THE MEDIATIZATION OF SINO-KENYA RELATIONS BY THE KENYA MAINSTREAM PRESS

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To my supervisors, my wife Risper Ogweno, my loving daughters Tiffany, Tracy, Talia and Kwe and

my parents

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ABSTRACT

Like all the other commercial mainstream media, the Kenya mainstream press is more often superficial in their news coverage. This was expected in their coverage of Sino-Kenya relations. This study examined the nature of mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations by the mainstream press, to investigate the meanings of emerging discourses from Kenya's press mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations and explore the implications of the meanings of emerging discourses to broader Sino-Kenya relations. The study sought to answer the following questions: what was the nature of mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations in the mainstream Kenya's press? What are the meanings of emerging discourses from Kenya's mainstream press mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations? In addition, what are the implications of such meanings to the broader Sino-Kenya relations as mediatized in the Kenya's mainstream press? An explorative research design approach was adopted which described a collection of sequential procedures which sought to elaborate the meanings of the emerging discourses and the implications, explorative research design was appropriate because the study was based on a critical discourse evaluation of the contents in the Kenya's mainstream press on mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations. Triangulation was used in the analysis which combined the use of Qualitative and Quantitative approaches. A two-step purposive sampling method was used in first, selecting the three mainstream newspapers because they are market leaders and they are the newspapers that covered broadly the relations and then secondly the period of study the years from 2015 and 2019 because the years covered broadly many activities concerning Sino-Kenya relations. The advantage of this sampling method is that the study objects are always available and accessible. The study examined three newspapers: The *Daily Nation, The Standard* and *The Star*. The content from the three mainstream press was sampled producing a sample size of 70 newspapers, in addition, 3 journalists and 3 Chief Editors were equally purposefully sampled. Interviews were conducted with key informants and analyzed qualitatively while the coding sheet assisted in collecting data that was then analyzed quantitatively to record the frequency of occurrence of the identified nature of mediatization. Qualitative approach was used to study the meanings of emerging discourses, use of attributive words, pictures, and discussions and the implications of the meanings from the discourses. The identified nature of mediatization were found to be fused with ideological undertones that served in mediatizing the Sino-Kenya relations. The results indicated that articles adopted neutral tone whose implication was a dual beneficial relation. The study suggested that the editorial policies of publishing houses should also be points of focus in future studies and should have a deeper discussion in its contents.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BRI	Belt and Roads Initiative
CAD	China Africa Development Fund
EAC	East Africa Community
EU	European Union
FOCAC	Forum on China Africa Cooperation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ITCA	Interpretive Textual Content Analysis
KANU	Kenya African National Union
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OOF	Other Official Flows.
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway

CHAPTER ONE
1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

It is worth noting that Sino-Kenya relations is increasingly subject to and transformed by media's influence, that is mediatized (Wekesa, 2010) with less focus on the mainstream press that has the assertion that mediatization is often praised for the explanatory inclusiveness it achieves against the narrow-focused ''media effect research''(Hjavard & Lundby, 2015; Strömbäck & Esser, 2014), thereby having to resort to and reactivate ''media performativity'' a historically embedded and institutionalized repertoire of communicative practices that both explains and regulates how the Sino-Kenya relations come to be understood through the media at certain moments in time, and in certain contexts, forming the basis of this study. Sino-Kenya relations are very significant for the continent. These tightening, multilevel and overarching relations are to a certain extent dependent on the mediatization in the press that could be superficially described in the press. As an exploratory study, the paper discusses some of the issues raised by the analysis, presents tentative findings and proposes further research directions.

This chapter introduces the study, background, statement of the problem and research objectives. It further dwells on the research questions, justification and significance of the study and finally the scope and limitations of the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

Globaly, the western media have mostly narrated the story of China's engagement with suspicion China is regarded as an exploiting power on African continent and is often framed in the context of land-grabbing, resource-snatching, neo-colonialism, and invasion. (Taylor, et al, 2014)

Since the turn of the 21st century, Western media have begun to focus on an emerging economic power the People's Republic of China (Bräutigam, 2011). According to Le Pere, (2007), China has the potential to "grow into a power which is able to end the current unipolar system of U.S. dominance," as China is focused on increasing its economic, political, and military power. China's competition with the U.S. has been particularly evident in Africa in recent years. For decades, China's relations with Africa had focused on "checkbook diplomacy" providing aid in exchange for diplomatic recognition of Beijing instead of Taiwan (Bräutigam, 2011; Sun & Olin-Ammentorp, 2014). However, China has now shifted its approach by increasing trade and investment, rather than focusing solely on aid to achieve its policy goals abroad. China's progressive push into Africa has drawn considerable scrutiny from Western leaders, which is further perpetuated by Western media who criticize China's environmental and labor standards, as well as China's no-strings attached policy, which advocates non-interference in the countries with which it partners Bräutigam, (2011). To counter such negative news reports, China has embarked upon public diplomacy initiatives designed to improve its image, including an influx of Chinese news bureaus in East Africa channels such as CGTN based in Nairobi (Taylor, I. et al 2014)

Since the 1960s, China's Africa policy had exploited a toolkit consisting of a multi-selection of approaches, such as shaping perceptions through domestic and international propaganda, developing personal relationships with African leadership, and providing tangible assistance such as medical aid, building railways and friendship farms. The tradition of assistance has remained unbroken. However, according to Alan Hutchinson, in the 1970s, Chinese aid in Africa began to develop more unique

characteristics by intentionally differentiating from the mighty, prestigious projects undertaken by the Soviet Union in Africa. The Chinese decision to highlight its anti-colonial character, its rural experience and a focus on more pragmatic, small-scale and labor-intensive projects was generally well received (Sun & Olin-Ammentorp, 2014). In the twenty-first century, this pragmatism has been seemingly replaced by extravagance. A wealthier China is able to ling increasing amounts of money on more visible tokens of friendship all over the African continent (Alden & Davies, 2006).

China's engagement with Africa has been under scrutiny from African media over the past years. Stories reported by the African media about the Chinese involvement in African countries have created a mixture of positive and negative perceptions of China. Proponents view China's engagement with Africa as a "win win" relationship, where China acquires natural resources for its growing economy and finds new markets for its manufactured goods, while African countries need China's assistance for their socio-economic development (Carmody, 2011; Fergus, 2013; Kofi, 2014). Other observers suggested that China offers an alternative to Western hegemony in Africa. Traditional Western power players are being challenged by China because most of the African governments found China's non-interference approach to be more appealing than Western countries' "good governance" agenda (Alden & Davies, 2006).

China embraced the marginalized countries in Africa referring to them as the developing brothers (Rich & Recker, 2013). In May 1996, China's president Jiang Zemin paid a state visit to six African countries; Kenya, Ethiopia, Egypt, Mali, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Zhang & Matingwina, 2014). marking the beginning of China's renewed interest in Africa with the Chinese investment activity in Africa skyrocketing in the years that followed. China formalized its relations with Africa, by establishing the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000, (Taylor, 2004) becoming Africa's biggest trading partner (Muekalia, 2014). There were many goals behind improving the Sino-

African relations. The first goal was securing African support in China's diplomatic battles with Taiwan Republic of China (Xiaoling, 2013).

The Changing Nature of Sino–African relations is understood in the analysis distinguishes between four different periods depicting the foundations of the relations. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The chosen periods reflect both the political and economic perspectives of this relationship, particularly the major underlying forces that underpin this relationship. The periods also reflect how the political and economic dimensions of this relationship have changed over the past decades as China develops into a global power, and the second largest economy in the world after the United States of America. China's contemporary relations and engagement with the African continent are widely recognized (Large, 2008).

However, the media in Africa have also often been accused of promoting various negative effects on their audiences, such as violence, discrimination and conflict (Kamau, 2007). These allegations are based on the assumption that media discourse is important in shaping the images and events as received by their audiences. Thus, how the media report about various social issues affects not only their audiences understanding of them but also what they perceive to be the right way to relate to these issues. This line of thinking is further enhanced by the growing realization that media is often not a mirror of reality, but rather a mediatization of the world, and that all these mediatization being selective make it impossible to have an absolute truth about media performativity (Schudson, 2003). Therein then lies the need in continuous examination of the various mediatization mechanisms/nature employed by the media (Schudson, 2003).

It is against this backdrop that the Kenyan press have actively mediatized Sino-Kenya relations inviting questions bordering on the depth of the content of their coverage of China-Kenya relations (Tull, 2006).

For example, a study conducted by Neuendorf (2002) on some of the mainstream media outlets discovered that the press, because of their need to fill the newspapers with content and working in an environment where they have to compete for the scoop, have been in a hurry to report on the China-Kenya relations with each development deemed newsworthy which in turn may have greatly impacted on the quality of information provided (Neuendorf, 2002). This then sets the stage for further analysis of the mainstream press content to decode the overarching mediatization of China-Kenya relations by the Kenyan press to establish the depth of the messages received by the Kenyan public regarding it.

The Sino-Kenya relation dates back to 14 December 1963, when China opened her embassy in Nairobi (Kamau, 2007). According to Onjala (2008), the Chinese embassy in Kenya is arguably their largest embassy in Africa both in terms of size and employees. The early post-independence period saw fairly developed bilateral ties between the two countries. However, after 1965, this relation was lowered to the level of agency diplomacy when Kenya declared the Chinese charge' d' affaires persona non grata ordering him out of Kenya. In response China expelled the Kenya charge'd' affaires (East African Standard, Nairobi, 8 June 1967). Nevertheless, towards the beginning of the 1970s, it gradually began to return to normal diplomatic relation as they restored the embassy relationship (Onjala, 2008).

In 1978, when President Daniel Arap Moi came to power, the relations between the two countries were restored. The president himself visited China three times in September 1980, October 1988 and May 1994 while between 1980 and 2002, 20 top-level Chinese diplomatic entourages came to Kenya (Onjala, 2008). During president Moi's tenure, Kenya witnessed one of the worst human rights violations in its history: detention without trial, torture, arbitrary arrest and police brutality reminiscent of the colonial era became the order of the day (Gu & Humphrey, 2007). Moreover, the commission formed to investigate the 1997 ethnic clashes confirmed state complicity in human rights violations (Bosshard, 2007). The former president viewed the pro-democracy and human rights advocates in Kenya as unpatriotic, disloyal and ungrateful individuals influenced by foreign masters (Mutua, 1993).

When the NARC government came to power by the end of 2002, Kenya's closeness to China became unprecedented. According to Thuita (2017), China-Kenya economic relations during President Kibaki's era began with high-level political contacts between the two states. The president himself made an official visit to China in August 2005, accompanied by eleven Kenyan trade and investment seeking delegations. This was followed by a highly successful Chinese trade exhibition in Nairobi in mid-2006. High-powered officials from China such as Wu Banguo and chairman of NPC standing committee and vice Premier Zeng Piyan also visited Kenya during President Kibaki's era in 2004 and 2005 respectively. These visits aimed at expressing the willingness and commitment to bilateral friendly cooperation between the two countries (Kasongo, 2011).

According to Mingxun and Robertson, (2013) China has enhanced its presence in Kenya in infrastructure such as the construction of the Nairobi-Thika superhighway, Nairobi express way and CGTN towers among others. China also established Confucius institutes in local universities such as Kenyatta University and University of Nairobi to teach Mandarin. Other areas of aid provided by China to Kenya include renovation of the Moi International sports Centre Kasarani, methane generating pit and the expansion project of Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital in Eldoret. Kenya was also granted the preferred Tourist Destination in 2004, thus arrivals from China have doubled (Kaplinsky, 2007). In 2012, an estimated 41,000 Chinese visited Kenya for business and pleasure (Odhiambo, 2012). There have also been increased Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Kenya by the Chinese business community in the fields of infrastructure, education, agriculture and mining (Onjalla, 2008).

Indicators that there is remarkable trend in the relationship between China and Kenya are evident. Odhiambo (2012) observes that during the inauguration of President Uhuru Kenyatta and his Deputy William Ruto on 9th April 2013, China's flag was the only pennant of a foreign country outside Africa that occupied a flagstaff. Significantly, Beijing sent a high-ranking special envoy to the ceremony while

the Western nations were only represented by their ambassadors. Beijing's choice was a pointer to the kind of foreign policy the Kenyatta administration was likely to pursue. President Kenyatta made his first state visit outside Africa to China from August 19 to 23rd 2013 (Ongiri, 2013). Onjalla (2008) shows an analysis of Kenya's foreign policy under two eras; Jommo Kenyatta's (1963-78) and Moi (1978-2002). His concern in the research is how a regime change resulted to a shift in foreign policy engagement. Lombard, (2006) explains China-Kenya relation from economic perspective arguing that Kenya's political stability in the region makes it a conducive environment for Chinese investment. The above-mentioned researches do not raise the question regarding the link between foreign aid relations and human rights. In addition, they do not explain the recent trend of China-Kenya relationship.

1.2.1 The China Context

Much of China's previous history tells a story of a nation that is remote, xenophobic and self-contained (Sun & Sinclair, 2015). Of course, all this has changed thanks to its economic miracle coupled with spectacular growth and modernization. China has inevitably integrated into the global economy and become a major player in international trade and politics increasing its sphere of influence. The media have significantly abetted this dramatic rise (Sun & Sinclair, 2015)

Recently, China embarked on a robust articulation and implementation of the "going out" policy, which led to a grand scale internationalization of Chinese media, language and culture. Taylor, Kopinski and Polus (2014) support this notion by claiming that the Chinese government is devoted to sending positive messages to a wider audience as long as it serves its foreign policy well. According to Sun and Sinclair (2015), following China's success in hosting the Beijing Olympics and the disappointing failure to translate the same into an impressive image and the dominant negative publicity associated with human rights issues related to Tibet, China realizes three things; One; there is an inconsistency between China's status as an economic power and its lack of influence through "soft power". Two; for China to contest the west's hegemonic mediatization of China, China must be

able to gain a footing in the global media and communication arena to be able to tell the world its own story and let the world know and understand China from the Chinese perspective. Three; The media and communications sector forms the basis of China's soft power project.

According to Lai and Yiyi (2012), Chinese soft power has been mainly manifested in two aspects. One is China's foreign policy and international behavior is characterized by multilateralism, economic diplomacy and a good neighbor policy. The other is the external influence of the Chinese model on the developing world.

Kurlantzick, (2007) argues that in their relations with Africa, Chinese government promote China as an economic role model to be emulated. Scholars such as Brautigam (2009) have documented China's economic progress and argued that it is good for Africa's development. Li and Ronning (2013) reveal that as from the 1990's, the Chinese policy of soft power moved from "opening-up' to "going-out" policies. The media going out was a key strategy in achieving the soft power aspects. Moreover, Chinese communication scholars have since confirmed that indeed an outbound Chinese media strategy of "going out" has been in place, however, they are quick to add that it is global rather than directed at Africa as has been cast by many news reports (Wekesa & Zhang, 2014).

According to Wang in Sun and Sinclair (2015), the soft power project dubbed "going out" or "going global" is primarily aimed at gradually changing China's image in the international arena from negative, to neutral to positive. Sun and Sinclair (2015) add that to be specific, China wants to engage in soft power exercises through its media to achieve four key objectives. First to encourage a wider and global understanding of its policies, which are based on the principal of a "harmonious society" and "scientific development." Second is to be seen as a stable, reliable and responsible economic partner that does not pose any threat to the international community. Third to be seen as a trustworthy

and reliable nation that is actively contributing to world peace and fourth, to be acknowledged and respected for its contribution to culture and civilization.

1.2.2 The Kenyan Context

President Kibaki's regime that started in 2003, begun the new engagement with China, which did not largely change the existing patterns. The month of April 2013 was a turning point to China-Kenya engagement where Uhuru Kenyatta was elected as a new president, which caused reserved reactions by the West. The reason is that both Kenyatta and his Deputy William Ruto faced charges by the International Criminal Court of committing crimes against humanity during the post-election violence in 2007–08 (Wekesa & Zhang, 2014). Contrarily, China warmly congratulated the new President on his election, which initiated a new era of close cooperation under the officially proclaimed "Look East" policy.

1.2.3 Contextualizing Sino-Kenya Relations

China and Africa relations commonly referred to as Sino-African relations is the historical, political, social and cultural relationship between China and Africa. The establishment of this relationship in the modern age dates back to the 1950's. It is important to note that the Bandung conference in 1955 was the cornerstone of the relationship between China and Africa. The conference brought together Asian and African states, most of which were newly independent. The conference's aims were to promote Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation and to oppose colonialism or neocolonialism. It also called for economic and cultural co-operation aimed at safeguarding the independence of Asian and African nations by fostering world peace and enhancing co-operation among other nations (Muekalia, 2004; Li Ansham, 2006). Since then, both bilateral and multilateral relationships between the two continents have blossomed. The political, economic, and socio-cultural relation between Kenya and China has evolved from being of fragile coexistence to valued partnership over past five decades. The contacts between the two states began 600 years ago. This is the period when the great Chinese

navigator Zheng He of Ming Dynasty is said to have arrived in Kenya's coastal town of Malindi. (CE, 2017) The navigator returned to China with a giraffe, an animal that under Chinese mythology symbolizes royalty.

In the first half of 20thCentury, the relationship between Kenya alongside other African countries and China moved to new level. The old friendship was re-energized by Chinese revolution of 1949 as well as African decolonization campaigns of 1950s and 1960s on the other. (Zeleza, 2014) China was the fourth country to set up an embassy in Kenya two days after independence on 14thDecember 1963 (Xinhua News Agency, 2003). This epoch, herein referred to us Mao-Kenyatta era, did not however last long due to ideological differences between Mao Ze Dong of China and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya harnessing and benefiting from China's revolutionary agenda, the inability of Kenya to reconcile her own to the emerging capitalist trajectory with China's communist model proved more difficult than was bargained for to sustain cordial relations between the two countries. Chege, (2008) the ideological schism in Kenya- China relations reduced cordial cooperation between the two states until after the exit of Mao in 1976 and Kenyatta in 1978.

A new dawn was rekindled in 1980 through the visit to China by then Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi served as a new magic spark for Kenya China relations. President Moi's visit was necessitated by desire to secure means of diversifying sources of Kenya's external development funds. Chege, (2008) notes that top Nairobi-Beijing contacts were made between 1980 and 2002. In this period, President Moi made at least 3 state visits to China. Similarly, in the same period, at least 20 top-level Chinese diplomatic entourages visited Kenya. They included Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang (1983), Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian (1987), President Jiang Zemin (1996) and Prime Minister Zhu Rongji (2002).

The visit to China by president Moi in 1980, culminated to signing of two agreements namely economic, technological cooperation, and technical support to two new universities; scholarships; and military

and cultural exchanges. According to Chege, the most common area of the economic engagement agreement was the building of the Moi International Sports Center at the cost of approximately 930 million Kenya shillings financed at 52 and 48 percent respectively by China and Kenya. The hosting of the 1987 all African games in the 60,000-sitter capacity stadium equipped with Olympic-size swimming pool, and a modern gymnasium remains great symbol of Kenya China relations (Chege, 2008)

In 2002, Kenya experienced major political development. The KANU regime, which had governed the country since independence, paved way for the aforementioned NARC government under the leadership of Mwai Kibaki in a historic election. The political transition had ramifications not only in the internal governance of the country but also in foreign relations. In aftermath of political transition, Kenya foreign policy began to gravitate towards the East in particular towards China. Coming to power on the platform of change under slogan, "Yote Yawezekana" meaning all is possible, President Kibaki inherited a country lost with hope and nearly crumbling out of bad governance and corruption.

In his inaugural address to the people, the president noted, "I am inheriting a country which has been badly ravaged by years of misrule and ineptitude." And to this he added, you have asked me to lead this nation of the present wilderness and malaise on the Promised Land, and I shall do so; I shall offer a responsive, transparent, and innovative leadership." (The Guardian, 2002). In order to fulfill his promise to the people of Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki together with his government embarked on governance and economic reform. Among the reforms instituted was the drafting and implementing of the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation of 2003 to 2007. The economic plan served as blue print in guiding government policies from 2003 to 2007. The NARC Government economic recovery plan focused on the creation of macroeconomic policies, improved governance, efficient public service delivery and facilitation of an enabling environment for the private sector to do

business, as well as creation of public investments and policies aimed at reducing the cost of doing business. (Ministry of Planning and National Development Kenya, 2003) to maintain momentum for economic growth, president Kibaki sought to diversify Kenya's pool of development partners. The previous governments of Kenyatta and Moi aligned their economic and political interests largely with Western Europe and the United States of America. The coming to power by Kibaki altered this matrix such that while Kenya maintained cordial political diplomacy with the West, his economic diplomacy was shifting towards the East, China in particular.

China-Kenya relations have yet to be examined from a critical-theoretical perspective. Importantly, existing approaches do not tend to place the relationship within a global context or to raise questions concerning the ways in which bilateral relations fit in the process of structural change in the world economy and the set of dominant interests upon which that global economy is premised. Thus, the mediatization by the Kenyan mainstream press could be missing the crucial interaction between the nature of mediatization and the unfolding relations. It is the lacunae in the existing literature, which this theoretical approach attempts to overcome. Therefore, the need to illuminate some of its deficiencies as well as areas which can be constructively build upon in the context of this critical approach to Sino-Kenya relations. To address the theoretical, mediatization and bilateral relation gaps in the relations Kenya turned to China to finance modernization of strategic sectors of its economy hence cementing the political relations between the two states at the present and the future.

1.2.4 Theorizing Mediatization

The concept of mediatization has made a strong impact on media and communication studies, and its advocates have attempted to turn it into a refined and central theoretical framework for media research (Lundby, 2010). This Study was based on the assumption that a 'media logic' increasingly determined the actions of Sino-Kenya relations. The scope of mediatization has increased considerably over the years. At its inception, the concept targeted specific processes, especially the mediatization of politics. Indeed, mediatization is perhaps most commonly used to describe the transformation of politics and political communication: It is argued not only that the media have taken on a larger role in the opinion-building process, but also that the media have become one of the most important arenas for politics (Lundby, 2010)

According to Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999), "mediatized politics is politics that has lost its autonomy, has become dependent in its central functions on mass media, and is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media". Mediatization has become an ambitious umbrella concept that targets the society and culture as a whole: "In general, the concept of mediatization tries to capture long-term processes of the interrelation between media change on the one hand and social and cultural change on the other" (Hepp, Hjarvard & Lundby 2010). The starting point for a strong version of mediatization theory is the argument that contemporary societies have become "permeated by the media" (Hjarvard 2008) and that the media have become "part of the very fabric of culture", so much so that they can no longer be conceptualized as being "outside society exerting a specific influence or effect on culture and therefore of individuals" (Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby 2010). This constitutes a "new social condition" that Hjarvard (2008) has called "the mediatization of society". The concept he uses to capture the centrality of the media in social and cultural terms is 'media logic'. In understanding media logic as a form of communication; the process through which media present and transmit information. The press uses various mechanisms/nature such as tone, antinomies, framing, images/photos, anchoring and

metaphors, to enhance their art of mediatization. Format consists, in part, of how material is organized, the style in which it is presented, the focus or emphasis on particular characteristics of behaviour, and the grammar of media communication. Format becomes a framework or a perspective that is used to present as well as interpret phenomena (Altheide and Snow 1979). This study therefore focuses on mediatization through language, where language in this context refers to the written, spoken and visual nature used in the communication process. This study focuses on tone, antinomies, images and metaphors used in the construction of discourses about Sino-Kenya relations in the process of mediatization as advanced by the theory of mediatization (Hjarvard, 2013). Analysing such discourses gives an understanding how mediatization is developed when the nature of mediatization are included in a message for example, mediatization categorizes unfamiliar phenomena through their comparison with already existing, familiar and culturally accessible objects (Strömbäck & Esser 2014).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Like all the other commercial mainstream media, the Kenyan mainstream press is more often superficial in their news coverage due to many factors among them political and economy factors. This was evidenced in their coverage of Sino-Kenya relations. How the media report about various social issues affects not only their audiences understanding of them but also what they perceive to be the right way to relate to these issues. This line of thinking is further enhanced by the growing realization that media is often not a mirror of reality, but rather a mediatization of the world, and that all these mediatization being selective make it impossible to have an absolute truth about media representations (Schudson, 2003) therein then lays the need in continuous examination of the various mediatization mechanisms/nature employed by the media (Schudson, 2003; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

It is against this backdrop that the Kenyan press have actively mediatized on Sino-Kenya relations. However, questions bordering on the depth of their content have continued to be raised, based on how they have covered the China-Kenya relations (Tull, 2006). For example, a study conducted by

(Neuendorf, 2002) on some of the Nation newspaper media outlets discovered that the press, because of their need to fill the newspapers with content and working in an environment where they have to compete for the scoop, have been in a hurry to report on the China-Kenya relations with each development deemed newsworthy which in turn may have greatly impacted on the quality of information provided (Neuendorf, 2002). This then sets the stage for further analysis of the Kenyan mainstream press mediatization of China-Kenya relations, to investigate the meaning of emerging discourses and explore their implications to the broader Sino-Kenya relations.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The aim of this research is to examine the contextual nature of Sino-Kenya relations vis-a-vis the problematic manner in which these relations are mediatized by the Kenyan mainstream press the latter is a theoretical concern.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

To realize the aim stated above, the specific objectives of the study were:

i. To examine the contextual nature of Sino-Kenya relations by the Kenyan mainstream press

ii. To investigate the meanings of emerging discourses from Kenya's mainstream press mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations

iii. To explore the implications of the meanings of emerging discourses to the broader Sino-Kenya relations.

1.5 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions:

i. What is the nature of the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations by the Kenyan mainstream press?

ii. What are the meanings of emerging discourses from Kenya's mainstream press mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations?

iii. What are the implications of meanings of emerging discourses to the broader Sino-Kenya relations?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Research on mediatization has largely focused on topics concerning gender, race, ethnicity and morality Stromback, (2008). On the other hand, research on mediatization of state relations has been minimal despite the fact that state relations are an integral part of societal wellbeing. It is therefore hoped that the findings of this study will be beneficial to both scholars and researchers of communication, media studies and international relations, as it will draw attention to how the mediatization theory can be employed in studies concerned with decoding how the media makes abstract issues understandable. This study will also contribute to the existing body of literature on Sino-Kenya relations, particularly on mediatization of state relations. The Sino-Kenya relations keeps evolving and should stimulate further research in this area given that the art of mediatization is a wide subject.

