

New Media as an Increasingly Adopted News Dissemination Avenue amid Declining Print Newspaper in Kenya

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Abstract

This study examined the decline of print newspaper subject to new media and its attributes as outlined in the Push Theory of Media Effects in order to inform the debate surrounding the existence of print newspaper. Much has been said about the place of the print newspaper as it faces competition from new media. Pundits, scholars and researchers see this competition as having consequences on print circulation, advertising and jobs. The qualitative research approach was used. This study reviewed literature as secondary sources, and through unstructured interview schedule, insights were sought from two editors from two leading print newspaper firms in Kenya and an accountant from one of the newspaper firms. Additionally, ten journalists from different print newspaper firms, eight newspaper vendors and ten newspaper readers were also interviewed. Purposive sampling was adopted for selecting the respondents. Findings were triangulated and analysed. The study found that indeed print media in Kenya is facing a decline in terms of circulation and advertising revenue, and this can be attributed to competition from new media. Media attributes as provided by the Push Theory of Media Effects that afford new media several advantages over print are accessibility, fidelity, volume, velocity, range, persistence and searchability. Other attributes are interactivity and multimediality. However, print media is and will still be in existence in Kenya because of its survival strategies and credibility.

Key Terms: New media, news dissemination, print newspaper

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Introduction

With technological developments like new media, the traditional print newspaper in contemporary society is facing an existential threat. New media, as defined by Friedman and Friedman (2008), comprises technologies making use of the internet such as blogs, wikis, social media and virtual worlds. All these avenues, including websites, can and have been used to publish the news by individuals, organisations and media firms. Arguments and counterarguments abound of how print (hard copies) will be replaced by e-content and what that spells to the print industry (Norris, 2000; Lunden, 2009).

In Africa, Egypt is experiencing a noticeable reduction in print newspaper media circulation. Masr (2016) citing the government's Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) claims print media publications dropped from 80 in 2014 to 75 in 2015. The decline of print media is attributed to, among other things, new media.

That tables are turning for print newspapers in Kenya in light of new media as news dissemination outlets is no longer a secret (Tubei, 2017; Business Today, 2019). The advents of the ubiquitous new media technologies which have given rise to new media (also referred to as web 2.0) have had and continue to have serious implications on traditional print newspaper. Actually, as Deuze (2007) reckons, "at different times in the history of the profession (journalism), technology was and still is heralded as the bringer of all kinds of new threats and possibilities" (p. 153).

Further complicating issues for the print newspaper is convergence which is a product of technology. Turrow (2014) says that convergence happens when content/product that was associated with a particular medium can now be created, accessed and consumed in another. The products of newspapers (which are stories and advertisements) used to appear in newsprint but can now

be exhibited in various technological platforms. Content which forms one of the Cs of convergence (others being Corporations and Computers) which previously was available only in print is now available on many different formats and can be accessed using a wide array of devices anywhere and anytime hence convenience and news currency advantages. According to Infotendencias Group (2012), concerns on the future of the print newspaper were well laid out by Juan Luis Cebrian when in an address to the editorial staff of a newspaper *El Pais* on January 20, 2009, made this observation:

In five years' time, newspapers printed on paper will certainly still exist. In ten years, if we do things right, they'll probably still be there. In fifteen years, I'm not sure that they will go on existing in the way that we know them at present. They will still be there if we fight for them to be there. (p. 21).

Studies on the decline of print media in the face of new media are a handful in Kenya. Therefore, this paper sought to explore the progressive decline of the print newspaper as a consequence of the new media explosion in Kenya. Questions asked sought insights from respondents on the status of print newspaper sales, advertising revenue, survival strategies adopted and attributes that give new media the competitive edge.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Arguments on the extermination and survival of existing media in the face of new technologies

With the introduction of new technology, existing technologies get unsettled as their place in society is about to be taken over by new entrants. Indeed, existing media will always get jittery in the face of new and competing technologies. Communication scholars observe that new media at any given time upsets the norm in existing and

well-established media typologies (Alejandro, 2010; Jackaway, 1994; Shehu, 2017; Ranjendran, & Thesinghraj, 2014).

