newsroom

Source: Author (2017)

All editors were mediators who assigned and reviewed content from reporters or writers, and camera personnel. The editors also posted large volumes of wire service copy on to the sections of the website that they oversaw, and determined which among the volumes of press releases they received daily would be developed into stories. They published content to the website, and were interested in audience response and engagement with the content. The attention paid to audiences was reinforced by the webmaster who monitored the metrics across the site and passed that feedback on to the editors.

However, there were differences between those in the newsroom and those in the digital space. These differences are captured in Table 4.2.

135

Table 4.2: Differences between Editors at Capital FM

	Lifestyle, Campus editors	News, Business, Sports editors
Roles	Frequent blurring of roles in developing editorial and commercial content	Limited blurring of roles between editorial and commercial content
Content Promotion	Promoted content on both personal and company social media accounts	Promoted content on personal social media; DM Administrator pushes content on company accounts
Interaction with Owner	Relaxed, owner collaborated in providing content	Formal, owner indicated what should be published, and what boundaries should not be crossed
Workspace Structure	Informal, no hierarchy	Formal, hierarchical
Publishing Medium	Web	Web, mobile, radio, supermarket screens
Personnel Overseen	Relied on external contributors as well as in-house writers for original local content	Relied on reporters for original local content
Partnership	Content exchange and cross-promotion of sites with partner sites such as blogs – designed to extend website's audiences globally	Content distribution partnerships to access mobile and digital advertising consumers – designed to generate revenues

Source: Author (2017)

The webmaster also played a mediator role in journalistic practice particularly because of the interest in how audiences received and engaged with content. The webmaster's mandate included reviewing how content could attract audiences, and building revenue-generating streams. He also had administrator rights over the web CMS, meaning that he had access to all content generated for the site. This is as compared to the editors, who only had access to the particular content they published, be it in news, sports, business, Lifestyle, or Campus. The webmaster also interacted informally with reporters and writers as well, engaging them on the possible types of stories and forms of content that may attract audiences.

Figure 4.19 shows the interactions the webmaster had in relation to journalistic practice.
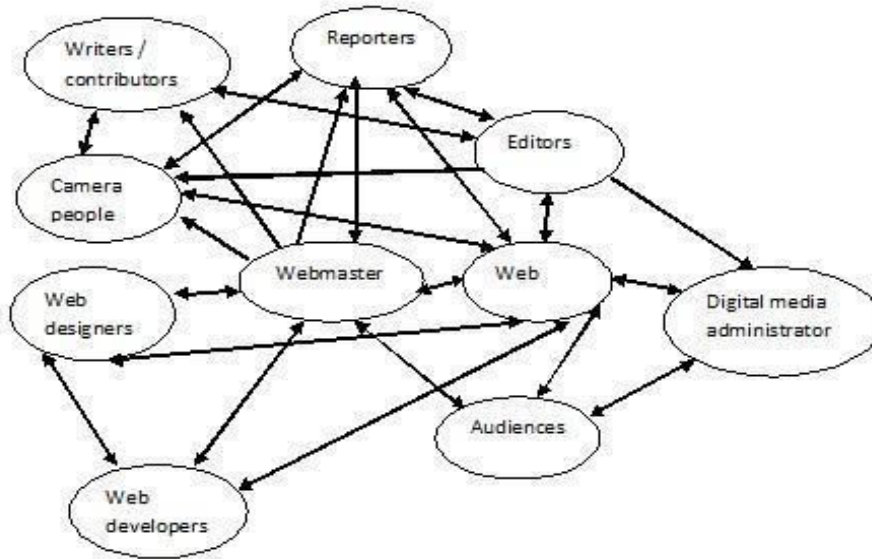
Figure 4.19: Associations of the Webmaster, Web Developers, and Web Designers

Source: Author (2017)

The webmaster was an actant with multiple associations. During the course of the observation

period, I saw him chat informally with reporters about relying less on press releases and coming up with

more creative stories, direct a camera person to edit a video clip to be shared on the company's

Facebook accounts, and hold discussions with the editorial director about news content. The web

designers, developers, Campus and Lifestyle editors, and digital media administrator fell under the

digital team which he oversaw.

The webmaster said that among his key performance indicators were the generation of website

traffic. In this excerpt, the webmaster described his role:

> I want stories that people will click and come to our website… I have to innovate, move with the
> times, just to keep up there (as he gestured with two hands, one at forehead level and the other at
> throat level). (Observation notes, June 6, 2016).

The webmaster's contributions were in the areas of story conceptualisation in the newsroom and

digital space, content development in the digital space, and the monitoring of story performance as

137

gauged from audience metrics. Audience metrics enabled Capital FM to negotiate advertising and

livestreaming rates for the website.

The owner was a mediator who did not play a day-to-day role in journalistic practice but his

strategic thinking about the site and his own interest in content had contributed towards the entry of new

roles in the actor-network, and the modification of other actants. The web for example, was used by the

station from the late 1990s. But it was in 2006 that the owner told the station staffers that the company

would be going digital.

This transformed the web from a peripheral platform and enrolled it as a primary actant into the

networked newsroom's journalistic practice. The owner also modified his magazine designers" jobs,

telling them to learn skills in web design. This triggered other modifications as he described it in this

2013 interview published on YouTube:

> I sat with my designers, designing these sites, designing different portals for different interests,
> the news, business news, the radio side of it, the jobs. Eventually I had a magazine which I used
> to print, but it gave me a lot of headache to distribute it. And I said, why on earth don't I give up
> this magazine in physical and put everything on digital. And I changed the title of the magazine.
> I called it *Lifestyle* magazine. And it was a very popular magazine. But the demand for new
> information is almost daily. This magazine was a fortnightly magazine, and now we have to give
> stories [online] on a daily basis because the consumers are there on a daily basis (Uvie-Emegbo,
> 2013a).

The modifications included expanding the news and broadcast departments of Capital FM to

have a web presence, transforming his magazine into the Lifestyle section of the website, and creating a

digital team which was comprised of the designers, web developers, web master, the Lifestyle and

Campus sections of the website, and digital business developers. The last group of people worked to

generate revenue from the digital platform. The modifications in turn led to a growth in audiences that

demanded a constant stream of new information. His solution for that was to expand the content sources

to beyond the newsroom as he said in the excerpt below taken from the 2013 YouTube interview:

We distribute to 300,000, half a million people on daily basis. And they [audiences] kept on wanting more and more and more. So I have been tirelessly looking for content, looking for partnerships to grow our site, and as a result we have achieved about 1,500 aggregators all over the world. My people told me that "they are taking our news, we must charge them." And I said, "no, you don't charge, you complement them. You ask them to take more of your news for free. News are free, give the news. Those people are your agents to spread your gospel. So eventually we had the Chinese second-largest site to join us. We give to China all of the African news. They give to us a lot of Chinese news. (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a).

As regards content, the owner regularly contributed a motivational opinion piece or video clip titled "Ask Kirubi" to the website. He also collaborated on Lifestyle content as shown in the Lifestyle editor's description of her work day, presented earlier in this document.

The incorporation of the web at Capital FM had increased the number of roles within journalistic practice, and expanded or transformed them. Figure 4.20 provides a graphic illustration of the actants engaged in the networked newsroom's journalistic practice at Capital FM.
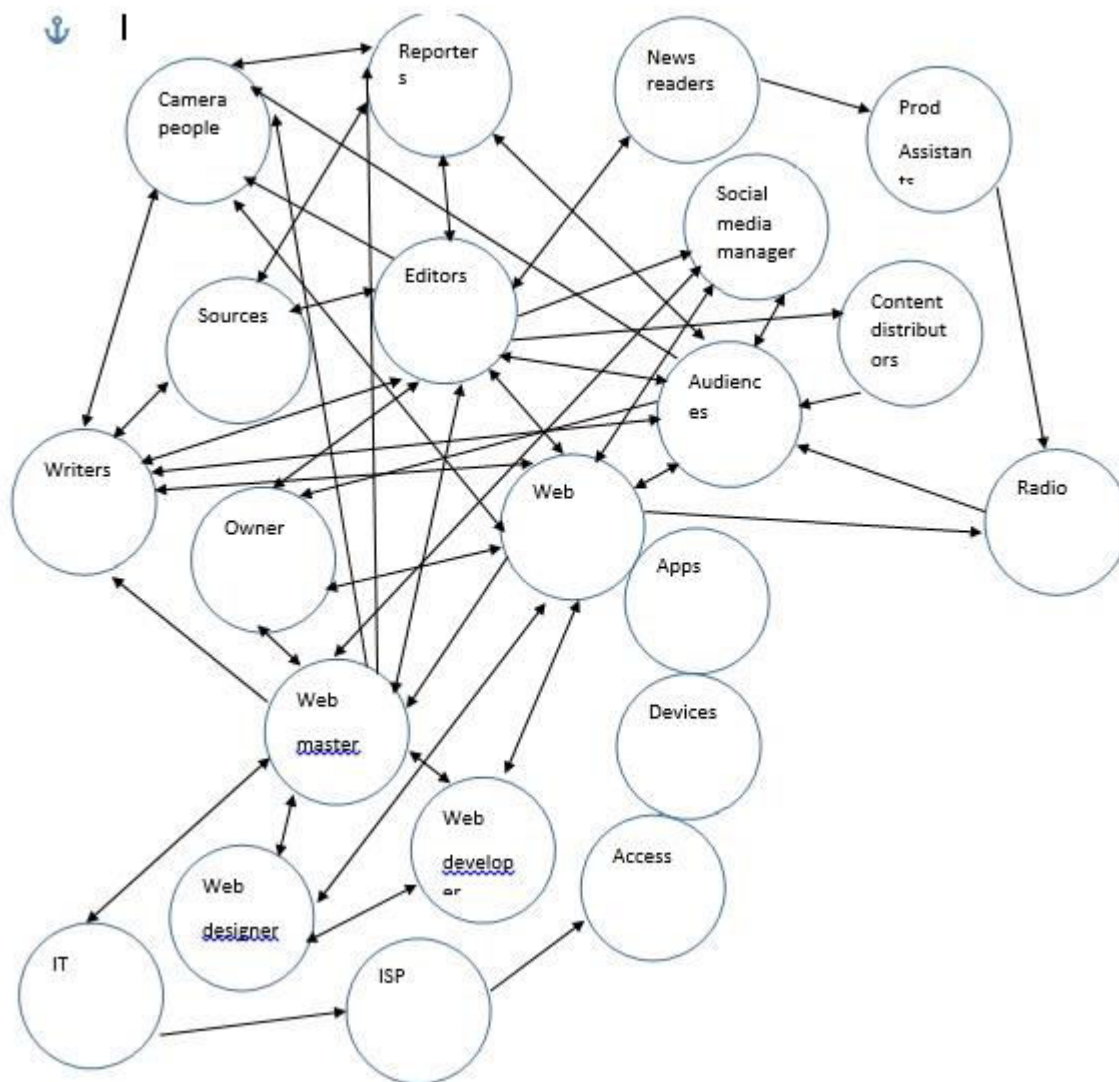
Figure 4.20: Capital FM's Actor-Network of Journalistic Practice

Source: Author (2017)

The actants in the networked newsroom's actor-network had two principal modes of interaction. There was a dialogical interaction where each of the connected actants had agency over the other actant There was also the uni-directional interaction where one actor had agency over the other. This meant that one was an initiator of a transformation or disruption, while the other was the recipient of the agency.

Traditional journalistic practice as described by Gans (2004) tended towards a linear progression starting with sources, as follows:

sources >> reporters >> editors >> audiences.

At Capital FM, the entry of the web in the newsroom meant that both technological and human actants were collaborating in a journalistic practice whose progression was non-linear and multi-directional, a description Beckett (2010) ascribed to networked journalism. The owner played an integral role in enrolling the web as a primary actant in the networked newsroom's actor-network. He made several decisions as follows: he chose to switch from magazines (analogue medium) to the web (digital medium), changed the roles of personnel such as when designers changed from designing a magazine to learning about web design, and hired new personnel including camera people.

Reporters, writers, editors, and newsreaders were actants carried over from the broadcast-only actor-network. They were integral to the generation of news and other content but with some modification of roles. The newsreader had acquired new tasks of uploading international content onto the website, and the writers had become an integral part of Campus and Lifestyle, which were published exclusively online.

Reporters had taken up the distribution of stories through their social media networks and also paid attention to audience feedback and engagement, made available through web metrics. Editors paid greater attention to audience activity - made available through web metrics – in deciding which stories to cover and what angles would resonate more with audiences.

Sources could now be found online, could share information on WhatsApp and other internet-enabled applications such as social media, and social media posts could serve as source material for stories. Web designers and developers played a supporting role in designing and maintaining the

company's website respectively. The web designer and developer roles were also directly attributable to the incorporation of the web in the work of Capital FM.

Audiences were more visible and better defined due to web metrics, and also contributed to the content of the web by posting comments and sharing stories on social media networks. The web had enrolled the webmaster and digital media administrator into the networked newsroo's actor-network. These two roles were involved in story conceptualisation and distribution, which became distinct aspects of journalistic practice.

<div align="center">Summary of Research Question 2</div>

The networked newsroom's actor-network exposed the centrality of particular mediators, and the non-linear, multi-directional nature of the networked newsroom's journalistic practice. The owner, webmaster, audiences and the web joined the editors as primary actants in journalistic practice in the networked newsroom.

The web was a mediator that had enrolled new audiences (in Lifestyle and Campus), enabled new partnerships and sources, and provided a platform for new forms of revenue-generation. Due to a variety of web metrics such as the number of people who read a story on the website or shared it on social media, audiences had become clearly defined and disaggregated by demographic (different sections of the website had different target audiences) and channel (mobile versus website versus radio audiences). Audiences' views and feedback were useful in boosting the journalists" sense of professional self-worth, and also served the function of informing story conceptualisation, development and distribution.

Research Question 3

What were the effects of association among the different actants at Capital FM in the use of the web during journalistic practice?

This study established the following traces of association: effects of labour, controversies, movement of actants, new actants, and spatial location. The last two emerged from the data. From these traces of association, the study established particular effects among actants including: disruptions to routines, norms, definitions, and structures, as well as emerging constructs in journalistic practice. The traces of association and their effects are discussed in the following section.

Efforts of Labour

The personnel at Capital FM engaged in particular practices and generated different texts. These practices and texts were seen to be the efforts of labour among different actants in the course of journalistic practice. Texts included web stories, social media posts, mobile phone alerts, video clips, and company documentation. Practices included routines around information gathering, story development, and packaging; usage of digital tools such as the smartphone and social media; and meetings and brainstorming sessions.

The stories generated in the physical newsroom at Capital FM ran on radio as well as updated the News, Business, and Sports sections of the website. This meant that each reporter generated at least two versions of every story, one for radio and the other for web. Some of those stories ended up as mobile phone alerts. Of the stories published by Capital, most of them followed a typical format of a news story with several sources. The editorial director described how stories were handled in the past and in the present.

> You can do three, four stories from one news event but within an hour, you should have produced all of them. If you"re doing a radio story. Coz when you come back, you know already what it is you want; editing, you know what clips you'd recorded, where they're stored - coz you know, you track-mark your clips and everything. You come back, it's very quick. You can

actually come and finish a day in an hour, for radio, isn't it? So now people had to sit down, listen to what they had, transcribe that, and produce a web story. So people really struggled initially when we started. But slowly, people caught on, and you see when you have new people coming in, they come and they know this is how we do it. You come, you deliver a story for radio, you have to sit down and deliver a story for the website. And slowly, everything is falling into place (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

On July 7, 2016, one reporter described the difference between the radio and web versions of stories. She said that the radio story she was working on was focused on a poll survey and would focus on the 5Ws and H (the letters refer to the six questions that traditional journalism has expected journalists to answer in their stories. The six questions are: What happened? To Whom? Where did it happen? When did it happen? Why did it happen? How did it happen?). The web version of the story took a different approach. The reporter used the word "study" to refer to past and present polls as to the web version of the story.

> When it goes to the web, it has to go deeper … to do a comparative study of what past studies had suggested and probably also go to the streets and see if they [people] agree with this study. (Reporter, Observation notes, July 7, 2016).

The Lifestyle editor also described the content published on her section of the website. She said it needed to be timeless rather than focused on a time-focused 24-hour news cycle. The stories also needed to: be at least 300 words, avoid unnecessary background information, and have key words repeated at least three times. This last characteristic was one way to enhance search engines" ability to quickly retrieve a Capital FM story. This use of tactics to increase the chances of a story being found through a search engine was known as search engine optimisation (SEO).

The descriptions from the Lifestyle editor and newsroom reporter reflected a formulaic approach to story writing in both the physical newsroom and digital space. These descriptions affirmed the mechanical, routinised nature of journalistic labour established by Anderson (2009) in the Philadelphia news ecosystem and some continued homogeneity in news production across different geo-social contexts, even with the entry of digital technologies.

The reporter's reflections however, indicated that working for radio and working for web entailed making decisions about distinct news sources for each of the two platforms and had led to the acquisition of new story packaging skills. The Lifestyle editor – who generated exclusively online content - showed the increased consciousness and visibility of audiences as well as the packaging of content to reach and attract web audiences through the focus on SEO. Personnel in the digital space also engaged in experimenting with new forms. One form that the networked newsroom at the Capital FM adopted was the infographic, which is a graphical illustration of a large amount of information. The Capital FM website frequently published infographics from other sources, such as wire services. But what was new at Capital FM was the development of its own infographics to tell a local news story.

The business editor, in collaboration with members of the digital team, developed an infographic and story to explain the Eurobond, a controversy-laden debt incurred by the Kenyan government. The business editor explained that Capital FM had found out that despite extensive coverage in wide sections of the press about the Eurobond, many of the Kenyans interviewed did not understand what it was. The purpose of the infographic therefore was to simplify a complex story. The web designers created the graphic, while the text was written by the business editor and a member of the business development team who also wrote opinion pieces which were termed "blogs." Publicly available records from government institutions, such as the Central Bank of Kenya, provided the information. The story was published on Jan. 26, 2016 as shown in Figure 4.21.

Figure 4.21: The Eurobond Infographic

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

Figure 4.21 shows part of the Eurobond story, which constituted of: a title rather than full headline (Infographic: Euro bond money trail); a graphic with answers to several questions, and text presented in question and answer format. Audiences showed a liking for this story evidenced by the 590 social media shares it received, mostly on Facebook.

Another new content form was seen in the Lifestyle section which regularly produced video shows broadcast on Capital FM's YouTube channel and embedded on the Capital FM site. The shows covered topics ranging from travel to food. One such show was *Our Two Cents*, a popular travel and lifestyle weekly series co-hosted by the Lifestyle editor and one of the in-house writers. New videos were often produced days before they were publicly viewed. The videos, shot by a cameraman or by the co-hosts, were posted on YouTube and the timing of when they went live was scheduled.

The webmaster explained that he and other members of the digital team spent time developing video content which tended to be short clips targeted at the youth. The youth were seen to have a short

146

attention span and were also known to access web content on their mobile phones. Having short video clips recognised that the user wanted to keep bundle costs low. The webmaster bore a responsibility for maintaining and building audiences.

Social media posts and updates were routinely done by different personnel in the newsroom and digital space. Individual reporters, editors and writers pushed content on their personal social media accounts. Lifestyle and Campus editors, as well as the newsroom's digital media administrator also routinely pushed content from the website on various social media.

The purposes of pushing content were to: extend the story's reach beyond those who read it on the website; grow audiences; improve search engine results for the company's website content; and gain an understanding of their audiences" needs and interests (O. Burrows, personal communication, March 10, 2016).

But the use of social media and size of audiences on personal social media accounts had also proved to be a source of professional pride and self-identity as an individual journalistic brand. The Lifestyle editor referred to her own professional satisfaction when she explained that several months prior to the Aug. 8, 2016 observation of her at work, her personal Twitter account received a blue badge (). The blue badge on Twitter "lets people know that an account of public interest is authentic" (Twitter, n.d.). The badge was assigned by Twitter and was a prized achievement among social network users (Lifestyle editor's interview, Aug. 8, 2016).

Practices observed in the newsroom and digital space constituted other efforts of labour. One practice was the routine development of multiple stories and angles from a single source, such as a press release, report, or event. The July 7, 2016 production of six stories from an opinion poll was one illustration of this practice.

147

The web story as text required reporters, editors and writers to adapt to using new technologies, develop multiple skills for story development on different platforms, and multi-task. The development of two versions for each story – one for web and one for radio – was routinised so that when the company hired new journalists, they were oriented into immediately developing two versions of each story, as was observed by the Editorial Director.

> People really struggled initially when we started. Okay? But slowly, people caught on, and you see when you have new people coming in, they come and they know this is how we do it. You come, you deliver a story for radio, you have to sit down and deliver a story for the website. And people are slowly, it's slowly, everything is falling into place (Editorial director interview, Aug, 30, 2016).

With the August 2017 general election, the editorial director said there would be a need to have reporters who could write web stories, produce audio for radio stories, as well as shoot video. These required different technical abilities which in turn reflected the greater need for multi-skilling among reporters (Editorial director interview, 2016).

Voluminous amounts of fresh content were also seen in the frequent updating of the site with wire service content, which meant a large bulk of stories on the site were repurposed from other sources, rather than original content. The separation of content led to the development of multiple stories, each of which would be published on its own page. The number of visits to each page could be added up so that the total number of page views were reported to advertisers to show the size of audience.

Conversely, the separation of content enabled audiences to choose what content they wanted to read. This gave the audiences the choice of what content to consume, and when. This was the concept of on-demand content, to which the head of IT referred. "You don't tell me what is news. I [as the audience] decide for myself" (Head of IT interview, Aug. 1, 2016). The former digital editor explained the on-demand concept further.

> What happened online is that we're putting stories individually…So you [audience] choose what you want to consume. So it's online, it means that you"re reading on-demand. The difference

between that and what we're putting out on air is that if I decide that the [then US presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton] story is story number 4, you"ll have to listen to story 1,2, 3, for you to get to 4. Online, you"ll go straight to 4 and you"ll move on. That's the future, on-demand. (Former digital editor interview, Sept. 19, 2016).

The smartphone and WhatsApp – which started as a mobile phone application but had also become available on the web – were important tools for all human actants in the actor-network. Both the device and application were a means to quickly share textual, audio and visual information, and had catalysed the development of particular forms of content, such as short news and feature videos. The length of video was dependent on the pervasive use of mobile phone bundles among audiences in accessing web-based content. WhatsApp also served as a forum where reporters, writers and editors could exchange information, story ideas, and complete stories without having to meet face-to-face.

On July 6, 2016, one reporter described how WhatsApp enabled him to quickly send photos, videos, and news scripts for radio and web to the newsroom while he was in the field. WhatsApp also allowed reporters to put a watermark on a photo and post it on social media, giving greater copyright control over the image. He said previously when posting a photo on Twitter, the reporter would hope no one would use it but had no way of copyrighting it. He said WhatsApp had also eased the getting of information from sources and handling breaking news. This is because the reporter could quickly get different types of information from sources, download the information, and quickly send it in to the newsroom WhatsApp group where anyone can use it.

