

Print Media Managers' Perception of Integration of New Media by Newspapers in Kenya

Gitonga Elizabeth N.M.¹, Prof. Ong'ondo Charles², Dr. Ndavula John O.³

¹*Riara University*

²*Moi University*

³*St. Paul's University*

Abstract

The study examined print media managers' perception of adoption of new media in newsrooms in Kenya. Integrating new media in print media houses can be traced back to 2009. However, few studies have examined the managers' response to these changing dynamics which have seen new media used alongside old media in newsrooms. The study was guided by the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) and the Uses and Gratification Theory. The qualitative multiple case study design was adopted. A sample size of 12 media managers drawn from mainstream newspapers in Kenya was purposively selected. Data was collected using in-depth interviews and document analysis. Thematic data analysis revealed that managers identified several opportunities for integration of new media technologies such as the emergence of new audiences, emergence of multiple platforms for content sourcing, production and delivery and adoption of new innovations and the emergence of the multi-skilled journalist. The study recommends that further research on media houses adoption of latest new media platforms and also how they have overcome the challenge of fake news. Further research on the transformation of the print journalist to a multimedia journalist with new roles would also be ideal.

Keywords: *New media, innovations, convergence, Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), Uses and Gratification Theory*

Introduction

Print media managers in Kenya continue to grapple with the challenge of maintaining readership for their newspapers as well as create new audiences for their online platforms. In this study, print media managers are defined as editors who also have responsibilities of supervising others and can make decisions on content creation and adoption of new technologies. Kenyan newspapers operate in a converged environment (Media Council of Kenya, 2016). Convergence in this study is taken to mean print media integration of new media technologies for news gathering, production and distribution. In more recent years, this has become known as technological convergence, what Lawson-Borders (2003) calls a wedding of technology and content delivery by means of computer technology. Becket (2010) calls it ‘networked journalism’, a synthesis of traditional media and the emerging new media technologies such as mobile phones, email, websites, blogs, micro-blogging, and social networks. Mudhai (2012) notes that “convergence has become necessary due to the increasing ease of access to various forms of technology” (p.7).

Integration of new media technologies by print media started in the 2000s as print revenues continued to decline in the US, Europe and Asia. Newspapers started integrating new media technologies in gathering, packaging and distribution of news. Jenkins (2006) argues that to survive the print media have to follow the audience wherever they are by providing content in the various platforms that they prefer using. Kolodzy (2006) notes that the convergence trend started in America and Europe. The MSNBC, the Tampa Tribune, the BBC, the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times were among the first to adopt processes for relaying news to their audiences where, when and how the audiences preferred it.

The study focused on *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star* – three leading print publications in Kenya. In Kenya, the mainstream print media started integrating new media in 2009. In the case of the Nation Media Group, the company convened a meeting of all the Editorial – predominantly newspaper staff in Nairobi in June 2012 to launch convergence journalism. The organisation cited television networks like the CNN and the BBC; and newspapers like the *New York Times*, the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Daily Telegraph* as some media that had seen the future and adopted converged newsrooms for reporting everything, for everybody, all the time (NMG Convergence Presentation, 2012).

The Standard Group, which publishes *The Standard* newspaper, had even launched convergence journalism earlier in 2009 and appointed a managing editor in charge of convergence. Radio Africa Group, which publishes *The Star*, on the other hand, started integrating new media technologies in 2016. According to Mudhai (2012), Nairobi’s Capital FM had also launched its Digital Media Division to distribute content through their website and mobile phone. As more people turned to new media platforms for news, print media started experiencing challenges in maintaining readership of the newspaper. Nyamboga (2014) states that Kenyans relied on mainstream media for news and information before the development of the Internet and the attendant social media networks, adding that the audience started turning to social media for quick and frequently updated news.

As a result, media houses embraced the use of social media for news sourcing and dissemination of information in order to remain relevant (Nyamboga, 2014). However, for a long time, print journalists focused on gathering, producing and distributing content for a single platform – the newspaper.

However, in the changing media landscape, a print journalist should gather and produce news in various formats to be distributed in different new media platforms. The journalist of today should write one liners for social media platforms, mobile alerts and the website especially for breaking news. The journalist takes photos, videos, records audios, and writes incisive articles for the website and also for print. According to Media Council of Kenya report (2016), “the idea behind the converged newsroom was that changing technologies had made it easier to practice journalism and as such staff were expected and required to multitask, and thus report for different platforms – the newspaper, both daily and weekend editions, a television station, and a website” (p. 12).