On the media front, technologies have been developed that could be perceived as threats to existing media. Consequently, existing media fight for survival and relevance and that's why there have been media wars defined by Jackaway (1994) as arguments or disputes that arise between already existing media forms when faced with technological innovations in communication. Print media faced threats from radio, and then television came along and threatened both print newspaper and radio with extinction. Nevertheless, older media still survived (Poe, 2011). Dominick (2005), Odun and Utulu (2016) and Shivarudrappa (2014) note that existing media will in no way be exterminated or replaced by new technologies while Alejandro (2010) observes that upheavals witnessed in media industries as a result of advancements in communication technologies should not be seen as dangerous; instead, new media is there to complement traditional media. In fact, Barthelemy et al. (2011) contend that the notions of newspaper death are a western idea and not a true reflection of the reality in other regions. WAN-IFRA (2016) shows that in Asian countries, print newspaper circulation continues to increase while in other places, there is a considerable decrease in distributions and sales.

Circulation rose to 7.8% in Asia in 2015 from a year earlier; it fell 2.4% in North America, 2.6% in Latin America, 2.7% in the Middle East and Africa, 4.6% in Europe and 6.1% in Australia and Oceania. Over five years, newspaper print circulation rose 38.6% in Asia but fell elsewhere: 1.2% in the Middle East and Africa, 1.5% in Latin America, 10.9% in North America, 19.2% in Europe and 28.7% in Australia and Oceania (p.24).

Mwasi (2019) in an article in the *Daily Nation* titled “Print Media not leaving the Scene Soon” explains that even though internet penetration is high in some countries, print media readership is growing. He further says that “Some African newspapers have had a hold on their readership for years in spite of the internet”.

Although Alejandro, (2010) and Shivarudrappa (2014) do not see traditional media being vanquished by new media, they admit that new media is proving a challenge to traditional media. Ndonge and Telewa (2013, p.104) opine that “... there is no illusion that print journalism is likely to collapse. What is not known is how long it will take for it to collapse.” Odun and Utulu (2016) claim that due to the rapid growth of new media, traditional media executives need to give it serious consideration if at all, they are to continue being meaningful and of use.

Even though some scholars consider traditional media as still having a future, they appear cautiously optimistic by giving room for any eventuality. This is seen when they readily admit that new media, to some extent, has debilitating impacts on print newspaper. In order to ensure survival, print newspapers employ strategies. These survival measures are well explained by Siapera and Vegli (2012) using evolution analogy. They look at the survival of print newspaper in the face of new media from the evolution of organisms' lens. They state that offspring is so high that chances of survival are minimal and genetic characteristics vary amongst individuals meaning that some can survive and reproduce while others cannot and that traits are hereditary. They also note that natural selection is not the only way evolution occurs by pointing out that there is extinction in which an entire species or sub-species disappear. They also state that mutations might happen, leading to changes within the organism that will enable it to survive and thrive.

There appears to be some relationship between Cebrian's observations and Siapera and Veglis' overview of evolution in that there are many print newspapers hence the competition for readers is high, and these dailies have different traits which offer them advantages over others. Due to threats from online journalism, some newspapers may disappear completely while others will adapt (mutate) to the times in order to survive. In order to survive, newspapers in Kenya have resorted to using colour; niche targeting, hybridisation and price reductions. Recently, the Standard newspaper reduced the price of its print newspaper (Gitonga, 2018) in an attempt to maintain its customers. Also, some broadsheets are taking the tabloid approach by sensationalising their front-page stories.

The history of online journalism

The first web browser 'Mosaic' was launched in 1993 and a few months after its inception, the University of Florida's journalism department in the USA established the first online journalism website which was rudimentary and not regularly updated (Siapera, & Veglis, 2012). In the UK, *The Telegraph* started the *Electronic Telegraph*, which was an online publication in 1994 (Richmond, 2009). Initially, online publishing was guided by rules governing print media. Content to be published had to pass through gatekeeping processes just like the print newspaper. The issue of constant daily updates was inexistent at the time. Concerning the launch of the *Electronic Telegraph*, Bishton (2001) in an article titled from ET to TD, says that the idea was to develop *The Telegraph* into an online commercially viable entity. According to Siapera and Veglis (2012), this is how the "...history of online journalism began, and the creation of a new kind of journalism that has changed the face of journalism forever" (p. 1). Since then, internet features have been incorporated into online journalism. There are hyperlinks; interactivity and multimodality, which all provide an exciting experience for users.

Today, there are newspapers that are purely online while the traditional print newspapers have their online versions and social media accounts. In Kenya, *The Daily Nation* established its online publication under The Nation Digital Division (NDD) initiative in 2008. The NDD's main objective is to publish on digital platforms such as its website and social media accounts as well as to engage in activities that will take advantage of emerging technologies. The Daily Nation has a website where one can read updated stories but not with all the information as contained in the print version. However, one can subscribe to be receiving an e-paper that can be read on devices such as smartphones, tablets and personal computers. After paying the subscription fee, one can then download a full version of the day's newspaper and even previous publications onto a device. Nation Media Group also has sites for its business paper "Business Daily" focusing on business news and "Nairobi News" which is dedicated to stories from Nairobi County.