This study, by examining the nature of mediatization mechanisms/nature used by the three newspapers that is *the Daily Nation, The Standard and The Star* newspapers, will highlight the dangers inherent in using nature of mediatization that might have varied meanings to them, especially when the aim of mediatization is to provide a common understanding of a phenomenon. It is therefore hoped that the findings of this study will lead the media fraternity to rethink their editorial policies that greatly affect their coverage of issues related to inter-state relations.

This study is important because it highlighted the intricacies of media involvement in promoting foreign policy and state interest abroad. It showed that in one way or the other, that the media was fully or otherwise promotes certain aspects and prefer certain contexts in their reporting of state relations especially when it comes to state owned media. The study highlighted the critical role that the media plays in influencing perceptions and building relationships between parties.

In addition, the study provided insight into how Kenya has strived to realistically enhance its national interest by having mutual relations with China and enlightens on an understanding of Kenya's foreign policy posture towards its neighbors and regional organizations like the African Union and the EAC.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The content scope of this study focused on the mediatization of China-Kenya relations in the three mainstream press in Kenya as already described in the background of the study. In terms of geographical scope, the study covered three mainstream newspapers *The Daily Nation*, *The Standard Newspaper* and *The Star*. Finally, in terms of time scope, this study was conducted for 5 years starting January 2015 up to December 2019. These years of study was arrived at as it took into consideration the several milestones related to the Sino-Kenya relations.

In the analysis, articles from the leading Kenyan mainstream newspaper *The Daily Nation, The Standard Newspaper*s and *The Star* were used as data source and taken specific articles as the unit of analysis. There are good reasons why to use the newspapers as the data source. First reason is the media environment in Kenya generally. Rankings by Reporters without Borders (2017) and Freedom House (2016) show that the three newspapers are free from state interference. New constitution adopted in 2010 prohibits the state from interfering with the editorial independence of media outlets. According to Freedom House country report, local private media provide rigorous and critical coverage of politics and a diversity of views. This is highly important due to crucial role of free and independent media for democracy, offering open access to information (Karen, 2010).

The Daily Nation, The Standard and *The Star* Newspapers are the most important Kenyan newspaper with some 200,000 copies sold every day Karen, R. (2010). According to the survey by GeoPoll (2020), the number of readers may be even higher as *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers have an average readership of approximately 4,379,400 per day followed by The Star at 2,800, 400 (Karen, 2010).

Moreover, readers of the three mainstream Newspapers are spread across regions and across different strata of the society, contrary to users of the internet, who are supposedly concentrated in large cities and within middle and upper classes. Karen, (2010) show that the three newspapers have a strong position with 32% market share even among the youngest generation between 15 to 24 years. Obviously, TV or radio broadcasting would offer higher penetration rate, but these sources are much more difficult to obtain and analyse. Such task unfortunately exceeds the possibilities of a dissertation. One may also think of conducting interviews as the source of data. However, media news is naturally occurring text appearing in the normal day-to-day activities (GeoPoll, 2015)

The three mainstream newspapers are the most widely circulated Kenyan newspaper, which are accessed by up to 10% of the Kenyan adult citizens (Geo Poll 2015). The *Daily Nation* remains the market leader with an average daily reach of 48.3% and 48.5% in February and March 2019, respectively, followed by the Standard daily edition at 25.3% and 26.9%. (Kenya Audience Research Foundation Report, 2019).

1.8 Justification of the Study

Media educates and informs the public, and also has the ability to influence perceptions depending on how issues are covered and framed, it is critical that the mediatization of China in the Kenyan mainstream press outlets in Kenya be thoroughly examined and understood in the context of Sino-Kenya relations and what it means for the Kenyan audience. The intention of this research was to

provide a comprehensive analysis of how the Kenyan mainstream press mediatized China in Kenya and how that affects how its audience perceives China as well as its impact on the information arena concerning China and Kenya relations.

Newspapers (both online and hard copies) were selected for this research, because this form of mass media provided a more in-depth analysis of news texts in comparison to other types of media outlets, such as TV and radio. (Bowen, 2010) highlights the "editorial function" of newspapers indicating that newspaper texts can make comments on current affairs. The available articles for analysis provide a more comprehensive and was more inclusive when the date range was broadened. As Mendes, (2011) argued, tracking the news found in newspapers makes it possible to identify changing ideologies, the way in which journalism reveals the state of society and whether or not it is constant or in a state of change. According to Turkewitz, (2010) journalism is a key component in the study of modern mass media. People subscribe to the importance of reading the news because the press relates a huge number of news stories compared to television and film. Furthermore, its reports are often seen as more objective and true, compared to most forms of modern mass media, hence the preference for newspaper analysis for the purposes of this study, rather than television (Turkewitz, 2010). Although somewhat dated, the News and Journalism Research Group (2010) is still relevant as it pertains to the first part of the research period. They found that readers trusted newspapers more than any other types of media, including digital media. They indicated that 66% of people described newspaper advertising as, "Informative and confidence inspiring," compared to 44% who regarded TV advertising in the same way and 12% who believed that online advertising was the most accurate.

The three newspapers were selected because according to an Open Society Foundation report, they are widely read and influential mainstream press in Kenya (Nyabuga & Booker, 2013).

1.9 Limitation of the Study

Collection of data was of a limitation in that some respondents took time to give their responses and yet others did not wish to give required information out of fear of victimization while others feared that their views would be tampered with. The researcher confirmed to them that the information given would be handled with confidentiality and ethical issues would be honored to strengthen integrity. The participants were made to understand that they had rights to respond or decline to respond on the issues raised. Further, it was difficult to obtain hard copies of the newspapers but this limitation was countered by getting the soft copies of the same online.

1.10 Definitions of Operational Terms

Cultural ties — These stories dwell on human and cultural interaction between Chinese nationals and African nationals and focus in issues related to Tourism, Volunteerism, education, Art and Gallery etc.

Diplomatic/Political ties — These are stories that dwell on the bilateral and multilateral relationship between China and African states and focus on the relations and how China conducts its affairs in Africa.

Economic ties — These stories dwell on the economic consequences of China's engagement with Africa and focus on matters related to trade, investment, and economic development.

Mediatization — This is the interrelation between the media content and changes in the social, cultural and political representation and how the media content shapes and programmes the process in discourses or conversations

Page lead story — story of major importance in a particular page

Sino-Kenya relations — Refers to bilateral relations between China and Kenya

Sources — These are the contributors of news items and opinion pieces in Kenyan press

Tone — Criteria that tone refers to the writer's attitude or emotion towards their subject matter or audience.

<center>**CHAPTER TWO**</center>

<center>**2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW**</center>

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presented a review of existing literature that supported this study. In addition, it discusses the key concepts of the study: mediatization, Sino-Kenya relations and nature of mediatization. In the process of discussing these concepts, the study established the relationship between them. Gaps on the literature reviewed were also established and the theoretical framework was established.

In promoting the SDG goal 16, that is Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development and providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels, this study illustrated the role the selected Newspapers played in development, by providing reliable and balanced source that presented Sino-Kenya relations. According to this study, developing an appropriate media development strategy can create accelerated sustainable democratic and economic development as China and Kenya relate in all areas of development. The research also noted that the media could enhance democratic development by giving a voice to the people, acting as a balance and watchdog to potential harm in the relation.

2.2 An overview of the key concepts of the study

2.2.1 Mediatization

One of the key concepts related to the media's increasing political influence is mediatization. It has even been described as a meta-process, on a par with other social change processes such as globalization and individualization. Despite the fact that the concept has been used for several decades, it remains however, a concept referred to more often than properly defined and used to guide systematic empirical research. According to this view, states relations and specifically Sino-Kenya relations has increasingly ''lost its autonomy, has become dependent in its central functions on mass media, and is continuously shaped by interactions with mass media'' (Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999).

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Meyer, (2002) thus claims that the media have colonized relations, and that ''no longer can we think of policy-making in media democracy as an activity essentially external to the way the media communicate it''. Despite these and other far-reaching claims, there is however a remarkable death of systematic empirical research on the mediatization of state relations. After decades, it remains concept referred to more often than properly defined and used to guide systematic empirical research. There are numerous studies that may be relevant in the context of theme mediatization of state relations, but studies that explicitly seek to investigate the mediatization of China-Kenya relations are still scarce (Wekesa, 2015). In addition, it is only during the last few years that more efforts that are systematic have been devoted to a proper conceptualization of mediatization. Consequently, due to the inherent complexity of the concept, many researchers and scholars have given different interpretations based on their understanding of the concept (Hjarvard, 2009; Mazzoleni, 2008a, 2008b; Stro ̈mba ̈ck and Esser, 2009).

Although it is only during the last few decades that the terms mediated and mediatization have become more prominent, the idea as such can be traced back to early classics such as Lippman's Public Opinion (1997). In this work Lippman emphasized that what matters most for people's opinions and attitudes is not reality per se, but rather the ''pictures in our heads'' and that those are mainly formed by information from the media. Through their daily reporting and our dependence on the media for information a ''pseudo-environment'' is created. According to Lippman, people's behavior and attitudes do not follow from what is actually true, but from this pseudo-environment. What Lippman described as a pseudo-environment can also be described as mediated reality (Nimmo and Combs, 1983). What defines both is that our knowledge and information primarily comes from various (mass) media, rather than from our own experiences or through interpersonal communication. Hence, Sino-Kenya relations can be described as mediated whenever it is mainly communicated via and experienced through different media (Asp, 1986; Bennett and Entman, 2001; Nimmo and Combs, 1983).

In contrast to mediated state relations, the concept of mediatization denotes a dynamic process through which media communication shape and reshape society and our understandings of it and through which the media have increased their influence. According to Schulz (2004), ''mediatization relates to changes associated with communication media and their development'', while Hjarvard (2004) writes,

> "mediatization implies a process through which core elements of a social or cultural activity (like work, leisure, play etc.) assume media form''. In the context of politics, Asp, (1986) similarly uses mediatization to refer to ''a political system that is highly influenced by and adjusted to the demands of the mass media in their coverage of politics''.

The discussion of mediatization can thus not be limited to individual-level media effects, as noted by Schulz (2004): ''mediatization as a concept both transcends and includes media effects''. Schrott, (2009) similarly notes: ''Processes of mediatization involve media effects of a special type, namely supra-individual effects that cannot be traced back to individual media content but are caused by the existence and the meaning of the media''.

Mediatization is thus also about how political institutions and, within those, the behaviors of political actors are shaped by the media's increasing influence (Cook, 2005). Mediatization involves the media becoming not only more influential, but also more influential as institutions differentiated and increasingly independent of other political and social institutions (Hjarvard, 2008; Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999; Meyer, 2002; Stro¨mba¨ck, 2008). In this respect, increasing media influence implies decreasing political influence, as emphasized by Schrott, (2009) among others: ''the core of mediatization consists in the mechanism of the institutionalization of media logic in other societal subsystems. In these subsystems, media logic competes with established guidelines and influences the actions of individuals''

Mediatization therefore takes place at different levels of analysis, and that it should be understood as a multidimensional concept. (Stro¨mba¨ck and Esser, 2009) has thus suggested a four-dimensional

conceptualization of the mediatization. According to this conceptualization, the first dimension is concerned with the extent to which the media constitute the most important source of information and channel of communication; the second dimension with the media's independence from other social and political institutions; the third dimension with the degree to which media content is governed by media logic or political logic; and the fourth dimension with political actors and the extent to which they are governed by media logic or political logic. Taken together, these dimensions and the actions and reactions playing out in the interactions between media actors and various social and political actors create a spiral of mediatization (Asp, 1986). The dimensions are furthermore linked, as phases, in that the two first dimensions contribute to the third and fourth dimensions. According to this line of thinking, the first and necessary phase of mediatization takes place when the media have become the most important source of information and channel of communication between political actors and the public. When this phase has been reached, political actors realize that they need the media to reach out to larger groups in society. The second phase takes place when the media successively increase their independence from political actors and institutions. The more independent the media become from political institutions and actors, the more their content and coverage of Sino-Kenya relations will be shaped by the media's own needs, standards of newsworthiness and logics (Meyer, 2002).

Hence, the main question is not whether the media have increased their influence. Rather, the main question is the degree to which Sino-Kenya relations has become mediatized along the first, second, third and fourth dimension. As shown by research on the mass media's political agenda-setting power, it is highly contingent on, for example, the kind of issues, the specific media, the kind of coverage, and the time period (Walgrave and van Aelst, 2006). The contingent nature of the media's influence should hold true also in the context of mediatization. Hence, the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations should not be taken for granted, but subject to empirical scrutiny.

2.2.2 The Nature of Mediatization

The press often employs the art of mediatization in their endeavor to inform and educate their audiences. Mediatization is the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic (Hjarvard, 2008).

According to Hall, (1997) he describes mediatization as made up of two different systems; mental representation and language representations. This study focuses on mediatization through language, where language in this context refers to the written, spoken and visual nature used in the communication process. He posits that representation through language helps us to make sense of the world we live in, and we are able to express a complex thought about these things to other people or communicate about them through language in ways through which other people are able to understand them. According to Mackay, (1997), any sound, word, image or object, which functions as a sign and is organized with other signs into a system, which is capable of carrying and expressing meaning, is language.

The press uses various mechanisms/nature such as tone, antinomies, framing, images/photos, anchoring and metaphors, to enhance their art of mediatization. This study focuses on tone, antinomies, images and metaphors as advanced by the theory of mediatization Hjarvard, (2013). By analyzing them, these concepts can be used in understanding how new mediatization is developed when various nature of mediatization are included in a message (Strömbäck & Esser 2014).

These mechanisms promote the categorization of unfamiliar phenomena through their comparison with already existing, familiar and culturally accessible objects (Esser 2014). The mechanism of mediatization thus encompasses nature such as naming that is achieved through language, illustrations or photographs; metaphors and antinomies (Mazzoleni, 2008)

Mediatization therefore play an important role in communication because the mechanisms allow an issue to be debated, rejected or defended, depending on an individual's interests and motivations. Conversely, van Dijk, (2000) posit that an analytical approach to the study of mediatization can expose how these processes function discursively in the domain of media text through the analysis of print media. This approach has similarly been used in the current study to identify and decode the various mediatization mechanisms of the Sino-Kenya relations as advanced by *The Daily Nation* the *Standard* and *the Star* newspapers.

2.2.3 The Meanings of Discourse of the mediatization

Orgad, (2012) argues that the meaning decoded from a text is not necessarily the meaning, which the creator self-consciously encoded. The meanings that readers find in newspaper comic strips used to mediatize Sino-Kenya relations, for example, are seldom consciously placed there by their creators. These cartoon codes are open texts or schematized structures whose content the reader fills in. Such blank outlines permit a great deal of semiotic movement on the part of the readers in making sense of them. The analogies, for example, relate China to a state that advocates for win-win relations it is important to note that when the selected newspapers referred to the negative events in Sino-Kenya relations they used intertexts and analogies that drew negative indexical attention to the objects they inferred to the interpretant. In this case, it drew attention to the negative events that took place between China and Kenya. These kinds of mediatization reinforce the discourse of mutuality in the relationship and the idea that it has to be advocated by internal and external actors. The concept of mediatization is based on the idea that connections between signs and symbols form particular meanings and reflect some aspect of reality (Newbold et al., 2002). Laughey, (2009) emphasizes the view that mediatization involves the use of symbols and images to create meaning in a discourse. Laughey, (2009) explains that if mediatization can be considered as a method of identifying real things, then the media are very important suppliers and sources of meaning. It is crucial to understand that mediatization does not occur solely in order to describe real things; it also forms part of our construction and understanding of reality.

This means that mediatization shares the real meaning of the object in question. However, understanding meaning in mediatization is not an accurate means of understanding real meaning because a reflection cannot fully represent reality, even though it attests to what that reality means (Laughey, 2009).

2.2.4 Concept of Content Analysis

The concept refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The text is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication (McNamara, 2005). Citing Wimmer and Dominick (2005) defines content analysis as a method of analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for measuring variables. Two main aims of using content analysis are to describe features of the message content and to make predictions about the effect of what is being analyzed would have (Baran & Davis, 2012).

Furthermore, the fact that the contents of newspapers can be studied systematically, objectively and quantitatively and inferences can be made thereby using content analysis makes the method suitable for this study (Olomojobi, 2017). Different scholars in different fields have used content analysis as a research technique. A research process involves a rigorous procedure of investigation in order to arrive at a conclusion that is systematic and empirical by using certain categories and coding procedures that are standard and informed by the understanding of the topic or concept under investigation. The researcher using content analysis observes, in a systematic way, what the manner of communication content symbolizes (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991). As a research technique in the social sciences, content analysis became popular and its application increased in the early 1950s because of the work of Berelson who provided an insight into the analysis of communication research using content analysis (Yusha'u, 2009).

Other studies have shown that content analysis has been used since 1914, this was so because of its ability to use "on-quantified" "verbal material" into a "quantitative data" that can be "manipulated for purposes of description or hypothesis testing" (McNamara, 2005). According to Yusha'u, (2009) content analysis seeks to infer on the reasons behind communication messages, the methods employed by the originator of the message and the aims he or she wants to achieve.

2.3 The Nature of mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations by the selected Kenyan Press

Several studies have shown that the majority of Africans view China in a positive light unlike Western media's depiction of the Chinese presence in Africa (Rebol, 2010; Rossouw et al., 2014). Based on the results of his study on South African media's coverage of China, Herman Wasserman disagreed with this idea of China's being in Africa, either an exploitative, predatory partner or a mutual development partner. He found out that the mediatization of South African newspaper showed a more balanced perception of the Chinese engagement. It was neither positive nor plainly negative but neutral. The study findings of Wasserman's research depicted a balanced mediatization among positive, negative and neutral nature of mediatization. (Wasserman, 2012).

In a study by Kitta on mediatization of Chinese aid and cooperation with Africa, he found a same pattern. His study came up with a pattern of increasing bias in both the Sino and Western news mediatization. The tone of the Chinese media was overwhelmingly positive, while the Western media news coverage portrayed a negative bias in Sino-African cooperation, and African media's coverage was neutral (Hirvensaloor, 2012).

In the study "The Role of China in the Portuguese Speaking African Countries: The Case of Mozambique", Fernanda Ilhéu says that even though there are problems, such as the illegal logging and exporting timber, that came up in China's engagement in Mozambique, both the people and government

welcomed the Chinese presence. Ilheu's findings indicated that these illegal activities did not change the positive mediatization of China's engagement and the mutual engagement between the two nations that was viewed as beneficial to the two nations.

A study by Fei-Ling Wang and Esi (2014) analyzed the perception of some sub-Saharan African countries of China's engagement in Africa, including Kenya. The study found diverse African views about China's presence and Chinese commercial activities (Wang & Elliot, 2014). According to the them, there is a contrasting perception about China's presence in Africa. In a positive light, China was seen as a valuable business partner, investor, and donor that contributed significantly to many host nations' economic development. However, there was an increasing number of Africans that criticize the opportunistic, predatory, character of the Chinese companies in Africa, whose actions damaged the local business environment and weakened labor rights. Wang & Elliot concluded that, even though China had found considerable support in Africa, it was still experiencing increasing number of obstacles. Amongst them was that some Chinese officials and businesspersons bribed the governments of the host countries to accept deals (Wang & Elliot, 2014). While findings showed positive perceptions of China in Africa, a study of three African countries (Kenya, Nigeria & South Africa) view of Chinese companies conducts in Africa uncovered that the perceptions of African citizens were more negative than positive in 42.4 percent of responses.

A quotation from the Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi on the SGR.

> The African Union and China had agreed on a vision to aid regional integration through infrastructure. Kenya, he added, is the first step to that vision. What Kenya needs now is infrastructure development, and therefore it is not about China´s interests. It is more about Kenya´s urgent need of developing infrastructure. That is why China is ready to lend a helping hand when a friend is in need," Mr. Wang argued. (The Daily Nation, 18 January 2015)

This excerpt confirms that Chinese focus is not regional, but continental. Foreign Minister also replicates the Chinese narrative that China is not in Africa for its own interests, but because it

wants to help its African friends. Obviously, it is impossible to separate these two in practice: better infrastructure in Africa means increased trade opportunities for China, which Foreign Minister admits in his speech.

Wu Peng a Chinese author affirms that

> The China-Kenya relationship is at its finest in history. President Xi Jinping and President Kenyatta have strengthened China-Kenya relations into Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership. The second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (BRF) was held in Beijing later this month, when President Kenyatta was once again visit China to meet with President Xi and other state leaders. (The Daily Nation, 23April 2015)

McQuail (2003) attributes the move towards a global media culture to the increased capacity to transmit sounds and images at low cost across borders around the world thus overcoming the limits of space and time. In terms of soft power aspects and the interest of the Chinese government, McCombs, (2006) argue that public opinion is "shaped and influenced' as the media deliberately choose and sift certain elements of news, which makes the targeted audience think along a certain pattern. Walter Lippman in Littlejohn & Foss, (2008), supports them in his agenda setting theory where he argued, "The public responds not to the actual events in the environment but the pictures in our heads." With regard to the expansion of Chinese business and investment projects in Africa, the mediatization from western media has often been characterized as 'criticism' and 'cynicism' Kachiga, (2013). Western media normally portray the non-western world by creating the image and discourse of the 'other' in contrast to the West as 'self' (Cao 2011).

In mediatizing China's economic engagements in Africa, western media are inclined to present a "distorted image and projects onto this image their fears and desire through a modernity centered discourse" (Cao 2011). In this regard, China is normally orientalized by the West as less developed and incapable of promoting development in Africa. Instead, Africa could only achieve economic progress by pursuing the western mode of modernity, which is reflected in postcolonial ideology. Moreover, the Chinese notion of common development based on equality and mutual benefits has been

questioned by the West who bears the stereotypes that China's economic presence in Africa makes no difference to what the former colonial powers did as a scramble for strategic natural resources and African lucrative markets, which is termed as neo-colonialism or a repetition of colonialism by western media and intelligentsia (Franks & Ribet, 2009; Rotberg, 2008). Based on the above analysis, the overarching and biased western mediatization of the 'underdeveloped' world is largely attributed to the postcolonial and orientalist stereotypes deeply rooted in western nations, the former colonizers of many developing nations including China and Africa.

Bräutigam (2009) discusses Chinese development projects in Africa through her 2010 book, *The Dragon's Gift.* She focuses primarily on how Chinese aid projects typically work, including motivations by China, Chinese expectations of recipients, and specifically how foreign aid projects are funded and implemented. Bräutigam discusses the differences between Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Other Official Flows (OOF), stating that most Western aid is ODA while most Chinese aid is OOF. Bräutigam has done more research individual Chinese development projects in Africa than anyone else has, including the Chinese government themselves. While her research is broadly objective, extensive cooperation with Chinese officials has slightly altered how China is portrayed in her work.

According to (Guangyuan, 2013) in Sub-Saharan Africa, China now has a platform to communicate with Africa more effectively, build mutual trust and eliminate misunderstanding. In 14th December, 2012, the Chinese state run media outlet inaugurated the *China Daily Africa*; a publication meant to cover the Sino-African relations and significantly improve communication and cooperation between China and Africa Rotberg, (2013). It offers 32 pages of Sino-Africa news and information each week and circulation covers countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Ghana. It circulates among government offices, public institutions, diplomatic personnel, businesses and leading companies, think tanks, universities, and international organizations across (Guangyuan, 2013).

Kurlantzick, (2007) argues that in their engagements with Africa, Chinese officials promote China as an economic model of success. Scholars such as Brautigam, (2009) have documented China's economic progress and argued that it is good for Africa's development. Li and Ronning, (2013) reveal that since 1990's, Chinese soft power shifted from "opening up' to "going out". The media going out was a key strategy in achieving the soft power aspects. Moreover, Chinese communication scholars have since confirmed that indeed an outbound Chinese media strategy of "going out" has been in place, however, they are quick to add that it is global rather than directed at Africa as has been cast by many news reports (Wekesa & Zhang, 2014).

China's engagement with Africa is dominated by the perceptions that China is a good partner or a dangerous predator in Africa Le Pere, (2007). The Chinese government claims that it aims to enhance and further strengthen the existing relationship between China and Africa by have alternative and authentic storytellers of this relationship. Franks and Ribet, (2009) are of the opinion that existing western studies about China's media engagement in Africa do not exhaustively investigate the local networks of these media industries and instead are focused on "propaganda" or "ideology" deployed as a concept to critique China's media in Africa. Whereas many western opinions of China's media engagement with Africa are awash with negative criticism, there are a number of western scholars who have attempted to view this engagement with a measure of balance and objectiveness. Kapchanga, (2013) observes that the fact that China's media is state owned has led many to believe that they are driven by the motive to defend the interest of the Chinese government and its allies in Africa.

Li and Funeka, (2013) posit that there is some similarity between Chinese media's reporting and western media's reporting of Africa. They point that Chinese media just like western media tend to adopt a one-sided approach to problems by giving more coverage to war, diseases, poverty and corruption and less coverage to development issues. However, Nyabuga, (2009) refutes this claim by

insisting that while western media report issues from the extreme negative perspectives that fits into the media's watchdog role, China's established media have used a unique way from the watchdog role (Farah& Mosher, 2010). Shek (Al Jazeera 2013) captured these sentiments by quoting Plaut, a research fellow at Institute of Commonwealth studies who said, "The western media tend to be too concerned with the bad news while the Chinese tend to be rather too concerned with the good news". Taylor (1998) asserts that it was in the early to mid-90 that China began to dramatically increase trade with Africa. On how the two Newspapers mediatize Sino-Kenya relations in promoting the SDG'S the study noted that *The Nation Newspaper*, *The Standard and The Star Newspapers* are expected to provide an avenue where diverse and opposing perspectives can be aired in ways that can influence and improve public policy as Kenya and China relate. The study therefore calls for broader media strategies that would enhance reportage, and provide a more balanced perspective on the Sino-Kenya relations that would help in promoting goal number 17 of MDG: Strengthening the means of implementation and revitalizing the global partnership for sustainable development.