In Africa, the practice of journalism on the digital platforms has been on the rise. Despite the cost of bundles and gadgets, African journalists have not shied away from exploiting digital technology in news sourcing including sensitive ones (Mudhai, 2012). Mudhai (2012) cites some of the journalistic practices that have emerged in digital era as the mobile journalism, integration of social networking sites and blogging, the latter of which is used by both journalists and citizens sometimes touching on issues and topic that would not find space in mainstream media. Another journalistic practice is the use of websites. Hilliard (2002) cited in Mudhai (2012), notes that as early as 1997 alone, there were at least 50 online newspapers in Africa. In the Kenyan news media, as in the rest of Africa, new media technology “has been domesticated to varying degrees, and is increasingly becoming one of the drivers of everyday news making routines” (Muindi, 2018, p. 112).

Several studies have been carried out. Mudhai (2012) examined the changing nature of journalistic practices in Africa with a focus on Kenya – mainly the period between 2005 and 2010. He focused on the digital coverage of two major events by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* – the constitutional referenda and the 2007 general elections to determine the extent to which the coverage reflected immediacy and openness in a digital environment.

He noted that in Kenya, both SG and NMG had adopted structural convergence by creating special teams to repackage print news for use in online platforms like the website. Immediacy helped Kenyans to observe events as they unfolded like the 2007 general elections as shared by journalists and the public through the new media platforms. In his conclusion, Mudhai (2012) noted that Kenya’s two leading dailies have made attempts to enhance openness and accountability by trying to be as forthright as possible about their news sourcing. Immediacy has been crucial especially during voting.

Obijiofor (2009) analysed how four Nigerian newspapers – *Daily Sun*, *Punch*, *the Guardian* and *This Day* in early 2008 relied on email and web-based information sources to cover especially the rebel side of the country’s Niger Delta conflict. In the East African region, the Kenyan media is the most vibrant, and has been quick at diffusing the innovations of new technology into their newsrooms (Muindi, 2018). Muindi (2018) carried out a study on the use of Twitter as a journalistic tool at the Daily Nation Newspaper in Kenya for news gathering, production and distribution and the balance between speed and credibility of such news. The study found that by adopting Twitter in their daily routines, journalists have increased the speed of sharing news. The findings also indicate that not all news shared on Twitter is credible (Muindi, 2018). The study

recommends a need for mainstream media in Kenya to find ways of ensuring news obtained and distributed on Twitter is credible.

Kiguta (2018) studied that impact of social media at *The Star* newspaper. The study found out that new media poses challenges to print media even though it complements the latter in content distribution. For instance, it has affected newspaper circulation. The study recommends that *The Star* builds capacity of its staff to enable them to adapt to new emerging demands of new media, especially in content generation, while the Media Council of Kenya should address challenges of plagiarism.

Adjusting to the changing media landscape as a result of developments in technology has proved problematic for managers and this study seeks to understand how media houses have confronted this problem. As Briggs (2016) points out, for print media to survive in the digital age, journalists have to think differently in the way they approach their craft.

As people turn to other sources of news, Siapera & Veglis (2012) argue that print media companies are seeking ways of remaining the leaders of reliable information. In this context, they argue that print managers are talking of convergence and, more specifically, of integrating their editorial teams, as a solution that will enable them to extend their former hegemony in traditional media to the internet. However, Alejandro (2010) argues that it has been difficult for print media to adapt to new media platforms like social media networks that were introduced at the dawn of the 21st century and the new ones that are still being rolled out. The audiences have been turning away to social media networks for news and this has greatly affected print media. Content management systems also keep changing and other digital tools that allow creation and sharing of content in online platforms.

Technology has, therefore, enabled the practice of journalism on the net (Bosire, 2013). Kenya experienced a major technological shift from the year 2001, where the internet use grew rapidly due to introduction of broadband and marine cable technology. Kenyans were also beginning to embrace use of mobile devices. A CAK 2011/2012 Annual Report estimated the number of internet users at 14,032 million in 2012, representing a penetration of 35.5 per cent compared to 21.2 per cent in 2011. CAK attributed growth in internet usage to increased access to smartphones and social networking applications, particularly among urban youth. A CAK report covering July to September 2017 shows that the number of Kenyans accessing and using the internet was on the rise.