The Standard newspaper in Kenya also has websites dedicated to stories and articles. The firm also has an online version of its tabloid *The Nairobian* as well as *Eve Magazine*, which is female-focused. These are niche products targeting Nairobi residents and women, respectively. Additionally, the media house has an online platform known as *uReport*, where anyone can register and post stories. Stories on these sites are constantly updated, and just like the Daily Nation, the Standard has an e-paper which is an exact copy of the days print newspaper and can be downloaded as portable document format (pdf). The standard digital unveiled its free newspaper app for android smartphones in 2013.

The Star Newspaper also has a website where it publishes news, opinions, features et cetera. It also has a social media presence where stories and other updates are published. All the above websites are also conduits for advertisements. The move to online journalism by

newspapers is meant to tap into the ever-growing tech-savvy audience.

Theoretical Framework

1) The Push Theory of Media Effects and newspaper decline in Kenya

A Pertinent theory that explains the use and spread of new media is the Push Theory of Media Effects as propounded by Poe (2011) and based on the works of Harold Allen Innis on communication history.

The Push Theory of Media Effects is concerned about the characteristics of a medium that makes users perceive it as suitable, the networks created by such a medium and the way of life of a society. This study gave considerable attention to the theory's first two constructs which are medium attributes and network attributes and how these attributes relate to new media. The last attribute, which is culture, relates to what media does, which is beyond the scope of this paper. On media attributes, Poe suggests that an appropriate medium possesses to some degree all of the following eight attributes: accessibility, privacy, fidelity, volume, velocity, range, persistence and searchability.

On network attributes, Poe suggests that a medium develops networks in that they enable people to communicate with one another. Through a medium, which in this case, new media, people share with one another and are in essence connected by it. This connection or linkage is what Poe refers to as media networks. Accordingly, media attributes (properties of an apt media) as shown by Poe should correspond to media network attributes, as shown below.

- a. Accessibility - this media attribute/ property focuses on the financial cost associated with getting and using the medium. New media can be easily and cheaply accessed. In Kenya, millions of people have adopted and use new communication

media (mobile phones, tablets, personal computers and the internet). Communications Authority of Kenya (2019) indicates that as of March 31 2019, there were 51 million active mobile subscriptions, 46.8 million data/ internet subscriptions. Most people can afford communication technology devices and connect to the internet through free wireless fidelity (Wi-Fi) or the use of affordable data bundles. The price of one copy of print newspaper in Kenya can buy several data bundles which one can be used to access a wide variety of online content. Concentration is the media network attribute corresponding to accessibility as a media attribute. On a concentrated network, those who control media are few while in diffuse networks, those who control media are many. As witnessed in Kenya, many people, organisations and media firms are creating and disseminating content through online platforms which is consumed by a large number of people. In Kenya, several people use social media to tell stories or share images.

- b. Privacy - the question here is about the safety of the users and of information carried by a medium. An appropriate medium is one which the cost of protecting the identity of users is affordable. Users need to have their data protected so that they are not subject to abuse. In Kenya, citizens who use new media have their identities protected so that it is difficult to establish what one is watching or reading. Many online news outlets do not require one to provide their identity if they want to access a particular item, although in The Daily Nation and Standard e-newspaper. The content carried by a medium should also be protected from manipulation of whatever sort. Some New media spaces like WhatsApp affords a high degree of secrecy because data can be encrypted so that

prying eyes do not see data in comprehensible form. Anonymity is also possible to those who create and upload content through the use of pseudonyms, but a caveat to this is that digital footprints can never be completely hidden or erased thus making it possible to any party with technical know-how and financial resources to unearth any individual behind a new media platform or content published. Segmentation is the media network attribute corresponding to privacy as a media attribute. In a segmented network, users and their data cannot be accessed by others while in connected networks, information cannot be hidden. New media create connected networks.