National image is the product of a complex historical process involving the interplay of a number of issues, for example the political and social realities of a particular country, diplomatic relations, and changes in the socio-politico-economico spheres as well as symbolic mediatization in the mass media and popular culture. Among these factors, the newspaper plays a vital role in constructing and shaping the image of a country (Adoni and Mane, 1984; Wolfsfedl et al., 1988) in the sense that events are framed within ideological, political and cultural contexts to produce mediatized images from which individuals picture the world in their heads and construct their conception of 'us' and 'them' (Kellner, 1995). The selected Kenya's' newspapers make Sino-Kenya relations real and tangible by relaying to audiences a range of images and symbols, events and ceremonies. To a certain extent, even the concept of Sino-Kenya relation is merely a symbolic referent, an 'imagined community' which therefore, theoretically, the Kenyan press tends to be superficial in mediatizing it.

It is important therefore that the Kenyan mainstream press goes beyond the superficial mediatization of events on Sino-Kenya relations to play both a critical, inclusive, democratic and developmental role that suits the African continent. The tightening, multilevel and overarching social, political and economic relations are to a certain extent dependent on a critical analysis of the Kenyan mainstream press. The relation however is exhibited by the Kenyan mainstream press superficially and therefore the need to have a critical analysis of the newspapers. The media in Africa has often been accused of promoting various negative effects on their audiences, such as violence, discrimination and conflict (Kamau, 2007). These allegations are based on the assumption that media discourse is important in shaping the images and events as received by their audiences.

2.4 The Broader Meanings of Emerging Discourses Mediatizing Sino-Kenya Relations

China can bring benefits to Africa as a representative of interests of developing world and it takes leadership role in G20 Ciochetto, (2013). Another example that has to be mentioned that China transfers technology and various training modules that have been empowering African people Ciochetto, (2013). Brautigam and Xiaoyang (2011) state that behind natural resources Chinese factories employ mainly Africans than their own workers from China. Chinese factories in Africa employ African workers more than Chinese ones because of one main reason, which is very cheap labour force. One example is Chinese shoe factory in Ethiopia where we can find Chinese and African workers but there is one big difference between them.

Brautigam and Xiaoyang (2011), claim that there are many things that attract Chinese to invest in Africa. The major ones are low taxes, favorable investment climate and cheap labour force as mentioned above. Thus, the growing trade deficits may be reduced when China transfer its production to the countries with substantial imports (El-Gohari & Sutherland, 2010). Moreover, the African markets are greatly supplied by Chinese exporters that take advantage of this cheap labour force and their initiatives are predominantly profit driven (Brautigam & Xiaoyang, 2011).

Concerning African workers hired by Chinese companies, they feel under siege because China imports prison workers into Africa from China and they have to work whole day and night under duress (The Economist, 2011). However, there is no empirical evidence of what Africans themselves think about it. There is not much public opinion research but in general, the result is rather positive. The Africans welcome the Chinese on their continent mainly because of its advantage while addressing the structural imbalances of the international economic system within which many African countries face marginalization (Xiaoyang, 2011).

2.5 The Implications of the Meanings on Sino-Kenya relations

Discourse is defined as a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings (Butler, 2012). These meanings serve the goals and interest of sections of the society. Discourse and language, as observed by Fiske, does not limit itself to grammar, spoken language or words. It instead spans out to encompass other meaning generating systems like newspapers, televisions, cinemas and photography.

The news content on any media can be understood well using discourse analysis. It is vital to understand the definition and the functions of discourse analysis. Lam, (2011) approaches this issue from two perspectives. Discourse analysis can be defined using two major frames of evaluation. The first definition looks at discourse as an interaction and social action between human agents. It can also be approached as a construction of reality that creates a knowledge system and influences the social practice and relations of people. As such, based on the two approaches, discourse analysis considers a link between the content of the media and a larger sociopolitical framework. It is a quantitative approach to content analysis. The media can thus be used to shape the political and social discourse of a country. Discourse analysis is an essential tool that can be used in understanding media discourse and its role in the society (O'Keeffe et al. 2007).

Newspapers are part of the dominant media where discourse is used Bednarek, (2006). This discourse can be evaluated in a communicative context. The communicative context of discourse in newspapers has some features that should be understood. Bednarek, (2006) has analyzed some of the features. The first feature is that the discourse has multiple originators and complex process of writing news. In this context, it is assumed that there are many versions of news stories edited by the editors, subeditors, journalists and news reporters. It is not as such possible to regard one story as a first hand and solo product of one journalist.

A second feature of this communicative context, as described by Fowler, (2013), is that the mass media is impersonal and has a fragmented audience. It is therefore not possible to get a direct feedback from the audience, regardless of the fact that there are media surveys, call-ins and letters to the editors. There is stereotyping in the news used in mass media. The impersonality of mass media communication results in the stereotyping of the speaker and the reader. Lastly, as a communicative context feature of mass media, news is embedded in talk. Within the text generated by the news author, there are other speech events.

Despite the collapse of the colonial system, the special economic and cultural links between Africa and its former western colonizers still exist today (Wenping He, 2006). African media rely heavily upon western media coverage as important source of information. What is more, the discourse of African media in representing events has been profoundly influenced by western ideological stereotypes (Uka Uche, 1991). The mass media systems in Africa have "deep-rooted historical links with the West" and are "highly influenced by western societies and models" Nyamnjoh, (2005). Meanwhile, quite a number of African journalists have received professional training in Europe and North America so that their minds have been shaped by western ideologies (Murphy & Scotton, 1987).

Therefore, some African media was portraying China's economic engagements in Africa with a postcolonial and orientalist discourse as western media does. Alden, (2007) also analyzes that some African media present negative images of China due to economic power and development agency of Africa being weakened by Chinese business engagements. However, their similar colonial history creates a link between China and Africa to stand together to struggle against western hegemony and the paternalistic development paradigm Manyozo, (2012).

Kasongo, (2011), there is no proof or evidence in real that China consciously wants to control Africa politically according to data available but though China has an instinct of acting as a neo-colonialist power towards African continent. Besides that, China´s intention is to gain and exploit not African cheap labour but its security natural resources. It is essential to focus and pay attention on cost benefit perspective.

Chege, (2018) sees China´s engagement in Africa very negatively. According to him, over time, Chinese came into Africa because they wanted to understand people, miscellaneous societies and nations. During the expansive and resource welfare environment, the Chinese felt the opportunity for political, economic and strategic exploitation in this continent. In general, China focused on gaining influence on African continent. In addition, the previous South African president Thabo Mbeki warned against Chinese involvement and he emphasized that it should be paid more attention on not allowing China to starve for raw materials Chege, (2018). On the other hand, the others try to find another and broader motivations and intentions behind Chinese investment in Africa than extracting natural resources (Brautigam, 1998).

China can bring benefits to Africa as a representative of interests of developing world and it takes leadership role in G20 (Ciochetto, 2013). Another example that has to be mentioned that China transfers technology and various training modules that have been empowering African people Pratyush,

(2013). (Brautigam and Xiaoyang, 2011) state that behind natural resources Chinese factories employ mainly Africans than their own workers from China. Chinese factories in Africa employ African workers more than Chinese ones because of one main reason, which is very cheap labour force.

There are several reasons why Kenya is very attractive investing and trade partner for China. Kenya represents investment-friendly environment after the liberalization of economy in 1990s. In fact, Kenya is very important partner in East and Central Africa due to its strategic location, major port in Mombasa, business-friendly tax system, natural resources and well-developed financial markets. Moreover, there are no import quotas. China is the most important trading partner not only for Kenya but also for all Sub-Saharan African countries (International Trade Centre, 2014). According to statistics from International Trade Centre (2014), Kenya belongs to the main export partners for China in Sub-Saharan Africa. Kenya´s role is lower for China in export of commodities but it still keeps its position in six most important export partners from Sub-Saharan Africa in total value of exports. The value of Nigeria´s import from China was 9 205 574 000 USD in 2011 and Kenya´s import value from China was 2 368 775 000 USD.

According to New York Times, (2014), some Chinese owners of construction companies violate the rights of the workers by not providing safe working conditions. On the other hand, we can´t say that all are the same. Some companies want to integrate into Kenyan communities and run responsible companies. Some Chinese owners complain about the claim that they are all immoral businessmen ruining the efforts of those who want to pay fair wages and keep their workers in safe working conditions (The New Yorker, 2013).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses theories that foregrounded the study with specific reference to the mediatization theory and the political economy theory. The media has used the art of mediatization to communicate or transform complex ideas into what is perceived as familiar and concrete (Stromback & Esser, 2009), they do this through images and language that their audiences can relate to in order to understand and make sense of an issue. Correspondingly, proponents of the mediatization theory posit that the media, in their endeavor to inform and educate their audiences, will employ the mechanisms of mediatization of tone, use of images, antinomies and metaphors in order to make abstract issues, comprehensible by setting them within familiar context understood by their audiences (Brants et al., 2010) they further contend that embedded within these mechanisms are nature of metaphors, antinomies and thematic use which facilitate knowledge and understanding based on their inherent interpretations.

Based on the notion that a majority of people rely on the media for information regarding a phenomenon and that it is this information that shapes their knowledge, belief and attitudes towards the phenomenon, (Cook, 2005; Meyer, 2002; Schrott, 2009; Stromback, 2008) have used the theory of mediatization to reveal how the media attempts to make unfamiliar issues familiar and to create meaning through the various nature of mediatization. However, these studies have either focused on studying single nature of mediatization at a time regardless of the fact that the theory allows for the analysis of many natures of mediatization as a means of understanding emerging mechanisms of mediatization that promote knowledge of a phenomenon.

2.7 The Theory of Mediatization

The theory of mediatization postulates that media programmes the process of social, cultural and political conversations, that is, the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic that is subject to empirical analysis (Hjarvard, 2008).

"mediatization implies a process through which core elements of a social or cultural activity (like work, leisure, play, relations etc.) assume media form. Being an institutional theory, mediatization theory occupied itself primarily with developments and changes on a macro level while processes on a micro level that is rarely the subject of mediatization research (Petersen, 2012). Mediatization refers to the construction in any medium (especially the mass media) of aspects of reality. Such mediatizations may be in language or writing as well as still or moving pictures. The term refers not only to the process involved in construction, but also to the product and its reception of the content. Mediatization is an attempt to represent reality in order to make sense and meaning. In mediatization, the term reality is problematic. It is difficult to give the results of what is actually true because reality can be socially constructed through texts (images, photographs, illustrations and words) through language leading to multiple meanings. Reality is always represented – what we treat as direct experience is mediated by perceptual codes (Ferguson, 1998 and Manning, 2001).

According to Schrott, (2009), mediatization processes occur in the mutually dependent interplay between social situations and individual behavior. To begin with, social situations and structures are affected by the media's status as independent institutions. For this reason, the media and their logic have to be taken into consideration by human actors who must respond to the social situations in which they find themselves in the course of their everyday activities. These considerations naturally influence the individuals' behavior, which was according to Schrott's inspiration from rational choice sociology – be in the form of a rational adjustment to the demands and formats of the media. The adjusted behavior was, then, have consequences for the social situations, which consider the media and accommodate to their logic. At this point, the situation is increasingly mediatized because it has accommodated to the media logic. Mediatization is thus constituted in the mutually influencing and moulding relationship between institutions and the actors that reproduce, maintain, and develop them through their agency. Although Schrott does not mention it, this perspective on the mediatization

processes obviously echoes Giddens' theory of structuration Giddens, (1984), which similarly emphasizes the mutually moulding interplay between social situations and individuals' behavior.

The most radical linkage between mediatization and postmodernism is found in the work of Baudrillard, (1994), who perceives the symbols or signs of media culture – images, sound, advertisements, etc. to form simulacra, semblances of reality that not only seem more real than the physical and social reality, but also replace it. It is like a map of the world that has become so vivid, so detailed and comprehensive that it appears more real than the world it was created to represent. In Baudrillard's own words, the media constitute a 'hyperreality'. The media are guided by a kind of semiotic logic, and their central influence consists in that they subject all communication and every discourse to one dominant code: "What is mediatized is not what comes off the daily press, out of the tube, or on the radio: it is what is reinterpreted by the sign form, articulated into models, and administered by the 'code'" (Baudrillard, 1994). This simulacrum theory led this study to assume that the symbolic world of media has replaced the 'real' world.

There is potential for different kinds of meaning in media mediatization due to the polysemic nature of media texts. Every media form is a mediatization of someone's concept of existence using a coded language that can be read by an audience. Hall, (1997) has argued that mediatization does not entail a straightforward presentation of the world and the relationships in it. For Hall, (1997), mediatization is not similar to reflection. It is a deliberate attempt to make things mean through framing them rather than the transmission of a pre-existing meaning (Briggs & Cobley, 2002).

China has utilised its state media to enhance its Public Diplomacy in Africa. Previously, Africans and Chinese learnt about each other from a third party which was often western media. It has for a long time lamented about biased and negative coverage in Africa and sought to counter this by "going out" to present the "voice of China" through its own state media to improve communication and cooperation

between China and Africa (Wasserman, 2012). The media is in the business of cultural production and its mediatization is influenced by the broader cultural, socio-economic and political realities and ideologies of journalism. All media texts (including news) are mediatizations of reality. Meaning, they are intentionally constructed and targeted to specific subjects. They are entirely artificial versions of what is perceived as real.

2.8 The Political Economy Theory

The political economy theory on the other hand is concerned with the macro level factors that influence mediatization such as broader political ideologies, media ownership and control, advertising, the perception of audience as a market and news as a product in the ―free market, and news production are concerned with the micro-level factors that influence the process of news production. These are factors such as institutional mechanisms, work practices and ideologies of journalism as a profession. Political economy looks at the potentiality of multiple meanings on the Sino-Kenya relations due to the polysemic nature of language (Ogenga, 2012).

Even though studies of ownership patterns and the dynamics of corporate control are essential, political economic analysis is much more than merely identifying and then condemning those who control media and communication resources (Wasko et al., 2001). To understand the media's role in society, it is essential to understand relationships between media power and state power, as well as the media's relationships with other economic sectors. Interrelationships between media and communication industries and sites of power in society are necessary for the complete analysis of communications. This process of 'myth-busting' challenges many common assumptions about economic and political systems, especially the notions of pluralism, free enterprise, competition and so forth.

Critical political-economy of the media is primarily concerned with broader structures of media production or wider power relations in which the media is situated (Curran, 2000). The external political-economic and cultural environment in which organizations operate must be considered as variables that influence the news production process. This should be done to avoid a more media-centric internal approach of the meaning of news as mediatizations of reality. These social structures include a number of issues. Among these issues are the differences in the political influence and credibility of news sources and their capacity to control information. It also includes the importance of particular structures of ownership and control together with the market driven nature of mass news communication. In addition, it covers the extent to which the wider ideological atmosphere may affect the thinking of the writer (the first gatekeepers), editors and news sources McGregor, (1997). All these are factors that are taken into consideration by critical political economy of the media when analyzing how the Kenyan mainstream press mediatizes the Sino-Kenya relations.

2.8.1 Political factors

Broader macro-level political factors influence the process of news construction at a micro-level (Fourie, 2001). The Kenyan press in general is expected to play a socially responsible role, functioning as a watchdog and a custodian of human rights (McNair, 1998; Manning, 2001). However, the interests of a capitalist, market-based economy sometimes undermine this function. Journalism under the system of liberal-democracy is one characterized by the principle of intellectual freedom and pluralism, which is associated with democracy (McNair, 1998). Intellectual freedom and pluralism present a dilemma in Kenyan societies that have traditionally embraced community belonging, which is cultural. However, to argue that such a condition is permanent is to deny the fact that African societies are increasingly modernizing their traditionality and embracing individual values in a dynamic fashion. The same would apply to the challenges journalists are faced with in Africa. McNair, (1998) indicates how journalists work within a political environment, which contains a certain amount of regulation, control and constraint, exercised through a variety of formal and informal channels.

McNair, (1998) argues that journalists constantly struggle against the political apparatus for their freedom to report and analyze events, and to be prepared to defend this role against the state's tendency to control and restrict the flow of information. They are able to act as watchdogs due to their privileged place in the cultural industry. Organizational work practices and journalistic routines on a micro-level are self-regulated within the boundaries of broader macro-level political and economic factors forming a relationship that greatly influence mediatization and vice versa.

The media operates in a political culture that shapes and influences its operation (Ogenga, 2011). McNair, (1998) argues that in liberal democracies, there is a low degree of political control of the media and a high degree of tolerance among political elites for the unwelcome and critical subjects, which journalists in such systems write and say. Ogenga, (2010) argues that, Journalists are supposed to criticize and act as watchdogs against the state's tendency to abuse power otherwise they do not have any reason to exist. Critical and pluralistic journalism is viewed as a safeguard against the possibility of a return to authoritarian rule and as a watchdog against the abuse of political power. The two Kenyan mainstream press operate under liberal democracy and they are not owned or directly controlled by the state.

Ogenga, (2010) further observes how critical political-economy as an analytical framework conceptualizes the media under a liberal democratic arrangement. The media is an institution that has some degree of autonomy and freedom to report and even criticize the government but certain authoritarian tendencies still prevail through censorship and control. Ogenga, (2008) further argues that the media occupies a central role in the advancement of democracy and should be upheld as an institution that advances democracy. However, such a role is to be expected of any media driven by discourses of Western ideas of humanity, creativity and liberty. Since under such an arrangement journalists are supposed to hold politicians accountable for their actions and expose corruption, they

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become targeted with legislation such as licensing and control that are meant to censor them McNair, (1998). In other occasions, journalists forge an economic relationship with the state in cases where the media is partly funded by the state thus terming it as mediatization of the state. When this happens, the state exercises some degree of control of the media and influences its operation McNair, (1998). Critical political economy of the media as analytical framework gives an understanding of how politicians can shape media content through state apparatuses and the privileged access they have to the media as official sources.

2.8.2 Economic factors

Compaigne, (2001) identifies two ways in which economic forces impact journalism. First, journalism is a huge business industry, owned and controlled by private individuals and conglomerates (Roberts, 1999). McNair, (1998) argues that, Journalists seem to be the private property of these individuals and conglomerates, and they are free within the law to use them as they like. Journalists are employees, strongly influenced by those who own or control the organizations. McNair, (1998) explains the tensions between editorial and commercial imperatives in cases where journalists publish stories at the expense of advertisers and vice versa. In addition, while journalism is an industry, it is also a commodity offered for sale in the free market. Journalism relies more on subscriptions and advertising to meet its market demands Fourie, (2001). Advertising is a critical economic factor that impacts the construction of news today Burton, (2005). Journalism, like all commodities, must have a user value and an exchange value in order to create the demand needed by capturing the desires of potential customers (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991: Golding and Murdock, 1997). Journalism must work within certain language parameters that have considerable impact on the content, style and presentation Bagdikian, (2000). Journalists must compete with each other for market share (Manning, 2001).

Organizational and professional factors affect the process of mediatization that results to mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations. These factors include the choice of sources and what is considered newsworthy regarding news values. Hall et al., (1978) argues that, the structure of selection can be seen in the routine organization of newspapers with respect to regular types or areas of news since newspapers are committed to regular production of news, these organizational factors would affect what is selected. Hall et al., (1978) further argues that:

> The professional ideology of what consists as good news – the reporter's sense of news values begins to structure the process. At the most general level, this involves an orientation to items which are out of the ordinary, which in some way breach our normal 'expectations about social life…extraordinariness does not exhaust the list, as a glance at any newspaper was reveal events [many] which have got negative consequences, and events which are part of, or can appear to be part of, an existing newsworthy theme, are all possible news stories (Hall et al, 1978:53).

Why are some stories selected as news and others omitted? Priorities can be given to some stories and not others according to their newsworthiness based on journalistic value judgments (McQuail, 2000). This selection criterion based on news values is sometimes referred to as gatekeeping (Shoemaker, 1997).

However, it is important to note that the output of news organizations varies depending particularly upon the framing of news information in a variety of formats, constructed to suit the reception needs of a particular audience Cottle, (1995). News media play an essential role in our society. As a result, audiences' knowledge and perceptions of events are commonly based on what is covered in the news (Lawrence and Mueller, 2003). This process highlights news media's gatekeeping function, where journalists and editorial boards determine which events make it into the news and which do not (Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Shoemaker and Vos, 2009). In deciding what the audience is exposed to, news media can constitute and portray a so-called alternative social reality that might deviate from reality based on hard numerical real-world indicators (Jacobs et al., 2017). This presented alternative social reality can be explained by the media logic that steers the production of news and other media content (Altheide & Snow, 1979). In their gatekeeper function, media and journalists often struggle to

completely cover what happens in society. Media have to decide which events they cover and which not due to restriction in resources and limited carrying capacity Gans, (2004). Additionally, since news can never be a complete representation of reality, the aim is to reduce the complexity and simplify news selection with the use of certain standardized news production processes. Journalists commonly rely on selection heuristics, often conceptualized as news values such as negativity, proximity, and unexpectedness (Galtung and Neill, 2001). In this complex and often hasty selection and production process, certain biases in the amount of attention for and coverage of certain events or issues will occur.

Organizational routines and procedures influence the way in which news is constructed (Hall et al, 1978; Tunstall, 1971; Sigal, 1973). A typical news day creates a cycle under which journalists work to beat time as a news value. So meeting the deadline is part of the routine and many of the other practices of news journalism can be understood as measures designed to ensure that fresh supply of information is fashioned into news copy in time to meet each deadline as it rolls around (Tunstall, 1971; Sigal, 1973).

Since news is by definition about the extraordinary and exceptional, media are commonly found to portray infrequent and isolated incidents rather than simply mirror reality (Lawrence and Mueller 2003; Park et al. 2009). Consequently, this event-driven media coverage does not accurately reflect the underlying complex realities of day-to-day events and long-term socioeconomic trends, resulting in a distortion bias (Entman 2007). Thus, in a paradoxical way, the infrequency of certain incidents partly explains why they receive more media attention. Also, in other work, it is suggested that news stories are often primed and framed as "episodic" and not as "thematic" (Iyengar 1991). Episodic framing focuses on individual circumstance and discrete events, whereas thematic framing focuses on general context and collective outcomes (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000; Iyengar 1991). With the strong focus on isolated incidents and individual circumstances, news tends to overshadow discussions of the broader

social, psychological, and political context or trends that give rise to complex issues (Edelman 1988). In their skewed and event-driven coverage, media tend to overemphasize negative news (Aday 2010; Hester and Gibson 2003). There are several explanations concerning why journalists are prone to select information with negative characteristics. News value theory provides several news characteristics or news values that play an essential role in the journalistic process of deciding what information should be considered news and would attract a large audience (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Harcup and O'Neill 2001). Amongst these inherent factors of newsworthiness is "reference to something negative" because negative news is seen as unambiguous, consensual, unexpected, and to occur over a shorter period of time than positive news (Galtung and Ruge 1965).

Ogenga (2012) in explaining the sources of media and content creation says that sources have the power to decide what information they withhold or give out to journalists depending on the interest they have on a particular issue. Sources are increasingly being involved in the process of gatekeeping by either facilitating or constraining the movement of information through the channels they control, thus affecting the introduction of an item into the media (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Journalists tend to form symbiotic relationships with sources with authority, credibility and those who are readily available. In this symbiotic relationship, some sources become more utilized than others (McGregor, 1997; Van Ginneken, 1998). The sources mainly utilized are usually government and expert officials since they are recognizable and credible owing to their status of prestige, which makes the audiences easily, trust them (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Louw, 2001). The symbiotic relationship between journalists and sources, where journalists constantly use some and not others creates a powerful frame within which news is constructed. The more powerful the source, the assured the source was used in the news production act (Ndlela, 2005; Schudson, 2003). The overreliance is not necessarily a positive thing because it can lead to the publishing of inaccurate or misinformed stories because the authenticity of

such sources are rarely questioned or verified (McNair, 1998). The fact that certain sources are repeatedly used means some forms of mediatization become dominant.

Economic factors do influence the media in a variety of ways. The idea that news is a product with an attached value allows for the production of cultural content, which is, commoditized Walliams, (2003). The media manufactures news as a product with a market value to sell to its target audience to maximize profits just like any other business organization in capitalism. Journalists can construct news stories that was encourage readership to attract specific audiences to advertisers. In a sense, media owners are in a position to control the kind of news stories that was appeal to their readers' interests and, at the same time, not offend advertisers. Critical political economy of the media brings to the fore the idea of media ownership and how it influences the processes of production and eventually the content. Their owners, the market environment and financial support shape the manner in which the media operates. Considering the economic factors, the media manufactures cultural content that sustains capitalism (Curran, 2000 and Chomsky, 2003). Ramaphosa, (1999) argues that it is an accepted fact that media ownership plays a central role in deciding the interests it serves and the perspectives it presents; media owners are chief among the factors, which influence media content. They appoint journalists who share the same ideologies in the market driven system to managerial positions to sustain their interests and the interests of a particular class. They rely on a broad range of institutional mechanisms, such as appointments and promotions of staff, to ensure that the media reflects or promotes their own views Ramaphosa, (1999). They also rely on mechanisms such as house style guides in news writing to develop a culture that ensures news content maintains a particular ideological slant. News and investigative reports that journalists produce have a value attached to them for maximizing profits Chambers, (2000). In many instances, the media is obliged to meet the needs of owners, the audiences, advertisers as well as media employees thus influencing media content (Gandy, 1997 and Picard, 1989). The media has to generate content that reflects the ideologies of the owner but at the same time, this

can be contrary to the needs of the advertisers and the interest of the audience and against the psychology of individual journalists. The media thus juggles a delicate balance to ensure all the parties are satisfied. Serving the interests of advertisers and audiences is paramount to how the media sustains itself, but this should also be done within the framework of the interests of the owners.

2.8.3 Media Ownership and Control

Media ownership influences the ways in which media covers issues. Various issues emerging in the media reveal the power of certain individuals or organizations over the news process. Curran, (2000) explains how corporate ownership of the media can influence media content. In most cases, media owners have commercial interests that sometimes contradict the watchdog role. Owning or controlling a media institution, for example, empowers the owner to hire and fire journalists. Media owners can manipulate politicians during elections, circulate, or suppress information or ideas. The media as an institution is primarily concerned with meaning making which is necessarily associated with a set of relationships between people that have turned into institutionalized behavior and work practices. This institutionalized professional environment involves the emergence of power relationships between people involved in such institutional settings Roberts, (1999). (Louw, 2001) argues that unraveling agendas, interests and struggles in such settings give an insight into the meaning inherent‖ in media messages.