The different texts and practices demonstrated the emergence of new content forms, the routinisation of new practices, new skills for journalists, the emphasis on speed in journalism online, the growing visibility of audiences to the networked newsroom, and the extension of the concept of journalistic practice to include story conceptualisation and story distribution by new actants such as the webmaster and digital media administrator.

Controversies

Dictionary definitions of the word "controversy" describe it as a discussion marked by

expression of opposing views (Controversy, n.d.), or "discussion or argument about something, often

involving strong feelings of anger or disapproval" (Collins Dictionary, n.d.). Actor-network theory

defines a controversy as "situations where actors disagree… controversies begin when actors discover

that they cannot ignore each other and controversies end when actors manage to work out a solid

compromise to live together. Anything between these two extremes can be called a controversy"

(Venturini, 2010, p. 261).

At Capital FM, several interviewees referred to opposing views concerning the introduction and

implementation of digital technologies in company operations, and definitions of news. An initial

controversy was when the owner directed the web designers in late 2006 to stop designing a magazine,

and teach themselves how to do web design through online tutorials. As they taught themselves, the

owner also spent time with them offering his own design ideas. There was some resistance at the

beginning as a former designer said in the excerpt below.

> We"d laugh at it when he"d leave the office. Coz he"d come and tell us, I want you guys to put a
> red border around the website. And he kept saying that he's a better designer than we are. You
> guys are just good at designing because you know the software, but I'm a designer in terms of
> thinking. And we"d laugh about it, we"d tell him the way his ideas are a bit abstract. Of course
> there were some that were very abstract, but I guess 90 percent of them were actually very
> practical, very futuristic, and needed by the public. (Former designer interview, Feb. 14, 2017).

Another controversy was when the owner told reporters to develop web stories alongside the

radio versions of their stories. One associate editor estimated that this took place following Kenya's

post--election violence of 2007/2008, as audiences sought information online about the post-poll chaos.

The associate editor recalled that the owner required the reporters to begin writing web versions of their

radio stories.

This directive initially met with resistance from reporters, who were used to producing 4 lines of content and a 20-second audio clip per story. The webmaster also remembered the challenges faced by the newsroom, saying there was "a lot of backlash from reporters" who felt they were doing too much work. But the owner heard about the resistance, and he declared that the reporters would have to comply. "When it struck Kirubi, he said "We have to do this" (Webmaster observation, June 6, 2016).

The associate editor said that when reporters were initially required to write stories for the web, one story would take her three hours to write. She had since adjusted, and during the period of observation, could write one in 10 minutes. The reporters were used to strict timelines for radio but found there was a flexibility in writing for web since stories could be published at any time. The reporters and editors were also trained to quickly know the angle of their story before they set out to do it, to increase the speed with which the story was produced (Associate editor 1, Observation notes, July 15, 2016).

But web stories needed to be at least 100 words, a limit that had since been raised to 300 words. Later, the owner would say he wanted pictures on the website which meant that reporters could use their phones to develop a story using a phone which could record audio and video. In 2016, the development of web and radio versions of stories was routinised practice to which new hires were quickly expected to conform.

A more recent controversy concerned the divergent views on what constituted news. There were those who viewed journalism as a shaper of public opinion and national agenda. There was another view of news as elitist content focused on meeting audience interests and needs. The views of an associate editor and news editor on one hand, and the webmaster on the other served to illustrate the difference.

On July 15, 2016, one associate editor said that giving information to the public was part of the role of journalism but added that journalists could also aim to shape the national debate or agenda, and

provide more analytical and explanatory information to each story. She recalled covering a story focused on the Kenyan government's burning of ivory earlier that year. She said that while many of the news media's had focused on the burning of the ivory, she had chosen to write a feature on wildlife conservation, as she preferred to write a story that raised "attention and creates debates. If I don't see why I'm doing a story, I won't do it or it won't have my byline" (Associate Editor, Interview, July 15, 2016).

The news editor described the news media as "opinion shapers," who presented a public agenda revolving around the items covered. On July 7, 2016 for example, he spoke of the importance of two world leaders" visits to Kenya. One visit by the Israeli prime minister had just ended while that of the Indian prime minister was about to take place. The editor said that Capital FM would emphasise these visits given the magnitude of the visits. "In the next three or four days, before [Indian Prime Minister] Modi comes, we"ve told our readers, reporters, editors, we're going to focus on this" (News editor interview, July 7, 2016).

However, the webmaster described the news currently presented as being focused on the political elite whose activities, rather than newsroom judgment, decided what stories got coverage. The webmaster had been enrolled into the role of story conceptualisation in journalistic practice, ascribing him with an influence over the types of content published on the website and social media channels.

The webmaster said the decision as to what constituted "news" should be determined by the journalists, not the political elite, and added that stories should focus instead on what audiences needed to know, on "information that is of value to my daily life" (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016). The webmaster gave an example of a reporter who had written about an issue she was passionate about, but which would interest only a small, niche audience, and would not necessarily be shared by those audiences on their social media networks. The webmaster's view was that the news media served as a

liaison between the people and the leaders, and the news media's aim was to communicate the needs of the audience members clearly. "Us here in between need to see the needs of the people even as we talk to the leaders" (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016).

The webmaster also observed that the stories that received the largest number of page views tended to be human-interest features, rather than routine news stories. He said however, that to avoid creating conflict with the physical newsroom editors, he preferred to behave like an "activist" (his term), to gradually persuade a change in thinking about news content in the physical newsroom (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016). Newsroom and digital personnel therefore had differing views of the notion of news, the former often subscribing to more traditional norms of news media bearing a social responsibility, public watchdog role. The digital personnel had a more informal, audience-focused view of the content they produced for the site.

The packaging and distribution of stories on social media was also distinguished from publishing a story to the web. Capital FM had therefore incorporated two new stages - story conceptualisation and story distribution - as distinct aspects of its journalistic practice, alongside information gathering, story development, and story packaging.

Another controversy that emerged was the understanding different personnel had of the web. Staffers in the digital space viewed the web as a unique medium, and were experimenting with the web's visual capabilities – such as by developing video series – and incorporating them into stories (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016). The Campus editor said that she had developed a concept of interviewing celebrities and posting the content in short video clips that would appeal to the Campus" youthful audience. She had done two such interviews by the time of the interview and was hoping to do more (Campus editor interview, July 11, 2016).

Staffers in the physical newsroom viewed the website as bearing similarities with a print publication. The sports editor described the website as more like print, just faster (Observation notes, Aug. 19, 2016). Descriptions by several newsroom staffers about early training on how to use the web mentioned print media journalists as the training instructors (Observation notes, 2016). This view was reinforced in the comments below from the sports editor and news editor.

"[The web] is a version of the newspaper. *Ni sababu tu iko online* (It is only that it [the version of the newspaper] is online)" (Sports editor, Aug. 30, 2016).

"There's a popular belief that newspapers are dying. To us, we look at [the website] as our online newspaper" (News editor interview, July 7, 2016).

This view of the web as a print medium was reinforced by newsroom practices which included the tendency of reporters and editors to publish a completed story as text with an accompanying photo.

Content from the digital space included routine stories and innovations, such as the EuroBond infographic and video series. There was a greater interest in experimentation in the digital space, such as when the Campus editor chose to shoot interview videos as a new form of content for her section of the website. This decision was informed by her interest in having a greater variety of content beyond news stories and motivational articles, and in attracting young audiences. All the experimentation observed at Capital FM, such as with different forms of content, took place in the digital space.

Content from the physical newsroom tended to be imitative, rather than innovative, and was organised such that photographs accompanied every story. There were occasions however when a video would be embedded in a news story. But news videos mostly tended to be posted on the Capital TV section of the site. The physical newsroom had therefore retained a view of the web as a medium that enabled traditional channels of news, namely television and print.

Another controversy was the perception of user-generated content on the Capital FM website. Several scholars addressed user-generated content and the changing role of audience from passive consumer to active producer of news content (Mabweazara, 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013). Big media outlets such as the *British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC), *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Guardian* were using Chat applications, and Ciobanu (2015) discussed whether these applications – such as Viber, WhatsApp, SnapChat, and line – were used more in distributing content or crowdsourcing.

However, at Capital FM, user-generated content was minimal. The newsroom saw its audiences as consumers, rather than fellow producers, of news. Newsroom personnel were conscious of audience feedback and engagement on social media, and could follow up on tips or suggestions seen in the "comments" section of a story, or from emails or other feedback. The webmaster was tasked with actively monitoring audience feedback and activity. However, there was no use or encouragement of content or stories generated by audiences.

During the period of observation, the editorial director mentioned ongoing newsroom discussions that were focused on encouraging audiences to send in user-generated content on WhatsApp during the 2017 general election. However, he added that the newsroom tended to pay close scrutiny to content that came from outside the newsroom. This was because the content would need verification and confirmation of its accuracy (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The credibility of sections of Kenya's media had been raised in the past. Makali (1998), as cited in Nyamnjoh (2005), described a situation where editors and media proprietors in the Kenyan press would kill stories in exchange for bribes, sell entire print runs to those exposed in nefarious activities, and allow the intimidation and name-tarnishing of politicians and other leaders by their rivals. Social media was also seen as a new frontier for hacks-for-hire who could malign reputations and spread unsubstantiated or false information (Kimani, 2015).

Because of this historical misuse of sections of the media to spread misinformation or rumours, the editorial director expressed a wariness about publishing potentially untrustworthy stories from audiences and the negative effect this would have on Capital FM's reputation. Trust therefore emerged as an important concept in decision-making in the newsroom, reflected in the editorial director's more guarded view of using audience-generated content – also referred to as user-generated content (UGC) - compared to that expressed in scholarly literature on other newsrooms (Mudhai, 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; Paterson, 2013; Sambuli, 2015; Siapera & Veglis, 2012).

There was an initial resistance among newsroom and digital personnel in adopting digital technologies in journalistic practice. But that resistance was overcome over time and with the owner's insistence, resulting in the routinisation of practices such as having multiple versions of every story, and segmenting story angles, rather than having multiple angles to a news story. The controversies and their resolution showed the resistance that arises when actants were being enrolled into an actor-network, and how their full entry into the actor-network revealed the power of the actant that is enrolling them.

<div align="center">Movement among Actants</div>

The movement among actants was seen in certain personnel crossing over between digital space and the newsroom, or in developing editorial as well as paid-for content. The movement of content among actants also fell within this section.

The crossing over between departments and spaces was a practice encouraged within the company. Many staffers who had a designated job title frequently also did other work such as the sports news reader and cameraman who also contributed to the Lifestyle section. The sports editor and the radio's digital media administrator also produced and co-hosted a radio show. The business editor formerly held the roles of Campus editor and contributor of promotional content developed by the business developers in the digital space.

There was also a blurring of roles between content production and revenue generation. The editorial director said that unlike his peers in other newsrooms, he was required to engage in revenue generation alongside editorial oversight.

> I'm supposed to oversee the editorial output of Capital FM, the equivalent of an editor-in-chief. But like I'm saying in this aspect, a bit different. Because you"re expected to take the business to a new level. So I'd be involved in making decisions that are supposed to make the company money. But I'm supposed to be involved in making decisions that place us at the top of the news cycle, managing people. So it's a mixture because I have people who work under me and I'm supposed to ensure if I lose somebody, I look for someone who I"d want to work in my department…. It's a complex role… I'm required to look for business opportunities. Since I interact with people who are either in the business world or in government, I see an opportunity and I'm supposed to maybe pitch for business. (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The Campus and Lifestyle editors engaged in generating and editing editorial content, as well as in revenue-generation. On one occasion while describing her role, the Lifestyle editor said she was a product developer in Capital FM's digital division, whose typical day comprises of creating content for the Lifestyle section of the website, making proposals that pitched Capital Lifestyle to potential advertisers, and spending time on social media promoting content. On Aug. 8, 2016 for example, the Lifestyle editor was going to accompany a salesperson to meet with a client. The editor had spent the earlier part of the morning updating her section of the Capital FM website. In meeting with clients, she tended to promote the Lifestyle website, or show the value the site would be to the client as an advertising or promotional space (Observation notes, Aug. 8, 2016).

The use of digital technology had therefore caused a blurring of lines between the editorial and business aspects of news media. In Capital FM's networked newsroom, there were similarities with the traditional business model where the content was used to attract audiences, whose numbers were then used to set advertising rates. However at Capital FM, the content generators – such as the Lifestyle editor and editorial director – were more involved in revenue generation in the networked newsroom as

compared to their counterparts in traditional newsrooms. In the digital space, there was an even greater

blurring of lines between editorial and revenue-generating activities.

One staffer in business development – hired to develop revenue-generating packages online with

and for clients – contributed to conceptualisations of digital content on Campus, and wrote opinion

pieces (termed blogs) for the site. The Campus editor also ran clients" social media accounts, a paid-for

service. So the demarcation of editorial and business personnel, more strictly observed in traditional

newsrooms, was blurred at Capital FM.

Another manifestation of movement was the pushing of content from the website on social media

platforms. The digital media administrators engaged in moving content beyond the website platform to

reach new audiences on Facebook, Twitter, and Google Plus.

The promotion of stories on social media occurred throughout the 24 hours in a day. For

example, on July 6, 2016, 88 tweets were posted on the Capital FM official Twitter account between

midnight and noon. Of those, 79 were posted between 7 a.m. and noon with the rest going live between

midnight and 7 a.m. The tweets were largely highlights and links to news as well as retweets. Most

tweets were on local news, though there were also links to international news, business news, sports, and

retweets (Observation notes, July 6, 2016). The digital media administrator frequently used TweetDeck,

a web-based application that allows a user to open multiple Twitter accounts, and to schedule when

tweets will go live. Social media information counteed among the data that Capital FM provided to

advertisers. Figure 4.22 shows the July 2015 social media statistics (also known as metrics) that the

company presented to clients and potential advertisers.
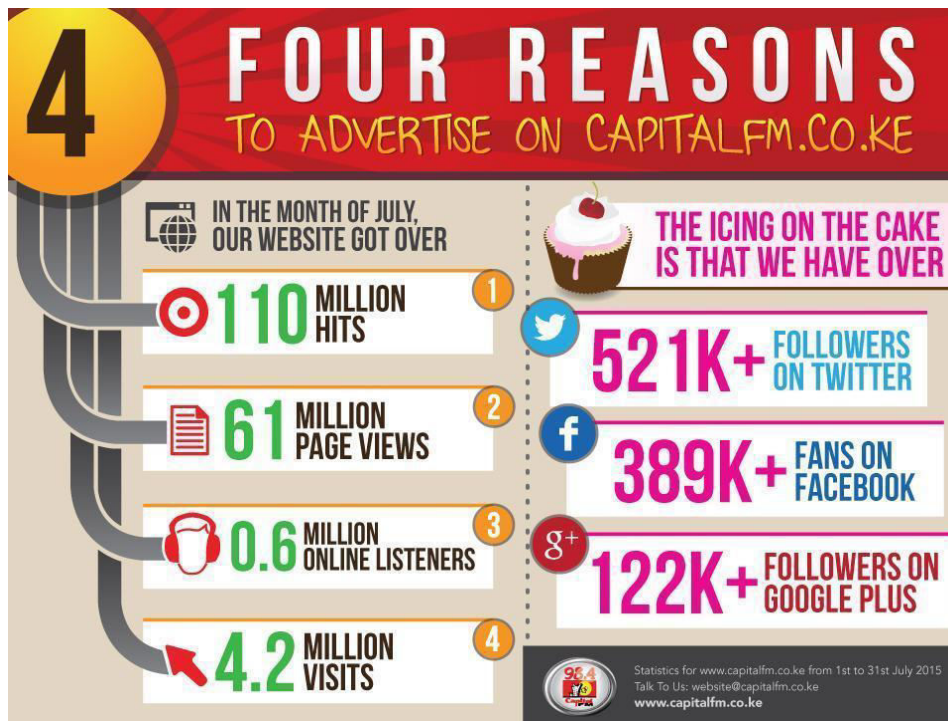
Figure 4.22: Capital FM's July 2015 Web Metrics

Source: Webmaster, personal communication, September 6, 2016

The movement of content among actants was also seen in the automation of certain aspects of work. These included the pulling of AFP stories from the wire service's website into WordPress, and in the scheduling of social media posts. The outcome of automation was that it enabled speed in working, as well as the continuous updating of website and social media accounts. The digital media administrator could quickly schedule the promotion of all content generated on the website and push it to new spaces in the form of the company's official social media accounts. The stories that drew audience engagement on social media – such as retweets and likes of stories – moved to even wider networks than those originally targeted on the website.

The newsroom's insistence on controlling which stories from AFP got published on the Capital FM site was a human intervention in an automated process. The editors had access to AFP content pulled automatically from the wire service's website to the WordPress CMS. Previously, editors would

login to the AFP website, look for and select the stories they wanted, then publish them to web after

minor editing to fit house style. The automation of story selection into WordPress had reduced the

number of stages a wire story goes through on the Capital FM website, enabling the editors to quickly

select which AFP stories to publish.

Automation enabled Capital FM, which was a relatively small news media company, to

constantly update its website and social media accounts with large volumes of fresh content. The bulk of

this content came from external sites. In a 2013 interview, the owner explained the thinking behind

having a lot of content from external sites.

> We distribute [website content] to 300,000, half a million people on daily basis. And they
> [audiences] kept on wanting more and more and more. So I have been tirelessly looking for
> content, looking for partnerships to grow our site, and as a result we have achieved about 1,500
> aggregators all over the world. (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a).

<center>New Roles</center>

The camera people, digital media administrator, and lifestyle and campus writers, were relatively

new roles existing solely because of the web as a news platform. Revenue demands led to an organic

evolution of roles where the lifestyle and campus personnel produced not only produce editorial content

such as news and features, but they also engaged in promotional, revenue-generating content. The

introduction of the camera person role was linked to the owner's original idea to run a television station

(Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

While this had yet to happen during the period of observation because of the high capital

investment costs, the web had become a substitute television station where news, feature, and

promotional videos were broadcast on YouTube and embedded on the Capital FM website. An evening

video news bulletin rounding up the day's news had been introduced prior to the period of observation

but was not getting many audience views.

<center>160</center>

Additionally, one of the associate editors was tasked with producing the bulletin in addition to her other regular reporting assignments. The additional workload meant that the production of the bulletin was not consistently done. The owner had initially proposed a 30-minute bulletin, similar to that aired on television stations. That idea was found moot as web audiences were not expected to watch 30 minutes worth of content, neither would it have worked with the mobile phone bundling that audiences require to access the internet.

The webmaster and other personnel had been engaged in reviewing the concept of the TV news bulletin concept. During the period of observation, the webmaster mentioned the possibility of using Facebook Live in the new-look bulletin. Facebook Live is a new feature on the social media application that allowed users to livestream an event. The idea was still under consideration during the time of observation (Observation notes, Sept. 9, 2016).

The various new roles had led to changes in how stories were conceptualised and by whom. These roles also revealed the new ways in which audiences were sought for and incorporated in extending the stories" distribution, and showed that the traditional separation of business and editorial personnel had been blurred.

<div align="center">Spatial Location</div>

The locations of the digital space and newsroom were another trace of association among actants. Digital space staffers sat in an open space located at the centre of all departments, a symbolic expression of how important digital technology was to the company. The owner decided on that spatial location (Webmaster interview, 2016). The newsroom was an enclosed space within the same floor in which digital and other departments worked. It had two entry points, one that provided direct access from the reception area, and another that required walking through the other departments. Prior to the period of observation, newsroom staffers had been told to avoid using the first entry to ensure they

<div align="center">161</div>

interacted with their colleagues from other departments. This is because it was easy for newsroom personnel to isolate themselves from their other colleagues by using the other entry way (Camera person 1 interview, June 27, 2016).

The working atmospheres in the digital space and newsroom differed, the former being informal and relaxed while the latter was hierarchical and more formal. In the company overall, there was a hierarchical structure where the group managing director oversaw several line managers who in turn were responsible for departments each staffed by a team of personnel. But the overall company atmosphere was free and informal. The group managing director had an open-door policy and the owner wandered around every so often and discussed aspects of work with different personnel.

The digital space retained the adhocratic approach evident in much of the company operations. Editors and writers in Campus and Lifestyle tended to have informal interactions amongst one another, with no limitations on who could publish to the web, and constant interaction with technical personnel such as the web designers and developers. On one occasion, the owner was walking around the company and the Lifestyle editor casually referred to him by his initials CK. He was also known as DJ CK, a moniker he adopted for his occasional stints as co-host of the radio show *The Fuse*.

The newsroom on the other hand was hierarchical with strict gate-keeping protocols. All newsroom content for web was reviewed by an editor who published it to the web for audience consumption. The three news editors sat in a corner of the newsroom space, and their interactions with the rest of the newsroom were fewer and more formal than those that took place among similar roles in the digital space. Newsroom meetings, when they took place, were called by an editor. The meeting I observed was a short business-like run-through of reporters" stories, combined with an editor's direction on the angles the stories were to take, as well as the handling of logistical matters.

The informal, relaxed atmosphere of the digital space contrasted with the more formal hierarchy of the newsroom. This was a reflection of adhocratic and hierarchical cultures respectively, which were two distinct organisational cultures described in scholarship (Naranjo-Valencia, Jiménez-Jiménez, & Sanz-Valle, 2011). Adhocratic cultures have limited bureaucratic structures and tend to be informal, while hierarchical cultures are structured and more controlled.

Literature reviewed had established that innovation was more likely to occur in adhocratic cultures while hierarchical cultures tended to encourage more imitation (Naranjo-Valencia et al., 2011). The networked newsroom at Capital FM exhibited a hierarchical structure in the editor and reporter/writer roles who all participated in the generation of content in routinized, imitative processes. For example, both the Lifestyle and news editors spent large amounts of their time looking for content online, editing it to suit house style, and posting it online. The physical newsroom also tended to produce more formulaic content including web and radio stories. But the digital space was a place which encouraged experimentation and the trying of new concepts. The use of the infographic to explain the Eurobond scandal, and the plethora of new content ideas among digital staffers emerged in the adhocratic culture of the digital space. The nature of a working atmosphere that encouraged experimentation and creativity was captured in this edited excerpt of an interview with the lead developer.

> We"ve been given a free hand. Like we own this thing [the company]. You"re hungry for it to grow and you"ve been given the mandate and the authority to run with it. And no one is stopping you really from trying out [an idea]. If it fails, okay, well and good. If it works, good stuff. (Lead developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

Summary of Research Question 3

The interactions among actants had led to efforts of labour, controversies, movement among actants, new roles, and spatial locations that had transformed the pre-web newsroom at Capital FM into a networked newsroom. In the networked newsroom, the construct of "news" was not fixed and stable.

163

News was variously described as a product, a service, and an inspiration alongside other forms such as features and promotional content.

The focus on revenue generation in the commercial networked newsroom had also meant a blurring of roles so that editorial personnel – such as the Lifestyle and Campus editors – not only posted features on their site, but also engaged in pitching of products to clients and promoting client services and products.

Who defined news and how they defined it had expanded beyond the newsroom to include new actants, such as the webmaster whose involvement came from his evaluation of audience interaction with content. Journalists had also acquired new practices such as writing multiple versions of one story, having one angle to each story, and pushing content on their own social networks. They were required to be multi-skilled in developing content for both radio and web. Multi-tasking was a routinised approach to journalistic practice with all human actants observed constantly switching between tasks and web applications. Innovation also tended to take place in the digital space, rather than in the newsroom, a situation facilitated by the adhocratic, hierarchy-free structure within the digital space.