- c. Fidelity - this is the exactness to which content in a medium is received by the user. New media provides content to the user in exactly the same way as the source wanted mainly through the use of text, audios and visuals. New media in Kenya can deliver content to the recipient in exactly the same manner which the sender wanted, but of course, the interpretation of the content by the audience may be different. Iconicity is the media network attribute corresponding to fidelity which is a media attribute. In iconic networks, content can easily be decoded and understood exactly the way the sender intended while in symbolic networks, data cannot be easily decoded.
- d. Volume - this is the quantity of content that can be carried through a medium. A good medium is that which allows large volumes to be carried at a cheaper cost. New media scores highly on this attribute because enormous content can be created, transmitted or stored digitally. Constraint is the media network attribute corresponding to volume, which is a media attribute. In unconstrained networks, lots of data can be transmitted while in constrained networks, little

can. New media scores highly on these features because lots of data can be stored, transmitted and accessed through them. In fact, in Kenya, the Daily Nation's online e-paper offers archived copies of past newspaper editions, and on subscriptions, one can access them and are invaluable when one is conducting research.

- e. Velocity - this is the speed at which data is transmitted through a medium. A good medium should transmit data fast and at an affordable cost. New media provides avenues in which messages can be sent to audiences in real-time. Content can be quickly and efficiently created and uploaded to be accessed by the audience. On Twitter, for example, users are constantly made aware of new messages as they are posted. Dialogicity is the media network attribute that corresponds to velocity. In dialogic networks, users can share content quickly while in monologic networks, sharing is complicated. In Kenya, providers of internet services have rolled out 4G internets, which are fast and allows one to upload or download data quickly. Content can be shared, and discussions might start. The cost associated with accessing fast internet in Kenya is gradually coming down, thus enhancing dialogicity. In the financial year ending March 2019, Safaricom, which is the largest telecommunication firm, indicated that it had cut its internet charges by 42% (Juma, 2019). New media scores highly on the velocity and Dialogicity.
- f. Range - this media attribute implies the distance information (message) can be transmitted over a medium. A good medium is one in which messages are transmitted across large distances at a cheaper cost. For new media, messages can reach intended audiences all over the world. Whatever is exhibited

on new media can be cheaply accessed by anyone in the Diaspora. Extent is the media network characteristic that goes hand in hand with range as a media attribute. Networks that are extensive allow for messages to be shared over a large area and to as many people as possible. On the contrary, in intensive networks, messages are restricted to a small area and few persons. New media platforms score highly on range and extent as they present numerous avenues where messages can be sent over long distances.

- g. Persistence - this media attribute refers to the length of time messages can be preserved in a medium with the right medium being able to preserve messages for a very long time at a cheaper cost. New media avenues such as websites and social media are able to store vast amounts of data which can be retrieved by interested parties. Data can be archived for later use. As has been mentioned earlier, the Daily Nation e-newspaper App in Kenya has archived copies of past editions. Addition is the media network attribute that corresponds to persistence as a media attribute hence additive networks are those networks where data can build up while substitutive networks do not provide for data accumulation instead new content replace existing ones. New media platforms facilitate the preservation of messages indefinitely if the conditions are right.
- h. Searchability - this is the ease with which messages can be found in a medium and here, a medium that is good allows for easy search and retrieval of data at a cheaper cost. Mappedness is the media network attribute associated with searchability as a media attribute meaning that a mapped network is one in which data is easy to search and access. In unmapped networks, data is not easy to come by

and retrieve. New media score highly on searchability and mappedness as information is easy to search, locate and retrieve.

METHODOLOGY

The study collected data from both primary and secondary sources to shed light into the impact of new media on print newspapers. Data generated was qualitative. Secondary sources comprised existing literature, both academic and industry-related. Existing literature on the subject of this study was sourced from peer-reviewed academic journals, online repositories (specifically the University of Nairobi e-repository), websites, online newspapers and articles. Primary sources were got through non-probability sampling technique. Under this procedure, purposive sampling was employed where subjects who possessed the required information were selected. An interview schedule made up of unstructured questions was used to elicit responses. Main questions sought answers on the status of newspaper sales, advertising revenue and what makes new media a preferred news source. Also, answers were sought on strategies adopted by print to ensure survival. All interviews took place face to face, and each took approximately thirty minutes. Data collection and analysis took place concurrently. Participants selected were two editors and an accountant from two leading print newspaper organisations in Kenya. Ten journalists from different print media companies were picked because as employees of those companies they possessed information on newspaper production, and circulation. In order to determine newspaper purchase habits, 10 newspaper readers were selected. Finally, eight newspaper vendors offered insights on sales. Two leading newspapers, The Daily Nation and The Standard, were selected because they have had a large circulation for many years. Findings from the literature and interview were triangulated and linked to The Push Theory of Media Effects.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

It is the continuous availability of new technology together with the attributes of new media as provided by the Push Theory of Media Effects that pose a threat to print newspaper. As noted from literature and interviews, print newspaper circulation and advertising revenue are falling. Readers prefer accessing news from digital devices and purchase hard copies if they are interested in specific information.