This study sought to find out how the management of three mainstream print media in Kenya perceive the dynamics of integrating new media technologies for news gathering, production and distribution.

Theoretical Review

The study was informed by the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) by Fred Davis (1985), and the Uses and Gratification theory developed by scholars Elihu Katz, Jay B. Blumler and Michael Gurevitch in the 1970s. Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) can be used to explain how newsrooms adopt new technologies. The model posits two salient beliefs – perceived usefulness (PU) and perceived ease of use (PEU) – to determine technology acceptance and are the key antecedents of behavioural intentions to use information technology. Thus, the model comprises of four constructs – perceived usefulness (PU), perceived ease of use (PEU), the behavioural intention to use and the actual technology use (Davis et al., 1989, as cited by Lee et al., 2011).

Further, external variables such as attitude, skills, knowledge, and exposure influence both PU and the PEU. The model helped explain the attitudes of print media managers towards the various new media platforms deployed in newsrooms.

The second theory employed was the Uses and Gratification theory by Elihu Katz, Jay B. Blumler and Michael Gurevitch. Uses and gratifications theory helps explain how users choose specific media and content that best satisfies their individual needs (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevich, 1973-1974). The theory provided an analytical framework for explaining audience motivations to use the various new media platforms to get specific content.

The theory was also used to explain why the audience is increasingly turning to digital technologies for news and shows how the media creates content that the audience wants and distributes it in their preferred new media platforms. By focusing on new media formats, the study provided a lens through which print media could view opportunities for content creation for publishing in different online platforms where the audience is. In addition, the theory was used in data interpretation to explain processes undertaken by print media to create content to be delivered in various platforms.

Methodology

The qualitative multiple case study design was adopted. In-depth interviews and document analysis were used to gain insight into the typical experiences of the interviewees on integration of new media at three newspapers that were the focus of study – The *Daily Nation*, *The Standard* and *The Star*. The three newspapers were sampled because they were the pioneers of convergence in the country and are likely to show the process of integration of new media (Juma, 2013).

A purposive sample of 12 journalists was selected who included six media managers and six editors from three mainstream print media houses in Kenya. The managers were selected because they made decisions on the new media platforms to adopt for their media houses, while the editors were privy to the on-goings in decisions to integrate various new media platforms. Both the editors and the managers were charged with the responsibility of implementing convergence in their media houses. In-depth interviews conducted were recorded using a digital recorder. The interview transcripts were transcribed and analysed thematically. The section that follows presents the key findings on themes arrived at from patterns that emerged from verbal interviews and study of documents from the three media houses.

Research Findings and Discussion

The research findings are as discussed below:

Emergence of multiple platforms for news gathering and content delivery

The majority of the respondents felt that integration of new media platforms in their media houses has created multiple platforms for news gathering and delivery of content to their audiences. The study revealed media houses were trying to reach out to a fragmented audience and the more the use of various avenues for distribution of news the better in gaining numbers in online platforms. Therefore, media houses were using Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp more regularly to source for news and also to share content.

The study shows *The Star* uses the following sites: Telegram, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, and Google+. The newspaper is not using Snapchat yet. *The Star* also publishes content on WhatsApp for sharing with subscribers who pay for the content. The newspaper also publishes news on Telegram which is distributed to audiences who have subscribed for it.

The Daily Nation is big on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram but it's yet to start publishing on Whatsapp and Telegram. In an interview with a media manager, it emerged that plans were underway for the *Daily Nation* to start distributing content to subscribers on WhatsApp but its sister online platform the nairobinews.nation.co.ke distributes content via Whatsapp channel to subscribers at a fee. There are plans to use Snapchat too to lure the younger generation. The manager explains:

We use Twitter and Facebook a lot, but Instagram too has become a big deal with the launch of Instagram stories. On our official Instagram page, we are already telling stories apart from the photo collections. We have Snapchat which is mainly used by Nairobi News. The 15 and 16-year-olds; those born after 2000, are not on Twitter. They are not on Facebook, they are on Instagram and Snapchat. They are also exchanging news on Whatsapp. So, at *Daily Nation* we are actually planning another project to see how we can start publishing through Snapchat and Whatsapp.