User-generated content had not been incorporated into the networked newsroom. This was deliberate, and as the editorial director explained, was a decision informed by practices within the wider Kenyan media landscape where misinformation, rumour, and other negative practices had been observed in the mainstream press (Makali, 1998; as cited in Nyamnjoh, 2005) leading to a mistrust of unverified audience-generated information.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

This chapter described the case study, presented the data by research question, and used concepts from actor-network theory to provide a theoretical analysis of the data. The next chapter engages in a

<div align="center">164</div>

thematic analysis and interpretation of the data, and posits a conceptual model of journalistic practice in

the Kenyan commercial networked newsroom.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEMATIC ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This chapter engages in a thematic analysis and interpretation of the findings from the four data collection tools used to investigate the use of the web in Capital FM's journalism practice. The themes emerged through an inductive, iterative process, and were further divided into sub-themes.

Thematic Analysis and Interpretation

Law (2009) said that actor-network theory bases itself on empirical case studies and is focused on the assembling of relations among social, material, and conceptual entities. Tracing the heterogeneous materials and social practices that make up a web of relations can then reveal a process. "It is these [materials and practices] that are performatives that generate realities" (Law, 2009, p. 151).

To establish the actants engaged in journalistic practice at Capital FM, I observed the physical space in which journalistic work was produced, listened to radio news bulletins and other programming, went through the website and company social media accounts, conducted interviews with a cross-section of present and former staffers, and reviewed textual and video documentation about the company.

I used a theoretical analysis to present data answering the research questions, as seen in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I applied a thematic analysis to more deeply interrogate the data. From this I established that the actants and their interactions revealed that journalistic practice was a performance enacted by the technological and human actants that emerged in the data collection process. Data analysis revealed that with the integration of the web in journalistic practice, Capital FM's pre-web journalistic practice experienced transformation and became networked journalism, with an increased number of actants contributing to journalistic practice.

166

Actor-networks are not perceived as having gained or reduced in size, but instead are seen to lengthen and increase in the intensity or number of connections (Latour, 1996). In comparison to the pre-web newsroom, the networked newsroom at Capital FM had expanded to include more actants with a greater range of connections. The central roles played by both human and technological actants were acknowledged in actor-network theory whereas previous accounts of actants in a newsroom were restricted to human actants (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978).

The actants engaged in journalistic practice in 2016 at Capital FM had increased from the original seven to 21. There were two principal flows of translation among the actants. One was dialogical where each of the connected actants had agency over the other actant. The other was uni-directional, where one actant had agency over the other, meaning one was an initiator of a transformation or disruption, while the other was the recipient of the agency. An analysis of the data revealed the emergence of five thematic categories as follows: infrastructure, revenue, content, key decision makers and organisational culture. These themes and their sub-themes are described in the following section.

Infrastructure

Capital FM placed an emphasis on ensuring the availability and stability of the web infrastructure. There were three sub-themes that emerged under the theme of infrastructure, namely: investment in technologies, resource allocation, and smartphone use.

Investment in technology

From its early years, Capital FM invested in different types of technology. The company launched its website in 1997, and outsourced site design and programming services. Kaberia (2014) said that the company had once owned a paging company – Capital Real Times – and described reporters

using walkie talkies and pagers to interact with the newsroom while out in the field. This was before

mobile phones became widely accessible. She quoted former reporter Robin Njogu as saying:

> The message would be sent on the pager then the reporter would go to a telephone booth and call back through the operator to respond… We loved the pager a lot. When we went out there, we were the only ones with it and everybody looked at us and [thought] that we were working for an international media house. It made us feel very nice working for Capital FM. (Kaberia, 2014).

A former sports reporter now working in radio production at the company recalled using a mini

disc recorder when he covered stories in the early 2000s. The recorder had a port that allowed the

reporter to plug in an external microphone and to hear the clip on earphones. The recorder had a disc on

which stories and interviews could be recorded but would then be erased to create space for other

stories. The reporters had previously used a DAT machine, which was a bulky piece of equipment that

used tape. These were eventually phased out in favour of the mini disc recorders. With either piece of

equipment, reporters would record then return to the office to download the audio and develop their

stories. For each story, the reporter produced four lines of content and a 20-second clip (Reporter 3

interview, 2016). In early 2016, the company purchased new digital audio recorders for the reporters.

Other technologies that Capital FM had invested in included LiveU, a portable live-streaming

device that allowed a Capital FM staffer to cover a live event and send it to the website in real time.

Each camera person also received a kit comprised of a professional digital video camera, tripod, and

digital still camera.

The Information Technology department also sourced the internet service providers that

provided internet access for the company, outsourced webhosting services and the livestreaming of

audio and video content on the website, provided technical support for staffers, and implemented

organisational policy concerning internet usage (Head of IT interview, Aug. 1, 2016).

One illustration of the handling of organisational policy around internet usage emerged when the

head of IT explained that spending time on social media sites used to be considered non-productive

work in the company. Sites such as Facebook were blocked and employees could not access them. But

eventually company leadership changed their stance after opening an official Facebook page and

requiring employees to like it, then realizing that the employees would need access to the sites.

> There was just a stand that people don't go to social media… It used to be strictly the tools of the trade and the computer. But now with digital, you can't block [social media]… We look at trends. We said, "the stage we're in, we are where people use a lot of social media. (Head of IT interview, Aug. 1, 2016).

Capital FM's web content was stored on servers provided by web hosting companies located in the

West. The web hosting companies, which were changed often to accommodate the continual

enlargement of the site, also enabled the storage of content in servers located around the world. The

content was sent to the servers via a content distribution network, as explained by the lead developer in

this interview excerpt.

> Since 2012, or before that, we"ve been moving servers every year as the site grows. [web hosting companies in Kenya] are there. But you don't want to risk any downtime. And of course here, it would be quite expensive. We host in Canada. We had States, then we came to Britain, then Britain again, now we're in Canada… We have something called a CDN, content distribution network. Once a story has been published, it is cached at various locations. If you"re in South Africa, there's a version that will come from maybe [Johannesburg]. If you"re in Britain, there's a server somewhere in Germany. [laughs]. If you"re in China, there's a server somewhere in Singapore. It's the hosting company which does that [the caching]. (Lead developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

Using web hosting companies based abroad was also a way to reduce costs since those services

would be more expensive in Kenya. Other ways in which the company reduced its infrastructural costs

was by using open-source web tools such as the free version of WordPress. There was a premium

version available for a fee, but Capital FM had found the free version provided for what it needed (Lead

developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

The head of IT who oversaw the web's infrastructural support and maintenance said that he made

the effort to look for the best vendor or resource at the optimum cost. "I don't want to spend a lot of

money" (Head of IT interview, Aug.1, 2016).

The choice of a commercial radio station to consistently invest in technologies was buttressed by a larger regulator environment whose policy priorities included the provision of an internet infrastructure nationwide (Ndemo, 2017). Additionally, it mimicked situations in Malawi and Zimbabwe where the commercial news media consistently purchased and deployed digital technologies (Mabweazara, 2014; Moyo, 2014).

The thrifty investment in digital technologies served the varying interests of the networked newsroom, the owner and the senior management. Journalists were enabled to work efficiently and share content quickly, while producing multiple forms of content for radio, web, and mobile platforms. This increased productivity among the journalists was useful for the owner and management in terms of managing costs as well as growing audiences and revenue, without increasing human labour costs. This was also noted by Moyo (2014) in a study of a commercial radio station in Malawi. The investment in and deployment of digital technologies therefore was a foundational indicator of the needs of capitalist production and the uneven power dynamics between management and owners on one hand, and journalists on the other.

Resource allocation

In the newsroom and digital space, every staff member had an internet-enabled desktop computer or laptop at their sitting area. Every month, the company paid for 15 MB of data for use within the company. The newsroom received the largest allocation of the 15 MB because it was considered a heavy user. Newsroom personnel routinely used the internet for tasks such as uploading and downloading photo, video, and textual content. The digital department was second in the amount of MB allocated by department.

The company also paid for home internet access for select senior personnel, including all editors and the webmaster. Additionally, networked newsroom staffers received a monthly mobile phone bundle allowance, ensuring that each staffer had unrestricted access to the web and its applications.

The availability of resources for each member of Capital FM's networked newsroom contrasted with other scenarios. Hlatshwayo (2005) and Nyamnjoh (2005), as cited in Mabweazara (2010), noted the scarcity of resources available to journalists in African newsrooms. These studies noted that internet access was limited to a few computer terminals in newsrooms meaning journalists had to take turns to access the web. Apart from senior journalists, most reporters in the studies cited by Mabweazara (2010) did not receive mobile phone credit subsidies when they used their personal phones for professional purposes. These limitations reinforced an observation by Dutton (1996), as cited in Mabweazara (2010), that new technologies "tend to be implemented in ways that follow and reinforce prevailing structures of power and influence within organisations" (Mabweazara, 2010, p. 29).

Paterson (2013) observed that on the African continent, it was the urban middle class who could afford consistent internet access. Capital FM's target audience was urban and wealthy, and even the younger audiences that the company targeted were described within the company as "aspirational" with the potential to be wealthy in future (Traffic Manager interview, July 20, 2016). Capital FM was also one among commercial news media companies described in contemporary Kenyan journalism literature as relatively affluent and able to invest in various technologies (Mudhai, 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013).

At Capital FM, there was an egalitarian treatment of all staffers in ensuring that each one had the infrastructural support they needed to undertake their job responsibilities. The provision of extra perks for senior staffers – such as home internet access for editors and the webmaster – revealed the

hierarchical nature of structures of power but additionally exposed the additional responsibilities placed

on senior staff to pay attention to the website and keep it constantly updated.

The provision of infrastructure at Capital FM demonstrated some flattening of hierarchical

structures in a commercial media house's networked newsroom where the key resource of infrastructure

was shared relatively equally among members. Extra access provided to senior personnel meant more

responsibility in ensuring the site's continual updating.

Smartphone use

Apart from the company-supported infrastructure, Capital FM staffers in the networked

newsroom also made use of their personal phones for work activities such as sending in stories from the

field on WhatsApp or personal email accounts. I observed that all networked newsroom staffers had

smartphones, which are internet-enabled mobile devices. The webmaster also had two smartphones and

a basic feature phone, all company issue, to keep track of how audiences saw the content from Capital

FM on their mobile phones. Additionally, audiences were also increasingly using their smartphones to

get to the Capital FM website, and required mobile phone bundles for internet access (Webmaster

observation, June 6, 2016).

The smartphone was described as a "general-purpose computer that can access the internet, run

local programs, serve as a remote controller, and tell users where they are with the Global Positioning

System among myriad other tasks – and by the way, make telephone calls" (Cerf, 2017, p. vii). The

mobile phone was also described as a form of mobile media, which collectively exhibit four particular

characteristics as follows: portability, availability, locatabilty, and multimediality (Schrock, 2015). This

means that the phone can be carried at all times, enables the user to choose how and with whom they

will be in contact with, enables the user to state/show where they are via location-enabled services, and

it allows the user to undertake a variety of tasks such as taking pictures and videos, as well as writing text and making phone calls.

The World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (2011) had predicted that it would only be a matter of time before smartphones would overtake basic feature models as the leading type of mobile phone available in the East African region. Because of a limited fixed-line broadband infrastructure, many Africans were using the mobile phone to access the internet and even by 2011, the mobile phone was the leading source of internet access far ahead of fixed-line access (World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011).

The dominance of the smartphone was reported by Zab (2015), who noted that by the beginning of June 2015, over 1.8 million smartphones had been sold in Kenya countrywide, amounting to 58% of all mobile phone sales. Increased internet connectivity had contributed to this rise in smartphone purchase, and an economic climate that enabled a growing number of competitors to enter the market had also led to an overall lowering of costs of the devices (Zab, 2015).

Mudhai (2014) and Mabweazara (2010) also recognized the entry of the mobile phone in Kenyan and Zimbabwean news operations respectively. Mudhai (2014) used the term mobile journalism which he further shortened to "mojo" to refer to the reporting and dissemination of news through text messaging. He also described the following as ways in which the phone was used in journalistic practice: to set up and conduct interviews with sources, to record interviews, to send internet links and information to their sources, and to take photos which could then be sent to newsrooms from the field. Gatekeeping processes were often disrupted because some stories went live online without first having been reviewed by an editor or anyone else other than the reporter sending it (Mudhai, 2014).

While Mudhai (2014) was describing an internet-enabled phone in newsroom use, Mabweazara (2010) referred to basic feature phones, which enabled news from more remote locations - other than

173

closer to the urban-based newsrooms - to fit within the news agenda simply because reporters could file stories from further afield. The Zimbabwe study assessed the use of the mobile phone in the newsroom but mainly in terms of how its properties – such as mobility, convenience and sense of immediacy – enabled the journalists in their work. (Mabweazara, 2010).

At Capital FM, the device in use was a smartphone whose properties had enabled the journalists to engage in even more activities compared to a basic phone. All Capital FM journalists had their own personal smartphones with the company providing supporting infrastructure – such as internet access on wireless or mobile phone bundles. Even with the smartphone, content from physical newsroom personnel underwent gatekeeping as the editors reviewed content on WhatsApp or on WordPress before the stories were broadcast on radio or published to the web.

In addition to enabling speed, multi-skilling, and multi-tasking in journalistic practice, the smartphone had also recalibrated the face-to-face newsroom meeting, enabled the shaping of news in a virtual forum such as WhatsApp, facilitated the sharing of audio and video clips from the field to the physical newsroom, allowed the writing and publishing to the web of completed stories, provided mobile phone alerts to subscribers, and caused journalists to share and distribute content on social media.

The smartphone and its applications could also be explained as communicative affordances, a term that addresses three aspects: how a user views the technology they are using (subjective perception), the technology's objective qualities, and how the interaction between the two affect communicative behaviour (Schrock, 2015). This study did not engage in an extended interrogation of affordances. But an assessment of WhatsApp demonstrated the three affordance aspects.

The staffers based in the physical newsroom all belonged to a news WhatsApp group where they interchanged personal/social messages, news content in text, audio or video form, as well as source

contacts, among other information. Their subjective perception of WhatsApp was that it was a forum to exchange information and views. The objective qualities of WhatsApp showed it to be secure, text-based messaging sent via the internet and originally only available on a smartphone. But the use of WhatsApp by this group also exposed two disruptions to the physical newsroom. One was the loss of the docket book as a newsroom artefact, and the other was the changes in the morning meeting, which exposed an effect on communicative behaviour.

The docket book or diary was a large red book placed in the centre of the newsroom that served as a record of stories being worked on by different reporters in the course of the news day. During the period of observation, one long-serving newsreader mentioned that the docket book was no longer in use. Everything was shared on WhatsApp. The newsroom meeting at Capital FM was a scheduled short meeting held at the beginning of the day – from about 8:30 a.m. in the physical newsroom. The news editor convened the meeting and members present reviewed the previous day's stories as well as went over what they were working on for that day. Any questions or requirements were raised during the meeting after which members dispersed to attend to their various duties.

During the period of observation, newsroom staff did not meet regularly face-to-face to go over the previous day's stories (post-mortem) or discuss the day's diary, as was the norm during the face-to-face newsroom meeting. Instead, editors would assign stories, while reporters and camera personnel would send in stories as well as still or video images via WhatsApp, all without having to be physically present in the newsroom.

WhatsApp then had become a mediator that had rendered the docket book obsolete and transformed the newsroom meeting from a face-to-face discussion forum to a virtual space that enabled a mediated flow of information resulting in story conceptualisation and development. But the loss of personal interaction available in the face-to-face meeting had come at a cost. The socialisation of new

journalists, institutional memory and nuance in a story that came from face-to-face discussion were no longer as available to the networked newsroom staffers as they were in the pre-web newsroom (Associate editor observations, Aug. 8, 2016).

Blöbaum (2014) observed that journalists learn how to perform their roles through training which is reinforced during socialisation in the workplace. However, the interactions on WhatsApp indicated that some socialisation was taking place in mediated form via smartphone or the web. On one occasion, I observed an intern scrolling through her smartphone and she explained that she used it to visit news and gossip websites, and to share story ideas via WhatsApp with a fellow student on internship at a different media house. She also looked up audience feedback on her stories which she also shared on social media.

While she received guidance from her editors and other reporters, she also relied heavily on the web for information, story ideas, and validation of work done based on audience metrics. She also used interactions with inexperienced sources – such as the friend on WhatsApp – or gossip sites in decision-making. This resulted in some uncertainty in her news judgement and in how confident she was about the work she produced. The long-term effect of mediated socialisation on journalistic practice would therefore be an area worth interrogating in further detail.

<div align="center">Revenue</div>

The incorporation of the web in journalistic practice at Capital FM had an unsettling influence on its profit-making activities. There were three sub-themes that emerged under the theme of revenue, namely clear yet expanding audience niche, revenue streams, and web metrics.

<div align="center">*Clear yet expanding audience niche*</div>

The incorporation of the web in journalistic practice globally disrupted the business models of commercial news media outlets which struggled to consistently make money from this platform. News

<div align="center">176</div>

outlets "want to embrace the opportunities offered by the internet and digitization, but have to balance the certainties of their present business model with the uncertainties of a digital future" (Tameling & Broersma, 2012, p. 20).

However, Capital FM had weathered the revenue disruptions that were brought on by digital technologies by knowing its core audience while accommodating new ones. During a new employee orientation session, the traffic manager explained that the company was not a "mass station" and instead targeted people with purchasing power, opinion leaders, and people with influence in society. These would include chief executive officers, upper- and middle-income earners, as well as young people with potential influence and affluence such as university students. This last group was labeled the "aspirational influencers" during the orientation. (Observation notes, July 21, 2016).

The company's director of sales and marketing explained the distinctiveness of Capital FM's radio audience.

> Our target is very well defined. We have not tried, we have never tried to attract the masses. We have a niche target. Other stations tend to want the masses. They believe the numbers is in the masses. And that has never been our approach. We started small, we grew it, and now clients believe in us. We know our listenership is very high. I mean, we have case studies where clients have done campaigns with us only and have sold out whatever they are promoting, I mean they"ve sold 60% of the cars they are promoting. That's how big our campaigns are… Our listeners have that much disposable income. We talk to the decision makers, we talk to the guy who decides to buy a car next month and doesn't have to plan. You know, it's a necessity for him and he just goes ahead. And that's who we talk to. And other stations, all respect to them, but they want to talk to the masses. Not all products talk to the masses. And nowadays, with the products that companies are coming up with, they are very segmented. Even Safaricom [Kenya's most profitable telecommunications company], they have products for the masses, but they have products for a certain niche, for a certain category. (Director of Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

For its online audiences, the company still aimed at influencers and the well-to-do, but had created distinct niches, such as Capital Campus for university- and college-age students, and Lifestyle for seekers of entertainment and leisure news. In its early years, the website had aimed at providing local

news and information to Kenyans in the diaspora. Content exchange partnerships such as with the South

African-based website focused on stories about and for women, led to exposure of Capital FM content to

a wider range of global audiences previously inaccessible to the company.

The increasing interest in younger audiences was also evident in the heavy promotion of stories

and audience engagement on social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook, and the experimentation

with Instagram and Snapchat. The last two social media platforms had gained popularity with younger

online users with one website describing Instagram as the "breakout social media platform of 2015"

(Dotsavvy Africa, 2016).

Previous scholarship on the use of digital technologies in African journalism had not addressed

the emergence of the technologies as independent news platforms (Mabweazara et al., 2014), neither had

it considered what that meant for the audiences of traditional media. At Capital FM, there was a two-

fold focus on niche and younger audiences for its digital platforms: to continue to draw advertisers and

to extend the reach of content to new audiences. In the latter case, this was by promoting content on

social media, and by encouraging existing audiences to share content through their own social media

networks to their friends and followers.

The commercial imperatives that drive a for-profit news company still retained audiences in the

traditional role of attracting advertisers. But these imperatives further led to the enrolment of audiences

in a position of greater power within the actor-network, as a partner in the distribution of content. The

web had enabled a Kenyan radio station with a niche urban audience to expand its listenership and

readership globally, fuelled by the need to make profit in the still-dynamic digital context.

Revenue streams

News was a prime asset for the company and made money through radio, mobile, and digital. On

radio, news bulletins aired at the top of the hour were sponsored for an entire year. During the period of

178

observation, the news was sponsored at the rate of KSh. 2.5 million a month. The news department was

also earning about KSh. 1.5 million a month on average from mobile phone GETIT411 alerts. The

director of sales and marketing explained which sections of digital were earning money (Director of

Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

> Capital FM has different pages. We have our home page, we have our news page, home page, and lifestyle. Those are our biggest earners. So lifestyle has overtaken news. News was our most sold page in terms of banner space. But now Lifestyle has overtaken it. [Earnings from digital are] anywhere between 3 to 6 million [shillings per month]. We hope to make more. We want to make between 6 and 10 [million shillings], that's our target (Director of sales and marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

> Yet the editorial director explained that even as the news department was a prime asset and paid

its operational costs, it needed to increase the amount it made for the company.

> The newsroom churns out news. But you see the newsroom cannot operate independently because we are running a business. Our business must make money to sustain itself because we're privately owned. If this company is not making money, then we would have to shut down. So I'm required to look for business opportunities. Since I interact with people who are either in the business world or in government, I see an opportunity and I'm supposed to maybe pitch for business. For instance, like advertising opportunities. Government is a huge spender, okay? Actually government is one of the biggest [advertisers]. So sometimes there has been a thinking that advertising means placing ads in newspapers. People have not really embraced the digital platform and they're slowly getting there. So there are instances where you would say, "you know what? I've seen an ad in the newspaper. Why can't this ad be placed on a digital platform?" Like I would have those kinds of conversations with people. It's trying to change the thinking that has been there because you know previously the media market was dominated by newspapers, television. But now there's this new thing called digital. For us to sustain it, we need our radio to be able to make money to sustain it. Because people are not really seeing the value of the digital platform in speaking to the public as far as advertising is concerned. It's not there yet. (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The webmaster played an important role in growing revenues earned by the company's Digital

Division. The webmaster maintained a "content-revenue balance" as he termed it, ensuring that the

content on the site would draw audiences and ultimately advertisers to the site. A colleague described

him as a "genius with creativity" in terms of building audience numbers. The webmaster described his

role as one where he always needed to think ahead.

The company's interest overall was in growing the income stream from digital, since radio was seen to have reached a plateau. The impetus for this push on digital to grow revenue was the company's move to reduce its reliance on income from radio. Figures from the company during the period of observation indicated that Capital FM radio generated up to 70% of the company's revenue but digital had begun to surpass its monthly targets (Director of Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

The company generated revenue from multiple lines of income. A rate card for advertisers provided monthly rates for advertisements of different sizes on the landing page and other pages. Advertising clients also received web metrics which revealed the size of Capital FM's website and social media audiences (Director of Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 1, 2016). The money made from the digital division came from banner advertisements as well as other revenue streams. These included the publishing of paid-for content (tagged as "featured"), the development of client micro-sites linked off the Capital FM site, the promotion of client social media accounts, custom-built packages designed for a particular client, and paid-for livestreaming of events.