The other important factor that influences the mediatization of the Sino-Kenya relations by the Kenyan press is that they are privately owned and commercially driven. Their content is influenced by the ideas of capitalism and the free market. Commercial factors include sales and advertising, subscriptions, ways of financing and funding the media and the idea of competition in order to capitalize on news content. The newspaper selected in this study, for example, target even the local citizens, to fulfill market objectives. The content of such newspaper thus attracts readership from potential targets of advertising messages. In such a scenario, professional values are sometimes

influenced by commercial factors, which results in particular ways of mediatization. Sensationalism becomes a strategy to sell newspapers. The following table indicates the newspapers that was used for analysis in this study, their owners and readership percentage of the total population readership.

Figure 1.0: The average daily newspaper reach 2019.
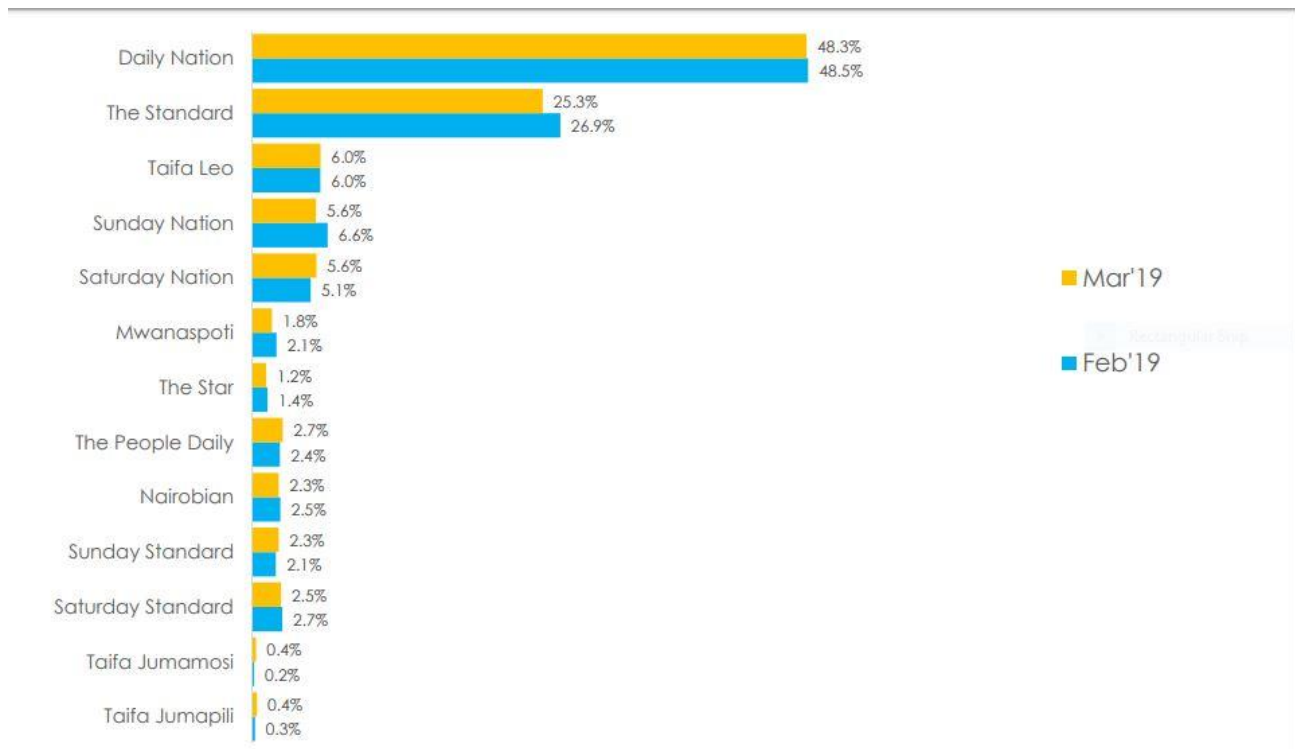
Source: Kenya Audience Research Foundation

Cultural and journalistic values influence how issues are likely to be represented. The cultural traditions of both the society in which the journalist operates and their own professional class can lead to potentially different mediatizations of reality. This potentially different mediatization is partly due to audience interest where similar stories can be presented differently Norris et al., (2003). News values like proximity and prominence play an important role in framing. News is colored and framed with a local tint when events abroad are interpreted and framed; they often carry with them the domestic perceptions of those events. Journalists search for local angles to reflect the biases in their

stories. They can be ethnocentric in putting their concerns and structural frames first (Norris et al., 2003).

News production was analytically or theoretically useful for exploring the factors that shaped the processes of mediatization of the Sino–Kenya relations. The theory considered media structures as part of society, focusing on political, economic, organizational and professional elements affecting news sourcing and production (Tuchman, 1978 and Schudson, 2000). Broader social structures and relationships shape news reporters, their choice of sources, and the sources relationship to journalists, news organization editors and competing demands dictated by professionalism. Hanitzch, (2007) argues:

> There are many structural constraints, which shape and limit the work of journalists: few personnel, time and material resources, editorial procedures and hierarchies, textual constraints, availability of sources, access to scene and information in general. Journalists consistently work under conditions of heavy time pressure and limited resources and tight competition. To the extent that time space and resources are so limited, journalists need to construct complex and complicated conflicts in terms of ready-made narratives, which are easily understood by the audiences.

Journalists are under time pressure to supply the market with news commodities. In addition, the idea that news is a commodity, social responsibility roles of the media versus market needs and traditional news values influence reporters. News involves a process of selection and construction. Journalists select stories according to journalistic values such as credibility, prominence, novelty, proximity and time Schudson, (2000).

This theory of news production considered broader social relations that shape news construction and ultimately mediatization of the Sino-Kenya relations. This theory to some extent, overlap with critical political economy of the media at the level of how macro-level and cultural factors influence the micro-level organizational ones and ultimately the process of news production. They include journalistic values that shape news and the reliance on official sources (Williams, 2003). In addition, news is a product that needs to sell as part of the news organization's commercial interest. However, journalists

are governed by institutionalized roles driven by institutional needs, professionalism, practices that shape, influence how they construct news, and represent issues (Louw, 2001).

Therefore, journalists cannot be separated from the culture and society they live in – the same applies to media institutions. It is highly likely that there was a clash of values as journalists in Kenya try to implement ideas that were conceptualized using a value system designed to suit the Western context. The argument advanced here was not aimed at taking media structures and routines for granted by assuming that they are immutable. However, it makes sense that any attempt to modify media structures and professional routines cannot be done from the position of an individual journalist. Even the most committed journalists that have carved out a name for themselves have limited power to change the system from within. Scholars have argued that, as a consequence of increased commercial pressures on news media institutions, media's penchant for the negative and the exceptional has become more prominent over time (Semetko and Schoenbach, 2003).

2.9 Theoretical Synergy

Ogenga (2010) for example observes how critical political economy as an analytical framework conceptualizes the media under a liberal democratic arrangement but does not envisage the local newspaper. It is therefore important to highlight the varied responses in other studies above that have used the same theories but have not deeply looked into the themes and meanings that arise from the theories in the areas of study.

The mediatization and the political economy theories are closely related. These theories were used in the present study to attempt to explain how mass media content reached the public domain that shapes the conversations in trying to understand the Sino-Kenya relations. This study gave a point of analysis of how the newspapers participated in information dissemination led by Mediatization and political economy theories. The media as reasoned by the theories mentioned above could have the capacity to

increase the salience of issues or the ease with which these considerations can be retrieved from memory if individuals have to make political judgments about political actors. The political economy theory sought to explain how the media engaged with the society independently of the government, through discussing matters that touched on approaches and the manner of governance within a liberal democracy. In essence, it was evident that models of mediatization theory linked media content as the unit of observation to audience characteristics. In order to examine the link between discourse in the political economy theory and media content, the aggregated measures of public opinion on different thematic issues that occurred during the Sino-Kenya engagement were discussed to seek an understanding of mediatization of China-Kenya relations. Critical political economy theories of the media, mediatization theory of news production acted as complementary frameworks to help understand the complexities in media mediatization and to account the Kenyan mainstream press mediatization of the Sino-Kenya relations. Briefly, the researcher's contribution to theory lies in an alternative theoretical approach - an interdisciplinary one, which combines concepts from both the Mediatization theory and the political economy theory.

2.10 Empirical Review

Chege (2018) observes, qualitative study on Economic Relations between Kenya and China, 1963-2007, that China´s engagement in Africa is very negative. According to him, over time, Chinese came into Africa because they wanted to understand people, miscellaneous societies and nations. He found out that China has a positive intention in their engagement with Kenya though a gap is that he does not get to explain the local citizens view on this, his findings are from the elite's citizens however, Chinas positive intentions have been overshadowed by the suspicion of the local community over their real intentions.

Kachiga (2013), has done a Qualitative study on the expansion of Chinese business interest in Africa through mega-projects, and their mediatization from western media that established how the non-

western world has created the image and discourse of the 'other' in contrast to the West as 'self'. However, the study does not consider the angle taken by the local press on the Chinese engagement in Africa emphasizing the importance of this study.

Bräutigam (2010) using a mixed study approach, discusses Chinese development projects in Africa through her 2010 book, *The Dragon's Gift.* She focuses primarily on how Chinese aid projects typically work, including motivations by China, Chinese expectations of recipients, and specifically how foreign aid projects are funded and implemented. Her study does not address the issue of suspicion regarding Chinese engagement in Africa. There is little evidence of literature on the mediatization of China-Kenya relations. The literature available is on media framing of China's Image in East Africa. Such literature includes the works of scholars such as Wekesa (2013), Nyaga W. et al. (2017). In addition, there seems to be no evidence of any study done on the Kenyan mainstream press mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations.

2.11 Knowledge Gap and Contribution to Knowledge

If we wish to know what Kenyans think about global economic issues, study of local media discourse is a promising direction of this research. However, this direction is overlooked within the academic research above. From the foregoing studies, it is important to note that, the gap created is that the views from the local press are not considered taking into consideration the fact that, the selected newspapers act as the mouthpiece of the citizen and as a watchdog. The study therefore covers this gap by focusing on mediatization in the three leading mainstream newspapers in Kenya that is *The Daily Nation*, *The Standard Newspapers and The Star.*

2.12 Conceptual Framework

The study focused on the mediatization theory to develop the conceptual framework. As has been pointed out, the mediatization theory postulates that media programmes the process of social, cultural and political conversations, that is, the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic that is subject to empirical analysis (Hjarvard, 2008). With the analysis of two variables; mediatization of the newspapers as an independent variable and Sino-Kenya relations as the dependent variable, the study developed the conceptual framework shown in figure 2.1. The researcher realized that there are intervening variables that must be controlled. First, there is media editorial policy, audience reception and Kenyan Government policy and gatekeepers.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Nature of Mediatization

- Tone
- Antinomies
- Metaphors
- Pictures

Meanings of emerging Discourses

- Attributive words
- Captioned pictures
- Cartoons
- Discussions

Implication of Meanings
Political Ties
- Shuttle diplomacy
- State visits
Economic Ties
- Investment
- Trade
Cultural Ties
- Sports
- Festivals
- Art and gallery

SINO-KENYA RELATIONS
- Win-Win relations/neutral relations
- Negative relations
- Positive relations

Intervening Variables

- Gate keepers
- Government policy.
- Media Editorial policy
- News sources

Figure 2. 1: Conceptual Framework for the study
(Source: Researcher: 2021)

According to the conceptual framework, mediatization in the press is assumed to be greatly influenced by either macro or microstructure of the press, which determines the nature of coverage. The media is in the business of production and its mediatization is influenced by the broader cultural, socio-economic and political realities and ideologies of journalism. All media texts (including news) are a mediatization of reality. Meaning, they are intentionally constructed and targeted to specific subjects. They are entirely artificial versions of what is perceived as real. All these are seen to take place within the media environment which represents the independent variable. However, their influential effect on individuals is based on factors such as gatekeepers, government policy, and Media editorial policy and news sources. These factors represent the intervening variable, which determine the strength of relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The ultimate result of Sino-Kenya relations is the dependent variable.

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the methodological approaches used in this study and their appropriateness to the aims and objectives of this study. The chapter provides a brief discussion of the exploratory research design using the philosophy of interpretivism, with emphasis on epistemological underpinnings of qualitative and quantitative research paradigm. There is a discussion of the purposive sampling procedures implemented followed by data gathering techniques applied in the study, including population, sample size and selection and frame analysis. In conclusion, the researcher discusses the coding procedure for the analysis used in this research.

3.2 Philosophical paradigm

Research enables us to understand the complexity of the world but works under assumptions about reality in order to conduct research. Social research methodologies function under a range of philosophical stances that researchers take into consideration and include realism, empiricism, positivism, idealism, rationalism, functionalism, objectivism, subjectivism and interpretivism, (Uddin, 2009). Nevertheless, there are three common research orientations in the social sciences: positivism (quantitative), interpretivism (qualitative) and realism.

The distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods underpins the structure of many methodologies. The former is linked with positivistic research that attempts to generalize results from specific research using statistical relationships between independent and dependent variables. In this context, methods linked with the positivist paradigm include: systematic reviews, statistical analysis of official data, structured interviews, randomized controlled trials and questionnaires (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006).

This study employed interpretivist philosophy focusing on the mechanisms to explain social constructions of the world by integrating the philosophies of "Symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and hermeneutics McEvoy and Richardson, (2006). Interpretivism-associated methodologies are small scale but intense, and the participants and researcher effectively co-interpret within the research process using focus groups, non-structured interviews, ethnographic case studies and textual analysis

Realism is an epistemological approach, similar to positivism, focused on improvement of knowledge through the collection and understanding of data. This philosophy relies on the researcher's subjective awareness relating to the truth of realism, which is the sense of any object independent of the human mind, Saunders et al., (2009). Researchers utilize logical positivism or quantitative research experimental approaches and quantitative measures to test theoretical generalizations and to highlight the measurement and analysis of the fundamental link between variables (Golafshani, 2003). In contrast, researchers use logical interpretivism or qualitative research through a variety of strategies with one general feature they depend on non-mathematical rule.

To avoid ideological distortion during the assessment of testimony, adoption of a hypothesis supports critical realism when using observation and live experiences to draw conclusions about the mechanisms of certain phenomena. Retroduction is an analytical approach that explains events based on their contents and causes to explain why they occurred as they did (McEvoy& Richardson, 2006). Creswell, (2014) recommended that researchers use pluralistic approaches such as pragmatism to gain knowledge about the problem, after focusing on the research problem. He describes pragmatism as follows:

> "Pragmatism, as a worldview, arises out of actions, situations and consequences rather than antecedent conditions (as in post positivism). There is a concern with application what works

and solutions to problems. Instead of focusing on methods as a philosophical underpinning for mixed methods studies." (2014)

There is thus a significant relationship between the nature of the research and the selected philosophy. This study investigates how China-Kenya relations is mediatized in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* and *The Star* newspapers, using the philosophy of interpretivism that explores the rationale in issues raised about Sino-Kenya relations. In contrast, the philosophy of positivism is used to provide the study with the required information, such as reflections or intuitions of issues of Sino-Kenya relations. However, the cornerstone of this research is the interpretation of frames/themes in order to explain the motives and purposes behind decisions of newspaper mediatization. This can best be done by means of text analysis, which helped the researcher to understand situations or positions that dictated the relevance of news creation in the newspapers, which is the main subject of the study.

3.3 Research Design

An exploratory design was adopted in this study. Creswell (2008) described as a collection of Sequential procedures, in which the researcher seeks to elaborate on, or expand, the findings of one method with another method. The design is appropriate for this thesis because it helped do an in-depth analysis of the way the meanings of the emerging discourse in the selected newspapers mediatizes Sino-Kenya relations. This method is ideal because this study is based on a critical discourse evaluation of contents in the study. This involved beginning with a qualitative method for exploratory purposes and following up with a quantitative method with a large sample so that the researcher can generalize results to a population. Alternatively, the study begun with a quantitative method in which theories or concepts were tested, and was followed by a qualitative method involving detailed exploration with a few cases or individuals.

Creswell and Clark explained the procedure of the preferred research approach that starts with quantitative data collection and analysis as a preliminary phase followed by qualitative data collection in the second phase. Afterwards, links between qualitative and quantitative results are established (Creswell & Clark, 2011).

The rationale for using this approach was that the quantitative data and their subsequent analysis gave a general conception of the research problem in the current study, which explored on the issues that Sino-Kenya relations face and how they were mediatized by the selected Kenyan newspapers. The qualitative data collection and analysis elucidated on these statistical findings by exploring the meaning of the data in more depth Creswell, (2003). Many researchers explore the merits and demerits of the mixed methods research approach (Creswell, 2003; Moghaddam et al., 2003). The merits of this method include straight forwardness and increased opportunities for the discovery of the quantitative findings in a specific way. However, the limitations of this design include the length of time taken and the feasibility of resources needed to collect and analyse both types of data, (Ivankova, 2015).

This study used the approach in three phases, which provided the structure to measure news stories. The first step was to rely on the information obtained from the quantitative data, which analyzed the stories in order to understand the issues of Sino-Kenya relations which the newspapers focused on. Whilst the results of quantitative analysis provided a useful method for gathering information from a large number of stories, this method, for the purposes of this study was not enough to draw conclusions about the stories related to the area of study as it was not in-depth enough and required a qualitative assessment to be done. To explore the implications of mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations in more depth, the qualitative content analysis was used.

Further, it enabled the researcher to incorporate human experience. The researcher was able to overcome the weaknesses of intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single research method. However, qualitative content analysis was predominantly used because the research in mediatization of reality by the media is usually qualitative by nature. Quantitative content analysis method was used to count the frequency of occurrence of three major units of analysis namely; political, economic and cultural units. These units were identified as textual dimensions wherein they would help to inform qualitative analysis. Qualitative method involved the use of themes that included the use of tone and attributive words.

Ivankova (2015) states that the exploratory design can be especially useful when unexpected results arise from a quantitative study. The purpose of the exploratory design is to use qualitative data to help explain the results of the quantitative data. It is used to support the researcher and to guide the study during the fieldwork, which comprises of content analysis of the news stories.

3.4 Content Scope

The study area was the Kenyan mainstream press, where *The Standard*, *The Daily Nation* and *The Star* newspapers. Print media was selected because there is significant evidence showing that newspapers in particular, regularly serve to shape popular attitudes and beliefs, as they act as agents of public education (Baillie, 1996).

Within the newspapers, the study focused on whole article. These articles consisted of hard news, reports written by reporters or journalists, with the aim of providing neutral and objective accounts of a particular issue. Hard news is fast paced news that is heavily promoted by newspapers and usually appears on the front pages of newspapers (Schudson, 2003).

3.5 Target Population

In research, the term 'population' does not necessarily mean people; it can be texts, institutions, or anything else under investigation. A population of interest is dependent on what the researcher is investigating (Deacon et al., 2007). Generally, qualitative research design does not give data that can be put together to a greater population. Therefore, the selected sample to be analyzed from a population deemed to be suitable to answer my research objectives. In my study, the population of interest is the articles and news about Sino-Kenya relations that made headlines in three selected newspapers; *The Daily Nation*, *The Standard* Newspaper and *The Star* published between 2014 and ending 2019 covering a period of five years. This sample period is considered appropriate for the present study because it covers a variety of media content that spans a wide area with sufficient content of China's engagement in Kenya. Editorials, news, and features articles will be the units of analysis because frame analysis favours whole articles as the main discourse unit (Umejei, 2013). It is from these targeted newspaper copies that the researcher relied on as an accurate and representative population for study. For the interview segment, the target population was 808 accredited journalists; 390 from The Standard Media and 378 from Nation Media and 40 from the Star newspapers respectively (Media Council of Kenya, 2020).

Table 3.1 Population matrix

YEAR	MONTH	WEEK	DAYS	DN	STD	THE STAR	POPULATION (N)
2015	12	30	365	365	365	365	730
2016	12	30	364	364	364	364	728
2017	12	30	365	365	365	365	730
2018	12	31	364	364	364	364	728
2019	12	31	365	365	365	365	730
							N=5469

N is the Population

DN is the Daily Nation Newspaper

STD is the Standard Newspaper

ST is the Star Newspaper

N=DN+STD+ ST

N=1823+1823+ 1823

N=5469

3.6 Sample size

This study used purposive sampling because, according to Krippendorff, (2003), newspaper units are counted purposively and content analysts can use sample letters, terms or issues of a newspaper to answer research questions by enumerating sentences or interpreting details. The Researcher searched for keywords used in this data to come up with a sample size: "Sino-Kenya! Or China-Kenya relations or Sino-Kenya relations! "Only articles that directly related to China's engagement in Kenya were included in the analysis. The results of the search were screened in order to eliminate duplicate and irrelevant results. The initial keyword search of articles found 50 articles of *the Daily Nation* and 70

news articles of *The Standard* and *30 for The Star*. After removing 80 duplicated and not relevant articles, 70 articles were identified and focused on the topic of China's – Kenya relations. Among them, the Daily Nation and 40 articles in The Standard produced 20 articles and *10 The Star*. The specific data analytic steps employed conducted the thematic analysis are as follows: first, retrieved the most relevant news articles used the combination of search words mentioned above. Then, each news article was read carefully to underline aspects of the texts that were relevant to China's current engagement in Kenya. Next, a second immersive reading was conducted to take notes of recurrent themes of China's presence in Kenya that were selected and narrated by the newspapers. Finally, a repeated reading of each text was done where themes were clarified, and important meanings were distinguished. News texts from both newspapers were constantly compared to distinguish the similarities and differences between their coverage.

Researcher read each article and the 70 that met any of the following exclusion criteria: article is from daily edition; article is from the news articles, sports, opinion pages, commentaries; article should have a word count of 50- 3,000 words. The exclusion criteria were chosen to ensure that the sample contained only news articles relevant to the issue of Sino-Kenya relations. Following the application of the exclusion criteria therefore 70 articles remained. The majority of the sampled articles were collected from an online resource. Articles on the two newspapers were collected from the on-line archive and newspaper websites and some from hard copies. The basic unit of analysis was whole news story. The coding instrument consisted of the name of the newspaper, year of publication, themes of news stories, major issues closely related to Sino-Kenya relations and three news frames in the study.

The sample size for the newspapers was obtained using the researcher's own formula given as:

Daily Nation newspaper before screening (n_1) = 20
The Standard newspaper before screening (n_2) = 40
The Star newspaper before screening (n_3) = 10
N_1= 1823(Nation)
N_2 = 1823 (Standard)
N_3 = 1823 (Star)
$\frac{N1}{S_{k_1}} = 20$, $\frac{N2}{S_{k_2}} = 40$ and $\frac{N3}{S_{k_3}} = 10$

Where S_{k_1} = Screened stories on Sino-Kenya relations in the Daily Nation
$\quad S_{k_2}$ = Screened stories on Sino-Kenya relations in the Standard newspaper
$\quad S_{k_3}$ = Screened stories on Sino-Kenya relations in The Star
$n_1 = \frac{N}{S_{k_1}}$ (Nation) and $n_2 = \frac{N}{S_{k_2}}$ (The Standard) and $n_{3=}\frac{N}{S_{k_3}} S_{k_1} \simeq 91$ and $S_{k_2} \simeq 46$ and $S_{k_3} \simeq 182$

$n = n_{1+} n_{2+}n_3$

Therefore, the sample size is given as $n = \left\{ \left(\frac{N}{S_{k_1}} \right) + \left(\frac{N}{S_{k_2}} \right) + \left(\frac{N}{S_{k_3}} \right) \right\}$

$\frac{1823}{91.15} + \frac{1823}{45.58} + \frac{1823}{182.3} = 69.99$

$$n \simeq 70$$

Taking into consideration that an almost similar study on a Comparative Analysis of Chinese, Western and African Media Discourse in the Representation of China's Expansion of Economic Engagements in Africa by Wei, (2015) conducted four qualitative interviews, this study sought to balance between recommendations and practice and hence settled on four participants for the interview. In addition, 3 Chief editors drawn from each of the newspapers in the study.

3.7 Sampling Procedures

Sampling was completed in two stages. First, the amount of published material relating to Sino-Kenya relations was narrowed down, and second, the content for analysis was selected from all the units in the sampling frame using a list of the frequency of common words to observe if they are related to the main issue of the news story. The material collected from the newspapers was divided into two steps.

First, every news story about Sino-Kenya from 2015 to 2019 was collected from the two specified newspapers. This step helped to determine how many news stories were published, and what types of issues were addressed and how the newspaper deal with the information sources. Second, two of the most common issues were chosen for the study and visual and text analyses were carried out to discuss the type of predominant themes therefore a sample of 70 newspapers were considered

Testing sampling efficiency for inferring to a five-year population of newspaper editions required three steps: (1) calculating population parameters for the five-year population; (2) drawing random stratified samples in sets of 50 for various numbers of weeks and calculating how well they estimate the population parameters; and (3) determining which size (number of weeks) stratified samples were most effective.

Purposive sampling technique, was used which demanded that only three Chief Editors be selected because they were the people of interest in the study by virtue of their position as key gatekeepers. The study was concerned with finding out the factors that influenced the selected newspapers mediatization of the Sino-Kenya relations from the producers or those who act as gatekeepers of such texts.

The interviews that were done with the reporters were generally focused on issues related to images of the China influencing coverage of the relationship in the selected Kenyan press, editorial policy or guidelines that govern covering the relationship, pressures on coverage or reporting, influences of media owners on reporting, utilization of sources and audience needs.

Questions were also related to the perception of the audience as a market and how their needs affected reporting. The findings from a directed content analysis offered supporting evidence for the theories used in this study. The latter could argue that mediatization is an attempt to use words, objects, signs,

symbols, still and moving pictures by various media outlets (especially mass media) to construct aspects of reality and, therefore, is not a mirror reflection of reality (Newbold et al., 2002).