Ndonye and Telewa (2013) acknowledge that in countries that have embraced technology, print newspaper is experiencing a reduction in newspapers sales and advertisement revenues. Circulation, they argue, is facing a sharp decline. Globally, as shown by Barthel (2016) in Pew Research, there has been a decline in newspaper circulation since 2010. The editors, accountant and journalists straightforwardly admitted that the print newspaper in Kenya is facing challenges due to new media and that newspaper sales and advertising are declining. Tubei, (2017), noted that print newspaper circulation in Kenya is declining due to online news platforms.

On the streets, the newspaper vendors interviewed concurred with some of what the editors, accountant and journalists said. Since their role is mainly to sell newspapers, they confirmed that compared to past years, circulation has to a great degree gone down. One of them stated that “I used to supply newspapers to offices close my newspaper stand but is no longer the case as most people read news using phones and tablets.” All newspaper readers indicated that they access news through digital devices. The Communications Authority of Kenya (2019) shows mobile and data/ internet subscriptions in Kenya have increased. The authority indicates that as of March 31 2019, there were 51 million active mobile subscriptions, 46.8 million data/ internet subscriptions.

The vendors claimed that nowadays they get few newspapers from media houses compared to the past and from that small number delivered, few sell and as a result, unsold copies are returned back to the media houses. Their opinion on the fate of print newspaper, with the exception of one, was that the future is bleak and that is why most were thinking of quitting altogether or engaging in other income-generating activities to supplement what they get from newspaper sales. Two out of the ten newspaper readers interviewed admitted to buying print newspaper only when there was particular information they were looking for. “I only buy a newspaper when the results of national examinations are out so that I know schools’ performance and rankings”, said one reader. Newspaper, according to the readers, is expensive as compared to online platforms; thus, they opted for new media as a source of news. Accessibility attribute as per Push theory indicates that cost is one of the factors affecting demand and use of media and an accessible media is one that is cheap.

In Kenya, a study by Nyamamu (2014) established that traditional media revenues were affected by online advertising because many people are moving away from purchasing hardcopy newspapers to accessing news on online platforms. The accountant acknowledged that advertising revenue was falling. She partly attributed this decline to stiff competition from online news platforms. Nyamamu (2014); Media Council of Kenya (2016) and Barthel (2016) acknowledge the decline in advertising revenue and attribute it to new media. Barthel (2016) indicates that global advertising revenue dropped by 8 % from 2014-2015 and that a quarter of advertising revenue now comes from digital media. WAN-FRA (2016) findings on advertising revenue show that:

Print advertising worldwide declined by 7.5 % in 2015 and declined by 24 % over five years. Since it started in the mid -1990s, internet

advertising (both desktop and mobile) has risen principally at the expense of print. Desktop and mobile internet advertising grew 18.7% in 2015 and 102% over five years. (p. 28).

Despite the dip in circulation, print newspaper, according to the editors and journalists, will never completely disappear due to the level of trust it is accorded by the citizenry. In his own words, an editor, “No, it won't die because it still commands a lot of respect and trust in the face of unverified and fake news.” Likewise, Poe (2011), Odun and Utulu (2016) and Shivarudrappa (2014) state that the arrival of new technology never affected the relevance of existing media. A journalist also mentioned that government departments and some private firms still get supplied copies of print newspaper daily.

In order to ensure survival, one editor responded that survival strategies adopted by print newspaper include “vigorous marketing and advertising as the future is still assured taking into account that they are also adopting new media in their department as they maintain the traditional style.” Another strategy is price reduction as it happened with the Standard (Gitonga, 2018). They also stated that their firms have a vibrant digital platform to supplement their news dissemination and vibrancy, something which Geiger and Lampinen (2014) refer to as hybridisation. Dominick (2005) says that existing technologies will adapt to the threat of communication technologies; thus, they will not completely disappear.