These various lines of revenue were developed by members of the business development team in the digital division, who focused on the need to maximize profits as commonly found among commercial news media companies (Erjavec, 2004). The revenue streams often required content, as in the case of the publishing of paid-for stories, some of which were generated by editors and writers for Lifestyle and Campus.

Other content developed by networked newsroom staffers included sponsored videos hosted by Capital FM staffers which featured a particular place or event. Lifestyle's *Our Two Cents* was a weekly web video series which aired both sponsored content (which is tagged "featured") and content generated in-house. The line between editorial and business content had therefore become more blurred in the

networked newsroom because as the Lifestyle editor put it, the content she and her colleagues provided

was inspirational, provided a public service, and was also a product for sale.

Scott (2005) observed that the traditional news business was inherently precarious and inclined

to belong to larger companies because of its high capital costs, reliance on advertising for revenue

generation, and centrality of its production and distribution processes. By diversifying its revenue-

generation options, Capital FM exposed the shift digital technologies had influenced among commercial

news media and the facilitation of smaller, leaner companies with lowered capital costs.

Web Metrics

Capital FM personnel took advantage of the wide range of quantitative data available to web

users. Metrics tools such as Google Analytics, the website alexa.com, and data accessible through

WordPress and social media provided information about audience size, and audience interaction and

engagement with content. Select metrics data were also shared with advertisers to show the audience

reach available via the company website and social media accounts. Google Analytics and Alexa.com

were web-based tools that gathered and analysed customised data for users. Data included the amount of

traffic on the site, and audience demographics (such as where on a site people visited, how long they

stayed on a site, what they did on a site, and how they engaged on a site, such as by sharing stories via

social media).

Alexa.com was a website that offered data about a website. On April 25, 2017, for example,

alexa.com showed that Capital FM's website was ranked 52 among other Kenyan websites. Alexa.com

also accounted for where 69% of the website's traffic came from as follows: 52% from Kenya, 8.4%

from the USA, 3.6% from the UK, 3.1% from South Africa, and 2.2%. from India (Alexa.com, n.d.b).

The importance attached to web metrics at Capital FM was seen in a Feb. 19, 2016 business news story

which raised a question about the rapid positive increase in the alexa.com metrics of two of Capital

FM's news competitors (Macharia, 2016). The importance of the metrics in attracting advertisers was

underscored in the lead of the story which read as follows:

> It is now clear that the battle to dominate the digital landscape in the country is heating up especially between news websites and blogs fighting for advertising spend. At the heart of this battle is the race to drive more website visitors to the various online media outlets in the country (Macharia, 2016).

Alexa.com metrics were the sole source for the story which questioned the credibility of the

competitors" change in metrics, and speculated that the cause could be attributed either to having

exclusive content going viral or manipulation of the numbers by the competitors. Other ways in which

metrics informed journalistic practice at Capital FM included social media monitoring. For each story,

the website had an application called a widget showing the number of people who accessed and shared

the story on social media.

In 2016, the webmaster begun compiling a list of top-performing story by page view every

month, sending it to all members of the networked newsroom. He said the objective was to encourage all

those producing website content to increase the number of people viewing stories. He added that the

numbers indicated that audience members tended to prefer human-interest and lifestyle stories over

more typical fare such as stories about political activity and business (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12,

2016).

The digital media administrators in the physical newsroom and digital space also kept track of

the number of followers on company social media accounts, and the amount of audience engagement on

stories evident through sharing, retweets, and the like. Individual members of the networked newsroom

also kept track of their stories" performance and maintained personal social media accounts where they

could distribute content to their own networks.

At the time of this study, the use of web metrics in journalism was still a relatively young field of

study. But indicators were that aspects of newsroom work were increasingly being quantified (Bunce,

2015). Metrics encouraged journalists to develop content that would be popular with audiences. Search engine optimisation could cause the repetition of key words that were marginally relevant in the story but would make it more easily found on online searches. Writing predictable stories could also lead to the reinforcing of dominant narratives, and little room for alternatives (Bunce, 2015).

At Capital FM, metrics had caused new actants to become part of journalistic practice as well. The webmaster's preoccupation with metrics and his observation that it was human-interest stories that tended to attract more readers, motivated him to conceptualise or collaborate in conceptualising particular types of content.

However, metrics were not universally understood. Not all members of the networked newsroom understood search engine optimisation for example. The Lifestyle editor worked to ensure the stories published were SEO-compliant, such as by having relevant key words repeated several times, and developing stories that were at least 300 words long. But not every reporter I spoke with for instance knew what SEO stood for, nor did they pay particular attention to the red or green buttons within WordPress that would show adherence to SEO.

Additionally, the editorial and news editor both indicated that the webmaster and digital media administrator had been tasked to pay attention to metrics. Therefore metrics were assigned more importance in the digital space rather than in the physical newsroom, and were attended to by personnel in the former rather than in the latter. It was the webmaster who observed that news had attained a predictability because it tended to be elitist-driven and the news establishment had become puppets of the political and business classes. He mentioned the tendency towards particularly types of stories such as those focusing on conflicts between politicians or political groups, or business stories based on press releases sent to newsrooms.

In the process, the focus of the stories was not on the audiences, who were ultimately the ones who counted. "We're not instruments of engaging the user," he said, adding that the news media should tell stories differently. "People want knowledge that is unique." His view was that there was need for content that was more user-focused. But this perspective had implications, where there would be a need to hire more people to do the reporting and the research required for telling the stories in new ways.

> We have to separate ourselves from what we're doing now. We have to grow traffic. We"ve been there so long we need to move to another level … and we need to show a difference in reporting to our clients (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016).

The question of what news would be told was a controversy (as defined in ANT) at Capital FM because the views of news from the physical newsroom and the emerging view of news from the webmaster in the digital space news were distinctly different.

The prevalence with which stories from press releases were published as well as the emphasis on political, government, business or other authorities as primary sources for stories at Capital FM indicated that there were dominant story lines. The counter-narratives that Bunce (2015) said were overlooked in journalistic practice remained in the periphery at Capital FM. But if the counter-narratives were also metrics-driven, then the emphasis at Capital FM would likely remain with what audiences would enjoy reading, but not necessarily in the more marginalized public-interest information that Bunce (2017) suggested. Audience size and reach mattered at Capital FM as they were used to attract advertisers and set advertising rates.

 But apart from growing traffic to the site, the metrics also affirmed individuals" sense of professional pride and the notion of brand-building. At different times during the observation period, several reporters and a camera person described how they used their social media sites to promote their own and colleagues" work. Two editors separately explained that the content published on personal

Twitter accounts had to remain professional in line with the company's brand. This ensured consistency and credibility of both the owner of the social media account and the company.

The reporter who said that it bothered her if she only had 50 people reading her story showed how valuable metrics had become in validating journalists" work, giving them a sense of professional pride, connecting them with their readers, and linking personal and company brands. The brand had become an important notion in newsrooms because of its link to revenue generation, as Mavhungu and Mabweazara (2014) observed: "… editorial staffers are encouraged to work for the brand rather than the medium. Brand building is aimed primarily at gaining and retaining more readers of the purposes of growing advertising revenue" (pp. 44-45).

The metrics had also become an incentive tool where the webmaster sent his colleagues a list of top 15 stories every month to encourage networked newsroom personnel to write audience-attracting content and to affirm their work among peers. Bunce (2015) found that in the Reuters Nairobi bureau where she conducted her study, metrics had become a management tool that gave incentive to top performers who also gained cultural capital in the newsroom from it. The webmaster's use of the top 15 stories per month was still relatively new during the period of observation. This information was used within the networked newsroom as a tool by the webmaster to give incentive for the production of audience-attracting content. But my view was that it had the potential to grow into a management tool that provided incentives for top performers as well as penalties for poorer performers.

Metrics had also contributed to what Rodgers (2015) referred to as computational thinking where the data guided choices and decisions made by the networked newsroom personnel. Making a story SEO-compliant on WordPress was an example of computational thinking as was the focus on writing stories that would draw large numbers on the website and social media. Metrics were therefore playing a role in building journalists" sense of professional pride, in company and personal brand building, and in

the monitoring and observation of journalistic practices (Bucher, 2016; Bunce, 2015). Metrics also gave

audiences greater power and visibility in the networked newsroom than they had in the pre-web

newsroom.

Content

There were large volumes of content produced daily in the networked newsroom at Capital FM,

including stories, social media posts, videos, and photographs. On Oct. 5, 2016, the total content

published on WordPress came to more than 100,000 stories, 42% of which were under the news section.

Table 5.1 breaks down the content published on WordPress by Oct. 5, 2016.

Table 5.1: Content Published on WordPress by October 5, 2016

Website section	No. of stories published	When first story published	%age of total stories
News	42,451	July, 18, 2007	41.97%
Business	15,927	July 24, 2007	15.75%
Sports	21,178	Jan. 28, 2008	20.94%
Lifestyle	10,791	July 6, 2009	10.67%
Campus	2,300	Jan. 7, 2012	2.27%
Blogs	1,934	Feb. 23, 2009	1.91%
TV	6,561	Feb. 1, 2012	6.49%
Total	101,142		100.00%

Source: Webmaster, Oct. 5, 2016

There were seven sub-themes that emerged under the theme of content, namely: formulaic

approach to writing stories; experimentation with new forms in the digital space; dynamic norms;

pushing content on social media; public relations and external influence on coverage; professional pride;

and original and adapted nomenclature.

Formulaic approach to writing stories

The content produced in the physical newsroom tended to be standardised, following prescribed

patterns. Mobile phone subscribers typically received three headlines which had a subject-verb-object

phrasing, with the first word/phrase written in capital letters. For instance, the 5 p.m. headlines sent on

Dec. 2, 2016 read as follows: "GETIT411: MASS voter registration to be carried out next month. MATIANG"I roots for reforms in public universities. KENYA fourth in Global HIV burden."

Stories for the radio bulletins each comprised of four or five lines and an audio clip of about 20 seconds. Web stories were required to be at least 300 words long, included repetition of key words to improve their chances of being found by search engines, were written in feature style such as by starting with an anecdote or quote, and had an accompanying photograph. Formulaic approaches tended to promote speed and on multiple occasions, I observed radio and web stories each written within 10 to 15 minutes because of the standardised approach that reporters took to developing the stories.

The data showed that even with digital technologies, there were aspects of journalistic labour at Capital FM that remained rooted in routine, a finding established in studies of Slovenian, Dutch, and American newsrooms (Anderson, 2009; Erjavec, 2004; Tamerling & Broersma, 2012). This confirmed the continued homogeneity and routinisation of the news process in different parts of the world, even with the incorporation of the web and other digital technologies.

Experimentation with new forms

All experimentation observed at Capital FM took place in the digital space. There were two new distinct forms that emerged at Capital FM. One was the infographic, which is the presentation of a story in a graphic. Capital FM regularly published infographics from press releases or other sources.

However, what was new at Capital FM was the use of the infographic to tell local stories, one example of which was a complex, little-understood government-incurred debt dubbed the Eurobond. This story was presented in question-and-answer form below a large graphic, and used information from three government sources: the Central Bank of Kenya, the Controller of Budget, and the Treasury. The text was generated by two Capital FM staffers, one of whom said the infographic was inspired by a sense from informal conversations that Kenyans did not understand the Eurobond.

187

The other new form that had emerged at Capital FM was the web video series, published on YouTube and embedded on the TV section of the company website. The series included *The Chopup* and *The Grill*, which tended to be short videos of approximately 1 minute each. The length of show was limited because the target audience was young people who were perceived at Capital FM tend to use their mobile phones to access the internet and also tp have short attention spans (Webmaster observations, June 6, 2016). Access to internet among Kenyan audiences was often provided through mobile phone packages known as bundles. Longer videos were more expensive because they used up more bundles compared to short videos.

However, another the web series *Our Two Cents* tended to be longer, where videos could range in length from 5 to 20 minutes. *Our Two Cents* was a travel- and lifestyle-focused web series, co-hosted by the editor and a writer from the Lifestyle section of the website. The episodes tended to attract a large number of views, and drew audiences to the Lifestyle section.

The episodes on the *Our Two Cents* series were generated by the co-hosts or sponsored by a client. In the case of the latter, it was the clients wishing to capitalise on the credibility and audience reach of the Lifestyle editor and her two colleagues, who also had large followings on social media. "Our content is about experiencing, it's an honest perspective" (Lifestyle editor interview, Aug. 8, 2016). The development of new forms at Capital FM was facilitated by an open, hierarchy-free working culture with frequent collaboration among personnel. This confirmed the positive link found between adhocratic organisational cultures and innovative practice (Naranjo-Valencia et al., 2011).

Mudhai (2014) referred to new forms of journalistic practice within the Kenyan context, as being the use of mobile phones and social media sites. The use of mobile phones constituted mobile journalism which he described as the reporting and dissemination or promotion of news through text messaging, and the taking of photos sent to and used in newsrooms without always going through a

gatekeeping process. Social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook were used to break news as well as to promote other content such as commentaries and features (Crawford, 2011; as cited in Mudhai, 2014).

Mudhai's (2014) descriptions however, did not define journalistic practice and described the web, mobile phones, and social media as platforms on which the tasks enacted on them were similar to those done on older tools. This study sought to extend Mudhai's identification of journalistic practice by showing the transformations that had taken place, not only in the platforms used to package and spread the news, but also in the conceptualisation and expression of journalistic practice itself.

Dynamic norms

Past scholarship had observed that African journalists tended to copy Western journalism's professional and ethical norms without acknowledging their own realities and perspectives (Kasoma, 1996; as cited in Skjerdal, 2012; Mbeke et al., 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Ugangu, 2012). These norms included objectivity, accuracy, and a watchdog role. But at Capital FM, the digital content produced in the networked newsroom was referred to as a "product," "service" and "inspiration" revealing dynamic and conflicting views of the construct of news.

The incorporation of the web in journalistic practice at the company showed that the normative view of news at Capital FM was dynamic rather than fixed, and was dependent on the context in which the news was produced. The editorial director said as much in this edited observation:

> I would say news is changing. Do you know why it's changing? Because the public is changing how, what it is they want. I know we still have a lot of politics [in news coverage] but 15 years ago [it was] politics, politics, politics. You know, coz we were going through a transition as well as a country. So it was more of democracy and human rights. Our priorities now are different. People are more into health issues. People want to know more about how to avoid these lifestyle diseases. People are reading up a lot on those kinds of things, and if you look and you have an article about staying healthy and stuff like that, people are actually taking a keener interest because we're having so many of these things coming up. Which they were not there 15 years ago. It is important to respond to the needs of [audiences]. Because they're the people that you're speaking to. (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016)

Skjerdal (2012) held that since the early 1960s, there had been efforts – though not unanimous - to establish a distinct African normative journalism paradigm, distinct from the Western paradigm. But other scholarship had referred to presumptive normative values (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009) in African journalistic practice, such as accuracy, objectivity, credibility and public service (Mabweazara; 2010; Ugangu, 2012) with Witschge and Nygren (2009) saying that there were similarities in journalistic roles and ethical standards in different parts of the world.

However, Mercier (2009) noted that journalists held two contrasting views about their coverage of Kenya's 2007-2008 post-election violence, one advocating for an objective stance while community media based in particular geographic locations argued for a more overtly advocacy role. The dynamism within the Capital FM networked newsroom related to the construct of "news," confirmed that journalistic norms within the Kenyan context are rhetorically based in the liberal democratic model of the West, but more nuanced and diffused in practice.

The contribution of various actants in story conceptualisation also raised a question about what purpose the website served. Was it a source of information that served the public interest, as held by some of the journalists in the newsroom? Or was it an information hub where audiences could find different types of information that would be of use to them, as held by the webmaster? Or would both views prevail? The answers to these questions were an ongoing issue in the company during the period of observation, and reflected the controversy that has come when new and old actants in journalistic practice weigh in on the definition of news. It was my view that when it was when these questions would be resolved, that the normative perspective(s) of news and website content held at Capital FM would be exposed.

The question as to which viewpoint of news would prevail also pointed to a dynamism in the conceptualisation of the web, and the conceptualisation and adoption of the norms of media. In the case of the former, there were changing views of the web in the digital space and the newsroom. The company's use of traditional media terms – such as Capital TV and the "online "newspaper" – suggested that within the company, the web was seen as an extension of broadcast and print media.

But the web is its own distinctive medium with three primary characteristics: multimediality, hypertextuality, and interactivity (Siapera & Veglis, 2012). Multimediality is the combining of different media to tell a story. Hypertextuality refers to links within a story and links to other stories or to external sites. Interactivity is viewed as human-human interaction (two-way communication between people); or human-computer interaction (e.g. the use of particular interfaces, search engines, etc); or human-content interaction (how users engage with/create content) (Steensen, 2009; as cited in Siapera & Veglis, 2012).

These three characteristics were evident in varying degree in the web content produced in both the digital space and newsroom at Capital FM. Writers, reporters, and editors provided links within stories or to other stories or social media posts. There were various ways in which interactivity was evident, such as in the use of the web for research, gathering of information from press releases and social media posts, limited engagement with audiences such as in responding to audience feedback on personal email or on the comment section of posts, and the monitoring of story performance via web metrics.

Multimediality took place when a video was embedded in a web story. But the visual that most often accompanied a web story was a photograph. Audio clips tended to be used only for radio. On occasion, a video clip would be included in a story. Thus while the personnel to effect multimediality – camera personnel, writers, reporters, and editors – were available at Capital FM, there was the potential

191

to more extensively apply multimediality such as in the combining of text, video, photographs, and audio in one story.

Pushing content on social media

The importance of social media in journalistic practice was underscored by the hiring of a digital media administrator for the physical newsroom. The Lifestyle and Campus editors pushed content for their sections, while one radio producer also doubled up as a digital media administrator for radio. Pushing content on social media moved the content generated in the networked newsroom beyond the website. The aim of pushing content was to grow audiences, improve search engine results for the company's website content, and gain and understanding of audience needs and interests (O. Burrows, personal comunicatinon, March 10, 2016).

Pushing content also enabled the building of brands - both individual and institutional – as well as extended the story's reach to other audiences. The Lifestyle editor explained that the three in-house personnel in Lifestyle had their own platforms on which they cross-promoted content from Capital FM. "If we're writing about a trend on Lifestyle, and then we do the same thing on personal platforms, it grows the story," she said (Lifestyle Editor interview, Aug. 8, 2016).

Reporters paid attention to the performance of their stories on the website and on social media, which they could follow based on social media metrics such as number of page views on a story, or how audiences responded to a story in comments or sharing of content on their own social media networks. This contributed to the reporters" sense of professional pride and gave them incentives to develop stories that will garner audience response.

Additionally, several journalists that I observed at Capital FM had the habit of opening and monitoring the TweetDeck application on their desktop computers. This helped them assess posts on Twitter that were potentially worth a followup, keep abreast of breaking news, and find potential sources

for stories. It was similar to what Rodny-Gumede and Hyde-Clarke (2014) found among South African

political journalists who relied on social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter, to do research, break

news, and assess public opinion on an issue. The also reflected this behaviour.

The promotion of content on social media and inclusion of stories in what Moyo (2009), as cited

in Paterson (2013), referred to as the "parallel market of information" also contributed to a public sphere

where news content was among other types of content shared on social media contributing to a discourse

on societal values, needs and wants. For example, the digital media administrator's decision to link a

tweet about a story on striking doctors to a trending hashtag #LipaKamaTender, extended the story into

a Twitter discourse about government graft.

Herrera and Requejo (2012), as cited in Rodny-Gumede and Hyde-Clarke (2014), indicated that

"news media organizations have yet to realize the potential of social media platforms, especially Twitter,

for re-energising traditional journalism by listening to and talking with their audiences and by linking to

external content that enriches discussions" (Rodny-Gumede & Hyde-Clarke, 2014, p. 104).

At Capital FM, the pushing of the striking doctors" story and linkage to the #LipaKamaTender

discourse constituted a new use of social media where the news media contributed to a Twitter

discussion about a matter in the public interest as a co-participant rather than agenda-setter in the public

sphere. This suggested a new normative role for the news media occasioned by the participatory and

interactive nature of social media, and warrants further study.

Additionally, the role of the digital media administrator embedded in the newsroom yet not

producing editorial content was established in other Kenyan newsrooms (Sambuli, 2015), but not in

other literature. This role speaks to the technology divide that remained in the Kenyan newsroom where

experienced editorial personnel from traditional print and broadcast backgrounds passed on new

technological aspects of journalistic practice – social media promotion and metrics monitoring - to younger, tech-savvy players such as the DM administrator and the webmaster.

This also indicated the company's increased leaning towards having younger personnel in the networked newsroom, a trend confirmed by the company's average age of 26 (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013c), and the recruiting of hand-picked staffers with skills and interest in digital technology and could grow with the company (Radio Producer 1 interview, Aug. 16, 2016; Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a).

Public relations and external influence on coverage

The study identified two main influences on the content generated within the physical newsroom. One was from public relations sources, and the other was related to external influence. Members of the networked newsroom constantly received large volumes of press releases in their work email boxes. On multiple occasions, I observed different staffers deleting emailed press releases which had cluttered up their work email inboxes. Removing the emails allowed them to receive new emails. There was also a heavy reliance on press releases as sources of stories, and in some cases, press releases were the lone sources used in the story.

On Aug. 19, 2016 for example, a reporter scrolled through his work email before leaving to cover a business event. He found a press release about the half-year earnings of a publicly listed company, and scanned his Twitter account to check on any relevant related hashtags. Finding none, he took about 15 minutes to develop a short radio story based on the press release (Observation notes, Aug. 19, 2016). The web story that ran later in the day also used the press release as the source material, and was pushed on various company social media accounts. The observations of the reporter on Aug. 19, 2016 contrasted with the Aug. 16, 2016 description given by a radio producer. The producer had worked

as a sports reporter in the early 2000s and recalled the average day for a journalist in the pre-web

newsroom.

> As a news person, your day starts from home even before you get to the office. So that means you're getting ready and you're listening to radio and your TV is on. That time I didn't have internet connection at home. So there was the option of CNN, BBC, Sky News, and the radio is still playing. Because you just have to have an overflow of information. By the time you get to the office you already know a lot of what's happening out of the country. Then you get to work and look at your diary [a docket book where stories were assigned daily to reporters] for the news, where all the assignments booked previously and prior were recorded and entered. The editor usually assigns. So you check the docket, and then you look at the newspapers, see what is of interest or what could be in need of a followup in terms of news or sports or business. Because most of the stories published are very likely to have a followup. So if it's of interest, then you find ways on how to go about that. You could file as many [stories] as you [could] so long as they were sensible, practical, made sense, interesting. (Radio Producer 2 interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

The description of the reportage in the early 2000s reflected a greater reliance on a knowledge

of current affairs, paying attention to other news sources, and the assignment of stories by editors. By

contrast, the observation of reportage in 2016 showed a reliance on press releases especially in the

business department and the assignment of stories by editors. The shaping of the news agenda by public

relations entities or individuals has been established in other empirical literature. Capital FM's reliance

on the press release was also decried by the webmaster who found the press release and the reliance on

political sources to be the reason why news was elitist and reactive rather than egalitarian and proactive.