The sampling procedure entailed a three-step approach as proposed by Newbold et al., (2002), involving first the selection of media form and genre, then selecting the period that formed the parameters of the study and finally sampling relevant content from the selected newspaper copies. In this study, three newspapers were selected for analysis and the genre of the articles analyzed were whole story articles.

This study follows Kaitlynn Mendes's logic in using newspapers for the data collection instead of any other medium such as Television or Radio. With regard to this preference Kaitlynn Mendes argued that she:

> "…selected newspapers because their daily publication and wide circulation give them potential for quickly disseminating timely information about the women's movement to millions each day. Newspapers also present a forum for many types of styles - news, features, editorials, comment, letters to the editor comment, advertisements and cartoons - all in the same publication" (2011)

Mendes (2011) argued, tracking the news found in newspapers makes it possible to identify changing ideologies, the way in which journalism reveals the state of society and whether or not it is constant or in a state of change. According to Turkewitz, (2010) journalism is a key component in the study of modern mass media. People subscribe to the importance of reading the news because the press relates a huge number of news stories compared to television and film. Furthermore, its reports are often seen as more objective and true, compared to most forms of modern mass media, hence the preference for newspaper analysis for the purposes of this study, rather than television (Turkewitz, 2010).

3.8 Data Collection Instruments

Both primary and secondary data were used in the study. Primary data was obtained by reading through the sampled news articles in order to identify the information needed in the study that eventually

provided the data that was analyzed. The unit of analysis was an entire news article including any photograph in it. A coding sheet was used to identify page lead stories relevant to the research question and research objectives. The coding sheet (in Appendix 1) was employed to reduce the newspaper content into categories that were consistent with the objectives of the research. The coding categories used in the study were determined by the tenets of the mediatization theory; tone, discussions, photographs and themes. The categories helped in identifying the various mediatization mechanisms used by the newspapers and to analyse how the mechanisms were used in the news stories. The sample was used for analysis to determine the objectives and derive findings in this research.

3.8.1 Interview Schedules

Interview schedules was used to allow changes in the questions, seek clarification from the respondents' (Reporters) and the editors and was more personal to allow respondents give their opinion on Sino-Kenya relations in determining their editorial policies in regards to publishing articles that relate to Sino-Kenya relations and to gain an insight into how or if they participated in framing China-Kenya issues as well as how they place these stories in the newspapers.

3.8.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis assesses forms of human communication, including books, newspapers and films, to identify patterns, themes or bias (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). Content analysis identifies specific characteristics from the content by verbal, visual and behavioural pattern analysis (Williams, 2007). Content analysis is a research method, which offers researchers an effective way to investigate media content, (Cooley, 2011). Hansen et al described content analysis as, "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." This analysis identifies and counts the amount of specific characteristics of text in order to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their broader social significance (Hansen et al., 1998). In this study, content analysis helped the researcher to understand the content of the newspaper-specific coverage of the Sino-Kenya relations. The purpose of using

content analysis in this study is to independently extract subject from the cultural products related to media production (Leavy, 2000).

The content analysis tool was used to identify articles in the news and opinion pages that tackled areas that represent Sino-Kenya relations. The presence of such articles and their quantification provides an understanding of how China engagement in Kenya articles were displayed and covered. The quantification was accomplished by counting the number of stories in each of the Sino-Kenya relations themes that appears in the press. Quantification of the articles was performed by counting the frequencies of appearance in the selected pages. As mentioned earlier, the newspapers could be mediatizing themes on Social, Political, and economic relations. The three thematic issues were scored a point each, based on their frequency of appearance on *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* and *The Star* dailies edit levels of newspaper articles, giving a total of three thematic levels. In addition, content analysis was to determine the level of importance that was attached to specific themes in the Sino-Kenya relations by conducting an analysis of the positioning of the articles in the newspaper under study. Coding was concentrated on articles that dealt with the editorial, political leaders, and citizens' utterances.

3.9 Validity

The designed instruments were given to supervisors in the area of study to certain validity. In the case of the content analysis coding sheet, the coders coded at least some 10-newspaper issues to test the usability of the coding sheet. After the pre-test, corrections were undertaken, and the reliability and validity index calculated. Content and face validity was employed so as the main dimensions of the variables under research are measured basing on the mediatization theories that guided this study. In the process of ensuring that face validity is tested, the study supervisors was the critical guides in ensuring that there was content validity in this research. The coding sheet was pre-tested before use to find out whether it was reliable and efficient to the study and to ensure that there was clarity and

consistency in the coding process. The pre-test was done on 10 percent of the articles (7 articles) which Murdock, (1999) proposes as an appropriate number for pre-testing and examining a coding sheet. In the pre-test, it was discovered that a clear description of the categories was needed and that all the types of discrete emotions needed to be included as part of the independent variable in the analysis of reactions evoked by the photographs. All the objectives of this study were covered by the tools of the research, and the content was validated by the supervisors of the research and the independent readers who assessed the research tools.

Secondary data was obtained by reading relevant literature on the mediatization theory and empirical researches on media effects. These data provided a framework for validation of the results of the study. Sources of this information included online books and books obtained from the library.

3.10 Reliability

Reliability of the questionnaires was established through piloting 38 articles from the same newspapers on Sino-Kenya relations. The researcher conducted a pilot study to acertain reliability of the instruments. Pilot study was conducted on *the Citizen Newspaper* edition this is because it is also a mainstream press in Kenya. One interview schedule for *The Citizen newspaper* editor, and one code sheet for the same newspaper was used during the pilot study. Pilot study was enable the researcher to assess clarity of interview schedule and code sheet items so that those items found to be inadequate or vague was modified to certain the reliability of research instruments.

3.11 Reflexivity

Reflexivity has become an increasingly significant theme in contemporary social research. It involves the use of "self" as a powerful tool in research by using personal experience as a legitimate source; It is the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how their own experiences and contexts to inform the process and outcomes of inquiry (Etherington 2004). This enhances the trustworthiness of the findings and outcomes of research. The researcher has a familiarity and a better understanding of some aspects

within *the mainstream press* that may influence the process and analysis of research; however, the researcher has contextualized himself so that the reader could recognize potential biases and how previous knowledge and experience would inform the study (Etherington 2004).

3.12 Dependability

To ensure that the data was dependable notice was taken to make a description of the entire research process in a way that would ensure that another study can be done under similar context. This was ensured by explaining different stages in depth this was based on the analysis of relevant literature, the data generated and the analysis of the same data concluded.

3.13 Data Collection Procedure

Before collecting data from the targeted population, the researcher obtained an introductory letter from Rongo University, which enabled the researcher to obtain an online research permit from the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). After obtaining the research permit, the researcher proceeded to collect data.

Both primary and secondary data were used in the study. Primary data was obtained by reading through the sampled news articles in order to identify the information needed in the study that eventually provided the data that was analyzed. The unit of analysis was an entire news article including any photograph in it.

The coding sheet (in Appendix 1) was employed to reduce the newspaper content into categories that were consistent with the objectives of the research. The coding categories used in the study were determined by the tenets of the mediatization theory and included; tone, attributive words, photographs, discussions and themes. The categories helped in identifying the various mediatization mechanisms used by the newspapers and to analyse how the mechanisms were used in the news stories. The coding sheet was pre-tested before use to find out whether it was reliable and efficient to the study and to

ensure that there was clarity and consistency in the coding process. The pre-test was done on 10 percent of the articles (7 articles) which Murdock, (1999) proposes as an appropriate number for pre-testing and examining a coding sheet. In the pre-test, it was discovered that a clear description of the categories was needed and that all the types of discrete emotions needed to be included as part of the independent variable in the analysis of emotions evoked by the photographs. These were thereafter included in the coding sheet to ensure reliability and inclusivity of available independent variables

3.14 Data Analysis and Presentation

After data collection and organization from sampled articles, the researcher inspected and edited data to ascertain accuracy, completeness and uniformity. The analysis was done in tandem with the objectives and research questions of the study. The data collected was then coded and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 2020) to produce tables, frequencies and percentages. Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods were used to analyse the coded/collected data. Content analysis is a technique for making inference by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages. It also allows for quantitative analysis of text in order to identify and count occurrence of characters and qualitative analysis that places focus on analysing the latent content of a text, that which can be interpreted but not explicitly stated in a text (Newbold et al., 2002) in this study the meanings from the discourses.

The qualitative content analysis was used in studying the inherent meanings of the identified nature of mediatization. The qualitative analysis was based on the tenets of the mediatization where different nature of mediatization (sources, language, advertising, intellectual freedom and pluralism, times and deadlines, organizational routines, resource allocation, priorities and news selection criteria were analyzed including news agenda and nature of relationship and credibility, where pictures were analyzed for their meanings in the discourses

3.14.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative data analysis is a systematic approach to investigation where numerical data is collected and provides quantifiable and easy results. Quantitative data analysis enabled the researcher to be more objective about findings of the research. Quantitative content analysis was identifying and counted the frequency of occurrence of specific dimensions of chosen texts, in order to explain how they represent the reality of the situation in the relationship and their wider social significance. For example, economic relations, is characterized by the repeated mediatization of the borrowing of loans and shuttle diplomacy. This was done through a narrative thread that emphasized the existence of loans borrowed through the use of certain textual devices and narrative genres for example the use of attributive words that explained the narrative Murdock, (1999). The same could be said for how political and social relations textual dimensions was represented. Although quantitative analysis counts the frequently used words, phrases, sources, photographs to mediatize issues related to the Sino-Kenya relationship, it may not critically analyze the deeper discourses and subtitles of the frequent occurrences of the same phrases. This therefore called for the use of qualitative content analysis as depicted by (Hansen et al., 1998).

Quantitative content analysis was only necessary to count the occurrences of the aforementioned textual dimensions (words, phrases, sources, images / photographs) in order to have an idea of the patterns formed. This paved way for understanding how the relationship was mediatized or constructed in the selected texts (Deacon et al., 1999). Mediatization works through repetition, therefore, recurrence of phenomena in texts is common. This helps in creating meaning about a situation. What recurs is the product of a process of selection and combination or mediatization.

Quantitative data was analyzed using frequency tables and computed to get percentages. Further, pie charts, and histograms was used. The data presented on pie charts and histograms indicated trends of responses vividly.

3.14.2 Rationale of Content Analysis

This study conducted both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The latter investigated the newsworthiness, priority, location and type of news contents in samples by categorizing the content of the three mainstream newspapers and quantifying the content characteristics. The former assessed the proportions of non-news and news content in selected newspaper samples (Holloway, 2009). Quantitative content analysis examined a large amount of media content using statistical methods to reduce the complexity of media coverage and highlight content patterns in a selective and highly structured approach (Zeh, 2005). This analysis used information that can be measured such as number of columns in a newspaper or how many articles are published about a specific subject during the study timeline. It provided a volume of information that signaled important aspects of the content. However, quantitative content analysis was limited in that its findings did not determine the meaning of content and hence the need for qualitative analysis. Shoemaker and Reese, (1995) explain this limitation using two newspapers that publish the same piece of news about Israel but each newspaper provided a different opinion of the event. Therefore, it is important also to use a qualitative approach to determine the meaning of the content.

Wimmer and Dominick, (cited in Gunter, 2000) support the use of content analysis in describing patterns or trends in media portrayals; testing hypotheses regarding policies or aims of media procedures; comparing media content with the real world; assessing the representation of particular groups in society and drawing inferences about media effects. "Content analysis can help provide some indication of relative prominences and absences of key characteristics in media texts but the inferences that can be drawn from such indications depend on the context and framework of interpretation by which the text analyses are circumscribed." (Hansen, 1998).

Qualitative content analysis in this study analyzed texts within the context of communication. The processes involved an analytical policy and sequential step models, which are devoid of hasty quantification, (Mayring, 2000). It focused on characteristics of language, medium of communication and contextual meaning of text. Textually based data was provided in print or electronic form and obtained from print media in this case, newspapers. The analysis went beyond merely counting words but examined language to classify large amounts of texts into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings, themes and forms, which may be clear or hidden in a specific text, (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). These categories were represented as either explicit communication or inferred modes of communication, (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Thus, qualitative content analysis was used because it generates content meaning. In comparing quantitative and qualitative content analysis, it is clear that the former used systematic counting and recording procedures to explain the words or symbols within texts, while the latter was more critical and deciphered content meaning deeply. Quantitative and qualitative content analyses were used in tandem to include sampling of the two newspapers and in-depth textual analysis. Sampling was used in order to narrow the selection of content to be analyzed.

Quantitative content analysis explored the meanings underlying physical messages owing to its inductive nature grounded on topical and thematic examination to draw inferences using raw data therefore helped to answer the issue of meaning in the discourses on Sino-Kenya relations. It gave clues on generating a theory in this study using purposively selected texts that informed more on the research questions being investigated. The method also produced descriptions or typologies, along with expressions from subjects, reflecting how they view the social world. As such, perspectives of text producers were better understood by the investigator as well as the readers of the study's results, (Berg, 2001). This approach of analysis paid attention to unique themes that illustrated a range of the meanings on the phenomenon, rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular

texts or concepts Zhang and Wildemuth, (2009) hence its preference in this study.

3.14.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis (QDA) involved identification and interpretation of patterns and themes in textual data. Qualitative data analysis (QDA) determined how patterns and themes help answer the research question on the themes that were mediatized in the two newspapers. Qualitative data analysis (QDA) was used because it provided depth and details. Qualitative data analysis (QDA) exploited verbatim reporting by the reporters or journalists and where applicable the data summarized in graphs to make them easily understandable. Verbatim reporting created openness and simulated respondent's experiences. Also, qualitative data analysis enabled the researcher to avoid prejudgment. Once the corpus from interviewees were gathered, the written discussion was analyzed, considering priority areas as advanced by Lichman, (2013). More specifically, the study used interpretive textual content analysis (ITCA), which focused on analysing the content of written texts in interpretative way. This meant that while quantitative content analysis largely focuses on important words/wordings, phrases and statements and their appearance in the text, while interpretive content analysis attempts to understand the process and character of social life and meaning which will assist to answer the third research question on the meaning emerging from the discourses in the mediatization (Altheide 1996).

There were three main themes analyzed in this study namely; politics, economic and cultural relations. Under politics, the sub-theme that were analyzed, from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective, was diplomatic ties. The state officials chose this as a textual dimension because of the controversies and allegations of continuous defense of the Chinese government over different matters. Under economics, the sub-theme that were analyzed using a similar approach was economic relations. This was made through the counting of occurrence of two phrases: mutual aid and individual benefit in the stories as references to economic relation. The two phrases represented the economic relations in the Sino-Kenya relations. Under the cultural relations theme, the sub-themes that were counted and analyzed, also using a similar approach, were three namely; scholarships, influx of Chinese into Kenya,

and oppression of Kenyans in the Chinese firms. The three textual dimensions were analyzed to find out whether they represented cultural relations.

However, since it could be difficult to establish the meanings of the above textual dimensions simply as recurring statistics, qualitative thematic content analysis was used to generate meaning. The analysis looked at the significance of how the textual dimensions relates to the broader structural relationship (micro and macro-level factors that influence mediatization) and how these relations revealed the influence of certain political and ideological positions. To understand how micro and macro-level factors influenced mediatization, interviews were done with the selected major gatekeepers (editors) of the selected mainstream newspaper for a deeper understanding of how they used various texts to mediatize meanings and the discourses of the texts in order to understand the implications of the discussions (Hansen et al., 1998).

ITCA was used to prepare a protocol – a list of questions, items or categories that guided the data collection from documents based on van Dijk, (1988) and Fairclough, (2010). Its first part comprised background data about the article (date, section, author, length). Its second part focused on information about macrostructures – properties of the text. The researcher analyzed what was the message (the headline), what happened (the main event), what was the direct consequence of this event, what was the actual context and the non-recent history of the actual event, whether someone had reacted to the event, what was expected to happen, and how the whole event was evaluated. The most important category was the topic. The third part focused on the microstructures – the properties of the sentences. Connotations were analyzed (who were the agent/subject, whether agents are explicit/absent, the use of the active/passive voice, the use of the positive/negative mode, the use of promises/requests/threats etc.), the wording (which words were used to describe agents or processes), the use of semantic operations (comparisons, metaphors, parallels, irony, understatement), the quotes (who is quoted or which documents are cited), and the exactness (precise numbers, places, time). The fourth part of the

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analysis was made up of important propositions, for example, sentences that could not be sorted into categories, but which were worth being quoted at length.

The third step of ITCA was sampling the articles that were used. The fourth step is data coding, which means reading articles, writing protocols, and searching for topics (Van Dijk, 1988). Topics acted on a higher level of abstraction for example *"a concrete investment deal"* signed is the main event, while the identified topic could be "*foreign direct investment in Kenya.*" The fifth step was data analysis, which implied the repeated reading of protocols and the search for key differences within categories. Concretely, the topics were taken and aggregate them into thematic topics, which acted on an even higher level of abstraction. One issue in time may evolve into several distinct topics. However, it is still a single frame topic. The different stages of the economic partnership agreement negotiations could be an example. Or, different events were identified as different topics, although having the same substance for example, the researcher identified three different topics "*tourism industry in Kenya during global economic crisis," "changing trends of Chinese tourists," and "marketing campaign of the Kenya Tourism Board in China,"* which may be aggregated into one theme topic "tourism." Or, one topic may be a subset of another topic. Both were slightly different, but could be aggregated into one frame topic. For example, "*trade relations between China and Africa" and "trade relations between China and Kenya* "were different topics, but the latter is a subset of the former. Both could be subsumed under a frame topic "trade." Once the theme topics were identified, then the researcher searched for differences, particularly whether the tone of the articles varied across different newspaper sections and/or different categories of authors and/or different theme topics. The findings were then used to have the final analysis (Phillips& Hardy, 2002).

Table 3.3 Data Analysis matrix for Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers, The star

	Instruments	Items	Data Analysis
Objective 1 To investigate nature of mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations.	Content analysis	Tone Photographs Metaphors Antinomies	Descriptive Statistics Writing, Coding the themes, interpreting.
Objective 2 To examine meanings of emerging discourses that led to those mediatizations.	Content analysis	Economic theme Social theme Political theme	Descriptive Statistics Analysis Writing, Coding the themes, interpreting.
Objective 3 To explore the implications of meanings of discourses in the newspaper	Interview schedule	Attributive words Captioned photos Discussions	Descriptive Statistics Analysis Writing, Coding the themes, interpreting.

3.15 Ethical Considerations

A Research Permit was sought giving a written authority to carry out this research in the selected newspapers. Since the research dealt with sensitive issues that had the potential to discredit the image of some particular media houses and involved engaging in-depth with participants who are perceived to have greatly suffered from, or instigated the conflict one way or the other, directly or indirectly, their rights to confidentiality and privacy were reassured by the researcher as this was paramount. The researcher therefore employed Informed Consent, which involved thorough explanations of the purpose of the research, and guarantees of confidentiality in the preamble of the interviews. The overarching principle of ethics in research is that the respondent must always have to give their informed consent (Chopra, 1998; Gray, 2009). To uphold the principle of anonymity, recorded data was given anonymity in the study, where requested or deemed appropriate.

The study emphasized and respected participant's freedom of acceptance or refusal to be interviewed and also of withdrawal from interview at any time or stage. Special attention to building cooperation over time, and if possible even spanning beyond the duration of the study was observed. Clear information was given to outline these assurances. The study endeavored as much as possible to comply with national policy guidelines on fundamental ethical principles regarding protection of human participants in any academic research such as this one. The Data collected from the respondents was treated with strict confidentiality and was only used for research purposes. In addition, the researcher ensured that data collected was not falsified or misrepresented in any way and various research rules were applied to enable a clear and precise outcome that aims at promoting social good. Ethical issues were fully honored and the process shall strength integrity during execution of the study and integrity related to publishing.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Overview

The main objective of this study was to examine the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations in the selected mainstream newspapers in Kenya. This chapter therefore, presents the data, analyses them and discusses the findings in order to answer the three objectives of the study.

Methods for data collection were divided into two key strands: (1) the research method used by the researcher, and (2) the general philosophies upon which data collection and analysis were based. Furthermore, the data collection process was methodical, and involved organizing a series of substantive and consistent steps within a scientific framework. In most academic research, researchers use qualitative or quantitative methods for collecting data and then analyse the data once it is collated (Ogbonna, 2012). In this study, the procedure for data analysis in newspapers was as follows:

(1) Collect and analyse quantitative data, identify specific quantitative results that need additional explanation and then design a qualitative study based on what has been learned from quantitative results.

(2) Collect and analyse quantitative data and interpret combined results to analyse frames.

For the newspapers data (news stories and photographs), a quantitative content analysis was suitable for assessing the collated data. The quantitative data was analyzed using coding, based on counting the number of news stories on Sino-Kenya relations and the frequency of the raw data. Using recording units was an effective way of ensuring that the description of the data was reliable. The two methods used for coding were: (1) electronic coding into a computer system and (2) paper coding. In a computerized content analysis system, a coding list is contained in software menus or screens and the coding data is entered directly into a computer system (Krippendorff, 2003). The analysis conducted in this study involved collecting a number of news stories for subsequent quantitative and qualitative analysis. The processing of the data from quantitative content analysis was carried out using simple

mathematics to analyze the number of news stories on Sino-Kenya relations in the two newspapers, and in which issue of each newspaper these stories were printed.

The quantities and proportions of the characteristics meant that the raw data could be managed effectively and also formed the quantitative analysis, whereas qualitative data analysis consisted of comprehensive reading, categorization, comparison and a summary of initially processed data. During qualitative content analysis, one of three approaches of inductive reasoning was selected according to Hsieh & Shannon, (2005). The first approach was conventional content analysis, in which coding categories were derived directly and inductively from the raw data. This is not enough to ascertain the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations in the principle data, so the qualitative method was also used along with the quantitative content analysis. Through subsequent data analysis, the researcher could determine the themes emerging from the data. The second approach was summative content analysis, which was preferred in this study, and involved counting the number of words or apparent content and establishing the analysis in order to take in latent meanings and themes. This approach was quantitative in the early stages, however, it transformed to a qualitative approach, in that the format for the use of words and indicators was also analyzed (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Summative content analysis was used because it involved counting keywords or content, and then drawing comparisons between the two, followed by an explanation of the underlying context.

In line with this, section 4.1 presents and describes the nature of mediatization identified within the 70 articles. This is because it is the nature that promote the meanings of the emerging discourses. Section 4.2 on the other hand analyses how the newspapers exploited the meanings of the emerging discourses of mediatization in order to develop an understanding of Sino-Kenya relations. Finally, section 4.3 discusses the implications of the meanings emerging from the discourses on the media messages.

The analysis and discussions in this chapter were based on the tenets of the mediatization and research findings from existing scholarly literature on the usage and implications of nature of the media texts.

4.2 Newspapers Return rate

The study targeted a sample size of 70 newspapers. All the newspapers sampled had a return rate of 100%. The researcher considered all the newspapers for analysis. The response rate was found to be suitable for analysis and making interpretations and conclusions for this study. The return rate for the newspapers to be analyzed is presented on Table 4.1. The highest return rate was The Standard newspaper.

Table 4.1 Newspapers Return rate for the study

Newspaper	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
Daily Nation	24	48.6
The Standard	36	100.0
The Star	10	30
Total	70	
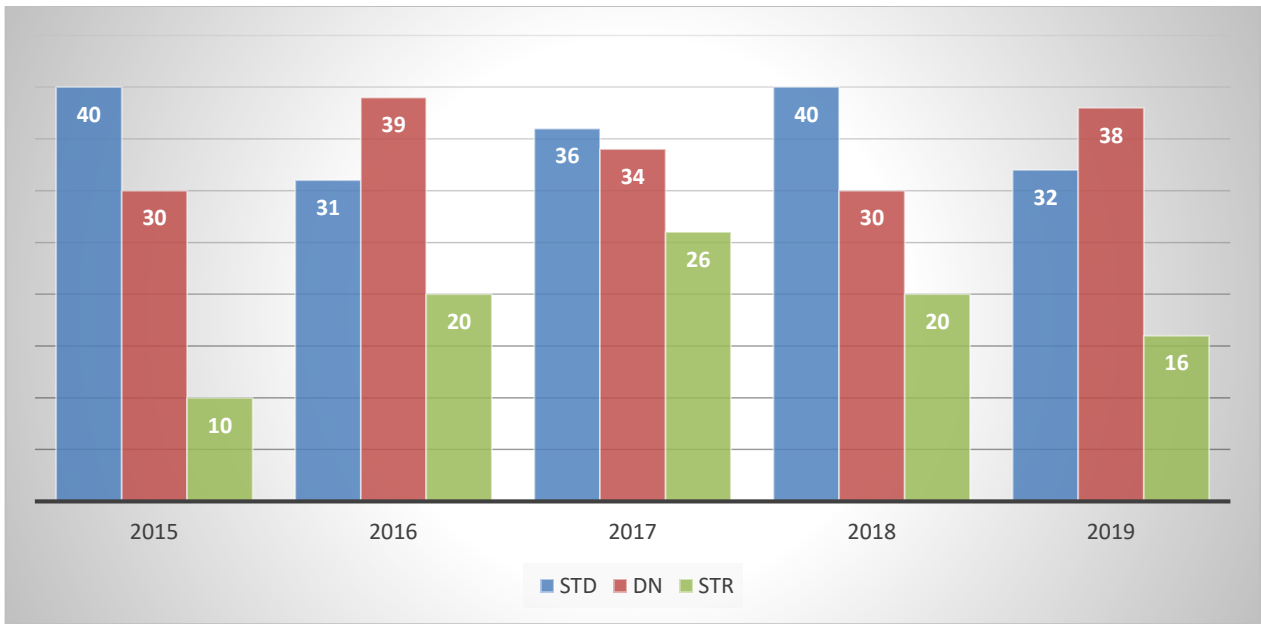
Figure 4.1 Frequency of Articles by Year of Publication

The year in which critical and balanced arguments on Sino-Kenya relations was mostly covered was 2017 in all of the selected newspapers, a period of frequent reporting in the weeks before and immediately following the frequent visits by the two presidents and specifically Kenya in the quest of borrowing loans. The year 2019 recorded the list reportage on Sino-Kenya relations.