Apart from sharing videos, Snapchat also allows sharing of stories. The study revealed that the *Daily Nation* had not started using Snapchat because, as one manager explained in an interview, "There is more to that, because we have Snapchat stories. But it requires some investment in the CMS which we didn't feel was necessary. So, at the moment Nairobi News just does practical videos."

As for Telegram, the manager commented that "Kenya is heavy on Whatsapp and Whatsapp stole the show from Telegram, but the advantage with Telegram is that it gives you space to create bigger groups. But because Whatsapp has moved to enable media houses tell stories through it, we are just waiting for the roll out here, but we have a pilot project on the same running in our subsidiary in Tanzania".

From the observations made above, we can conclude that the media houses under study have not exploited all the platforms available for content sharing partly because of financial constraints. The advantage for using many platforms to share content is that media houses will have a slice of

the audience in each platform since, in line with uses and gratification theory, people seek out platforms with information that will meet their needs and wants. Similarly, *The Standard* uses Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn and also publishes content on Whatsapp.

The integration of new platforms means that print media has to rethink the strategies for distributing content to the audiences. In an email communication, one senior manager told the staff about the expectations in the new realities:

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

Therefore, our study brings out the fact that in use of many new media platforms for story sourcing, production and distribution of content, print media houses stand to gain numbers in online platforms. What scoops are to print, views and hits are to online publications.

Emergence of new audiences

New digital tools have made it possible to create content for multiple audiences. Respondents in the study revealed that their media organisations had made a deliberate effort to create content for multiple platforms – that content was no longer for print publications. One managing editor revealed that his news organisation deliberately creates content targeting different audiences which is distributed through SMS alerts and the various websites. The respondent explained:

We have more than 20 websites across the group. We have majored in notifications and the first one was SMS alerts, where we are able to give alerts by SMS. We entice the subscribers to various channels – we have 10 of those. The biggest one is Breaking News where many people have subscribed to but there are others whereby many people want to know about business, or headline news, entertainment, sports and others before they wake up.

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

We have Mpasho News which uses a lot on videos to attract the audiences who are mostly young people. Mpasho is an entertainment website. We also use different channels for news distribution. For instance, we have a Telegram channel with 3,300 subscribers.

Besides the websites, media houses also create content that appeals to various categories of audiences within the main websites so that there will be something for readers of different gender and for different age groups. The study revealed that the decision to include such content is informed by Google Analytics that helps to track who visits their websites and what content is consumed in terms of gender, age and locations. One manager explained:

We get such information from Google and our Analytics team is able to advise us on the kind of content to increase coverage on because more people are reading it. For instance, I know the majority of readers for *The Star* online are aged between 21 and 45 years and 76 per cent of this audience are in Nairobi. So, it may be not any useful to give them stories from the village. That, you leave for print. If I go to the entertainment website, I can tell the number of people interested in videos.

On the other hand, the main website for *the Daily Nation* has different segments – news, arts and culture, sports, videos, photo gallery, lifestyle with content for men and women, among others. For instance, the Nation website nation.co.ke has news, blogs and opinion, sports, counties, business, videos and photo gallery, Life and Style; which include segments such as family, art and culture, health, showbiz, travel, women and style, magazines.

Apart from websites, the study revealed that media houses are using social media platforms to source for news and share content tailored for specific audiences. The study shows every platform attracts its unique audiences – the younger people especially the teens will prefer Snapchat and Instagram over Twitter and Facebook.

Convergence is especially critical to existing traditional media companies seeking to diversify their businesses in attempts to explore and capture new markets, and the growing group of consumers, especially the affluent young digital natives (Media Council of Kenya, 2016, p. 12).

Media houses integrated new media platforms in order to follow different audiences in wherever they were active online. For instance, the *Daily Nation* uses Twitter and Facebook to share story links plus Instagram to distribute photos to audiences. Journalists also use the Facebook and Twitter to find story tips and sources and to share their story links with their followers. On the other hand, nairobinews.nation.co.ke is heavy on Snapchat to distribute short videos and audios to the younger audiences. The *Daily Nation* does not use Snapchat. *The Star* does not use Snapchat either but it's heavy on Telegram. One manager speaks about the content his media organisation distributes to audiences:

We have fairly big accounts on social media. We are active on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Our online platform, nairobinews.nation.co.ke, is very active on Snapchat while *Daily Nation* is not using the platform yet. The *Daily Nation* is very big on Facebook and Twitter. In fact, *Daily Nation* has more than one account for each. We have segregated the accounts so that one account focuses on Breaking News and the other one focuses on features and sports because the accounts ended up being too big. We also went big into YouTube.