External influence was another factor in the coverage of news from the physical newsroom. In

the early years former CEO Linda Holt explained to *Executive* magazine that the company had initially

been restricted from broadcasting news. When the station was allowed to broadcast news, she defended

the government by saying she felt that a station should prove its professionalism before being allowed to

broadcast news and political programmes. Her answer essentially confirmed the need for government

approval in the company's news decision-making, an unexpected response from an independent media

house. But it may have been politically prudent to do so, given the pioneer nature of the station and the

association the then owners had with the political establishment. The Holts had partnered with political operative Mark Too in owning Capital FM (Shimoli, 1998; Sokoni, 2016).

One observation made was that there were instances where a certain story did not run to avoid running afoul of an advertiser or because of the relationship between media house management and the institutional source. Objective reportage was seen to be difficult, particularly in relation to politics. The owner had an open association with the government seen in his being included in state delegations abroad, appointment to serve on government-linked organisations, and reports of his involvement in political strategising around the Kenyan presidency (Burrows, 2016; Juma, 2014; Nation Reporter, 2014; Wanyonyi, 2016).

Previous scholarship had established that Kenyan commercial media faced particular challenges in providing objective news coverage. Several media houses were owned or had ties to politicians, while others such as Capital FM and Royal Media Services were owned by business figures with large investments and close ties to political figures. A form of censorship therefore emerged imposed by advertising interests rather than government control (Mbeke et al., 2010; Ngumo, 2004; as cited in Barber, 2009).

This study confirmed that the press release was a powerful and easy way to gain the attention of busy journalists. The work habits of several reporters included reading and deleting emails, which frequently comprised of press releases. The business desk also frequently published stories that originated from a press release, and on some occasions used the press release as the only source for the story. The moniker "PR journalists" from the associate editor pointed to this reliance on the press release.

The combination of the constant production of press releases from an efficient public relations sector, with the political and business interests of the ownership pointed to a news production process

that favoured elitist sources (such as the organisations that are able to send press releases on email) and leaned towards non-controversial or partisan news coverage. Additionally, the ties between news media ownership and the political establishment has been established in literature as a factor in the shaping of the news (Mbeke et al., 2010).

Professional pride

Staffers in the networked newsroom made reference to advantages the web gave them over radio. The web gave Capital FM a reputation for breaking news, and for being the benchmark against which local news stations compare themselves. One reporter described the benefit Capital FM gained from a 2015 shutdown of three television stations due to a standoff with the government over a transition to digital broadcasting.

Capital FM developed a short video news bulletin aired at 6 p.m. which garnered audiences who could not get the news on the other commercial news stations during the 9 p.m. prime-time hour. Audiences realized that they could get news at 1 p.m. and 6 p.m., and could watch the news online before they left the office for home (Reporter 2 interview, July 6, 2016).

> We're not looked at as, just because we don't have that big a resource that we're not seen as a big player (Reporter 2 interview, July 6, 2016)

Having the web also enabled reporters to use more of the information gathered than they used for the shorter radio stories, and to have a byline on the web where radio offered none. One associate editor said that she liked being able to have multi-media elements in a story, such as video alongside text. "I enjoy the website more than radio" (Associate editor 1 interview, July 15, 2016). Another way in which networked newsroom personnel appreciated the web was when their stories were read and shared on the website and on social media. On July 1, 2016, one reporter described how he"d written a story about a

197

near robbery at an automated teller machine in the city's central business district. The story had received

more than 1,600 online shares and a comments, some of which are captured in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Comments on an ATM Robbery Story

Source: Capitalfm.co.ke

The reporter found that reporters aimed to publish exclusive stories in addition to those assigned,

and in his case, had received emails from people asking him to investigate other stories following the

publication of the ATM story. "I don't ignore those small things (such as the ATM near robbery story].

Such a story has impact… It reaches a point where people trust [the reporters] more than cops"

(Reporter 1 interview, July 1, 2016).

Another source of professional pride was when staffers acquired globally recognized symbols of

value e.g. a blue badge on Twitter. The Twitter accounts of three newsroom editors, the lifestyle editor,

the owner, the company, and one of the morning radio shows, had received blue badges. Arshad (2016) described the badge as a validation tool which signaled one's influence, allowed one's social media account to stand out among others, and increased the account's value in attracting followers and advertisers. Different social media sites – such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram – acknowledged the blue badge as a form of verification of an account.

A radio producer who also doubled as the digital media administrator for radio, said in an interview that he was working on getting badges onto the Twitter accounts of particular programme hosts as a form of verification. "[Verification is] the ultimate symbol of clout. If you work in digital, that's the epitome, that's a gold mine" (Radio Producer 1 interview, Aug. 16, 2016).

The study of sociological processes lends itself to addressing multiple uncertainties, one of which is the nature of groups and the ways in which individual members of the group develop or gain identity (Latour, 2005). The use of web applications - such as social media sites and metrics data – contributed new modes of professional self-appraisal among journalists, and assigned greater power to audiences through their engagement with stories.

Original and adapted nomenclature

In conversations and observations of the website, particular names or terms emerged related to journalistic practice. Capital FM referred to opinion pieces carried on the website as "blogs," thus re-defining a term that is defined as "an electronic notebook kept and updated by one or more persons" (Beers, 2006, p. 118) or refers to what one Kenyan blogger described as a "space as a creative person … to self-publish" (Bloggers Association of Kenya forum, Feb. 18, 2015).

Two web designers came up with the term the "first scroll" that they used as a standard for their designs. In explaining the concept of the "first scroll, one of the designers revealed how he and his colleagues were contributing to story packaging, an aspect of journalistic practice.

When designing a site, we always consider what's the first thing a visitor will see. For here [while pointing to the top of the landing page on a mobile phone screen], we have the headline and 4 titles you can read. Even before the first scroll. It's a term we gave, the first scroll experience. Before you scroll, even on desktop [computer], what are the things you"re seeing? Those are the most important things on a web page… And one thing we also did, I remember I suggested to [the webmaster] months before I left, was having a brief description of the story before you read the whole of it. Coz some guys don't have time to read the whole story. You"ll open, scroll to just see the number of paragraphs, and if they're too many, you"ll wait to be told about [the story]. But a brief description, if you go to news especially, when you click on a story, on the side it has highlights of that story. It gives you what that main story has. (Former designer interview, Feb. 14, 2017).

"Pushing" content was an accepted, commonly used term that referred to the promotion of content on social media, which distributed it to a wider set of audiences beyond the company website. This promotion of content was commonly seen among journalists and technical personnel and had become a routinised aspect of journalistic practice.

There were two terms used for those who pushed content. During an observation of the physical newsroom, the person assigned to push content said he was not sure what to term his role. A few months later, he referred to his title as digital media administrator. His counterpart, who handled pushing content for the radio department, referred to himself as a social media manager. Other news outlets in Kenya have a similar role and the terms used to refer to them are social media editor to digital content editor (Sambuli, 2015).

Pushing content had become a routine part of journalistic practice in Capital FM's networked newsroom. But the role's title was fluid during the period of observation, suggesting that certain terms and practices continue to evolve in networked journalism, and are yet to become fixed.

Key decision makers

Observations and interviews at Capital FM established that there were human decision-makers at institution and individual levels, all contributing to the choices to incorporate the web into various

aspects of journalistic practice. The sub-themes under this theme were institutional decision makers and

individual decision makers.

<div align="center">*Institutional decision makers*</div>

The owner was a key institutional decision maker, making choices that had impact across the

company. He enrolled the web into the company's operations, which led to the transformation of the

pre-web newsroom into the networked newsroom at Capital FM. In a 2013 interview available on

YouTube, the owner explained why he was an early adopter of social media and digital technology

(Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a).

> There were very few people interested in [the digital technology]. I looked at it and I said, can I make money out of it? And I couldn't see how because I didn't see customers. But I knew one thing: the fact that this is a new thing, I like to be the first in it, to develop it, and hopefully if it works, I'll be ahead of the pack. I also knew that the only way to do it is to work with the young people who understood it, who understood what the digital platform meant to them. I formed a nice young group and I decided I would work with them. I'll learn from them but I'll give them the direction and the commitment for where we are going (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a).

The drive to be a pioneer and market leader gave the owner an impetus to incorporate the web

more deeply in the company even with the early uncertainty as to whether the venture would make the

company any money. His decision to literally place the digital department at the centre of company

operations and enabling of a free, hierarchy-free structure also made a significant contribution to the

company culture. But his interests were ultimately geared towards profit-making

His influence over various aspects of work and strategic thinking at the company was discussed

by the director of sales and marketing director in an Oct. 14, 2016 interview. The director joined the

company in 2006, left briefly for a different job then returned in his current role. He spoke about the

owner, who he referred to as chairman, in this edited observation:

> Our chairman is actually very key… He's actually the one who was teaching us, or he gave us a structure of how, the idea he had, for digital. So in actual sense, he gave us a lot of direction in digital. He has ideas. His awareness of the market, of the dynamism of that industry, he was in touch with it, the setup, the layout of our website. I used to find him

<div align="center">201</div>

here. He used to come in the morning at 7 [a.m.] and until 8 [p.m.], he"d still be here working out on the layout, working out on the planning. He was hands-on, hands-on, hands-on. He gives us leeway to work. But again, he wants to make money. End game is that. Bottom line is numbers. He lets you do your thing but whenever he feels that he needs to step in, he does it. (Director Sales and Marketing, Oct. 14, 2016).

The Lifestyle editor described her role as one that needed the owner's understanding of the more creative approach a lifestyle section needed. She said she ran her desk using a similar approach used by her peers in other parts of the world. Her view was that her writers and contributors should enjoy freedom and a trust that did not require gate-keeping of what they post.

If it weren't for CK [understanding the importance of Lifestyle], I wouldn't be here. If he"d gotten a local who knew the more hierarchical newsroom, it may not have worked as well… At the end of the day, it's about making money (Lifestyle editor interview, Aug. 8, 2016).

The networked newsroom also depended on other institutional decision makers, who made decisions at institutional and individual level. The editorial director for one, recalled pushing for the hiring of the digital media administrator, a role that would help the newsroom staffers promote their content on social media without having to take on that responsibility (Editorial director interview, Aug. 30, 2016). The former head of the digital division pushed for the use of WordPress as a content management system, which made content publishing more consistent across the website's different sections (Lead developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016). A former web designer recalled that it was at the urging of he and his colleagues that the company hired an in-house web developer (Former web designer interview, Feb. 14, 2017),

Individual decision makers

But individuals in the company also made autonomous decisions as to how they would work within the company. The sports newsreader also hosted a Saturday sports show as well as contributed to the Lifestyle section of the website (Observation notes, Aug. 19, 2016). One camera person occasionally

202

wrote for the Lifestyle section. A business development officer, charged with generating revenue online, also wrote opinion pieces, termed blogs, for the Capital FM website.

The decision-making seen at Capital FM revolved around the modification of actants" roles or their enrolment into the actor-network. Each of the two served to strengthen and maintain the actor-network. The choices made by the decision-makers also reflected Crawford's (2005) view that ANT is implicitly a theory about power dynamics because in investigating the durability and stability of the network, it assesses which interactions supersede others, and which actants effect greater translation than others.

The decision-making that took place among human actants at Capital FM revealed the concept of power whereby certain actants had a greater effect on the actor-network than others. The owner's enrolment of the web into company operations, for example, led to the hiring of new personnel, the addition of revenue-generating activities, and the emergence of new practices and routines in the networked newsroom. The enrolment of the webmaster, digital media administrator and audiences into the networked newsroom's actor-network had redefined journalistic practice, and granted greater power to audiences in story conceptualisation and development than existed in the pre-web actor-network.

However, even decision-making at individual level also demonstrated power. When an actor chose to make a decision that modified their role, it also reflected an autonomy and personal sense of influence which contributed to the stability of the whole actor-network. The camera person's choice to contribute to the Lifestyle section was one example of choosing to go beyond his job description. In contributing to Lifestyle, he added content to the website, and his sense of personal accomplishment would contribute to his wanting to make a contribution on another occasion.

My conclusion was that when each human actor chose to enrol or be enrolled into the actor-network, and to modify their own or other's choices within the actor-network, that contributed to the overall stability of the actor-network.

<div align="center">Organisational Culture</div>

In my interactions at Capital FM, I was struck early on during my fieldwork by the ways in which personnel described the company. They used words such as "pioneering," "fun," "open," and "innovative." They also described the company as one that was rewarding of staff who met or exceeded goals, consistent in its products and quality, a builder of talented media personalities who had gone on to successful careers elsewhere, and a place with a global outlook. These descriptions were categorised under the theme of organisational culture which had the sub-themes of sense of hierarchy, owner as *mzee* (respectful term for an older man), pioneering attitude, company loyalty and freedom, trust, and global outlook.

<div align="center">*Sense of hierarchy*</div>

From observation, informal conversations, and open-ended interviews, two distinct cultures revealed themselves at Capital FM. The digital space was relaxed, with frequent interactions and consultations among employees. I often observed the Campus editor sitting with the designers and developers chatting informally or discussing various aspects of work. The owner came by the company offices every so often and wandered about talking to his employees. On one occasion he sat in deep discussion with the head of digital business development at her desk, with her colleagues continuing their work around them.

This relaxed, free and informal atmosphere was described by Naranjo-Valencia et al. (2011) as adhocratic. The newsroom by contrast, was more hierarchical and formal. The editorial director, news editor, and digital editor sat in one corner of the newsroom with the workstations of reporters,

newsreaders, and camera personnel placed in the rest of the enclosed space. The editors were friendly

but tended to keep to their corner as they worked. The reporters, camera personnel, and newsreaders

were more informal and would engage in more social banter among themselves.

The distinct organisational cultures between the digital space and the newsroom highlighted who

engaged in newsroom innovation, and in what kind of environment. Naranjo-Valencia et al. (2011)

posited that innovation and imitation are characteristic traits in adhocratic and hierarchical cultures

respectively. Tuan and Venkatesh (2010) observed that when an organization had collaborative work

teams, autonomy among staffers, and minimal hierarchy, innovation tended to thrive. At Capital FM, it

was in the digital space that web-only content was conceived, such as the weekly web video series *Our

Two Cents* and the Eurobond infographic story. The webmaster, who also worked from the digital space,

had been considering a new type of video news bulletin to be posted on YouTube and embedded on the

Capital FM website. Among the hierarchical structure's defining characteristics were the verification

and gate-keeping functions of the editor, which contributed to the continued trustworthiness of the

Capital FM news brand. By contrast, the adhocratic structure enabled experimentation and creativity,

which was useful when dealing with the dynamic, constantly evolving digital technologies.

Capital FM had found a useful way however to bridge the two cultures, by embedding new roles

in the networked newsroom, and allowing personnel to move between spaces. The digital media

administrator, in the case of the former, had opened new ways of packaging information such as by

linking news content to Twitter conversations on a range of topics. The business editor, who came from

the digital space, was a key figure in using the infographic as a story form to break down complex

stories.

Owner as "Mzee"

Another outstanding aspect of organisational culture at Capital FM was the respect that the

company staffers accorded the owner. The finance manager remembered that when the owner purchased

the company in 2004, he addressed the staff, telling them he had not bought the company for himself.

Instead he had bought it for the employees who would then need to make it succeed.

> He said we should work hard to make sure the company thrives because then we thrive… We
> respect him as owner, as an elder and for what he's done for us" (Finance Manager interview,
> Aug. 12, 2016).

The terms "elder," "wisdom," "teaching," "direction" and *mzee* (a respectful Swahili term

meaning "old man") were ascribed to him by different staffers who appreciated his business acumen,

global outlook, and openness to learning about all matters digital. These terms added a contextual

nuance to the adhocratic and hierarchical cultures described by Naranjo-Valencia et al. (2011).

Nyamnjoh (2005, p. 393) contended that Africans are engaged in "ongoing processes of creative

negotiation …of the multiple encounters, influences and perspectives evident throughout their

continent." The interactions at Capital FM in which the owner was esteemed not only for his

proprietorship of the company but also for his perceived wisdom as an elder, suggested this creative

negotiation of a modern news organisation which incorporated African values of deference and esteem

towards one's elders.

Pioneering attitude

At Capital FM, I repeatedly heard the word "pioneering," be it in descriptions of the company or

in personnel's view of how the company had incorporated digital technologies into work life. One of the

first reporters at Capital FM said the newsroom was established with this be-first attitude in mind. "It

was going to be a pioneer FM newsroom. The style was to do news different from KBC" (Kaberia,

2014, p. 3). A story published to mark Capital FM's 15th year on air described this pioneering attitude in

exuberant terms:

> [Capital FM] was the pioneer in professional radio, the new toy that everybody wanted to play with, the station that dared to talk about real issues whether or not the government was involved, the station that dared to talk about sex, the station that was not afraid to have fun while working and the radio platform that dared to be *mzungu* [Swahili word for "white person"] – i.e., play rock. (Walubengo, 2011)

The group managing director alluded to the experimenting attitude within the company when he

described the early years of setting up the digital division (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013b).

> The company decided to create a website and realised it needed content. So they went to programmes and news people and said "you do things on radio. Can you convert that to be an online feature?" It went on to programming and to say "can you put the shows you"re doing on radio on the internet?" So there was a convergence and this has been a continuous thing. We keep discovering things along the way. (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013b)

The head of digital business development described Capital FM as a pioneering brand that pays

attention to different ideas from wherever they can find them. She recalled the early years when the

Digital Division was being set up.

> We were not using any local media as our benchmark. We were just using the international media to see what they are doing, to see what we can duplicate, see what we can pick, what can't work. And then again, as much as you"re benchmarking yourself out there, you have to figure out that you"re also in Africa. So you have to make sure that whatever solution that you come up with can be accepted locally. So you can't do a copy paste. You have to kind of figure out some things on your own. (Head of Digital Business Development interview, 2016).

During a July 21, 2016 orientation session for new staff, the training manager described the

company as a pioneer. "We are trend setters," she said, adding that Capital was the first radio station in

Kenya to live stream its content.

Staffers took pride in the company's reputation for being a pioneer and market leader. The

pioneering spirit was exposed to new staffers during orientation sessions, and emerged in the owner's

own reasons for incorporating digital into company operations, and in the confidence exhibited by staffers to experiment with new ideas.

Company loyalty and freedom

Company personnel repeatedly referred to the length of time in which they or their colleagues had worked with the company and the free environment in which they worked. On Aug. 16, 2016, a radio production staffer said that Capital FM stood out from other media outlets because for the staff, theirs was not just a job. "It's like family" (Radio Producer, Aug. 16, 2016). He listed six staffers in radio who had worked for an average of 9 years at the company. Three were radio hosts who had been with the company for 4, 8 and 13 years respectively, three were producers who had been with the company for 5, 10, and 14 years respectively.

The various staffers referred to working with passion, being enabled to experiment and move freely around the organisation, and receiving the tools one needed to do their work. One camera person, for example, noted that one of the doors in the newsroom had been closed just a short while before June 27, 2016 to force those in the newsroom to pass through where the other departments were. The closing of the door enabled people to interact with each other more. He also said that the company encourages personnel to move around and get to know different departments.

> It's a really free environment this place. It's a place where you can really enjoy working. There's a lot of room for people to do more than they are employed to do. (Observation notes, June 27, 2016).

Trust

I found the construct of trust – though not always explicitly named – to be important in various aspects of organisational culture at Capital FM. The selection of infrastructure providers and content collaborators, the company's self-identity as a credible news brand, and the attitude towards user-

generated content all pointed towards a level of trust or lack thereof within the newsroom and among audiences.

Trust has been defined as a sociological construct that is the "expectancy of others" virtuous conduct towards ourselves" (Sztompka, 1999). As DiMaggio (2005) explained it, is often considered a component within the larger construct of "social capital" which refers to features of structure and organisation within a shared or collective context. Blöbaum (2014) referred to two levels of trust in relation to journalism. One level was concerned with the public's trust in the journalistic system, in the journalists themselves, and trust in the work the journalists did. The other level was the trust found within the journalism profession.

The former – which revolved around the citizens" trust of the news media - had received widespread scholarly attention. One study presented a tool to gauge audience trust in news media (Koring & Matthes, 2007), while multi-country comparative studies by Moehler and Singh (2011) and Tsfati and Ariely (2013) addressed audiences" expressions or attitudes of trust towards news media in Africa and across the globe respectively. A global study of 66 countries questioned how journalists perceived the trustworthiness of news media as a social institution (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017). Concerning trust within the journalism profession, there was literature that addressed source credibility (Bergström, 2011; Carlson & Franklin, 2011; Reich, 2011a, 2011b) and the trust in online news among newspaper journalists (Cassidy, 2007).

But there was a scarcity of scholarship on trust among newsroom personnel in the African newsroom. Both levels of trust as defined by Blöbaum (2014) were found at Capital FM. The choice of which web hosting company to use was informed by cost and by the need to guarantee infrastructure stability. In the case of the former, Capital FM found it cheaper to get web hosting companies outside Kenya. For the latter, the company wanted to ensure that it did not suffer any downtime (Lead developer

interview, Aug. 22, 2016). The issue of trust emerged in the need for a guarantee in the stability of the

infrastructure. The local companies were seen to be more likely to cause a situation where the website

could go down, whereas the foreign companies were seen to be more likely to guarantee stability.

Audience trust in Capital FM as a news brand emerged in comments made within the company

concerning the credibility and reliability of the company's news content. One reporter indicated that he

received tips from audience members about stories relating to crime and security matters because the

audience members knew it would get exposed. "It reaches a point where people trust [the reporters]

more than cops" (Reporter 1 interview, July 1, 2016). The news editor said despite having access to

social media sites that provided information, audiences still trusted the news media to verify and confirm

information.

> As journalists we … move [the story] to the more important aspects of that story. The audience
> of today is knowledgeable and still relies on us to give them information… Our role is still there.
> I don't see social media replacing the media (News editor interview, July 7, 2016).

The Director of Sales and Marketing reinforced the notion of credibility and trust in the news

brand. He used the word "authentic."

> The thing that makes Capital news different is that it's the most authentic news. Because of our
> credibility, we are quoted by Reuters, BBC, as the most credible news partner in Africa. So again
> because of that, that's what has built our credibility and our popularity for our news (Interview,
> Oct. 14, 2016).

I interpreted the words "authentic" and "credibility" as used in the quotes above as synonyms for

trust. Through those various interactions, it emerged that company personnel felt that audiences had

acquired a high level of trust in Capital FM's news and that it was the responsibility of the company to

maintain that trust.

However, the company's view of audiences as co-creators of content revealed mistrust. During

the course of observation, it was clear that audiences had acquired power in the actor-network through

the role they play in informing the conceptualising, packaging, and pushing of stories. However, unlike

audiences in other geographical contexts (Beckett, 2010), Capital FM audiences had not been enrolled in

providing user-generated content (UGC) nor were all online sources trusted.

Previous literature indicated that Kenyan media houses made use of UGC, and that news

organisations also encouraged audiences to respond to stories or send in their own content (Nyabuga &

Booker, 2013; World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011). But at Capital FM, the

editorial director expressed caution about its UGC and online sources, even though he referred to plans

to use UGC in the coverage of the 2017 election. He said that one cannot always be sure about the

credibility of information that comes from outside the newsroom.