Table 4.2 Frequency of Articles by Day of Publication

Day of the Week	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Monday	5	7.1	7.1
Tuesday	34	48.6	55.7
Wednesday	9	12.9	68.6
Thursday	12	17.1	85.7
Friday	8	11.4	97.1
Saturday	1	1.4	98.6
Sunday	1	1.4	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

A day of frequent reporting in the weeks on the topic of Sino-Kenya relations was Tuesday with a percentage of coverage being 48.6%, following the day of the week that had many activities regarding Sino-Kenya relations. The weekends that is Saturday and Sunday had the least coverage of Sino-Kenya relations with a valid percentage of 1.4% recorded the list reportage on Sino-Kenya relations.

Table 4.3: Type of the article the news appears

Type of Article	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
News	36	51.4	51.4
Editorial	30	42.9	94.3
Commentary	4	5.7	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

Out of the 70 newspapers that were used for analysis articles on news had the highest representation of news on Sino-Kenya relations with a 51% while commentaries had the least with 5.7% recorded incidences of Sino-Kenya relations.

Table 4.4 Section of the paper the story appears

Section	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
National News	41	58.6	58.6
African News	19	27.1	85.7
International News	5	7.1	92.9
Business News	4	5.7	98.6
Opinion News	1	1.4	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

The Section of the 70 newspapers that had stories on Sino-Kenya relations frequently covered was the National news with a valid percentage of 59% stories while the Business section was the least with a 1% the reason was that national news had a wider audience readership compared to the other sections of the articles analyzed.

4.3 The Nature of Mediatization as Used in the selected newspapers to Mediatize Sino-Kenya Relations

As already discussed in chapter 1, when employing the mechanisms of mediatization, the media will often use nature such as tone, antinomies, photographs/images and metaphors, to aid in mediatizing an issue in ways through which their audiences can easily understand them (Markova, 2003). Thus, the current study also sought to find out whether the newspapers used this nature in order to enhance the mechanisms of mediatization, in their mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations.

4.3.1 Tone Analysis

"Tone" refers to the way sources express themselves; what they decide to say and how they say it. Mc Combs and Wanta (2011), assert that tone is a major part of mediatization. They state that "News stories are both denotative messages conveying tone and emotion by use of positive, negative and neutral parameters.

The overall tone of the discourses surrounding the two states in the sample was coded as positive, negative or neutral – an important feature as it tells us how much of the coverage could be regarded as 'positive', 'neutral' or 'negative' news. This is an important investigation, as it is a widely held perception that most media coverage of the developing world is "negative". This analysis focused on discerning the extent to which newspaper items displayed overtly positive or negative tones. In cases, where such tones were not discerned, the newspaper item was coded as evidencing a "neutral" tone. "Tone" refers to the way sources express themselves; what they decide to say and how they say it. Mc Combs, (2011), assert that tone is a major part of mediatization. He states "News stories are both denotative messages conveying tone and emotion.

Therefore, in this case, a story is considered to have a positive tone when it focuses on the good aspects of China -Kenya relations, when it uses pleasant words and generally portrays an optimistic view of the relationship. A negative tone would be the exact opposite and may include use of harsh words, critical view and focus on the unpleasant aspects. Tone analysis was used to determine whether the stories about China-Kenya in the selected newspapers were covered positively or negatively or neutrally.
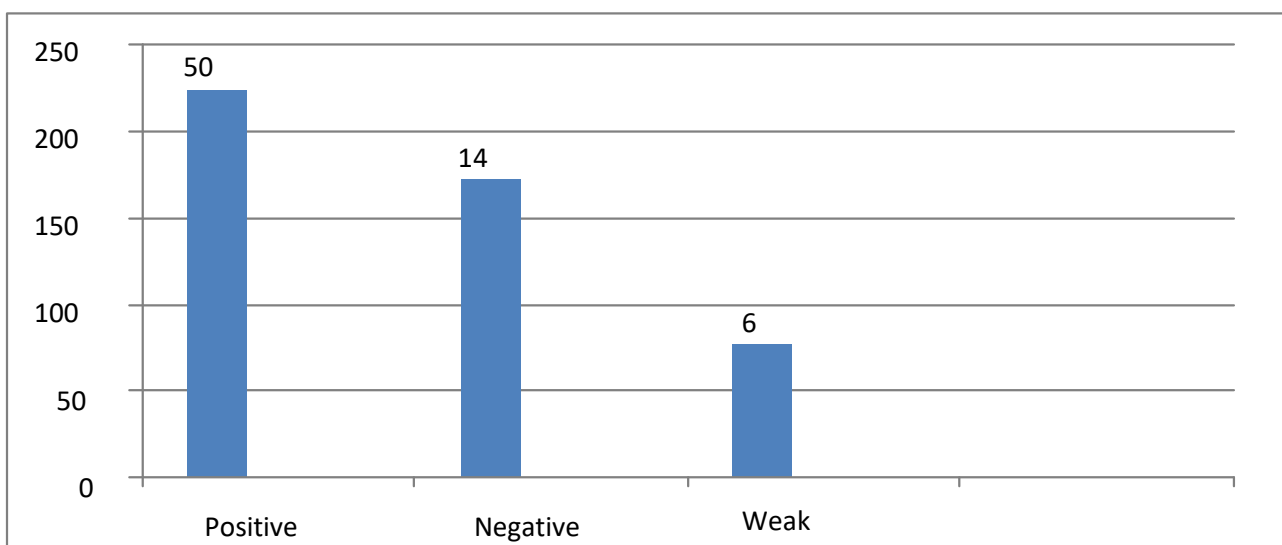
Figure 4.2: Tone of reporting Stories on Sino-Kenya relations covered in the Selected Newspapers

The figure above mediatizes overall Positive, Negative and weak tone (note that vertical axis represents the number of stories). The study finds that the image of China in Kenya is positive rather than, negative and weak. However, when we compare positive and weak codes, the margin is substantially bigger. As we will explain, mediatization theorists tend not to take into account the possibility of neutral tone, only weak ones. In other words, you cannot have perfectly balanced or non-existent feelings about China. For instance, if we assume that there is a Kenyan reader who has not heard about China at all, to the extent that a China headline draws absolutely no feelings from him or her, this hypothetical reader would frame the article in an extremely weak sense rather than completely neutrally.

An average reader who sees a 'weakly framed' headline, that is, one that is neither explicitly negative nor unequivocally positive may either have a positive or negative perception. Thus we may assume that weak frames can be read as positive or negative depending on the reader's prejudices. China enthusiasts will see a weak headline only in positive light; China-bashers will see a weak headline only in negative terms. Weak frames can therefore be seen as positive or negative depending on the disposition of the reader. Thus, when we contextualize weak tone in relation to positive and negative tone, we see that the image of China equally fluctuates from potentially very positive to potentially negative.

Valenzuela and McCombs, (2007) found that "the more covered and favorably state relations were in a newspaper, the higher the percentage of public support". Young Min conducted a study investigating how China relations with Korea is represented in the Korean newspapers. The researcher found that "newspapers substantially influenced the China-Korean relations by the tone of relations by criticizing Korea" (Min, 2004).

Majority of the newspapers had a tone that supported Sino-Kenya relations 50 stories in the selected newspapers gave a positive response for both the states being in the relationship but 14 stories gave negative tone of response for example *"Unfavorable China-Kenya trade leaves KSh 380 billion gap-The Standard* Wednesday, 25 June 2019. Another story that was among the four that criticized Kenya in the relationship was *"Fact Checker: Trade with China skewed against Kenya by Franklin Sunday on The Standard Friday, April 2nd 2019.*

6 stories representing 18% did not support Sino-Kenya relations by giving a weak tone in the reportage for example, in February 2008, Mr. Okech Kendo of *the Standard* wrote an article *"China has proved it's not a friend to count on" based on some misunderstandings or incomplete information. H.E. Mr. Zhang Ming, Chinese Ambassador to Kenya wrote this article"* China's acts prove it is a friend Kenya can rely on to response and explain China's position to the post-election crisis in Kenya. *The Standard Monday March, 12th2018.*Despite having stories that would generally be considered negative in nature, Sino-Kenya relations still ended up being framed in a positive tone in majority of stories. For instance, the Article *"China-Kenya cooperation headed for a brighter future - Daily Nation Tuesday April, 23 2019"*by Andrew Moody, despite the fact that Kenya's economy is slowing down, the story has a positive tone to suggest that this is not just a concern for Kenya but for China. The deputy director and professor of finance at the Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance is quoted saying *"China is now so integrated into the global system, that whatever happens to its economy is headlines everywhere, and that Africa is unlikely to escape"* He adds *"China accounts for a quarter of global growth. We have reached a stage where you cannot fully understand the global economy without understanding the Chinese one".*

Another story that would generally be considered negative in nature, manages to mediatize China in positive light and apportion blame and the negative aspects to a second party. The Article *"Businesses cite biggest barriers in Kenya"* by Li Lianxing coded 5/12/09/E/32 begins the first paragraph by saying *"Chinese investors and potential investors have long regarded a good China-Kenya relationship as a*

solid basis on which they can build success. But often when the uninitiated finally step onto the Kenyan soil they realize how simplistic the term "China-Kenya relationship" really is. It goes on to report that *"Fifty-three percent of the 75 Chinese companies sounded out in the survey said corruption is "a very significant obstacle" to doing business in Kenya, and 15 percent said it is "a significant obstacle". Sixty-three percent of respondents said crime, theft, disorder and personal safety were significant or very significant obstacles.*

Another story that would generally be considered negative in nature, is the Article *"Kenya getting raw deal from China, says new World Bank trade report"* by Li Lianxing coded 5/12/09/E/32 has a paragraph saying *"And while China is currently Kenya's largest trading partner, Chinese imports far exceed what Kenya sells to the world's second-largest economy. Imports from China have dramatically increased from 12 per cent in 2012 to 23 percent in 2014".* It goes on to report that *"Kenya sends only 1 per cent of its exports to China, which include raw hides and skins, scrap metal, coffee and tea. And because Kenya's agricultural sector lacks competitive advantage in China's main food market, it has been difficult to increase sales of more local produce".* The report says that *"even more telling is the fact that Kenya exports less to China than to economies of a similar size. For every $100 (Sh10, 170) Kenya exports to an economy similar to the Asian nations, it only exports $82 (Sh8, 340) to China.*

In addition, as we have seen in previous sections, readers are likely to be in favor of China in certain circumstances or topics and to disfavor it on others. The researcher thus categorizes a headline for example in the negative category along with, say, *Chinese chicken farmers ruffle Zambian feathers* (*Daily Nation*, February 9 2017). *Is Kenya ripe for marriage with China?* (*Daily Nation*, October 12 2016) is a weak headline to the extent that it is a rhetorical and ambivalent. The use of the word 'grip' would indicate a quite negative perception, except that the segment referring to a KSh 4 billion [$46.7 million] deal lends a positive tone. This is a hefty figure by Kenyan standards –thus the presence of

negative and positive attributes renders the headline 'weak' in line with definition of the parameters for this paper.

The general tone of reporting is positive81 percentage of the Articles and news stories sampled and those that appear negative in nature was 18%. These findings suggest that themes not only carry specific views but also influence how the audience perceives a matter of how they can be oriented towards an issue.

Figure 4.5 shows that there is consistency in the selected newspapers that every story and every contributor portrays an optimistic view of China-Kenya relationship. 86% of all the articles and stories focus on the good aspects of the relationship. The findings revealed that China-Kenya relations is generally mediatized in a positive tone the source notwithstanding. It can therefore be interpreted that there is a deliberate strategy to shape the mediatization of newspaper readers and influence their attitudes towards China's engagement in Kenya by presenting a positive tone and impression.

The researcher's conclusion is resonant with Wesserman (2011) findings, that is, a more or less balanced image of China is discernible in Kenyan media. Although my findings are that the media image of China is more positive than negative, i also found that the margin between positive and negative tone is not too wide. In broad terms, my conclusion affirms that the image of China in Kenya is more or less balanced between negative and positive perceptions because of the interplay of both negative and positive media tone.

4.3.2 Photographs & Captions

Visual analysis was used to assess the nature of physical content in the newspapers and, more specifically, to examine the presence of stereotypes and determine their effects on viewers' understanding of Sino-Kenya relations. Visual analysis attempts to discern literal from non-literal uses of photographs and their underlying symbolic meanings (Weiland and Ponzetto, 2009). Visual analysis evaluated the role played by images in a study by (Onjala, 2008). Leon and Erviti, (2013) appraised this type of analysis, explaining how photos are used to shape publications and how they influence the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relationship.

This study followed visual analysis as described by Leon and Erviti, (2013) to analyse photographs that are synchronous with texts in publications on Sino-Kenya relationship by the two Kenyan newspapers. Although the research did not focus on the observable frames in photographs and their associated framing analysis, it examined how the selected Kenyan newspapers mediatized Sino-Kenya relations using content analysis. Additionally, quantitative content analysis of the photographs provided a greater understanding of the mediatization of Sino-Kenya in the news and thus provided a deeper understanding of the portrayal of the relations. Photographs were used as strong evidence of how newspapers mediatized Sino-Kenya relations

According to the mediatization theory, the media when using the mechanisms of mediatization may use photographs to help in explaining new phenomena in emotions that are easily understood by their audience. This in turn makes it easier for the audience to make sense of the phenomenon by attaching emotions to the photographs they see. Photographs play an important role in newspaper texts, and as Engel, (2008) posits, newspaper photographs are sometimes the most salient hooks that draw the reader to a particular story. Thus, newspapers do not merely use any photograph to accompany a text, but they use those that can draw the attention of the reader to the text or those that have significant messages in them (Engel, 2008).

Similarly, media scholars (Hoijer, 2011: Markova, 2003) posit that photographs as nature of mediatization can evoke various emotions on a reader and it is these emotions that may form the basis on which the media message is interpreted and understood. In this study, analysing the various emotions evoked by the photographs identified in the articles helped in understanding how these emotions served in the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations.

4.3.2.1 The Role of Photographs

According to the mediatization theory, the media may use photographs to help in anchoring new phenomena in emotions that are easily understood by their audience. This in turn makes it easier for the audience to make sense of the phenomenon by attaching emotions to the photographs they see.

Conversely, in the current study and as shown in table 4.4 below, it emerged in the study that out of the 70 news articles that were analyzed, 59 of them had photographs accompanying the written texts while only 11 did not have photographs all of which accompanied news stories relating to Sino-Kenya relations.

The conventional process used thus allowed for a significant fit between the semiotic instructions of how to read news as a genre and the general message usually inferred by viewers. Thus, the photographs about the Sino-Kenya situation were anchored to match the words in order to construct meaning. The meaning constructed was that which reinforced readers' perceptions of the situation in Sino-Kenya relations rather than challenging them. The perceptions were linked to the conviction that Sino-Kenya relations are faced with problematic socio-economic and political relations.

Falah (2005) observed, photograph captions represent the value judgments of a newspaper's editor and can be easily transmitted. The words selected for the captions not only describe the image, but might

also provide a reading of the visual representation. The editor effectively decides which message readers are meant to receive from the picture's caption.

The Daily Nation Tuesday, April 23 2019 provides a good example of the contradictions that can result from the representations seen in published photographs. In this particular newspaper, images of the two presidents, who appeared to be holding hands in the article showing happiness, while the by-line has a message that is contradicting?

Table 4.5 Picture included in the story

Responses	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	59	84.3
NO	11	15.7
Total	70	100.0

Conversely, in the current study and as shown in table 4.6 above, it emerged in the study that out of the 70 newspapers that were analyzed, 59 of them had photographs accompanying the written texts while only 11 did not have photographs.
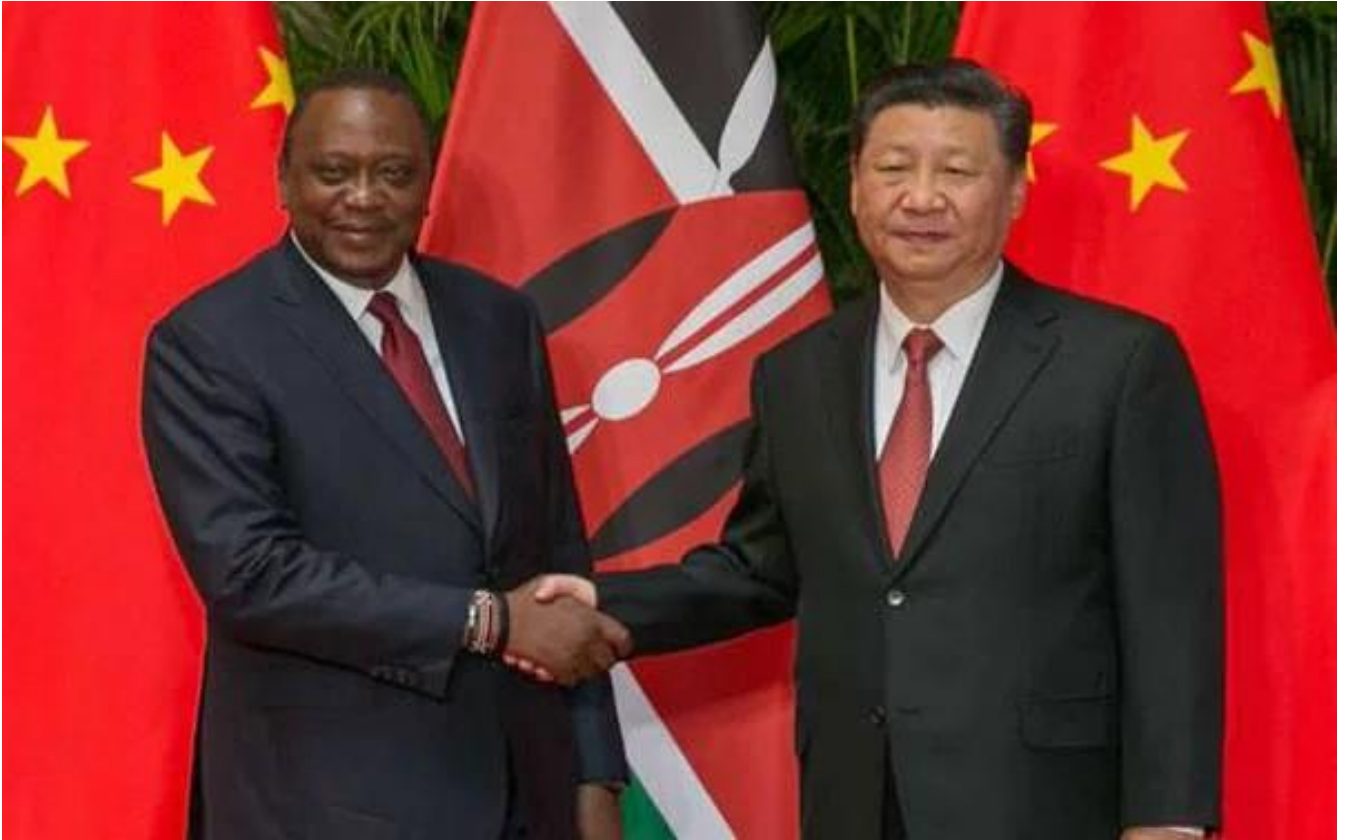
Figure 4.3: Uncaptioned Photograph

The Standard Tuesday, April 23 2019

Table 4.6 News articles with captions explaining pictures.

Responses	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
YES	69	98.6	98.6
NO	1	1.4	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

Barthes, (1982; in Engel 2008) in his study on the functions of media photographs found that newspaper photographs are never isolated structures but often have some sort of written commentary or an accompanying text associated with the photo that illustrates the picture. These accompanying texts are captions that provide a short description of the picture is and why it has been used in the article. They help the readers understand what they see. According to him (Bathes, 1982 ibid), the text anchors the image by naming it and this anchoring function is a common practice used in mass communication.

Thus, considering the forgoing importance of captions especially in textual analysis, this study also sought to determine whether the photographs used had accompanying captions to explain them. This in turn would help/ helped in understanding how the photographs and their captions were used in mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations. According to Table 4.4 above, 69 (99%) of the photographs had captions explaining them while (1%) did not.

When captions photos in relation to a story, they feed the reader with information on people, time and place included in the picture (Engel, 2008). They also provide snippets of details that make the reader want to read more from the text. Captions also place a particular interpretation on the image that helps in shaping how the reader understands that image. For example, a story appearing in one of the news articles, had a photograph (Extract 1) showing "President Xi Jinping of China and President Kenyatta of Kenya holding hands as a sign of strengthening China-Kenya relations into Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership." (Daily Nation, Tuesday April 23 2019). This

caption thus explains Chinese President Xi Jinping (right) welcoming his Kenyan counterpart Uhuru Kenyatta ahead of the China International Import Expo. On the other hand, Barthes, (1982) opines that when captions are not used, then a photo is opened up for varied interpretation. Similarly, when the newspapers used the ten photographs without captioning them, they risked allowing their readers to interpret them depending, for example, on their subjective inclinations

On the other hand, Barthes, (1982) opines that when captions are not used, then a photo is opened up for varied interpretation. Similarly, when the newspapers used the four photographs without captioning them, they risked allowing their readers to interpret them depending, for example, on their subjective inclinations.
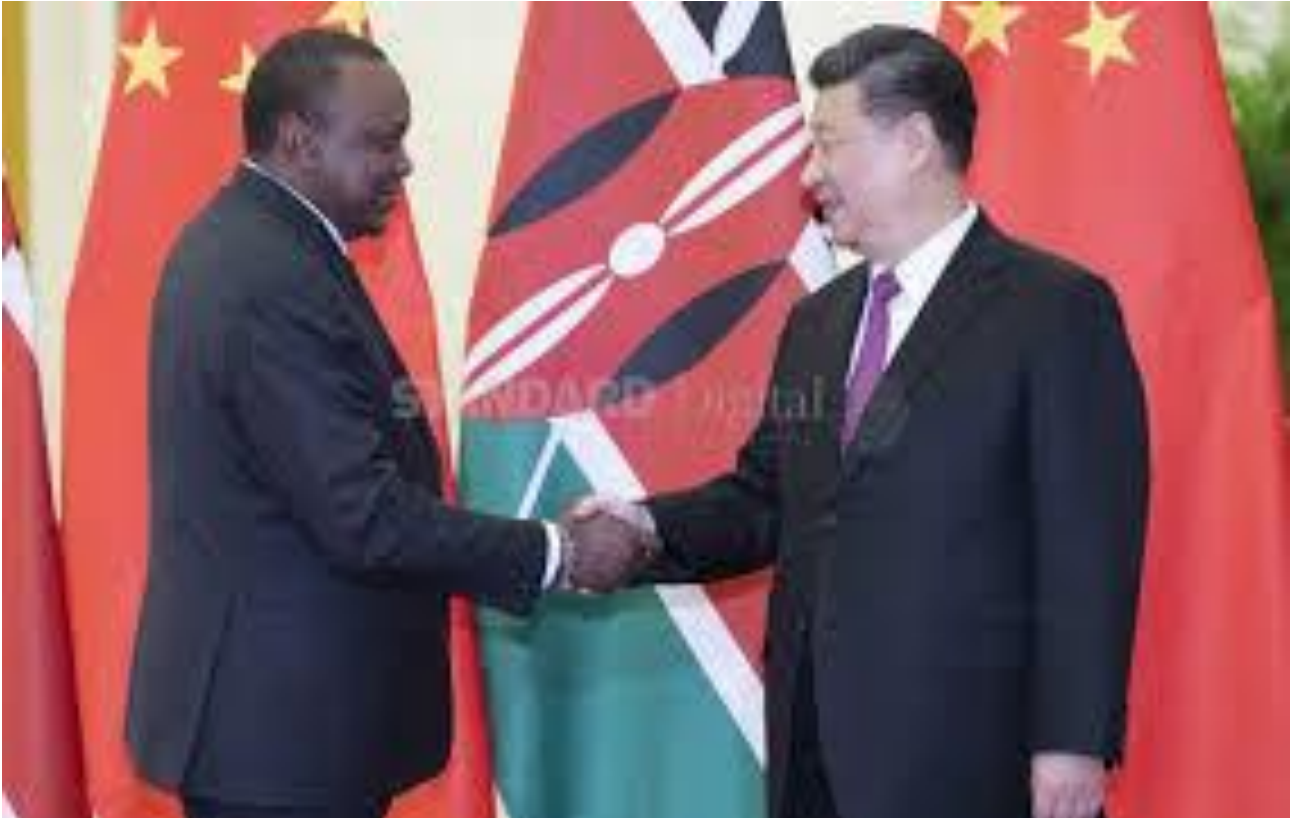
Chinese President Xi Jinping (right) welcomes his Kenyan counterpart Uhuru Kenyatta ahead of the

China International Import Expo (CIIE) in Shanghai, last year. PHOTO | PSCU

Figure 4.4: Captioned Photograph

China will seek a say in Kenya's affairs in bid to recover loans Photo | Afp

Figure 4.5: Extract 2

For instance, Extract 2 has a photograph-showing president Kenyatta and his entourage being led by a Chinese lady. Without a caption, is opened up for many interpretations. For example, it can be interpreted to mean that the person is sending the president away or welcoming him in, given that the headline of the article is China-Kenya relations strong. Having many interpretations of photographs is in contradiction to the objective of using photographs as nature of mediatization, which aims at providing a common understanding of a phenomenon within the audience.