The aim of capturing the various audiences in different platforms is to grow their numbers online, as one manager commented, “Every other day we try to come with new ways to ensure

that we are driving more traffic to our website and social media platforms. One thing is that if we maintain our traffic, we are able to make more revenue.” That observation is supported by Ayish & Mellorn cited in Media Council of Kenya (2016) who argue that journalists use social media to enlarge market share, that is, they not only connect with current audiences but also seek to enlarge the numbers of those loyal to them and their media outlets.

However, the study also revealed that the managements had not made a decision to pursue audiences in all the platforms that have been rolled out. This means the media houses could be isolating a slice of audiences who may be in need of content. For the *Daily Nation* and *The Star* not to use Snapchat means the media houses may be isolating those audiences that prefer this platform.

Adoption of new innovations

Respondents reported need for continuous innovations in content creation for journalists and integration of the newest technologies in the market for managers in order to capture the audiences in as many platforms as possible. Innovations include content-creation activities and acquiring the newest technologies like content management systems, chart beats, and tools for news gathering, production and distribution of content such as smartphones and digital recorders. However, the study revealed that the managements of print media found it difficult to have continuous innovations. Before they can master one technological platform, another one emerges in the market threatening to get a slice of its audience from other platforms already being used to distribute news. Such is the challenge for print media today. It is also a challenge to repurpose content to be fed in the various online platforms.

That observation is supported by Storsul & Krumsvik (2013) who argue that it has become mandatory though challenging for print media to innovate in the current rapidly changing digital landscape. They argue that the technologies are changing so fast yet print media should position

itself to move at the same pace. The scholars also stress the need for innovation since changes in technology have brought new opportunities for media organisations and especially the many story formats available for distribution of content.

The study revealed that innovation means different things to different media houses and they find new ways to reach, connect with and engage with audiences. Each media house is trying to innovate in its own way and one manager pointed out; “Opportunities are there, so long as you ride the Web. Digital technologies change very fast; if you don’t adjust, the game changes tomorrow and you find yourself nowhere.”

The study further revealed that managers struggle everyday, for instance, to ensure their websites are interactive and appealing to the audiences. One manager commented:

Even the website has to compete with social media because the latter is faster. Before you update anything on the website, people have started talking about it on Whatsapp. So, our question everyday is how to keep it innovative to ensure that we don’t lose our audiences. People have alternatives so we have to ensure we are the most trusted website with the most quality and unique stories.

Each of the three media houses has come up with innovative ways – content-creation activities and integration of technologies – to attract audiences in its online and print platforms. This is a continuous process since they started integration of new technologies which also aims at providing reliable information that users can turn to for verification of whatever news they have read in other platforms.

The study revealed that all the three print media houses in the study started by equipping journalists with necessary new media gadgets like smartphones and digital recorders and offering training for skills to produce content for multiple platforms. Previously, journalists only used notebooks and pens to record news events as they unfolded. The new gadgets make it easier for the reporters to take audios, shoot photos and video recordings of sources to use in the websites.

Basic training was given on how to use the new gadgets for gathering and producing news. As one journalist, who is currently an editor confirms, the company bought staff smartphones when the management made a decision to start integrating new media technologies:

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

Besides setting up official Twitter, Facebook and YouTube accounts, the media houses continue to adopt various social media platforms as they come. However, as mentioned earlier, this study revealed no single media house is utilising all the social media platforms in existence. For instance, while they all have a presence on YouTube and using videos heavily in storytelling, none is sharing photos on Flickr. *The Star* and *the Daily Nation* are not using Snapchat, and the *Daily Nation* does not publish content for distribution to subscribers on Whatsapp.

Another big innovation for media houses in the study was the investment in chart beats; screens mounted in newsrooms for everyone to see how stories are performing online in terms of how many people are reading and how long they are engaged with the story. The chart beats also inform managers on the most preferred content by the audiences. *The Star*, for instance, has two screens in the newsroom for monitoring performance. The purpose of the chart beats, therefore, is to guide on stories that are trending so that they can be given more prominence on websites and in the print edition. It also guides them in deciding which stories to take forward in print edition the following day.