> We have a phone number that has a WhatsApp group that we want to start inviting the public to
> send us info on. It will be for news. We're the ones who want the public to send us stuff. But I'll
> tell you why, maybe, newsrooms may be a bit cautious with that. It's because there's a lot of
> false stuff going out. And people share, and it is a fact. Okay? The other day I was at home, and
> my wife tells me, "Why was [a well known news personality]? And I'm like, "Who told you she
> was fired?" She told me it was on social media. She's been fired. So I call a guy there and the
> guy tells me, "she's actually coming up on news." [laughs]. So I even told [his] wife, social
> media, you can't trust it. Yes. So I think why people are cautious about getting stuff from people
> is because you still have to verify. Because you can actually mislead the public… At the back of
> our minds, we know we need to be careful with what comes through these platforms (Editorial
> director interview, Aug. 30, 2016).

The need to verify information also came against the backdrop of a news media that had

previously been used to spread misinformation (Makali, 1998; as cited in Nyamnjoh, 2005), and

anecdotal reports of individuals used to malign reputations or spread rumours on social media (Madowo,

2015). Because of the use of media to spread misinformation or rumours, the editorial director

expressed a wariness about publishing potentially untrustworthy stories from audiences and the negative

effect this would have on Capital FM's reputation. This caution revealed a mistrust that prevented

Capital FM from incorporating a practice that has been adopted in other news organisations.

Another aspect of mistrust was seen among news media companies and the lengths to which competitors would go to gain an edge over other companies. This was exposed by an article carried in the Business section of the Capital FM website. The story questioned the credibility of two news companies" web metrics as captured on alexa.com. The story speculated that the cause could be attributed either to having exclusive content going viral or to the competitors manipulating the figures (Macharia, 2016). In this case, web metrics were seen to be subjective and open to manipulation, yet in other instances they were an objective measure such as of the number of social media followers, number of people who have liked or shared a story, etc. story performance. The questioning of the validity or accuracy of web metrics revealed that in some contexts, even technological artefacts are not perceived as fully trustworthy.

Several Capital FM staffers also made reference to benchmarking against other trusted brands – such as CNN and BBC – and the trust the senior management placed in them as they experiment and innovate.

> I remember once, we noticed on, I think CNN, that you can comment on a story via Facebook. You know now, you know it's possible. Before it wasn't. So we were like, "Wa, wa, wa [a type of exclamation], how are they doing this?" But now coz here we're kinda open, we researched it and did it. And guys are like, "Wow. Have you seen what Capital are doing?" Like you don't have to ask for permission from Cyrus [the group managing director] or CK [the owner]. You see something, experiment on it. (Lead developer interview, Aug. 22, 2016).

In Capital FM's case, trust was not limited to an interaction among individuals. But it also extended to the interactions between human actants and the technological artefacts they use. The social context in which the technological artefacts were used was also found to have a bearing on perceptions of their reliability and stability. My conclusion was that in the context of ANT, trust could also be defined as human beings" expectancy of virtuous conduct from other human beings, and of veracity and reliability from material or other artefacts.

Global outlook

The company's global outlook emerged from various data. The owner's described his hunt for partnerships with digital content aggregators around the world (Uvie-Emegbo, 2013a). The head of Information Technology referred to diaspora audiences located around the world who tuned in to the livestreaming of the radio programming on the website (Observation notes, Aug. 1, 2016). The Lifestyle editor, webmaster, designers, Campus editor, and two reporters described using well-known sites such as Buzzfeed, *The Guardian*, BBC, and CNN to benchmark their work against international standards.

This global outlook led the company to acquire clients from outside Kenya's borders. The British Broadcasting Corporation had advertised on the Lifestyle section of the Capital FM website, and a South African travel company collaborated with Capital FM to take Kenyan-based jazz enthusiasts to a jazz festival in Cape Town in 2016 (Lifestyle editor interview, Aug. 8, 2016). The director of sales and marketing described the global clients Capital FM targets.

> With digital, you can't just look at Kenya. So we look at what's happening globally. And our competition is actually global because our competition is actually to rank higher on Alexa worldwide. That's actually our biggest challenge. We don't look at this locally because we get clients from all over the world. Clients book us from South Africa, from Dubai. As far as Asia, we have clients that have booked with us. (Director of sales and marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

Additionally, Capital FM considered its audiences to be global. Kenyans in the diaspora were among those audiences, and were the original reason behind the company running a livestream of its radio programming. Figure 5.2 is a map that indicates from where livestreaming listeners were logging onto the site. The map was among the web data collected by the head of IT.

213
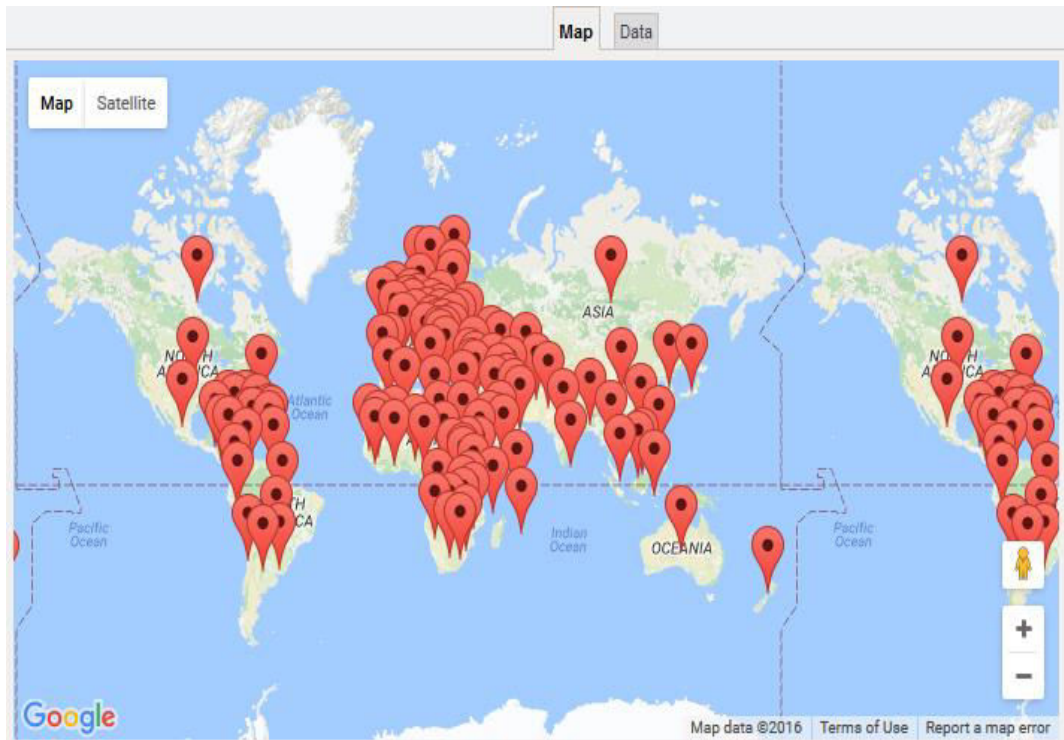
Figure 5.2: The Location of Capital FM Online Listeners in July 2016

Source: Head of IT, personal communication, August 1, 2016

But beyond Kenyans in the diaspora, other audiences had also emerged. The Lifestyle's section

had a content-sharing agreement with a South African women's website, meaning that each content

partner was exposed to the other's audiences. The company had also chosen to collaborate with China in

the sharing of content, as well as receiving training and equipment from Chinese entities. During the

period of observation, the company website had a section titled "Focus on China" and on Aug. 25, 2016,

the company received equipment from the Chinese embassy for use in the physical newsroom including

laptops, desktop computers, and voice recorders. Several Capital FM journalists had also travelled in

the past to China for media training.

Wasserman (2014) and Kamola (2014) were among the scholars who decried the limited

attention the African continent received in globalisation literature other than to refer to it as a peripheral

"Other" which mads limited contributions compared to the West and other regions. Yet the activities in

Capital FM's networked newsroom reflected the globalisation of production, distribution, and consumption experienced by the news media industry (Wasserman, 2014) and reflected what Nothias (2017) referred to as the "globalising media market" (Nothias, 2017, p. 81).

There was Capital FM's use of foreign-based web hosting companies, partnerships with advertisers and digital content aggregators based in various parts of the world, building of website and social media audiences, engagement with China, and use of globally recognised applications such as WordPress and WhatsApp. The experience of Capital FM showed that African media industries contribute to global processes (Wasserman, 2014) through their products and purchases. Capital FM's content was designed to reach web audiences located in far-flung geographical areas but easily found on virtual spaces such as Twitter. The company contributed to the flow of global capital in its purchase of web hosting services in the west while finding non-Kenyan advertisers and revenue-generating partners through its website.

Castells (2005) described globalisation as another term for the network society which he defines as "a social structure based on networks operated by information and communication technologies based in microelectronics and digital computer networks that generate, process, and distribute information on the basis of the knowledge accumulated in the nodes of the networks" (Castells, 2005, p. 70). If Capital FM and by extension Kenya's news media were a node in the network society, then Kenyan media provided knowledge in the form of content, but not in the deeper levels of computational thinking and infrastructural support. This resulted in the Kenyan media's position as a consumer, rather than producer, of products, and provided an underlying reason for the standardisation of the news product in Kenya compared to other regions across the world.

<div align="center">Conclusion from Thematic Analysis</div>

The five thematic categories described in the preceding sections are illustrated in Figure 5.3.

<div align="center">215</div>
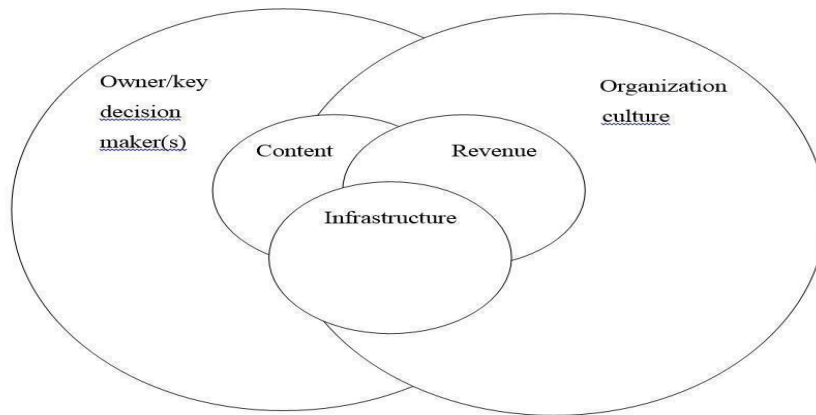
Figure 5.3: Conceptual Categorisations Explaining the Actor-Network

Source: Author (2017)

Figure 5.3 is a diagrammatic representation that conceptualises how at Capital FM, key decision-making, and the company's organisational culture provided an enabling environment in which access to the web (available by infrastructure) allowed news and digital space personnel to produce content that ultimately allowed the company to generate revenue. The interactions within these thematic categories had led to disruptions to the norms, practice and business of journalism.

The implication for journalistic practice was that how the five thematic categories discussed above - key decision-makers, organizational culture, content, infrastructure, and revenue – were expressed would serve as a useful indicator of how successful a commercial newsroom would be in incorporating a financially viable networked journalism.

Scholars have indicated that the entry of digital technologies in journalism had caused disruptions that included: declines in newspaper circulations; a shift among advertisers from traditional media to advertising more on the web; more news outlets producing content on multiple platforms to reach a wider variety of audiences; increased competition for audiences; and journalists producing content for multiple platforms including the web and the mobile phone. The last had also meant that

journalists worked under a lot more pressure, leading them to develop content that was cheaper, safer and quicker to produce, sensational, and likely to attract audiences (Anderson, 2009; Dickinson et al., 2013; Hemmingway, 2008; Robinson, 2011).

The networked journalism at Capital FM bore similarities with those experienced in other parts of the world. The multi-skilling and multi-tasking of journalists, use of the web to repurpose content from radio even while producing web-exclusive content, the continual striving to maintain and grow audiences, and the challenge to make a full profit from the digital endeavours repeatedly emerged as characteristics and concerns within the company.

There were differences however. At Capital FM, the deference for the owner stood out as a distinctive aspect of the company's organisational culture, and contributed to overcoming the newsroom personnel's resistance to adopting the web. The esteem with which the owner was treated in the company went beyond his being the proprietor of Capital FM. It was about his status as an elder and the respect accorded to him emerged as an expression of the sociality and sense of community that Nyamnjoh (2005) found to be distinctive in African and other non-Western cultures. This sense of respect also suggests that the values from African tradition interact with those of a modern-day organization.

The company's decision to place digital technologies at the centre of company operations was also not typical. Various scholars have described how the online departments at news media companies had been located in other buildings, or other sections of the company (Robinson, 2011; Tameling & Broersma, 2012). Capital FM's owner chose to take a risk on digital technologies even before he was sure that it would turn a profit. It was a decision that had proven profitable by the time data for this study was being collected. During the period of observation, Capital FM was growing in revenues from its

digital division even while its competitors in the Kenyan setting were struggling (Director of Sales and Marketing interview, Oct. 14, 2016).

The networked journalism taking place at Capital FM bore similarities with the pre-web journalism at the company. These similarities included the gate-keeping process evident in the physical newsroom, and the routines around the production of news for radio, including the "4-line, 20-second audio" format for local news. But there were also distinct differences among the two forms of journalism, not only in the personnel and technological artefacts but also in the routines, organisational culture, and effects on journalistic practice.

The entry of the web in a commercial radio station's journalistic practice had introduced new roles and content forms, changed roles for a cross-section of actants, provided a new definition of journalistic practice, demonstrated the dynamism of "news" as a construct, and exposed the company's global outlook and approach to organisational culture as practiced in a Kenyan setting.

In the networked newsroom at Capital FM, journalistic practice acquired new audiences, business model, norms, roles, and routines compared to those of the pre-web newsroom. My observations of Capital FM led me to posit that the Kenyan media landscape was experiencing the birth of an emerging type of commercial news media company. This new type of company does not own multiple legacy media assets, does not solely rely on legacy media profits to prop up a digital entity, has a global outlook of who its audiences and clients are, and makes a contribution to the global flows of production.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

This chapter presented answers to the three research questions and used theoretical and thematic analyses to discuss the findings made available through observation, open-ended interviews,

netnography, and document analysis. The next chapter distils the discussion of findings further, offers

concluding remarks and recommendations, and proposes areas of further study.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The interactions among the human and non-human actants in Capital FM's networked newsroom had resulted in disruptions to established journalistic routines, norms, and business model. New conceptual constructs of the newsroom and of journalistic practice emerged as did evolving power dynamics, and a distinctive African flavour to organisational culture embedded in standardised news practice. This chapter summarises the findings, discusses the implications of the study's findings, makes conclusive remarks, and proposes recommendations for further research.

Summary of Findings

This study found three types of actants in the actor-network of journalistic practice at Capital FM, namely human, corporate, and technological actors. These actants engaged in a collaborative interaction which resulted in the emergence of new roles, routinisation of new practices, re-definition of constructs such as "journalistic practice" and "newsroom," and the establishment of new roles and spatial organisation as traces of association that may be used as evidence of technological innovation in a newsroom.

Five thematic categories – organisational culture, key decision-makers, content, infrastructure, and revenue – also emerged to form a conceptual model that may be used to explain and predict the successful entry and incorporation of an innovation within an organizational context.

Discussion

Several scholars addressing Africa's post-colonial context spoke of the need for research on the continent that contributes towards the global flow of ideas, looks at its peoples who are constantly engaging in addressing their world, and develops its own norms, agenda, theories, and values (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006; Falola, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006). Yet an "epistemological imperialism" (Nyamnjoh, 2006, p. 398) has meant that there is a dominance of Western thought in scholarship and other aspects of African life, and a subsequent muting of non-Western thought and voices (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006; Falola, 2006; Willems & Mano, 2016).

While undertaking this study, I was cognisant of the thinking of the scholars referenced above as I sought to interrogate the incorporation of the web in Capital FM's journalistic practice. Among African journalism scholars, the study of the use of digital technologies in newsrooms had gained increasing, albeit still limited scrutiny. Research had moved away from techno-deterministic scholarship, and tended towards socio-constructivist approaches. The latter provided a macro-level understanding of newsroom processes within the institutional and societal contexts of media economies such as those in Egypt, Malawi, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Bosch, 2014; El Gody, 2014; Mabweazara 2014; Mare, 2014).

In situating this study in a commercial radio station in Kenya, I sought to expand the understanding of the incorporation of digital technologies in journalistic practice, and to contribute to scholarship that considers the African continent as "a set of vantage points onto the wider world, as an epistemological location that can help problematise and provincialise the largely Anglo-American canon of … [journalism] studies" (Willems & Mano, 2016).

This study used a socio-technical theoretical approach, enabling a micro-level assessment of the dynamics that emerged as technologies and human actants collaboratively associated in the course of

journalistic practice in a Kenyan radio station's newsroom. The theoretical approach also facilitated an interrogation of the agency of materially diverse elements and the tracing of power relations between actants as new technologies were deployed in the course of journalistic work (Weiss & Domingo, 2014).

The study established homogeneities and unique aspects of the use of digital technologies in journalistic practice, the place of African networked journalism within the larger global news production process, the increased power of audiences and entry of new players contributing to a redefinition of journalistic practice, ANT's exposure of power and trust within the actor-network of journalistic practice, contextual nuances in the organisational culture of the networked newsroom, and the evolution of the commercial news business in Kenya.

News production worldwide was a homogenised process comprised of particular routines, roles, and norms entrenched through global news agencies and different socialisation processes such as the training of journalists in Western countries (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Africa's traditional mass media were also imports of colonialism meaning that what was introduced before independence in many African states did not change leading to a "universalism" in the professional values, programme format, style and schedules of African broadcasters compared to their counterparts in other parts of the world (Berger, 2012; Bielsa, 2008; Karikari, 2007; Nyamnjoh, 2005).

This universalism was evident at Capital FM, a station launched by British expatriates, where pre-web journalistic practice was enacted in a hierarchically organised newsroom with a particular group of people gathering and packaging news before passing it on to audiences. In that newsroom, there were clear divisions of labour and a reporting structure, where those gathering and developing the news (reporters) reported to, and consulted with those processing it (editors). The editors, also known as gatekeepers, in turn passed the news on to an audience that made no contribution to the collection, packaging, or distribution components in news production (Vos, 2015).

As happened in other parts of the world, the entry of digital technologies in journalistic practice disrupted Capital FM's pre-web newsroom. The web was used for livestreaming of radio programming from the early years of the station's existence. But it took the entry of new ownership to fully incorporate the web into journalistic practice. The uptake of digital technologies at Capital FM bore some similarities to other experiences such as those observed in Western newsrooms (Anderson, 2009; Robinson, 2011; Scott, 2005; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). The similarities included an initial resistance to changing practices, greater interaction between journalists and technical personnel, reliance on web metrics, use of content management systems such as WordPress, multi-skilling, multi-tasking, rolling deadlines, the use of the web in sourcing information for news stories, the news judgement exhibited among journalists in angling and packing stories for radio, web, and mobile, and incorporating new revenue streams beyond advertising.

But there were particular attributes specific to African newsrooms (Mabweazara, 2010; Mudhai, 2014) that were also seen at Capital FM. These attributes included the influence on news by the political and regulatory environments in which the radio station operates. The owner's relationship with the business and political elite meant there were certain constraints placed on reportage. The use of different digital technologies in the newsroom and pervasive internet access also reflected Kenya's policy and infrastructural investment in ICTs (Ndemo, 2017).

Networked journalism also varied from newsroom to newsroom in the number and nature of actants involved in journalistic practice, as well as in particular nomenclature, norms, practices, and definitions. The 21 actants identified in the networked newsroom's actor-network at Capital FM included a digital media administrator. Sambuli (2005) identified this as a role in several Kenyan newsrooms but which I had not seen referenced in other literature. At Capital FM, the editors for

Lifestyle and Campus pushed their own content, while the digital media administrator for news was a role distinct from that of the physical newsroom editors.

I saw this as a distinction between the digital space and physical newsroom. The physical newsroom editors handled larger volumes of content daily compared to their younger Lifestyle and Campus counterparts. The physical newsroom produced content for mobile, radio, and web platforms, while the Lifestyle and Campus sections were exclusively on the web. Having a DM administrator to exclusively push physical newsroom content freed up the newsroom editors to focus on particular tasks. But the incorporation of the DM administrator role into the other tasks performed by the Lifestyle and Campus editors reflected the convergence of skills in the networked newsroom.

Because smartphone users were increasingly using bundles to access the internet, the mobile phone bundle was contributing to the conceptualising of particular kinds of story forms e.g. web video series that had relatively short episodes. The bundle therefore added to Rodgers' (2015) list of technological objects that contributed to journalistic practice at Capital FM. The mobile phone bundle is an important technological artefact in African newsrooms because of how audiences access the web. Additionally at Capital FM, every networked newsroom staffer received a monthly allowance towards it.

Another way in which the Capital FM newsroom varied from others was in its expression of journalistic practice. Anderson (2009) referred to journalistic practice as having four components: reporting, editing, web production, and community conversation. Other scholars viewed it as a three-stage process (Erjavec, 2004; Mabweazara, 2010; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). At Capital FM, journalistic practice had five components namely: story conceptualisation, information gathering, story development, story packaging, and story distribution.

At Capital FM, "first scroll" and "blogs" were original or adapted references to the audience's view of a website or opinion published on the web. The first term was developed in-house, and referred

to what a user was able to see when they opened a website. The latter term is a shortened form of "web

log," which typically refers to "a website containing a writer's or group of writers" own experiences,

observations, opinions, etc., and often having images and links to other websites" (Dictionary.com, n.d.).

However, at Capital FM, the term "blog" referred to commentaries from internal and external

contributors, similar to those that were published in the opinion sections of a newspaper. The data also

established that news norms at Capital FM were dynamic rather than fixed, a finding that validated

observations from Kasoma (1996) and Nyamnjoh (2005) that the frequent presumption of Western

norms on African expressions of journalism is an awkward fit.

Capital FM's brand of networked journalism also revealed extensive interaction with global

news production processes. Several staffers underwent journalism training in North America, Britain or

Europe. The company devoted large sections of its website to international news acquired from news

agencies AFP and Xinhua. The former was considered one of the "big three" among global news

agencies, the other two being the Associated Press and Reuters. Global news agencies had become the

source of most of the news available on the web, and had contributed to the spread of shared news

norms, values and formats across the world, thus extending the homogeneous and globalised nature of

news production (Bielsa, 2008; Scott, 2005).

As noted during the observation period, Capital FM personnel had also taken advantage of the

vast array of resources available on the web to acquire new skills, seek inspiration, gather ideas, and find

new clients and audiences. The owner required the designers working on his magazine to learn web

design through online tutorials such as those found on YouTube. Company staffers frequently travelled

to industry-related events and conferences, or visited websites of other news organisations such as CNN,

BBC, Al Jazeera, and The Guardian. The Capital FM personnel described the latter as benchmarking,

where they compared their work with that of global news brands even as they sought ideas and

inspiration from them.