The journalists admitted that in an effort to counter competition from new media, print media has adopted survival schemes which include use of colour images, having newspapers and sections for niche audiences as well as vigorous efforts to market print with special emphasis on its trustworthiness. Mwasi (2019) says that

strategies such as creating easy to read content and visually improved layouts enable print newspaper to retain its foothold. Certainly, due to some survival strategies, job losses for journalists are inevitable. The *Daily Nation* in a move to embrace digital media in its business model, rendered employees redundant in July in 2016 (Otieno, & Kajilwa, 2016). Some journalists too opined that due to circulation and revenue decline, there might be job losses

Immediacy gives new media competitive advantage over print newspaper as online news can be constantly updated to offer readers what is new and fresh. Immediacy corresponds to push theory's velocity attribute. Nyamboga (2014) contends that many Kenyans resort to social media for current news. Nyabuga and Booker (2013) talk of media houses in Kenya whose websites are regularly updated. They single out Nation Online belonging to Nation Media Group, which is constantly updated. New media, according to the editors, have a competitive advantage because of “real-time delivery” and “lively interactions.” Real-time delivery supports Push theory attribute on velocity. Most journalists agreed that new media platforms provide fresh news on a wide variety of subjects at a fraction of what print newspapers cost. Freshness and affordability are captured in Push theory's velocity and accessibility attribute.

Freshness is as a result of the speed in which online content can be created and disseminated while affordability reflects the ease of acquiring and the inexpensive nature of digital devices and services like mobile phones and data bundles. The desire for fresh news by newsreaders as offered by new media due to updates and links providing details on how a story unfolded and related links made the readers prefer online sources. The journalist also claims that new media reaches a wide audience and is not limited by distance and geographical boundaries. Range is the media attribute given by Push theory which shows a media with the ability to cover large

distances and therefore accessed by more people is preferred by news outlets. There is also the use of HyperText Mark-up Language (HTML) which enables news writers to access lots of information on the subjects they are writing about. All the journalists mentioned the invaluable nature of links when they are researching stories to be published in print and online editions, and this is captured in searchability attribute in Push theory.

Multimedia capabilities draw audiences to new media as content on news websites can be consumed in different forms. A study by Odera (2017) noted that people go for online journalism because of its interactive nature and multimediality. There could be texts which are read accompanied by photos, audio or video, and this enables the reader to get detailed information and is also interesting and appealing to the sense of sight and hearing. All newspaper editors, readers and journalists agreed that the multimedia aspects of news media appeal to them, and this is a characteristic the print media lacks.

Interactivity, which is offered by new media and which relates to Push theory's claim that media forms dialogic networks which is a characteristic giving new media numerous advantages. Here, the reader can react to the story by posting comments or contacting the media house or writer through email. Interactivity, a key feature of new media (Media Council of Kenya, 2016) enables readers to engage in debate amongst themselves on the issues raised by the story. One reader interviewed said that "I am able to voice my opinion on an article I read by reacting to it or the issues it raises" while another said that from the reactions by other readers, she could access the mood surrounding a particular topic.

All respondents in reference to Push theory's fidelity media attribute admitted that new media conveys content precisely the way the creator intended, thus making it attractive. The journalists and editors were in agreement

that digital platforms could store vast amounts of content as opposed to print which has space limitations. One editor stated that "digital news platforms are a treasure trove of information." This claim supports Push theory's volume media attribute. On the persistence media attribute, there was general consensus amongst editors and journalists that information could be kept for a long time in the digital sphere. Respondents did not consider new media as offering privacy to users.

CONCLUSION

The print newspaper industry is facing turbulent times today as a result of competition from new media. Several voices paint a grim prognosis of its future while others still believe that the situation is not as bad as it seems. From reviewed literature and comments from editors, journalists and vendors, it is clear that in Kenya, print circulation is falling and this, they say, is because of new media. In this study, seven characteristics of new media given by the Push theory, namely accessibility, velocity, range, searchability, fidelity, volume and persistence make it attractive to audiences and advertisers.

News readers prefer sourcing news from digital platforms. Advertising revenues traditionally enjoyed by print media are diminishing as advertisers are utilising the digital space to display their products. Interactivity and multimediality are also characteristics that have not been addressed by the Push theory but nevertheless appeal to audiences. Print newspaper is trying to adapt to the threats in order to continue existing by implementing survival strategies. The survival schemes based on the evolution analogy means that print newspaper is trying to adapt/ mutate in order to stay afloat. Strategies implemented by print to ensure survival include use of attractive layout, niche targeting, use of easy language, price reductions and creating online editions among others. The print newspaper, as seen from literature and editors' responses may not disappear because some people consider it an authoritative source of

news. Claims that new media contains poorly done journalistic work, including fake news are rife, and this has a negative influence on digital platforms. This study recommends that further research should focus on the

trustworthiness on online news content as compared to print newspaper.

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