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

To tell a trending story is basic. This team goes deeper to tell us this time we are doing well and what it is we did differently. They tell us which stories people like the most and that informs the decisions on story selection. They can also tell us how long readers stay with the story, their gender and ages.

Besides, they are not trained as journalists but will work with journalists to make things better.

One manager explained their role in the new arrangement:

The people we are bringing in are not going to take over journalism. They are coming to support and make our journalism better. So when we bring in a data scientist, they are going to tell us, you know that story was read by 2000 people; within that 2000 people, 50 per cent were under 14, 20 per cent were between 15 and 30.

That kind of information is important for managers in deciding which stories to pursue and to distribute that content where the right audiences are likely to get it.

As part of their efforts to attract audiences to their online platforms, all the media houses have invested heavily on videos with the *Daily Nation* going big with the Video Hub in 2016. An email sent to staff by a senior manager when the Video Hub was set up reads in part:

Our convergence journey continues and today I'm happy to announce the setting up of the Nation Videos Hub in Nairobi to hasten our innovation on story-telling. Emerging digital trends show that video is growing rapidly hence the decision to put together some of the more enthusiastic amongst our journalists to work together in one space and lead the process that ultimately will culminate in the creation of a fully-fledged *Nation* videos newsroom. Starting immediately, all teams who usually work on uploading videos will work as one cohesive unit in this Hub. They will do all that is needed to create videos and deliver them through digital means to mobiles, desktops, tablets, and smart TVs. As I have explained before, every *Nation* journalist has a role in producing digital videos. – **NMG Senior Manager, September 1, 2016.**

The Star, on the other hand, has innovated in terms of content presented to readers. The media house tries to give as much content as possible and in a variety during the morning hours and thereafter constantly updates stories online. One of its innovations is the Breakfast Briefing which gives the readers a preview of key stories of the day. It uses a lot of videos. A manager explained; “Readers want to see more of that than text. If it is photos or graphics we turn them into videos to tell a story.”

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

Perhaps the biggest innovation at the three media houses has been investments in content management systems to enable publishing across media platforms. All the media houses had to acquire new publishing systems when they launched convergence.

Respondents from the three media houses revealed the content management systems they use: The Daily *Nation* used DTI for print and CoreMedia for the online publication, but more recently in 2018 it acquired News Cycle, a combined system that can process content for print and websites. *The Standard*, on the other hand, uses DCX, while *The Star* uses Converge. Plans are underway to acquire newer systems at *The Standard* and at *The Star*. The advantage of the publishing systems used by the three media houses is that that they allow reporters to file stories, upload audios and videos from the field on the CMS through their mobile phones.

Despite these developments, managers cited several challenges of implementation of adoption of new technologies. One of the challenges is verification of news. New media, they reported,

allows them to share content in a matter of seconds but that brings the problem of sometimes use of unverified news. One manager commented, “We have made mistakes but we still ask the reporters and editors to ensure they verify information before publishing.”

The respondents also noted that since journalists source for news on Twitter and Facebook, some of the sources have created pseudo accounts whose aim is to spew untruths and it becomes difficult sometimes to verify the true or real accounts of sources. Other times sources in online platforms deliberately send in stories they know are not true. One manager explained; “Someone can post photos of a serious road accident as if it has just happened and when we post it in our official social media accounts readers react saying the accident happened three years ago. So it’s a big challenge for media houses.”

However, the respondent noted that journalists have been encouraged to look out for credible sources online. A good number in this case are government ministries, ministers, security agencies, because some are very active online. As for mistakes made, the good thing with online is that you can easily correct them unlike in print editions. The reporter is asked to provide the correct details and facts and the story is amended. However, when they are terribly wrong, managers give orders to pull down stories from online platforms.

Emergence of the multi-skilled journalist

After integration of new media by print media houses, a new journalist has emerged. The new journalist has more skills to produce content for multiple platforms. Thus, the greatest change in the practice of journalism is the transformation of the journalist from one who files stories for a

single platform to one who creates content for multiple platforms. The journalist of today must have the multimedia skills to function as required in the newsroom.

Respondents revealed that the need to acquire multimedia skills is a constant effort by managers.