The use of free web tools such as social media and WordPress templates provided Capital FM

with the same ability as other wealthier, larger news organisations to package information, reach global

audiences, validate influence, and seek advertisers. During the period of observation, Capital FM's

landing page bore striking resemblance to that of the *New York Post*, whose website is also managed on

WordPress. Capital FM had run advertisements from the BBC and a South African tour firm, and shared

content with South African and Chinese partners. Three newsroom editors, the Lifestyle editor, and the

owner were among Capital FM personnel to have received blue badges on Twitter, globally recognised

affirmations of their credibility as sources of information.

Through its website and social media accounts, Capital FM also sought new audiences and

clients beyond the Kenyan borders. The owner's global search for digital content aggregators, and the

company's content- and revenue-generating partnerships established with non-Kenyan companies

demonstrated Capital FM's contribution to global flows of information and production. However, the

contribution from Capital FM to the global flows of knowledge and capital skewed towards

consumption rather than production as shown in Figure 6.1.

226
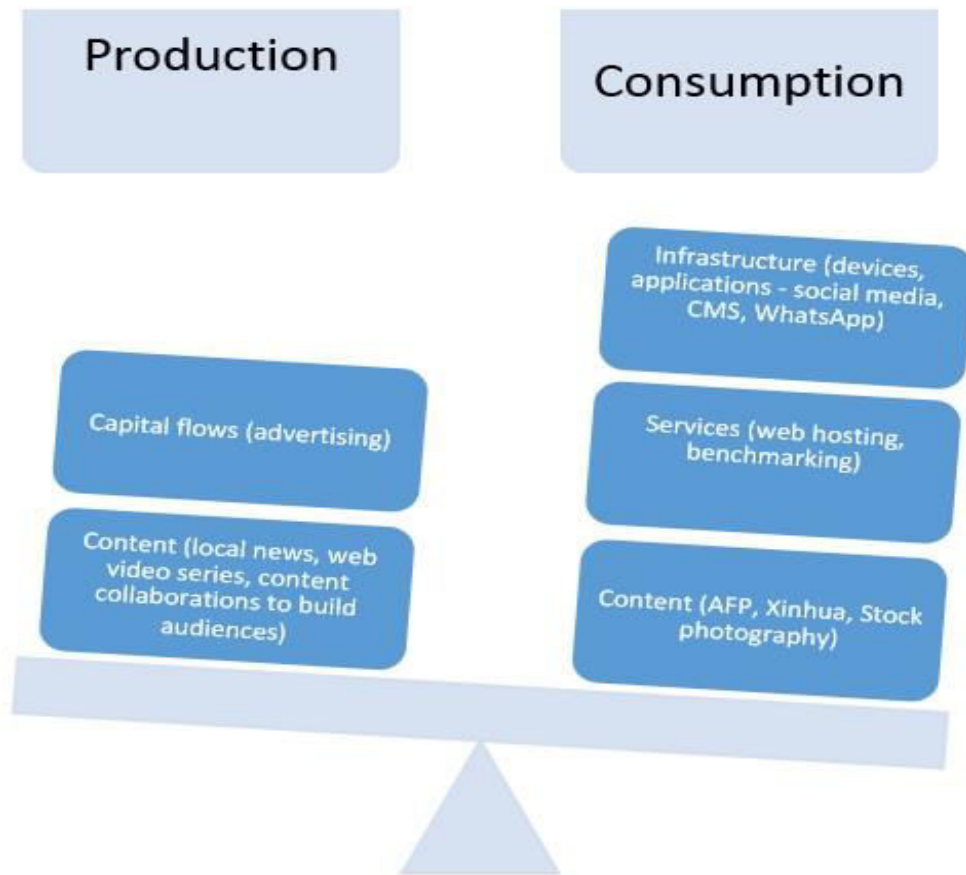
Figure 6.1: Capital FM's Contributions to Global News Flows

Source: Author (2017)

Additionally, audiences acquired more importance in Capital FM's networked newsroom

compared to the pre-web newsroom. The growing youth population in Kenya – the youth bulge – had

drawn the attention of news media executives who were turning to digital and mobile platforms to reach

this population (Webmaster interview, Aug. 12, 2016). Capital FM was increasingly turning its attention

to this demographic, by creating content such as the web video series and the owner's motivational

articles and videos targeted at younger audiences. The company also enrolled new roles into the

networked newsroom's journalistic practice, specifically focused on attracting and growing website and

social media audiences. The webmaster and digital media administrator roles were now engaging in

story conceptualisation and distribution, which emerged as aspects of networked journalistic practice.

The company's reliance on data metrics – the open window as one former digital editor put it –

also introduced new practices such as the webmaster's monthly sharing of most viewed stories. While

the webmaster described this as an incentive for journalists to work harder, Bunce (2017) noted that

monitoring audience metrics on stories could serve as a management tool to reward top performers and

penalise less well-performing journalists.

Reporters and editors also acquired the practice of promoting and sharing news content on their

personal social networks. This reflected a greater awareness of audiences within the networked

newsroom. The digital media administrator's pushing of content also linked the content to other

discourses such as topical discussions built around a hashtag. Combined, the action of pushing among

the reporters, editors, and digital media administrators also contributed to what Moyo (2009), as cited in

Paterson (2013), referred to as the "parallel market of information."

This term from Moyo (2016) echoed the concept of the public sphere idealised by its developer

Jürgen Habermas, as a forum where every citizen can access information equally and without

government control (Habermas, 1989; as cited in Bennett & Entman, 2001). The emergence of social

media as a public sphere may have implications for young, still-fragile democratic states such as those

found in various parts of the developing world, and is worthwhile of further study.

This study also found actor-network theory to be useful in revealing the nature of journalistic

practice at Capital FM and in discussing the construct of "power." In the case of the former, this study

found two new traces of association beyond those presented in Dolwick's (2009) typology. The new

traces of association were "new roles" and "spatial location." As regards power, Latour (2005) said that

how it is addressed in ANT depended on the description of the actor-network. However, Couldry (2008)

observed that ANT does not address the nuanced power dynamics inherent in networks or the long-term consequences of those dynamics.

I agreed with Latour (2005) fully, and with Couldry (2008) to some extent, because the various interviews and observations yielded explanations as to which actant wielded power and at what point. The expression of power in the actor-network of journalistic practice at Capital FM came from which actant enrolled other actants into the actor-network, and which actant caused modification in other actants.

Couldry (2008) contended that the nuances in power dynamics are not addressed in ANT. If the addressing of power is based entirely on the visual representation of the actor-network, it would be difficult to address the varied power dynamics among actants. However, this study found particular nuances in the power dynamics, evident in the controversies presented in Chapter Four. These controversies included divergent views on what constitutes "news" and resistance to the incorporation of technology. In describing a controversy, the power dynamics between actants was revealed, contrary to Couldry's (2008) position.

For example, the webmaster and the editor were each mediators in the actor-network but were different in the nature of their influence within the actor-network. The visible expression of their influence could only be gauged by the number of interactions they had as shown in the actor-network. Yet an actor could have fewer interactions but more power than a different actor. The joint OPP of access, devices, and applications, for example showed minimal interactions yet without it, the entire networked newsroom's journalistic practice would collapse. The understanding of the power of the actant emerged in the description of its interaction. However, the long-term consequences of those power dynamics were difficult to address within ANT, which is where I agreed with Couldry (2008).

The respect accorded by Capital FM staffers to the owner also emerged as a reflection of the sociality and sense of community that Nyamnjoh (2005) described as distinctive in African and other non-Western cultures. Referring to the owner as *mzee* implied a value system from African tradition that interacted with those of a modern-day organization, revealing what Nyamnjoh (2006) described as the "ongoing processes of creative negotiation …of the multiple encounters, influences and perspectives evident throughout their continent" (Nyamnjoh, 2006, p. 393).

The findings also showed distinctions between the pre-web and networked newsrooms at Capital FM. The former was hierarchical in structure, earned money largely from advertising, considered its audiences to be Kenyans locally and in the diaspora, and produced radio stories on news, business, and sports that were repurposed for the web. The networked newsroom had both hierarchical and adhocratic cultures, had multiple revenue streams, had expanded its audiences to include non-Kenyans in other parts of the world, and produced website and social media content that covered news, business, sports, lifestyle, and campus.

These changes suggested a change in the commercial press in Kenya. The early commercial press in Kenya developed during the colonial period with Africans, Asians, and Europeans venturing into setting up newspapers such as *The Standard, Mũmenyereri*, *Sauti Mwafrika*, and *Mwalimu*. African publications were often written in vernacular languages (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988; Frederiksen, 2006). While many of the newspapers folded prior to Independence in 1963, others flourished such as the *Daily Nation*, which prospered from the 1960s into the early 2000s.

Broadcasting had been in the hands of governing authorities from colonial times and it was not until the 1990s that media liberalisation enabled private investors to set up and acquire licenses for radio and television stations. The commercial press grew to include radio stations, which were the news medium with the largest reach countrywide in Kenya, as well as multi-platform companies comprised of

230

print and broadcast outlets (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; World Association of Newspapers and News

Publishers, 2012).

Nation Media Group became the most visibly successful commercial news firm in the East

African region, as a publicly listed company on the Nairobi Securities Exchange with multi-platform

news media assets, audiences, and earnings (Mbeke et al., 2010). But during the period of observation,

the company had faltered, as seen in retrenchments, staff and asset cutbacks, and shift in focus to digital

and mobile platforms (NTV, 2016; Sunday, 2016).

Yet Capital FM had thrived in that season of disruption, and the characteristics of its networked

newsroom led me to conclude that a new type of commercial news company was emerging in Kenya.

This new type of company was smaller in asset and personnel size compared to its earlier counterparts

yet had larger, disaggregated audiences on digital and analogue platforms, and a wider range of revenue

streams. This type of company also made extensive use of free or open-source tools, which reduced its

production costs even while presenting products that were comparable to those produced by large,

global news outlets.

Conclusions

The observations, interviews, netnography, and document review undertaken at Capital FM

exposed the transforming nature and needs of the news business. Content creation, social media pushing,

revenue-generation, infrastructure stability, and web metrics emerged as some of the essential aspects of

contemporary journalism. The company's incorporation of the web in journalistic practice had led to the

emergence of a networked newsroom marked by collaborations between multiple human, technological

and corporate actants. These collaborations had resulted in the radio station gaining a second news

platform, the influence of metrics in awarding audiences with increased power in decision-making

within the networked newsroom, and greater blurring of roles between the editorial and business departments in the company.

The interactions between the various actants were demonstrated in the networked newsroom's actor-network which revealed various mediators' significance, and the non-linear, multi-directional nature of journalistic practice in a Kenyan newsroom. Various aspects of journalistic practice at Capital FM were similar to those explained in other contexts (Anderson, 2009; Beckett, 2010; Mabweazara, 2014), confirming the continued homogeneous nature of news production globally even with the incorporation of digital technologies. The homogeneity was enabled by the frequent comparisons networked newsroom personnel at Capital FM made with other websites, and the use of software objects such as social media and standardised content management systems such as WordPress. But the variation among newsrooms in nomenclature, norms, and practices indicated that aspects of networked journalism remained dynamic and fluid.

This study also demonstrated that the use of the web in journalistic practice at Capital FM had led to associations among a variety of human, technological, and corporate actors, whose collaboration had changed aspects of news production, including its nomenclature, personnel, and routines. The constructs of "journalistic practice," and "newsroom were re-defined, and the concept of "news" was seen to have multiple dimensions affected by the context in which it was produced.

Additionally, this study posited that the five concepts revealed in the thematic analysis – organisational culture, key decision-making, content, revenue, and infrastructure – explained Capital FM's attainment of a financially viable networked journalism. The five concepts can further serve as guiding points for an organisation or entity when it is incorporating an innovation or change.

Capital FM showed that while the Kenyan commercial newsroom was mostly a consumer within global news production flows, it was also making a contribution in as far as sharing content and drawing

advertising in and from other parts of the world. This suggested that Africa's marginal presence in

globalisation literature needed to be reassessed.

<div align="center">Recommendations</div>

Globally, the incorporation of digital technologies in news production processes had led to

disruptive changes in newsroom norms, structures, cultures, business models, ethics, and audiences.

Some of these changes came at financial and reputational cost, and left commercial news business

companies struggling to grow profits on online platforms.

In this regard, this study made the following recommendations:

The digital space and physical newsroom at Capital FM manifested two distinct cultures, in

which innovation and imitative practices thrived respectively. This study recommended greater

collaboration and interaction between personnel in the two spatial locations to promote greater

innovation around content development and an increased understanding among all of the web's potential

as a news platform.

In the physical newsroom, the web was treated as an online version of a newspaper. This

frequently limited the news content to two-dimensional presentations of news, such as with a graphic

and text. However, human actants in the news production process can make greater use of the web's

multimediality, hypertextuality, and interactivity as defined by Siapera and Veglis (2012).

The company had created new revenue-generating opportunities, such as creating micro-websites

for clients and promoting clients" on social media. However, this had also meant greater blurring of

lines between editorial and business personnel. New media houses would need to reflect more deeply

and strategically about the implications of the new revenue generation opportunities vis-à-vis

journalistic practice.

<div align="center">233</div>

Areas of Further Study

This study made the following recommendations for further research:

- a study of devices in the networked newsroom as communicative affordances, which would enable an interrogation of the subjective perceptions, objective qualities, and the effect on communicative behaviour inside and outside the networked newsroom;

- an evaluation of the role of news media-generated content in social media conversations such as those that develop around hashtags

- analyses of audience interaction and engagement on stories;

- an evaluation of norms in networked journalistic practice in the African context;

- and a socio-technical interrogation of the networked newsroom in African within its larger political, cultural, and socio-economic context.

Another recommendation was that universities in Kenya should:

- expose students to converged journalism;

- enable a creative environment among students and staff that can incubate ideas for use in networked journalism;

- engage in research that can further address normative, structural, policy, and content dimensions related to the networked newsroom.

234

REFERENCES

Abuoga, J. B., & Mutere, A. (1988). *The history of the press in Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: African Council of Communication Education.

Ackerman, E., & Hartman, K. (2013). *The Information Specialist's guide to searching and researching on the internet and the world wide web*. New York: Routledge.

Alexa.com. (n.d.a). *The top 500 sites on the web by category*. Retrieved from http://www.alexa.com/topsites/category/Regional/Africa/Kenya

Alexa.com. (n.d.b). *Capitalfm.co.ke traffic statistics*. Retrieved from http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/capitalfm.co.ke

Allen, K., & Gagliardone, I. (2011). Kenya: Case study snapshot of donor support to ICTs and Media, 2011. *The Media Map Project*. Retrieved from http://www.mediamapresource.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Kenya_web1.pdf

Anderson, C. W. (2009). *Breaking journalism down: Work, authority, and networking local news, 1997-2009* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbia University, New York.

Arshad, H. (2016, October 6). *The complete guide to social media account verification*. Retrieved from https://www.searchenginejournal.com/the-complete-guide-to-social-media-account-verification/172832/

Banda, F. (2010). *Citizen journalism and democracy in Africa: An exploratory study*. Grahamstown, South Africa: Highway Africa.

Bandyopadhyay, C., & Gupta, M. (1996). The effects of computerization on newspaper workers. *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, 32*(2), 193-203.

Barber, K. (2009). Orality, the Media and New Popular Cultures in Africa. In K. Njogu & J. Middleton (Eds.), *Media and Identity in Africa* (pp. 3-18). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Barbour, R. S., & Schostack, J. (2011). Interviewing and focus groups. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.), *Theory and methods in social research* (2nd ed, pp. 61-68). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Beckett, C. (2010, June). *The value of networked journalism*. Paper presented at the Networked Journalism Conference at the London School of Economics, London. Retrieved from http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/Polis/Files/networkedjournalism.pdf

Beers, D. (2006). The public sphere and online, independent journalism. *Canadian Journal of Education, 29*(1), 109-130.

Bellingcat (n.d.). *Bellingcat: By and for citizen journalists*. Retrieved from https://www.bellingcat.com

Bennett, L., & Entman, R. (Eds.) (2001) *Mediated politics: Communication in the future of democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berger, G. (2012). Theorising African communications: The bad news signaled by broadcast digital migration policy. *Communicatio, 38*(2), 135-146.

Berners-Lee, T. (n.d.). *Sir Tim Berners-Lee: Web inventor and founding director of the World Wide Web Foundation* [web post]. Retrieved from http://webfoundation.org/about/sir-tim-berners-lee/

Bielsa, E. (2008). The pivotal role of news agencies in the context of globalization: A historical approach. *Global Networks*. doi:10.1111/j.1471-0374.2008.00199.x

Blöbaum, B. (2014, March). *Trust and journalism in a digital environment*. Working paper presented at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Bloomberg, L. D., & Volpe, M. (2012). *Completing your qualitative dissertation: A road map from beginning to end*. London: Sage Publications.

Boczkowski, P. J. (2005). *Digitizing the news: Innovation in online newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Boczkowski, P. J., & Siles, I. (2014). Steps toward cosmopolitanism in the study of media technologies: Integrating scholarship on production, consumption, materiality, and content. In T. Gillespie, P. J. Boczkowski, & K. A. Foot (Eds.). *Media technologies* (pp. 53-75). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bosch, T. (2014). Social media and community radio journalism in South Africa. *Digital Journalism, 2*(1), 29-43.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*, 77- 101.

Brizuel-Garcia, E. (2006). African historiography and the crisis of institutions. In P.T. Zeleza (Ed.). *The study of Africa: Disciplinary and interdisciplinary encounters, Vol. 1.* (pp. 135 – 167). Dakar, Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

Brügger, N. (2012). When the present web is later the past: Web historiography, digital history, and internet studies. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung, 37*(4), pp. 102-117.

Bucher, T. (2016). "Machines don't have instincts": Articulating the computational in journalism. *New Media & Society, 19*(6), 918-933.

Burrows, O. (2016, March 18). Kenya: President Kenyatta appoints Dr Kirubi as chairman of Brand Kenya Board. *Capital FM*. Retrieved from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke.

Brügger, N. (2012). When the present web is later the past: Web historiography, digital history, and internet studies. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung, 37*(4), 102-117.

Bunce, M. (2015). Africa in the click stream: Audience metrics and foreign correspondents in Africa. *African Journalism Studies, 4*(36), 12-29.

Bunce, M. (2017). Management and resistance in the digital newsroom. *Journalism*. doi: 10.1177/1464884916688963

Burns, D., & Chantler, K. (2011). Feminist methodologies. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.). *Theory and methods in social research* (2nd ed., pp. 70 – 77). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Bwire, V. (2015, May 2). Press freedom continues to diminish despite the passage of new laws. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.nation.co.ke

Capital Campus. (n.d.). *Capital Campus.* Retrieved from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/campus/

Capital FM. (n.d.). *Capital FM app*. Retrieved from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/app/

Capital FM Kenya. (2014, Dec. 4). *The scoop: Why I bought Capital FM – Chris Kirubi*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bKt4QO5zc6c

Capital TV. (n.d.). *CapitalTV*. Retrieved from https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/tv/

Castells, M. (2005). The network society: From knowledge to policy. In M. Castells & G. Cardoso (Eds.), *The network society: From knowledge to policy* (pp. 3 – 22). Washington DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations.

Cerf, V. G. (2017). Foreword. In B. Ndemo & T. Weiss (Eds.). *Digital Kenya: An entrepreneurial revolution in the making* (pp. vii- viii). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chadderton, C., & Torrance, H. (2011). Case study. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.). *Theory and methods in social research* (2nd ed., pp.. 53-60). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

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.

Code for Africa. (n.d.). *Code for Africa*. Retrieved rom http://www.codeforafrica.org/

Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). *Definition of "controversy."* Retrieved from https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/controversym

Communications Authority of Kenya. (2015). *October–December 2014: Quarterly sector statistics report*. Retrieved from http://ca.go.ke/images/downloads /STATISTICS /Sector % 20Statistics%20Report%20Q2%202014-2015.pdf

Communications Authority of Kenya (2016). *First quarter sector statistics report for the financial year 2015/2016 (July–September 2015)*. Retrieved from http://www.ca.go.ke/ images/downloads/STATISTICS/Sector%20%20Statistics%20Report%20Q1%202015-16.pdf

Controversy. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster*. Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/controversy

Couldry, N. (2008). Actor network theory and the media: Do they connect and on what terms? In A. Hepp, F. Krotz, S. Moores, & C. Winter (Eds.), *Connectivity, networks and flows: Conceptualizing contemporary communications* (pp. 93-110). Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.

Craig, G. (2003). New media technologies and the making of the new global reporter. *Transformations, 7.* Retrieved from http://www.transformationsjournal.org/ journal/issue_07/article_04.shtml

Craig, R. T. (1999). Communication theory as a field. *Communication Theory, 9*(2), 119-161.

Crawford, C. S. (2005) Actor-network theory. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory, Vol. 1.* (pp. 1-3). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed-method approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2007) *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative & mixed methods approaches*. (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Daily Nation. (Producer) (2015, Aug. 6). *Nation Media Group investor briefing: Full video* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vezx5nn-5O4

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 1 – 32)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Deuze, M. (2001). Online journalism: Modeling the first generation of news media on the World Wide Web. *First Monday, 6*(10). Retrieved from http://ojphi.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/893/802

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology journalists reconsidered. *Journalism, 6*(4), 442-464.

Deuze, M. (2008). The changing context of news work: Liquid journalism and monitorial citizenship. *International Journal of Communication*, *2*, 848-865.

Dickinson, R., Matthew, J., & Saltzis, K. (2013). Studying journalists in changing times: Understanding news work as socially situated practice. *The International Communication Gazette, 75*(1), 3-18.

Dictionary.com. (n.d.). *Blog*. Retrieved from http://www.dictionary.com/browse/blog

Digital Technology. (n.d.). In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved from http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401801216.html

DiMaggio, P. (2005) Cultural capital. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of social theory, Vol. 1*. (pp. 167-170). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dolwick, J. S. (2009). The "social" and beyond: Introducing actor-network theory. *Journal of Maritime Archaeology, 4*(1), 21-49.

Donmoyer, R. (2011). Generalisability and the single case study. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley, & P. Foster (Eds.), *Case study method: Key issues, key texts* (pp. 46-68). London: Sage Publications.

Dotsavvy Africa. (2016, January 21). *The five biggest social media platforms in Kenya*. Retrieved from http://www.dotsavvyafrica.com/the-5-biggest-social-media-platforms-in-kenya/

Elgali, Z., & Kalman, Y. M. (2010). Using actor-network theory to analyze the construction of the failure concept in a K-12 ICT integration program. *Proceedings of the Chais conference on instructional technologies research 2010: Learning in the technological era*. Retrieved from http://www.openu.ac.il/personal_sites/download/yoram-kalman/using-actor-network-theory.pdf

Erjavec, K. (2004). Beyond advertising and journalism: hybrid promotional news disourse. *Discourse & Society, 15*(5), 553-578.

Executive. (1998, August). To broadcast or not to broadcast. *Executive*, *53*.