Monday June 18 2018
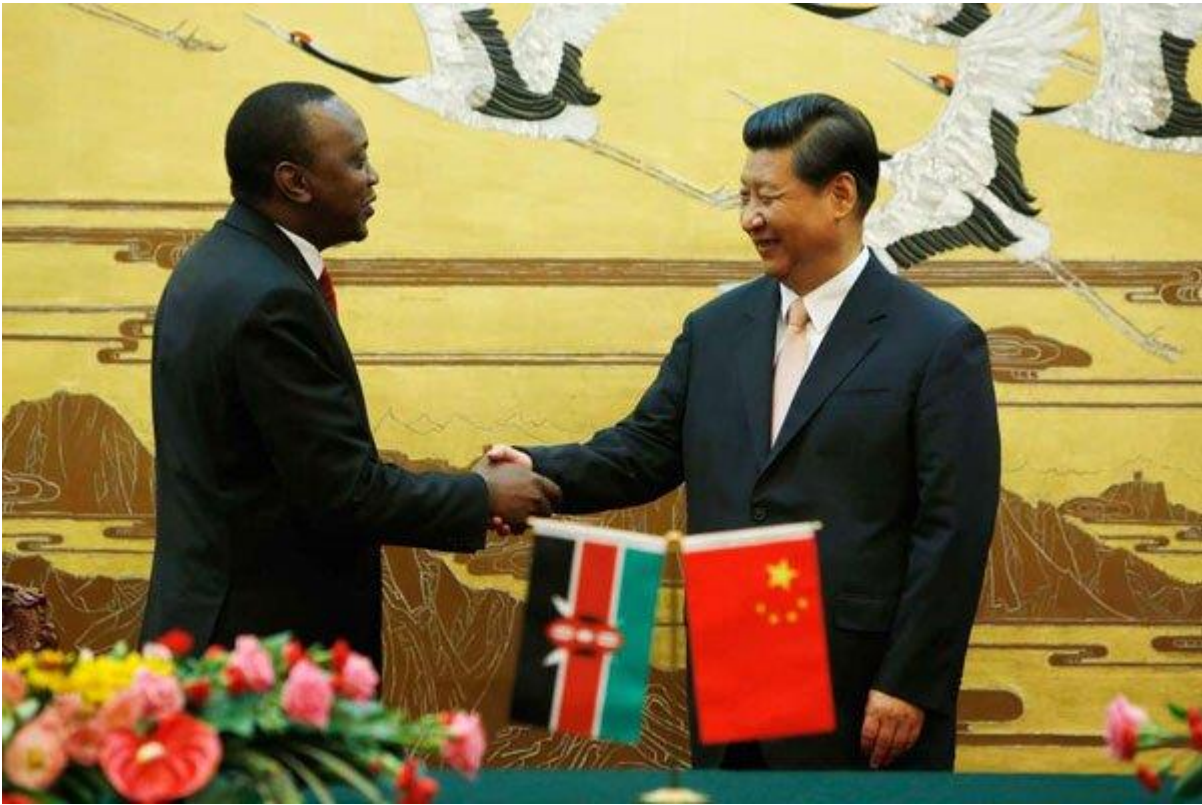
Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta (left) and his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping shake hands during a deal-making ceremony at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on August 21, 2013. Good relations between the two nations have significantly deepened bilateral cooperation. PHOTO | AFP

Figure 4.6: Extract 3

4.3.3 Antinomies

According to Oxford Online Dictionary, an antinomy is a contradiction between two beliefs or conclusions that are in themselves reasonable. It is a terminology borrowed from Latin word antinomia, and from Greek words anti meaning 'against' and nomos meaning 'law.' Atieno, (2016).) Asserts that one of the mediatization mechanisms employed by the media is mediatizing using antinomies or in distinctions. It is a process whereby the unfamiliar is transformed into something familiar by constructing meaning when a distinction is made between two things. It often has the effect of creating sides where the audience is left to decide on which side they stand. Proponents of the meditization (Moscovici, 1984; Markova, 2003) also posit that the public often tend to relate to a new idea if it is delivered to them in opposites, where there are two opposing sides and they are made to choose a side they can relate to and support.

Correspondingly, this study also sought to find out whether the newspapers in their endeavor to mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations, might have used antinomies as an element of meditization. During the analysis and as shown in table 4.4 below, it emerged that 60 (86 percentage) of the news articles that were studied used antinomies, while 10 (14%) of them did not did not use antinomies.

Table 4.7 News articles that used antinomies

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
YES	60	85.7	85.7
NO	10	14.3	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

The most common antinomy was the one that placed Chinas' developmental motive against the perceived under developmental motives of China to Kenya, be it in the form of win-win versus individual interest. This could eventually be perceived as a 'we' versus 'them' antinomy, where the 'we' may have represented those who were against the pro Chinese narrative of win-win while 'them' represented those in support of the non-developmental agenda by China.

1. For example, one of the newspapers had a story that read: "China has proved it's not a friend to count on", (*The Standard, February* 10, 2018) or another that read: "China: China's acts prove it is a friend Kenya can rely on", (*The Standard*, February 12, 2018). In these two statements, the 'we' could be anyone supporting Kenya and her claims and 'them' those supporting China and her defense. For the antinomy of China versus other nations in Kenya

2. Consider for example an article with the heading: "US woos Kenya with big deals, takes swipe at China strategy", and a part of the article that stated that: "The US has unveiled a new strategy to deepen trade relations with Kenya while taking swipe at China's inroads into Africa" (The Standard, November 5, 2019). This article cites the dispute between the US and China in Kenya as a cause of negative relations between Kenya and China. It is important to note that USA is one of the countries that has always been anti-China making inroads into Africa and her position in the geopolitics.

Therefore, by using the antinomy of 'us' to represent countries from the west, and 'them' to represent China and countries from the East, the message was that the Kenyan audience/reader could identify with any of the sides and support them in the quest to cementing or not the Sino-Kenya relations. USA versus China as an antinomy was also identified in articles where the Kenyan government attempted to look for a suitable partner to relate to. For instance, one of the articles had the following statement that show the dilemma the Kenyan government had in relating to eighther USA or China: Kenya torn between China and the United States… On one side we have a powerful China offering Kenya all sorts of goodies ... her markets to our products, the relationship would be more equal" (The Standard, May

28, 2019). Another antinomy that emerged was the antinomy of Kenyan interest at the fore front versus The Chinas interest of win-win policy. For example, when an article in the (The Standard, May 13, 2014) "Irony of Kenya win-win relationship with China" … These numbers show China has benefited 48 times more than Kenya from this win-win relationship. Kenya mainly exports leather, tea," this article compared the two countries interests with an analogy of win-win.

3. Another antinomy is brought to light with an article that explicitly shows the rivalry between the west and China for example (The Standard, August 2, 2014)West is full of lies; China never tinkers with currency…it further goes on to say, ... disrupting the otherwise increasingly cordial Kenya-China relationship. In a rather curious piece titled: "Is Kenya a victim of alleged China ...

4. According to the Star interpretation of the Chinese presence in Africa in 2017, China is a benefactor, an investor and a modernizer. China has not only managed "to pull over 600 million of its poor citizens out of poverty in less than a generation" (DN 04.11), but it has also become "the biggest lender to Africa" (The Star November, 11, 2017), "one of the most generous food donors in the world" the country which "has taken the lead role to opening up and developing the African market".

The three mainstream Kenyan newspapers were therefore characterized by mediatization of nature that foregrounded images of disagreement between those that supported Sino-Kenya relations and them that criticized the relations. According to Mandelzs (2007), when in such a situation, the parties involved in it will often want to know who the aggressor is and how he can be stopped. Similarly, in the Kenyan context, such a representation forces the supporter of either team to look for means of stopping the perceived aggressor/state.

4.3.4 Metaphors

According to the mediatization theory, metaphors can be used to mediatize a new phenomenon by representing it within well-known subjects of life and culture (Moscovici, 2000). According to Layoff and Johnson, (1980), metaphors facilitate thought by providing a practical framework within which abstract thoughts can be accommodated and understood. Borrowing on this line of thought, the metaphoric language used by the Kenyan media under study may have played an important role in transforming the abstract issue of Sino-Kenya relations into a familiar concept by relating it to already known and understood concepts in the process of identify nature of mediatization, the study found, as shown in table 4.5 below, that out of the analyzed 70 articles, 56 had metaphors in them while 14 did not.

Table 4.9 Newspaper articles with metaphors

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
YES	56	80.0	80.0
NO	14	20.0	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

Metaphors were identified based on the Word Sense Disambiguation (WSD) approach that works on the notion that many words in natural language have more than one sense or meaning (Birke & Sarkar, 2006). Thus, the aim of identifying the metaphors used in relation to the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations was to decode or disambiguate the sense of a word or how the word was used in the context of the Sino-Kenya relations. For example, consider an article whose headline read: "Today, China is the butt of all manner of conspiracy stories." (*The Standard*, May 23, 2019). The words 'butt' and 'conspiracy' can mean to hit or to destroy an object. However, based on the context in which they have been used in the article, they denote the concept of discrediting the Chinas effort and the way it is mediatized in the dailies.

Similarly, mapping of concepts was also employed as a means of determining the idea or theme brought out by the use of the metaphor (Lakoff& Johnson, 1980). For example, an article in one of the newspapers stated that: "In the closing submissions, prosecutor Cynthia Tai went for a blow-by-blow attack on the Chinas' evidence tendered by the Kenyan (The Standard, September 9, 2011). A mapping of the concept of relationship is enhanced by the words 'torn between'. This type of identification and analysis of metaphors is in line with Shutova's, (2010) assertion that processing of metaphors can be divided into two subtasks of first recognizing the metaphor by distinguishing between its literal and metaphoric meaning in a text and second, metaphor interpretation to identify the intended meaning in a text Correspondingly, some other metaphors identified in the studied articles included an article with the headline: "Torn between China and the United States." (The Standard, May 28, 2019). In the literal meaning, 'Torn between' is to be undecided. In the context of the Sino-Kenya relations, this could denote taking a risk that could lead to Kenya going to eighther of the nations. Such a metaphoric phrase puts the reader on tenterhooks to want to find out the outcome of the relationship. It also portrays the Sino-Kenya relations as very difficult one where one needs to take risks. Another article had the following pulled out quote: "China, Kenya relations on firmer footing" (Daily Nation, Oct 2, 2016). Literally, 'firmer footing' refers to something that is strong and unshakable. In the context of the Sino-Kenya relations, it would denote a case of strong relations that will not be shaken by anything, because there is no possibility for the other nations coming between the two nations to spoil the already existing relations.

Thus, the following examples show some statements that had metaphors targeting the Sino-Kenya relations:

1) The headline: "Chinese market tall order for local firms" (the Standard Nov 13, 2018). The metaphoric word 'tall order' is used to represent the difficulty the relations is going through, where there are western forays or other USA coming, as a display of difficulty in the relations.

2) The Daily Nation through an article headlined: "Poor strategy dug Kenya into Chinese trade hole" had a statement that read: "Kenyan leaders." (Daily Nation, September 7, 2017). Chinas' deep pockets means giving big loans. Thus in the context of Sino-Kenya relations, it represents the process where Kenya goes dip into a hole of debt from the generous loaning from China.

4) Likewise, The Daily Nation newspaper also had a story that read: "Thanks to China the continent is a recipient of "mouth-watering" but controversial loans (The Daily Nation, December 22, 2018), the article stating that: "China's "Chequebook diplomacy" has influenced all African countries …to have much say in global geo-politics." By using the words 'mouth-watering', the writer Erick Waminji is metaphorically mediatizing the loans to be so sweet as to lure Kenya into borrowing. The urge is also represented as being mouthwatering to mean that it is appealing and causing an excitement to borrow more loans.

Similarly, this study in seeking to determine which classes of metaphors were used in relation to Mediatize Sino-Kenya relations, which relied on Kövecses', (2005) schemata for classifying metaphors. For instance, he postulates that a cultural metaphor has an activity or object with which members of a given culture can emotionally and cognitively identify with because they reflect the underlying values of a culture (Kövecses, 2005). Thus, in the current study, some metaphors were classified as cultural to Africans because they made reference to objects or concepts that could resonated well with Africans, especially Kenyans who were the newspapers target audience.

On the other hand, Ma and Liu, (2008) advance that universal metaphors are those that evoke a similar or uniform thinking pattern in different cultures. In this regard, when a person is compared to a lion, for example, the lion is universally known to be a courageous and strong animal, thus such a metaphor can be classified as universal. Similarly, in this study, metaphors were classified as universal metaphors when they made reference to objects that could be interpreted in almost a similar way by different audiences regardless of their geographical location. Other metaphors were also classified as

westernized whenever the references used were those that were available in the west culture, thus resonating with the western or European audience or with anyone knowledgeable in their customs and culture (Kövecses, 2005). For example, in the statement, "it was a roller coaster", the reader needs to be conversant with the 'roller coaster' which is an entertainment found in an amusement parks in the western countries.

Table 4.10 Type of metaphor used

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Universal metaphor	69	98.6	98.6
No metaphor Used	1	1.4	100.0
Total	70	100.0	

According to table 4.10, the most common type of metaphors identified were those classified as universal at 99%, followed by those articles that had no any type of metaphor used at 1%. Given that a majority of the newspapers' readers are thought to be literate (Oriare & Mshindi, 2008; Simiyu, 2013), then using metaphors that were universal may have made it easier for them to understand the Sino-Kenya relations because they had prior knowledge of the universal culture as opposed to those who could not understand the metaphors. For example, when a Standard newspaper journalist was quoted as terming the relations as being *'fireworks'* (Daily Nation, September 23, 2011). Fireworks are devices that may be alien to the reader who doesn't know what they are or when they are used. Thus, such a metaphor can be understood well by a reader who is conversant with the western culture, where fireworks are used in celebrations. On the other hand, by using universally understood metaphors, the media made sure that it cut across a wider audience. For example, when they quoted one of the Chinese diplomat referring to himself as a 'fire fighter of poor (The Standard, September 22, 2011). In this example, it is assumed that everyone can relate to the fire fighter and the crucial role he played in saving lives and that in his endeavor to perform his duty, he might have made a mistake and instead of

appreciating his hard work, the statement was mistaken. Such a way of understanding the two metaphors can lead to the reader either to support the relationship or not.

It therefore emerged that the newspapers used various metaphors to represent every aspect of the process, and their selection of the metaphors were those that their audiences could relate to, thereby understanding the process.

4.4 The Meanings of the Emerging Discourses of Sino-Kenya Relations in the Kenyan Mainstream Newspapers

Language is an important element in constructing meaning discourse analysis. Language informs perceptions of people and shapes their views of the surrounding. Language is looked at as a social interaction tool. It was used to evaluate social contexts into which any discourse was used (Gee, 2013). All the relevant features that discussed Sino-Kenya relations and related issues in the selected editorials of the newspapers were analyzed in this thesis.

Therefore, in the analysis of meanings in the newspapers articles, the researcher looked at the frequency of use of words related to negative, positive and neutral relations connotations. This included the frequency of use of attributive words associated with one nation, as well as a critical analysis of phrases (analogies and intertexts) in the sentences and the use of photographs or cartoons. The number of times the words and phrases, which connoted themes/discourses (social, political and economic) of relations, were counted.

Focus were on the attributive words, phrases, and cartoons/captioned pictures and sentences related to Sino-Kenya relations. An attributive word is an adjective, or any other modifier, which precedes a word and it modifies it, and expresses an attribute. An example of an attributive word used in a phrase is, "China a threat to Kenya's economy". The word is attributive. If used as "is China a threat to Kenya's economy", then it is not attributive (Hildebrandt, 2004). The qualitative part of the analysis included

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interpretation of some of the interpretive sentences and phrases used in the newspapers to show the meanings there in.

4.4.1 Attributive words

According to the mediatization theory, the media when using the attributive words helps in mediatization of new phenomena in emotions that are easily understood by their audience Karlberg, (2005). This in turn makes it easier for the audience to make sense of the phenomenon by attaching emotions to the words they read. Conversely, in the current study and as shown in the phrases below from sampled extracts, it emerged in the study that attributive words were largely used to mediatize Sino-Kenya relations in the newspapers.

The Standard Tuesday, April 23 2019 *"China a threat to Kenya's economy".* The word is attributive Daily Nation Tuesday, September 2017 *"Can China-Kenya* cement *the relationship" The Standard* Monday, June 25 2019 *"Letter from Africa: Kenya's love-hate relationship with Chinese traders"*

The Standard Tuesday, July 10 2018 *"Does China now own more than 70% of Kenya's bilateral debt"* The Standard Wednesday, January 07 2016 "*Kenya getting raw deal from China, says new World Bank trade report"* referring to Workers hired by China Civil Construction Company to construct the Dongo Kundu bypass road who were demonstrating demanding better pay, better working conditions and some days off. Daily Nation Monday, June 10 2018 *"offloading of Chinese excess capacity in Africa,"* this is Mr. Nantulya's assessment states on the level of Chinese excess export to Kenya

4.4.2 Cartoons

The photographs with captions/cartoons used reinforced the subject of the story. Tomaselli (1996) argues that text should not be confused with a conventional mass of words linked to the page of a book, or images projected on a screen but rather the mental reconstruction of the idea, the thought, the associations, the image mentally generated by the act of reading, decoding or interpreting. Reading

involves an active negotiation on the part of the interpreter and sometimes the decoder (discrepant decoding) does not understand the meaning understood by the author of the photograph. However, considering news writing as a conventional process, the photographs that were used to mediatize Sino-Kenya relations were characterized by eighther propaganda or good news logically. The conventional process used thus allowed for a significant fit between the semiotic instructions of how to read news as a genre and the general message usually inferred by viewers. Thus, the photographs about the Sino-Kenya relations were anchored to match the words in order to construct meaning. The meaning constructed was that which reinforced readers 'perceptions of the situation in the relation rather than challenging them.

There is a debate inside China on whether political interests or economic interests should represent China's top priority in its overall Kenyan strategy. In 2011, China's then-Premier Wen Jia-bao proudly stated "China had selflessly assisted Africa when itself was the poorest. "We did not exploit one single drop of oil or extract one single ton of minerals out of Kenya." Brautigam, (2009). This seems to suggest that Beijing views Kenya first and most keenly through the lens of political ties rather than economic benefits. Since China's political agenda has been a constant theme of Beijing's Africa strategy, Zhang, (2014) firmly argue that, with or without the economic benefits, Kenya's invariably would have been important for China. However, the counterargument is that, despite Africa's political importance, China has elevated economic considerations to a much higher level in its domestic and foreign agenda (Wekesa, 2013).

In determining the discourses, the themes covered in the sample, table 4.11 shows the total number and the total percentage of the events covered in each category. It also shows the number of times each category occurred in each month of the sampled period. Identifying the discourse in a text involves looking for topics that repeatedly show up in the text. As discussed in the previous chapter, this was used to examine the ways in which the two newspapers mediatized Sino-Kenya relations. It was used

to explore the key frames which predominated the mediatization of China's relations in Kenya as shown. Discourse analysis involved examining keywords, sentences, catch-phrases, exemplars and depictions in headlines, leads, sources selection, quotes selection and concluding paragraphs in the text (De Vreese, 2005; Entman, 1993). This study employed quantitative discourse analysis because it was interested in how issues are mediatized in the newspaper in trying to investigate how *The Daily Nation*, *The Standard Newspapers and The Star* mediatize Sino-Kenya relations.

A general analysis of the samples revealed three topics about Sino-Kenya relations as mediatized in the three newspapers political ties, economic ties and cultural/social ties. With regard to what kind of frame the three newspapers use, the present analysis shows that the economic theme is dominant with 50% political theme with 18% and social theme with 8% respectively
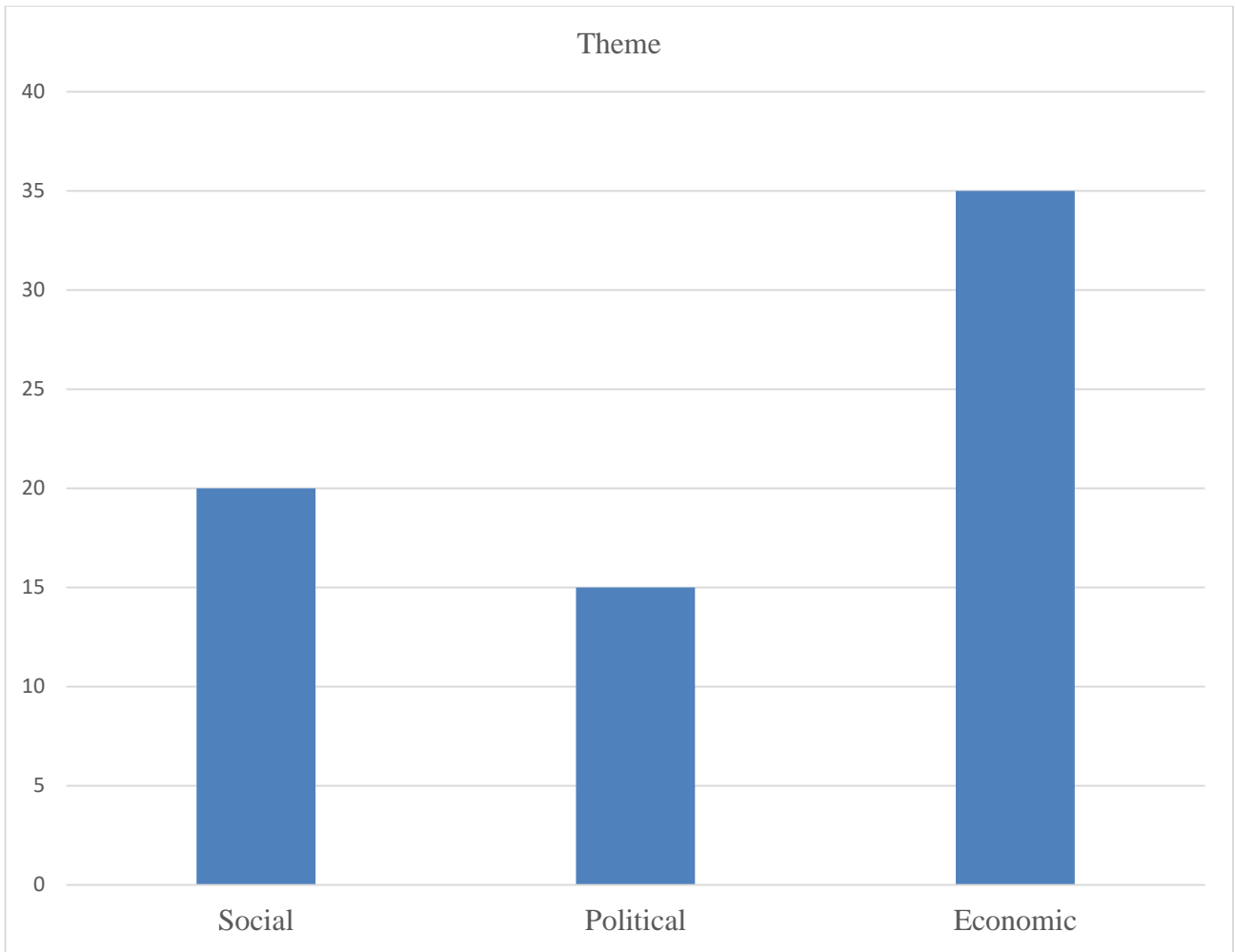
Figure 4.7. The Dominant Theme

The analysis in this figure 4.7 has established that one dominant theme that represent Sino-Kenya relations was the economic frame.

4.4.3 Mediatizing Economic discourse

In order to stimulate Chinese investment in the tourism sector as well as resulting in direct flight connections between China and Kenya (and a number of African destinations), Kenya and other individual African countries have been granted "Approved Destination Status". Chinese tourism abroad is strongly regulated. The popular tourist destinations of Egypt and South Africa were the first countries to be granted such status. Following FOCAC's Addis Ababa Action Plan, China gave an additional eight countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Mauritius, Seychelles, Zimbabwe and Tunisia) such status. China and Kenya signed a memorandum for setting up the website "Kenya-China Economic and Trade Cooperation" in June 2006. The two sides agreed that China will import more coffee from Kenya and at the same time offered Kenya the most advanced coffee processing equipment. China's influence is not limited to raw materials. Kenyan universities are developing Chinese language programmes (University of Nairobi), Technical Scientific Cooperation (Egerton University), while Ministry of Information officials attend exchange schemes.

It is significant that these news stories emphasize the Chinese interest in Kenya in the context of describing their efforts to gain their place in world geopolitics by making inroads to Kenya economically. A large percentage of the news stories focused on the things that Chinese government could do to Kenya rather than making any that Kenya could do to China. The sentence "China and Kenya are working closely to see Kenya grow economically'' is constantly repeated. This may be true, but the repetition of this sentence in the absence of other information about how Kenya is growing economically is likely to make readers feel that the story is one sided. In general, news stories in the two newspapers: *The Daily Nation, The Star* and *The Standard*, used the economic frame because they published many news stories, which focused on the sad win-win narrative fronted by the Chinese.

These included for example "Based on the similar concerns of our two, Sino-Kenya ever changing cooperation has been going up. Infrastructural engagement has covered various areas, for example railways, roads, airports, ports, communication, housing, water supply and power" The Daily Nation Tuesday, April 23 2019

Another example was "This month, 55 outstanding Kenyan employees picked by Chinese enterprises are flying to China for a one-week visit. We believe they would enjoy hospitality of the Chinese people, witnessing China's development and achievements, and pushing forward more cooperation" The Daily Nation Tuesday, April 23 2019

The Standard, Friday June 8 2018, also had a story that was economic "The first China International Import Expo will be held in Shanghai in November. It is a major policy initiative and commitment to the opening up of the Chinese market. Kenya, as a major exporting country in Africa, has been invited. In a few days, Mr. Wang Yang, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People and Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), will visit Kenya at the invitation of National Assembly Speaker Justin Muturi. An ancient Chinese proverb says, "Continuing success requires unremitting efforts". China-Kenya relations are at a new starting point with a brighter future"

The same Standard newspaper also had an economic frame story the same day in an editorial by Evis Ondieki "The very fact that the SGR story was included in a performance for the Chinese audience, he said, was proof of its importance to the Chinese officials. "We are happy to see that when Chinese people were celebrating the Spring Festival, a play about the SGR was staged on the Chinese New Year eve TV gala," said Mr. Gang."

Figure 4.8 Extract 4

The Standard Friday June 8 2018 *"Businesses cite biggest barriers in Africa"* by Li Lianxing begins the first paragraph by saying *"Chinese investors and potential investors have long regarded a good China-African relationship as a solid basis on which they can build success. But often when the uninitiated finally step onto the African soil they realize how simplistic the term "China-Africa relationship" really is.* It goes on to report that *"Fifty-three percent of the 75 Chinese companies sounded out in the survey said corruption is "a very significant obstacle" to doing business in Kenya, and 15 percent said it is "a significant obstacle". Sixty-three percent of respondents said crime, theft, disorder and personal safety were significant or very significant obstacles.*

Tourists from China at Treetops hotel in Nyeri County on April 15, 2015. They are part of a group of 110 tourists who are visiting Kenya. PHOTO/ JOSEPH KANYI. KTB

Figure 4.9: Extract 5

The Standard Tuesday May 13 2015 highlighted a story on tourism

Figures show a decrease in the number of tourists from China as well as other source markets last year. The China –Kenya relations were further boosted last year in November when the Kenya Airways launched the first ever-direct flights from China to Kenya. The Kenya Tourism Board (KTB) has launched an aggressive marketing and awareness campaign to woo tourists from China following enhanced bilateral relations between the two countries, Managing Director Muriithi Ndegwa has said.