An email sent to NMG staff confirms from a senior manager stated:

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

The Star staff also received an email from a senior manager explaining the launch of digital division and new teams to create content for digital platforms.

I am pleased to announce the creation of a new division of the company - RADIO AFRICA DIGITAL. The growth of digital is now an accepted and undisputed fact of media life. In some countries digital media revenue has overtaken traditional media revenue, making it the mainstream media. For Radio Africa, digital media will become as important as our traditional business. My mission is to ensure that within the next three years we get at least 30% of our revenues from digital platforms. As a first step to meeting this goal, I announce the following changes in staff...

The Star Senior Manager, September 16, 2015

Therefore, with the integration of new technologies, the modern journalist is expected to do much more every day. The new journalism requires a lot more explaining and interpreting news for the print edition and also about telling stories differently through new formats – for websites and social media platforms – and engaging audiences online.

However, the study found out that some of the legacy journalists are still reluctant to embrace technology. They were more comfortable filing stories for print and not for other platforms. One manager said; “Not all legacy journalists have fully adapted to the new way of telling the stories

on the multimedia platforms. They still have doubts over the viability of this thing called Digital and they are more comfortable with the traditional print platform.’’

Nyabuga & Booker (2013) are however of the view that while social media is good at breaking stories that traditional media journalists may initially shy away from, print media which is favoured by legacy journalists, is instrumental in digging deeper into issues and ensuring they get the attention of those in authority.

The print journalists have also complained of too much work where they have to provide different content for different platforms with no rewards or monetary gains for doing a lot more than what they did before. The study revealed that respondents were working towards drawing new contracts for journalists reporting for multiple platforms.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study revealed that the three main print media houses in Kenya integrated new media technologies for news gathering, production and distribution. However, they are not utilising all the social media platforms because technology changes very fast and some like Snapchat have proved to be challenging for *the Nation* and *The Star*. The study revealed the challenge for print media houses that were studied has been to keep pace with the changing media landscape. The issue is not to go online but how to include the latest technologies and to innovate on content creation.

The three media houses have integrated various though not all new media technologies. *The Standard* was the first to integrate new media in 2009, and *The Daily Nation* followed in 2012, and *The Star* in 2016. This is in line with Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) which posits

two salient beliefs – perceived usefulness (PU) and perceived ease of use (PEU) – to determine technology acceptance and use of information technology.

As the model states, PU is the degree to which an individual believes that a particular technology would enhance job performance within an organisational context, while the PEU is the degree to which an individual believes that using a particular system or technology would be free of effort.

The study revealed that use of new technologies in news gathering, production and distribution has been made easier particularly the use of social media for news gathering and distribution of content in real time as it unfolds such as breaking news.

The content management systems adopted by the media houses have also enhanced performance in production and distribution of content across platforms. Editors are able to edit content that goes to print, websites and other social media platforms, while reporters can write their stories and send via the CMS right in the field as events unfold. They can also upload photos and audios and do not have to wait to return to the office to do so.

When the potential adopter has prior knowledge and exposure to a technology, the individual is likely to have a positive perception that use of the technology would be free of effort (PEU). As a result, the individual is likely to develop the behavioural intention to use the technology, leading to the actual use. Managers made the decision to integrate new media in their media houses because they had prior knowledge on the happenings in other media houses in the US, Europe and Asia. Since these other media houses had done it, they believed they too could do it hence perceived ease of use. Our study also revealed managers identified several opportunities for print media in integrating new media technologies which are emergence of new audiences,

emergence of multiple platforms for content sourcing, production and delivery and adoption of new innovations and the emergence of the multi-skilled journalist.

The development of multiple platforms for content delivery has led to creation of content to be fed in those platforms for various audiences. The Uses and Gratification theory also supports the fact that media houses have been compelled to create content that will satisfy the needs and wants of the audiences. This is because as the theory states, audiences are not passive receivers of news; instead they seek out what they want.

In our recommendations, further research needs to be conducted on how media houses use new media platforms as they are rolled out and the challenges encountered. This is because technology changes very fast. Some legacy journalists have shown resistance in use of new media. Further research can focus on legacy journalists' transformation to multimedia journalists. Legacy journalists should not fail to appreciate the power of social media in breaking news even though they are more concerned with incisive and investigative reporting for print. Still, in the era of fake news, further research on how media houses have overcome the challenge would be ideal.

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