Falola, T. (2006).Writing and teaching national history in Africa in the era of global history. In P.T. Zeleza (Ed.), *The study of Africa: Disciplinary and interdisciplinary encounters, Vol. 1* (pp. 168 – 186). Dakar, Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

Frankham, J., & MacRae, C. (2011). Ethnography. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.), *Theory and methods in social research* (2nd ed., pp. 34 – 42). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Frederiksen, B. F. (2006). The present battle is the brain battle: Writing and publishing a Kikuyu newspaper in the pre-Mau Mau period in Africa. In K. Barber (Ed.), *Africa's hidden histories: Everyday literacy and making the self* (pp. 278-313). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Gachiri, J. (2014, November 19). South African media group buys stake in two radio stations. *Business Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/

Gans, H. J. (2004) *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time* (25th anniversary ed.). Evanston, Il: Northwestern University Press.

Gillespie, T., Boczkowski, P. J., & Foot, K. A. (2014). Introduction. In T. Gillespie, P. J. Boczkowski, & K. A. Foot (Eds.), *Media technologies* (pp. 1-17). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Githaiga, G., Minnie, J., & Bussiek, H. (2011). *Kenya: A survey by Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMap), Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa (OSIEA), Open Society Media Program*. Nairobi, Kenya: Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa.

Goujard, C. (2016). Why news websites are closing their comments sections. *Global Editors Network*. Retrieved from https://medium.com/global-editors-network/why-news-websites-are-closing-their-comments-sections-ea31139c469d#.ax50mk2na

Government of the Republic of Kenya. (2007). *Kenya Vision 2030: The Popular Version*. Retrieved from http://www.vision2030.go.ke/ wp-content/uploads/ 2015/06/ Popular_Version1.pdf

Guest, G., Namey, E. E., & Mitchell, M. L. (2013). *Collecting qualitative data: A field manual for applied research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory, 17*, 367-385.

Hemmingway, E. (2008). *Into the newsroom: Exploring the digital production of regional television news*. New York: Routledge.

Herbling, D. (2013, May 29). Nation Media Group grows its online platforms in leaps and bounds. *Business Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/Nation-Media-grows-its-online-platforms-in-leaps-and-bounds-/-/1248928/1866290/-/ceo80/-/index.html

Hermans, L., Vergeer, M., & d''Haenens, L. (2009). Internet in the daily life of journalists: Explaining the use of the internet by work-related characteristics and professional opinions. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 15*, 138-157.

Hines, C. (2000). *Virtual ethnography*. London: Sage Publications.

Holly, M. L., & Altricher, H. (2011). Research diaries. In B. Somekh & C. Lewin (Eds.), *Theory and methods in social research* (2nd ed., pp. 43-52). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Ireri, K. (2012). *Kenyan journalists: A study of demographics, job satisfaction, news values and perceived autonomy*. Paper presented at the 2012 AEJMC conference, Chicago, IL.

Jenkins, R. (2005). Bourdieu, Pierre. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of social theory, Vol. 11* (pp. 66-71). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Jordaan, M. (2013). Poke me, I'm a journalist: The impact of Facebook and Twitter on newsroom routines and cultures at two South African weeklies. *Equid Novi: African Journalism Studies, 34*(1), 21-35.

Jordaan, M. (2014). Back to the future: Reinvigorating the "newsroom genre" to study social media use in developing contexts. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices, and emerging cultures* (pp. 17 – 33). New York: Routledge.

Joubish, M. F., Khurram, M. A., Ahmed, A., Fatima, S. T., & Haider, K. (2011). Paradigms and characteristics of good qualitative research. *World Applied Sciences Journal, 12*(11), 2082-2087.

Juma, V. (2014, September 4). Chris Kirubi steps out as Kenya's top corporate fixer. *Business Daily*. Retrieved from http://businessdailyafrica.com

Kaberia, J. (2014, September 19). From the pager to 411: Breaking news since "99. *X News*, p. 3. Retrieved from http://www.ipsos.co.ke/NEWBASE_EXPORTS/StarTimes%20rename/140919_XNEWS_3_850 c6.pdf

Kaberia, J. (2015, July 30). Making of the POTUS interview by Capital FM. *Capital FM*. Retrieved from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke

Kaberia, J. (2016, March 7). Cops gang-raped me, imprinted name on my thigh - 19yr old. *Capital FM*. Retrieved from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke

Kamola, I. (2014). Africa and "globalization." In M. B. Steger, P. Battersby, & J. M. Siracusa (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of globalization Vol. 1* (pp. 231-244). London: Sage Publications.

Kang, J. (2011, September 8). *What is an API?* [web post]. Retrieved from https://www.quora.com/What-is-an-API-4

Kaplan, A. M. (2015, March 24). Social media. In D.T. Cook & J.M. Ryan (Eds.). *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of consumption and consumer studies*, 1-5. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell

Karikari, K. (2007). African media since Ghana's independence. In E. Barratt & G. Berger (Eds.), *50 years of journalism: African media since Ghana's independence* (pp. 10 – 20). Johannesburg: African Editors" Forum, Highway Africa & Media Foundation for West Africa.

Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Brands* [web post]. Retrieved from http://www.kbc.co.ke/

Kenya Yearbook Editorial Board. (2010). *Kenya Yearbook 2010*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Yearbook Editorial Board.

Kimani, N. (2016, July 27). East Africa's biggest independent publisher battered by job cuts and political pressure. *Daily Maverick*. Retrieved from https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-07-27-kenya-east-africas-biggest-independent-publisher-battered-by-job-cuts-and-political-pressure/#.WN1lXW-GO9g

Kohring, M., & Matthes, J. (2007). Trust in news media: Development and validation of a multidimensional scale. *Communication Research, 34*(2), 231-252.

Kozinets, R.V. (2010). *Netnography: Doing ethnographic research online*. London: Sage Publications.

Latour, B. (1987). *Science in action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (1996). On actor-network theory: A few clarifications. *Soziale Welt*, *47*(4), 369–381.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Law, J. (2009). Actor-network theory and material semiotics. In B. S. Turner (Ed.), *The new Blackwell companion to social theory* (pp. 141-158). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lewis, J., & Ritchie, J. (2003). Generalising from qualitative research. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 263–286). London: Sage Publications.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2015). Actors, actants, audiences, and activities in cross-media news work. *Digital Journalism, 3*(1), 19-37.

Lievrouw, L. A. (2014). Materiality and media in communication and technology studies: An unfinished project. In T. Gillespie, P. J. Boczkowski, & K. A. Foot (Eds.), *Media technologies* (pp. 21-51). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (2008). *Theories of human communication* (9th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson.

Loughran, G. (2010). *Birth of a nation: The story of a newspaper in Kenya*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Løvlie, A. S, Ihlebæk, K. A., & Larsson, A. O. (2017). User experiences with editorial control in online newspaper comment fields. *Journalism Practice,* 1-20. doi:10.1080/17512786.2017.1293490

Mabweazara, H. M. (2010). *New technologies and print journalism practice in Zimbabwe: An ethnographic study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Edinburgh Napier University, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Mabweazara, H. M. (2014a). Digital technologies and the evolving African newsroom: Towards an African digital journalism epistemology. *Digital Journalism, 2*(1), 2-11.

Mabweazara, H. M. (2014b). Readers' comments on Zimbabwean newspaper websites: How audience voices are challenging and (re)defining traditional journalism. *Digital Journalism, 2*(1), 44-61.

Mabweazara, H. M., Mudhai, F. O., & Whittaker, J. (2014). Introduction: Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices and emerging cultures. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices, and emerging cultures (*pp. 1–13). New York: Routledge.

Macharia, K. (2016, February 19). Are websites buying their way up Alexa ranking? *Capital FM*. Retrieved from thehttp://www.capitalfm.co.ke

Madowo, L. (2015, August 18). Can a tweet be worth Sh. 50m? In Kenya, yes! *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.nation.co.ke

Mahvungu, J., & Mabweazara, H. M. (2014). The South African mainstream press in the online environment: Successes, opportunities and challenges. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices, and emerging cultures* (pp. 34–48). New York: Routledge.

Mare, A. (2013). New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: Case of Radio Voice of the People. *Journal of African Cultural Studies, 25*(1), 30-41.

Mare, A. (2014). New media technologies and internal newsroom creativity in Mozambique: The case of @verdade. *Digital Journalism, 2*(1), 12-28.

Mason, J. (2011). *Qualitative researching* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 11*(3). Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1428/3027.%20%20%20%20%5BAccessed

Mbeke, P. O., Ugangu, W., & Okello-Orlale, R. (2010). *The media we want: The Kenya media vulnerabilities study*. Nairobi, Kenya: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

McBride, N. (2003). Actor-network theory and the adoption of mobile communications. *Geography, 88*(4), 266-276.

Media Council of Kenya. (2013). *Training and welfare of Kenyan journalists*. Nairobi, Kenya: Media Council of Kenya.

Media Council of Kenya. (2014). *Media coverage of the Westgate Mall attack*. Nairobi, Kenya: Media Council of Kenya.

Media Policy Research Centre. (2015). *The state of the media in Kenya 2014*. Nairobi, Kenya: Media Policy Research Centre.

Meier, P. (2013, October 3). Forensics analysis of #Westgate tweets (updated). Retrieved from http://irevolution.net/2013/10/03/forensics-analysis-of-westgate-tweets/

Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Introduction to qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meyrowitz, J. (2003). Canonic anti-text: Marshall McLuhan's understanding media. In E. Katz, J. D. Peters, T. Liebes, & A. Orloff (Eds.), *Canonic texts in media research* (pp. 191-212).Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Mosoku, G. (2017, April 24). Chris Kirubi dismisses Sonko's job offer as economic advisor. *Standard Digital*. Retrieved from https://www.standardmedia.co.ke

Moyo, L. (2014). Converging technologies, converging spaces, converging practices: The shaping of digital cultures and practices on radio. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices, and emerging cultures* (pp. 49–64). New York: Routledge.

Mudhai, F. O. (2014). Immediacy and openness in digital Africa: Networked-convergent Journalisms in Kenya. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices and emerging cultures* (pp. 123-140). New York: Routledge.

Mugenda, A. G. (2008). *Social science research: Theory and principles*. Nairobi, Kenya: Applied Research and Training Services.

Münch, R. (2005). Parsons, Talcott. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of social science*, (pp. 550-555). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Munro, R. (2009). Actor-network theory. In S. R. Clegg & M. Haugaard (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of power* (pp. 125-139). London: Sage Publications.

Munyua, A. (2011). Perceptions and misconceptions: The role of new and traditional media in Kenya's post-election violence. *Global Information Society Watch,* 170-173.

Mureithi, M. (2017). The internet journey for Kenya: The interplay of disruptive innovation and entrepreneurship in fueling rapid growth. In B. Ndemo & T. Weiss (Eds.), *Digital Kenya: An entrepreneurial revolution in the making* (pp. 27-44). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Murthy, D. (2008). Digital ethnography: An examination of the use of new technologies for social research. *Sociology, 42*(5), 837-855.

Mwangi, W. (2016, Dec. 20). Nation media to retrench more staff in January in digital shift. *The Star*. Retrieved from http://www.the-star.co.ke

Mwesige, P. G., & Kalinaki D. K. (2007). East Africa: 50 years of media.. In E. Barratt & G. Berger (Eds.), *50 years of journalism: African media since Ghana's independence* (pp. 98–108). Johannesburg: African Editors" Forum, Highway Africa & Media Foundation for West Africa.

Naranjo-Valencia, J. C., Jiménez-Jiménez, D., & Sanz-Valle, R. (2011). Innovation or imitation? The role of organizational culture. *Management Decision, 49*(1), 55-72.

Nation Reporter. (2014, December 10). Kirubi defends coal deal and Uhuru trip. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.nation.co.ke

Ndemo, B. (2017). The paradigm shift: Disruption, creativity, and innovation in Kenya. In B. Ndemo & T. Weiss (Eds.), *Digital Kenya: An entrepreneurial revolution in the making* (pp. 1–12). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ngesa, M. (2011, May 24). Kirubi, 13 others acquitted in Uchumi case. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.nation.co.ke

Ngunyi, G. (2013, November 24). Billionaire DJ goes for a billion X-mas shopping spree. *The People Sunday*, p. 4.

Nimmo, R. (2001). Actor-network theory and methodology: Social research in a more-than-human world. *Methodological Innovations Online, 6*(3), 108-119.

Njanja, A. (2017, March 4). Mall to position Kenya as East Africa's shopping hub. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.nation.co.ke

Nothias, T. (2017). Mediating the distant "other" for the distant audience: How do Western correspondents in East and Southern Africa perceive their audiences? In M. Bunce, S. Franks, & C. Paterson (Eds.), *Africa's media image in the 21st century: From the "heart of darkness" to "Africa rising"* (pp. 73–82). New York: Routledge.

Nsehe, M. (2011, November 16). Meet Chris Kirubi, Mr. Kenya. *Forbes*. Retrieved from http://www.forbes.com

Nsehe, M. (2015, January 9). Kenyan multi-millionaire Chris Kirubi to earn $30 million from sale of insurance stake. *Forbes*. Retrieved from http://www.forbes.com

NTV. (2016, June 30). *NMG consolidating QTV and NTV into one strong TV station*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iX3TkGappHI

Nyabuga, G., & Booker, N. (2013). *Mapping digital media: Kenya*. Nairobi: Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/ files/mapping-digital-media-kenya-20130321.pdf

Nyamnjoh, F. (2005). *Africa's media: Democracy and the politics of belonging*. Johannesburg, SA: UNISA Press.

Nyamnjoh, F. (2006). Re-thinking communication research and development in Africa. In P. T. Zeleza (Ed.), *The study of Africa: Disciplinary and interdisciplinary encounters, Vol. 1* (pp. 393–416). Dakar, Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

Obijiofor, L. (2003). New technologies and journalism practice in Nigeria and Ghana. *Asia Pacific Media Educator, 14*, 36-56.

Obonyo, L. (2011). Towards a theory of communication for Africa: The challenges for emerging democracies. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research, 37*(1), 1-20.

Odinga, C. (2013). *Use of new media during the Kenya elections* (Unpublished master's thesis). Uppsala University. Uppsala, Sweden.

Ogola, G. (2014). Our listeners would rather call than post messages on Facebook. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices, and emerging cultures* (pp. 222–236). New York: Routledge.

Ogola, G. (2015). African journalism: A journey of failures and triumphs. *African Journalism Studies, 36*(1), 93-102. doi:10.1080/23743670.2015.1008175

Olewe, D. (2012, September 3). Download Star Reports, a citizen journalism mobile app. *The Star*. Retrieved from http://www.the-star.co.ke

Olewe, D. (2017, February 16). Fake news: How can African media deal with the problem? *British Broadcasting Corporation*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Teddlie, C. (2003). A framework for analyzing data in mixed methods research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (pp. 351-358). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Otieno, R., & Kajilwa, G. (2016, July 1). Nation Media Group shuts down TV and radio stations. *Standard Digital*. Retrieved from https://www.standardmedia.co.ke

Paterson, C. (2013). Journalism and social media in the African context. *Equid Novi: African Journalism Studies, 34*(1), 1-6.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

ProgrammableWeb. (n.d.). *What are APIs and how do they work?* [web post]. Retrieved from https://www.programmableweb.com/api-university/what-are-apis-and-how-do-they-work

Richards, L. (2009). *Handling qualitative data: A practical guide* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Rodgers, S. (2015). Foreign objects? Web content management systems, journalistic cultures and the ontology of software. *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism, 16*(1), 10-26.

Rodny-Gumede, Y., & Hyde-Clarke, N. (2014). The use of social media as news sources by South African political journalists. In H. M. Mabweazara, F. O. Mudhai, & J. Whittaker (Eds.), *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices and emerging cultures* (pp. 104-122). New York: Routledge.

Robinson, S. (2011). Convergence crises: News work and news space in the digitally transforming newsroom. *Journal of Communication, 61*(6), 1122-1141.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sambuli, N. (2013, Oct. 3). *How useful is a tweet? A review of the first tweets from the Westgate mall attack* [web log message]. Retrieved from http://www.ihub.co.ke/blogs/16012

Sambuli, N. (2015). *Social media and journalism. A changing media landscape in Kenya. Exploring Kenya's media policy 1963-2013 (Working Paper Series 1)*, Nairobi, Kenya: Media Policy Research Centre.

Sandelowski, M. (2000). Focus on research methods combining qualitative and quantitative sampling: Data collection and analysis techniques in mixed-method studies. *Research in Nursing & Health, 23*, 246-255.

Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social research* (3rd ed.). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Savelsberg, J. T. (2015). *Representing mass violence: Conflicting responses to human rights violations in Darfur.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Schrock, A. R. (2015). Communicative affordances of mobile media: Portability, availability, locatability, and multimediality. *International Journal of Communication, 9*, 1229-1246.

Scott, B. (2005). A contemporary history of digital journalism. *Television News Media, 6*(1), 89–126.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information, 22*, 63-75.

Siapera, E., & Veglis, A. (2012). Introduction: The evolution of online journalism. In E. Siapera & A. Veglis (Eds.), *The handbook of global online journalism* (pp. 1- 17). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Simon, T., Aharoson-Daniel, L., Leykin, D., & Adini, B. (2014). Twitter in the cross fire: The use of social media in the Westgate Mall terror attack in Kenya. *PLoS ONE, 9*(8), e104136. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0104136

Skjerdal, T. (2012). The three alternative journalisms of Africa. *The International Communication Gazette, 74*(7), 636-654.

Skjerdal, T., & Tomaselli, K. (2016). Trajetories of communication studies in sub-Saharan Africa. In P. Simonson & D.W. Park (Eds.), *The International history of communication study* (pp. 455-473). New York: Routledge.

Sokoni. (2016, September–November). Roger Steadman: His name became famous after his company introduced political polling in Kenya; he however, has a lot of passion for marketing and played a huge role in leading the MSK in its formative years. *Sokoni Magazine*, 18–21.

Southwood, R. (2016, September 9). African talk show The Scoop hits 100 shows but despite good audiences, still needs a sponsor. *AllAfrica.com*. Retrieved from http://allafrica.com/stories/201609120952.html

SpanImage (n.d.). *Home* [web page]. Retrieved from http://www.spanimage.co.ke/

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage Publications.

Star Health. (n.d.). Star health. *The Star*. Retrieved from http://health.the-star.co.ke/

Starr, P. (2004). *The creation of the media: Political origins of modern communications*. New York: Basic Books.

Steensen, S., & Ahva, L. (2015). Theories of journalism in a digital age. *Journalism Practice, 9*(1), 1-18.

Steeves, H. L., & Awino, I. (2015). Gender divides and African journalism practice. *African Journalism Studies, 36*(1), 84-92.

Strydom, H. (2004). Information collection: Participant observation. In A. S. de Vos (Ed.), *Research at grass roots: For the social sciences and human services professions* (2nd ed., pp. 278-290). Pretoria, South Africa: Van Shaik Publishers.

Synovate Kenya. (n.d.). *Explosion in media changes audience and advertising trends*. [PDF document]. Retrieved from http://www.ipsos.co.ke

Sztompka, P. (1999). *Trust: A sociological theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sunday, F. (2016, June 30). East Africa's biggest broadcaster to close radio and TV stations. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/30/nation-media-group-kenya-close-radio-and-tv-station

Tameling, K., & Broersma, M. (2012). De-converging the newsroom: Strategies for newsroom change and their influence on journalism practice. *International Communication Gazette, 75*(1), 19-34.

Teche, E. (2017, February 17). Uhuru commends private sector as Nairobi's biggest mall Two Rivers opens. *The Star*. Retrieved from http://www.the-star.co.ke

Tuchman, G. (1973). Making news by doing work: Routinizing the unexpected. *American Journal of Sociology, 79*(1), 110-131.

Turner, F. (2005). Actor-networking the news. *Social epistemology, 19*(4), 321–324.

Twitter Help Centre. (n.d.). *Using hashtags on Twitter* [web post]. Retrieved from https://support.twitter.com/articles/49309

Ugangu, W. (2012). *Normative media theory and the rethinking of the role of the Kenyan media in a changing social economic context* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of South Africa: Johannesburg, South Africa.

Uvie-Emegbo, A. (2013a, September 8). *Interview: Chris Kirubi on digital media at Capital FM, Kenya* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ldmLSz58KB0

Uvie-Emegbo, A. (2013b, September 8). *Interview: Cyrus Kamau on digital media at Capital FM, Kenya* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XVxoGC-DxLs

Uvie-Emegbo, A. (2013c, September 8). *Interview: David Muba on digital media at Capital FM, Kenya* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2zfpryCuDU

Van der Haak, B., Parks, M. & Castells, M. (2012). The future of journalism: Networked journalism. *International Journal of Communication, 6*, 2923-2938.

Venturini, T. (2010). Diving in magma: how to explore controversies with actor-network theory. *Public Understanding of Science, 19*(3), 258-273.

Vos, T. (2015). Revisiting gatekeeping theory during a time of transition. In T. Vos & F. Heinderyckx (Eds.), *Gatekeeping in transition* (pp. 3-24). New York: Routledge.

Walubengo, L. (2011, September 9). Happy 15th birthday, Capital FM! *Capital FM*. Retrieved from http://www.capitalfm.co.ke

Wanyonyi, T. (2016, December 18). How secret meeting set stage for Kalonzo's appointment as vice-president. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.nation.co.ke

249

Wasserman, H. (2014). The ramifications of media globalization in the Global South for the study of media industries. *Media Industries, 1*(2). Retrieved from http://www.mediaindustriesjournal.org/index.php/mij/article/view/53/111

Willems, W. (2014). Beyond normative dewesternization: examining media culture from the vantage point of the Global South. *The Global South, 8*(1), 7-23.

Willems, W., & Mano, W. (2016). Decolonizing and provincializing audience and internet studies: Contextual approaches from African vantage points. In W. Willems & W. Mano (Eds.), *Everyday media culture in Africa: audiences and users*. Retrieved from https://www.routledge.com/Everyday-Media-Culture-in-Africa-Audiences-and-Users/Willems-Mano/p/book/9781138202849

Witschge, T., & Nygren, G. (2009). Journalism: a profession under pressure? *Journal of Media Business Studies, 6*(1), 37-59.

WordPress. (2016, April 28). *More surprising statistics about WordPress usage* [web post]. Retrieved from https://managewp.com/statistics-about-WordPress-usage

World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers. (2011). *Mobile media services at Sub-Saharan African newspapers: A guide to implementing mobile news and mobile business*. World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers and African Media Initiative.

World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers & African Media Initiative. (2012) *Financially viable Media in emerging and developing markets: Kenya*. Paris: SIDA & Omidyar Network.

Yin, R. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

YouTube. (n.d.). *About YouTube* [web post]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/

Zab, S. (2015, June 2). *Whitepaper: The growth of the smartphone market in Kenya*. Retrieved from https://www.jumia.co.ke/blog/whitepaper-the-growth-of-the-smartphone-market-in-kenya/

APPENDICES

Appendix One: Observation Notes Template

Date:

Time the observation begun:

Description of setting and people present:

Narrative explaining the events as they happened, including some direct quotes:

Time the observation ended:

Appendix Two: Researcher Reflections' Template

Date	Data	Contextual information	Researcher reflection(s)

Source: Barbour & Schostak, 2011

252

Appendix Three: Field Notes Template

Date	Location	Time	Total time	Person(s) talked to	Observations	Reflection

253

254