Mr. Ndegwa said they are expecting more tourists from China noting that tour operators selling Kenya in the Chinese market have reported positive forward bookings for this year. "As part of these campaigns, we have organized a media familiarization trip for CCTV channel 6, beginning mid this

month for a two-week long visit to tourism attractions across the country. The TV channel is one of the powerful media outlets consumed by the Chinese and we believe this is one of the avenues to creating awareness on diverse tourism attractions in the country," said the MD.

"The market has shown remarkable growth in the past years. Last year however recorded a dip in arrivals in most of our leading tourist source markets. "China declined by 10.3 per cent to 37,062 visitors from 41,303 in 2012," said Mr. Ndegwa. Mr. Ndegwa is however optimistic that with improved cordial relations between the two countries, the industry envisages a growth in arrivals from China.

"Mid last month, we hosted the largest delegation of Chinese tourists to ever visit the country, marking a major success for the country in tapping emerging markets for tourism especially in Asia and the Far East. "The group of 110 tourists toured leading sites in the country from April 12-16, including Hells Gate National Park, Maasai Mara and the Aberdares," he said saying that was a major endorsement of Kenya as a leading destination

These stories dwelt on the economic consequences of China's engagement with Kenya and focused on matters related to trade, investment, and loan policy. For example, the story "*Forum opens doors to African investment*" coded 31/10/23/E/2, falls under this category and talks about how China's investors are taking up economic opportunities in the African continent. "Horticultural business opportunity for Avocado farmers*" coded 27/07/23/E/3, first, the Kenyan exporters in horticultural business have opportunity to leverage on this development to diversify sell of their produce dependent on traditional European market to the American market. Other sectors that will benefit include manufacturing, tourism and service industry. Overall, the direct flights will serve to expand the economic and employment opportunities by taking advantage of the many concessions offered under the Africa Growth and Opportunities Act to improve Kenya's thus enhancing balance of trade in Kenya's favor. (Daily Nation Tuesday April 2017) Poor strategy dug Kenya into Chinese trade hole.

China has stretched Kenya's hospitality, taking advantage of the country's open-door policy to flood the market with all manner of goods. Construction machinery, building materials, used clothing, onions, tilapia, tooth picks, toilet paper - no sector is safe from the 'Sino-invasion'

The other economic frame appeared in *The Daily Nation* May 14 2017 "Based on the common aspiration of our two peoples, China-Kenya pragmatic cooperation has been flourishing. Infrastructural cooperation has covered various fields, including railways, roads, airports, ports, communication, housing, water supply and power.

"The Mombasa-Nairobi SGR, as one of the benchmarks of BRI, has been completed in advance and operated safely and smoothly. Over 2.71 million passengers have travelled with SGR, with an average attendance rate of 99 per cent. Around 4.04 million tons of goods have been transported through the railway, with economic indicators surpassing expectations"

Another economic frame is in *The Standard* Monday, June 18 2018"China is other strategy in Africa has been through investment and trade. Chinese companies continue to invest in Kenya, even as leading business people from China visit to explore. Chinese firm Guangdong New South Group Limited, for example, signed a deal with the Kenyan government to build a $1.9 billion industrial park in Eldoret.

4.4.4 Mediatizing Cultural Ties / Social discourse

These stories dwelt on human and cultural interaction between Chinese nationals and Kenya and focused on issues related to sports, festivals, tourism, Volunteerism, education, Art and Gallery etc. For example, the story "*Back to school is the lesson*" The Standard Tuesday, August 23 2019 falls under this category and encourages Kenyans to learn more about China's culture to help solidify Sino-Kenya relations.

In another article under Cultural ties, *"It takes a village"* by Abduel Elinaza coded 7/11/26/C/2; the sub-heading reads "*A Chinese expert on African Art and his wife, longtime residents of Kenya, fulfill their dream of opening a showcase for the continent's culture in Beijing".* The Article emphasizes the importance of cultural links between China and Kenya. Mr. Li, the owner of African Village in Beijing is quoted saying *"It is not our personal property but a belonging of China, of future generations devoted to promoting African culture and art and China-Africa friendship".* China-Kenya cooperation headed for a brighter future (The Standard Tuesday, April23 2019).

The University of Nairobi is the pioneer institution of higher education in eastern Africa. It has made progress in innovation while closely working with Chinese partners *The Standard,* Monday, July 18 2018. The Confucius Institute is part of China's preoccupation with education.

4.4.5 Mediatizing Political/Diplomatic Relations Discourse

The political discourse advanced by the mainstream press in Kenya was that Kenya was in the race for shuttle diplomacy, state visits and military support from China and on the other hand, China was faster cementing its place in the world geo-politics by looking for friendship from ready African countries, Kenya being one of them. The conclusion that such liberal values were under threat in Kenya, for example the story "*China steps up its military cooperation "The Daily Nation*, March 28 2016, falls

under this category and talks about how China's enhanced military cooperation with Kenya is helping the Kenyan nation cope with terrorism. Another story is *The Standard,* Tuesday APRIL, 23 2019 reads "*Africa's place in geopolitics is prime but leaders must act*" it talks about the world that wants to have a piece of Africa for a variety of reasons by exploring the opportunities and interests in their renewed vigor by the superpowers to invest or partner with the continent, China being one of the western states that are not left behind in the quest for a place in the world geo-politics by relating with Kenya closely. *The Daily Nation* Monday February 4 2019 has a headline that reads *" State house is not quite sincere about China trip, signed deal"* this editorial story was about president Kenyatta's trip and Raila Odinga to China in which when the media reported state house did not see the need to retract the claim this is an example of a shuttle diplomacy political relation in the same newspaper, *" China: Display a flexing of its muscles"* an editorial by Macharia Munene is about China showing its prowess in four ways namely: territory, population size, economy and world politics.

The same *Standard* newspapers further re-appropriated the geo-politics discourse due to the fact that it was ideologically inclined to the West and shared a similar position in its editorial policy. The story "China's "Chequebook diplomacy" has influenced all African countries to have much say in global geo-politics." questioned the huge loans given by China to be a trap as advanced by most of the western states. It further questioned whether the loan is driven by an underlying brand of win-win relations ideology advanced by China to sustain its place in world geo-politics. A reporter of The Standard Newspaper argued that the government of Kenya often disagreed with what the newspapers reported by simply accusing them of being agents of western ideology. See the excerpts from the interview below:

> I think they (Kenyan government) wanted to perpetrate the myth that every negative thing that was happening in Sino-Kenya relations was as a result of the … the local press was necessarily a puppet of the international media and part of this global conspiracy. The Standard Monday 4, 2019.

4.5 The Implication of the meanings on Mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations

The data collected was evaluated using discourse analysis. This study aimed at exploring the implication of meaning from the discourses on Sino-Kenya relations. The selected copies of newspapers were used as the natural boundaries of the context analysis. They were used for coding of the results. In the analysis, the study looked at headlines in the newspaper, titles, leads and general abstracts. Discourse analysis captured a broad focus and refers to a general framework within which ideas were formulated. During discourse analysis, conversation, writing, discourse and communicative events were evaluated in terms of a sequence of propositions, sentences and speech.

4.5.1 Win-win cooperation

Among the selected articles, some bear a generally positive position on China's economic engagements in Kenya. '*Mutual benefit*' and '*cooperation*' are highlighted several times. These articles emphasize that China and Kenya are achieving a common development for the interests of people from both sides. One article quotes Chinese president Xi Jinping's commitment during his African tour as saying '*China will always be an all-weather friend of Africa*' as well as his appeals for both China and Kenya '*to stick to the path of mutually beneficial cooperation and common development*'. The meaning of this discourses have reflected an implication that China's current policy on Kenya which is based on equality and mutual benefit and seeking '*bilateral cooperation*' and '*co-development*'. Moreover, Xi Jinping is also cited as saying '*China supports African states in following the development paths which they have chosen on their own and which suit their respective domestic conditions*' (*The Star* Monday, February 4, 2018)

This discourse is a testimony to China's foreign policy in adherence to the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence', in which non-interference to each nation's internal affairs is emphasized (Six, 2009). It has also echoed the theme that China and Kenya have shared perspectives to seek win-win cooperation rather than merely depending on the paternalistic development paradigm manipulated by western powers (Wenran, 2008). All these discourses have expressed that China's engagement in Kenya are

likely to bring about win-win cooperation in accordance to China's foreign policy based on equality and mutual benefit (Mawdsley, 2008).

The perceptions were linked to the conviction that Sino-Kenya relations is linked to win-win or win lose situation for the two nations. The newspapers reinforced readers' perception through images in order to meet market demands and sell the newspapers, an image alone in news is polysemic that is, open to a number of interpretations. To clarify what the image means and so to make the image relevant or bring meaning in the discourse on Sino-Kenya relations and to the purpose of the news, texts or captions are added. The image serves as a hook 'while the text anchors meaning. The same photographs take a different connotation with different accompanying texts. The photographs that were used to mediatize Sino-Kenya relations, for example, seem to reinforce the need for a continuous bi-lateral relation between the two nations.

4.5.2 All about benefitting China

In the Kenyan press, Kenyan–Chinese cooperation, while being a source of enthusiasm for some authors, generates a lot of negative reviews from others: China is associated with debts (The Daily Nation Tuesday, December, 21, 2012), "over-priced imports and expensive loans although another author writes about "cheap loans from China": (Daily Nation 15.04). "If anything, Kenya should be wary of China's rising influence, which is neither altruistic nor benevolent", observes Rasna Warah (Daily Nation 06.01). In the end, The Star points out, "this is all about benefitting China" (The Star, 31.05). In many ways, Chinese activity is seen as resembling colonialism— "Thus, nearly all the infrastructure projects are going to Chinese companies, are built with mainly Chinese materials, using Chinese labour" (Daily Nation, 29.06)—and this implication is reinforced by the experience of some African countries. In particular, according to Bitange Ndemo, Angola "has lost its sovereignty, with China taking up its resources, including its priced farmlands" (The Standard, 19.06). In contrast, however, there is a comment by the same author about the experience of Ethiopia: "Within a short

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period, the country has built large industrial parks and entered into unique partnerships with China to instill the unique Chinese work ethic" (Daily Nation, 08.05).

To challenge the positive opinions about China's economic success, which was achieved in circumvention of the democratic path, the Daily Nation sometimes presents an image of China as a country characterised by a lack of freedom, which censors the Internet (Daily Nation, 17.04) and extensively applies the death penalty—China "executed more people than the rest of the world combined" (Daily Nation, 02.05). Moreover, according to Michael Mwenda Kithinji, "China has served to inspire the political elites in Africa bent on circumscribing fundamental rights and freedoms" (Daily Nation, 30.11)

Kizito
Temba

Some in the international community do not like a rising power. We have seen it throughout history that those who see themselves as leading the current world order do not like threats to their power or position.

We saw it in the last century particularly acutely here in Africa when the colonial powers started wilting and their grip on years of raping foreign countries' resources and virtually enslaving their populations was being lifted.

They want status quo

We were sold all sorts of stories that even though the rulers were not great, what could come after could be even worse for the people. Scare stories and conspiracies were spread to try and ensure that the status quo was maintained.

We saw during the Cold War how each of the super-powers spread lies and disinformation about the other to create spheres of influence and would pit African against African and nation against nation in some older version of the 'Game of Thrones'.

Today, China is the butt of all manner of conspiracy stories and threats by those who fear its rise because of their own interests.

Of course, nothing is free in this world and China does not act completely magnanimously and altruistically but under-standing the opportunities.

Interesting correctly, the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative could transform Africa's economy, and those who go in with open eyes and a clear mind can certainly take advantage of this global game-changer.

Thinking different

This initiative is especially of interest for we must think regionally through cross-border infrastructure projects.

Since President Uhuru Kenyatta came into office he has put so much effort in making Kenya the epicenter of the second wave of Pan-African movement on the continent. That could be out of the believe that development and progress cannot take place in a vacuum and has to include our neighbours.

Already, construction work is ongoing to take the SGR to Naivasha onwards to Kisumu and into the East African hinter-land, a move that will open up the region and boost trade between Kenya and its neighbours.

That is why the partnership with China on the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) and several key roads that have greatly improved the transport network, are a key ingredient for growing industries and creating jobs.

Boost for Big 4

Also set to get a lift is President Kenyatta legacy projects that fall under the Big 4 Agenda; food security, manufacturing, universal healthcare and affordable housing as China powers on with its Belt and Road Initiative.

President Kenyatta is off to China to attend the International Second Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Beijing following the signing of three agreements and two Memorandum of Understanding worth $300 million.

The BRI is one of the most ambitious infrastructure projects ever conceived. It

Road, which connected Asia and parts of Africa centuries ago, enriching traders along the way.

These agreements and Memorandum of Understandings are specifically aimed at supporting Education, Science, Technology and Innovations that is focused on training and research to benefit Kenyan institutions, and students. These sorts of deals should not be taken for granted. To date, more than 60 countries — accounting for two-thirds of the world's population — have signed on to the Belt and Road Initiative.

Morgan Stanley- an American bank- has predicted the BRI costs could reach $1.2–1.3 trillion by 2027.

Being an access point for the BRI on the African continent, the trickledown effect on the Kenyan economy will be massive.

Millennia ago, the Silk Road was formed that had enormous benefits, not just for the Chinese who created it, but for the development of civilisations along the route, including areas in what is now known as the Horn of Africa.

China has proved a reliable development for African countries in need of progress, not least because development and aid does not come with the fraught demands previously made by Western governments.

China is more open about its interests and meets its African counterparts- and others in the developing world- midway. This should not be ignored or underestimated when weighing global partnerships.

As such, Kenya should ensure that it fully understands the implications of greater engagement with China, taking advantage of opportunities while maintaining the interests of the country.

Mr Temba is a Communication Consultant

The photo below gives a different connotation in the manner it is represented though the words try to explain the meaning there of

Figure 4.10 Extract 6

The Standard Wednesday, December 18 2019

Kenyans should not fear relations with China. Some in the international community do not ...Kenyans should not fear relations with China.

Figure 4.11: Extract 7

The Standard Tuesday, April 25 2019

Figure 4.12 Extract 8
Remember the Chinese proverb, "A Loan is never a Gift"
The Star, AUGUST 25, 2015

President Uhuru Kenyatta with Chinese Government officials led by, Zhang Dejiang, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China on Thursday at State house Nairobi. Photo.

Figure 4.13 Extract 9

China will always be an all-weather friend of Africa. The Star Monday February 4 2018

4.6 Results from Interview Analysis

The researcher conducted three qualitative interviews with the Chief editors and journalists of the selected newspapers. The interviews were based on the research questions and general objectives as well as preliminary findings of the research. The purpose of the interview was to give context to content analysis data and to ask participants to give their views on the newspapers mediatization of China-Kenya relations based on experience.

The Chief editors and the journalists acknowledged that the relationship between China-Kenya has significantly improved since the promulgation of the new constitution and the freedom of the press and that the newspapers have opened up access to unrestricted sources and reporters in the news stories. An Editor said that newspaper's sources are multi-sources but mostly from Chinese and Kenyan perspective when covering Sino-Kenya relations. They include reporters; both Chinese and non-Chinese, government officials, politicians, business people and scholars. However, the number of Chinese reporters and contributors is still very law as reported by an editor in *The Daily Nation* newspaper Tuesday March 23 2018

"Our main sources are our reporters, both in China and Kenya but we welcome expert opinions and personal experiences from government officials, politicians, academics and ordinary Chinese and Kenyans to share their stories on our press" (*The Star* Monday, February 4, 2018)

A journalist also explained the dominance of economic ties theme in their articles by stating that the paper has a business bias. They focus on investment, trade, economy and employment etc., followed by state relations who fall under the diplomatic/political theme and cultural theme respectively. He said

"We do all kinds of relevant stories but we have a bias for business, investment, trade, economy, employment etc." (*The Star* Monday, February 8, 2019)

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On the tone of reporting, the journalists rejected the notion that the Kenyan press is a propaganda publication but acknowledged that the prominence of neutral reporting is a deliberate long term and permanent strategy meant to bring the best of China and Kenya. When asked what is the tone of reporting of China - Kenya relations in their newspapers? Positive, Negative or Neutral? He said:

"Our stories are balanced. We do not exaggerate or tone down issues but focus on the good relations between China and Kenya." He added *"This is a long term and permanent strategy as our goal is to let Kenyans and their Chinese counterparts know more and learn about each other.*" (*The Standard* Wednesday, February 4, 2019)

This is further supported by another journalist who said:

"*The Daily Nation focuses on the positive going-ons between China and Kenya. This therefore highlights the positive stories that otherwise go unreported in the other local and other international media."* (*Daily Nation* Tuesday, March 6, 2018)

The Journalists reporting for the newspapers framed stories using selected sources, in cases where they sourced from the government, the stories were framed positively.

Another chief editor affirmed that Kenyan media rely heavily upon western media coverage as important source of information. What is more, the discourse of Kenyan press in representing events has been profoundly influenced by western ideological stereotypes on China.

"The mass media systems in Africa have deep-rooted historical links with the West and are highly influenced by western societies and models". (*The Star* Monday, February 4, 2018)

On the dominant themes covered, an editor affirmed that the newspapers covered three dominant themes that is economic, social and political themes.

"The dominance of these three key themes that is economic, social and political themes are mostly covered in our newspaper… this can be interpreted to mean that there is a deliberate strategy to promote them in our newspaper and that the sources used in the reporting of China-Kenya relations are either aware of this strategy or are selected on this basis. It can also be interpreted that there is a consensus among the sources of our editorial policy that China's engagement with Kenya is beneficial, good and needs no criticism." (*The Star* Wednesday, August 21, 2019)

On tone of reporting, a chief editor affirmed that despite having stories that would generally be considered negative in nature, China still ended up being framed in a positive way in their stories. These therefore suggest that it will also influence how the audience perceives a matter of how they can be oriented towards an issue on China-Kenya relations.

"China is now so integrated into the global system, that whatever happens to its economy is headlines everywhere, and that Kenya is unlikely to escape" He adds *"China accounts for a quarter of global growth. We have reached a stage where you cannot fully understand the global economy without understanding the Chinese one therefore it is imperative that they are positively represented".* (*The Star* Monday, February 4, 2018)

On whether the audience influences their nature of reporting Sino-Kenya relations an editor said.

"There is a deliberate strategy to shape the perceptions of our newspaper readers and influence their attitudes towards China's engagement in Kenya by presenting a positive narrative and impression this does not allow them to influence our reporting on China-Kenya relations." (*The Standard* thursday, April 14, 2019)

On the tone of reporting being a permanent strategy, a bureau chief rejected the notion that the press is a propaganda publication but acknowledged that the prominence of positive reporting is a deliberate long term and permanent strategy meant to bring the best of China and Kenya. He said

"Our stories are balanced. We do not exaggerate or tone down issues but focus on the good relations between China and Kenya." He added, *"This is a long term and permanent strategy as our goal is to let Kenyans and their Chinese counterparts know more and learn about each other."* (*The Star* Monday, February 4, 2018)

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore how China-Kenya relations was mediatized in the selected Kenya's mainstream press which represent a variety of perspectives in regards to the mechanisms of mediatization. This chapter gives an overview of the summary of the major findings based on the main objective. This study set out to examine how the nature of mediatization was depicted in *The Standard, The Star and the Daily Nation* newspapers to represent the Sino-Kenya relations. Using the methodology outlined in chapter 1, the study gathered data that was used in the discussions in the previous chapters. This chapter therefore provided a summary of the findings discussed in these chapters, drew conclusions from these findings and produced recommendations and suggestions for any further study.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study explored how China-Kenya relations was mediatized in the selected Kenyan mainstream press which represented a variety of perspectives in regards to the nature of mediatization, it relied mainly on content analysis data generated from the three newspapers, editors and journalists. The study also relied on some published books and journals to give adequate background to the topic under study. The study also extensively reviewed relevant literature on mediatization of state relations. The study discovered critical gaps that had to be conceptually and empirically filled by the study which among other things had to do with lack of or inadequate usage of the nature of mediatization like the use of tone, antinomies and metaphors in mediatizing the relations.

As a basis for critical analysis of the newspapers mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations, the study made an attempt to critically analyze the usage of the nature of mediatization in the selected newspapers which as a result led to meanings on emerging discourses on Sino-Kenya relationship that gave rise to

implications on Sino-Kenya relations that were to be interpreted. The purpose of this was to have a deeper understanding of the employment of the nature of mediatization in order to ascertain the place of the print media mediatization of state relations under study

The first objective of this study was to examine the nature of mediatization in *The Star, Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, on Sino-Kenya relations. The study found out that the three newspapers utilized the nature of mediatization in mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations, including the use of photographs, tone and antinomies. The most occurring nature were tone and use of antinomies with 60 of the newspapers using antinomies. The tone of reporting was neutral in the nature of mediatization 59 articles mediatized Sino-Kenya relations using photographs. The second objective was to analyze the meanings of the emerging discourses in *The Star*, *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations. A general analysis of the samples revealed that meanings on emerging discourses was infused in three themes on Sino-Kenya relations as mediatized in *The Star, Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers that is political theme, economic theme and cultural/social theme. With regard to what kind of themes the three newspapers used to create meaning in the emerging discourses, the present analysis showed that the economic theme was dominant with 50% political theme with 18% and social theme with 8% respectively. The third objective sought to explore the implication on the meanings on Sino-Kenya relations. This study found that through their choice of photographs with captions and use of attributive words, the newspapers ended up mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations. The attributive words used in mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations served in promoting the general positive tone of the relations. Use of captioned photographs gave a proper understanding of the themes mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations through them the three newspapers succeeded in transforming the abstract idea of the Sino-Kenya relations into a concrete material, by representing it within familiar realms of societal understanding using the photos thus resulting to a win-win relation.

Therefore, it requires a much deeper understanding and appreciation of the nature of mediatization in order to clearly understand the meanings of the emerging discourses and the implications arising from them to fill the gap that was created by previous studies.

5.3 Discussion

5.3.1 Investigating the nature of mediatization in the selected newspapers, on Sino-Kenya relations

Based on the findings of his study on South African media's mediatization of China, Herman Wasserman dismissed the notions of China's presence in Africa, either an exploitative, predatory force or a development partner. He found that the coverage of their newspapers presented a more balanced perception of the Chinese in Africa. It was neither plainly positive nor plainly negative but optimistic. The findings of Wasserman's showed a balanced mediatization among positive, negative and neutral (Wasserman, 2012).

Mohammed and Trumpbour, (2020) conducted a study to examine newspapers mediatization of the 2016 US campaign to uncover evidence of the nature of mediatization (i.e., exaggeration, use of tone, application of metaphors, photographs, revolution, outsider, vulgarities, familial contact, corporeal, protest/satire and bodily functions) across US newspapers. They reported that such references were significantly higher for Trump than for Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton and for the 2012 Republican campaign of Mitt Romney. Mohammed and Trumpbour (2020) note that 'if the 2016 election's emphasis of the nature of mediatization for future elections, the implications for participatory democracy and mediatization should be regarded as troubling'.

The results of the present study further show that the selected Kenyan newspapers correlated significantly in the areas of the nature of mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations, giving the most attention to 'the tone of reporting. 'This may be accounted for by the high-level dependence of Kenyan

newspapers on foreign policies, giving credence to the political economy theory that gives prominence to independence of the press. However, the finding that the selected newspapers, particularly used multiple sources of information on the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations raises the question of other factors that may also have accounted for the similarity in journalists' interests and audience's interests. First, the similarity in choice of nature of mediatization to use in covering Sino-Kenya relations can be linked to the dominant use of foreign correspondents as sources. Researchers have shown that foreign correspondents' dominance of international news flow from developed to developing countries was a significant factor in foreign audience's (Chinese) perceptions of foreign events regarding Sino-Kenya relations (Gasher and Gabriele 2004; Wu 2007; Chang and Lee 1992).

The study, therefore suggests that newspapers need to have more interpretative stories using the nature of mediatization to help the reader/audience to better understand the trajectory of Sino-Kenya relations. Reliance on foreign sources may not have had a domino effect on local press if the latter had opted for more interpretative stories by use of the nature of mediatization more. The study also upholds current global concerns about changing media effects, perceptions of democracy and states relations worldwide in the wake of searching for a position in the geo-politics.

The findings in this study suggest that frames not only carry specific views but also influence how the meanings can be constructed in the discourses thus they can be oriented towards an issue. The findings reveal that China is generally portrayed in a positive tone the source notwithstanding. It can therefore be interpreted that there is a deliberate strategy to shape the perceptions of the selected newspaper readers and influence their attitudes towards China's engagement in Kenya by presenting a positive narrative and impression. Therefore, while the newspapers' mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations may have contributed to creating awareness of the relationship through employing the use of the nature of mediatization, it was not sufficiently employed this therefore forced the reader to pick a wider scope in order to clearly understand them deeply for example the photographs that evoked various emotions

gave different meanings. However, as Moscovici (1993) posits, an idea, no matter what form it assumes, has the power of making us come together and modify our feelings and behavior.

5.3.2 The meanings on emerging discourses in the Selected Newspaper Mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations

Media discourse is defined as the interactions that occur through a broadcast platform. O'Keeffe (2006) elaborates on this definition further. He states that this can be either written or spoken and it is oriented to a viewer, a listener or a non-present reader. In the olden times, the discourse could not give room for instantaneous responses to those who produced it. The written discourse is oriented towards readership audience while the spoken discourse is directed towards viewing or listening audience. Media discourse can neither be spontaneous or ad hoc. Media discourse is again not off the record or private. When understanding media discourse therefore, it is essential to consider the basic characteristics as discussed by O'Keeffe (2006). It is essential to consider how the media discourse is manufactured at an ideological level and in literal sense. Discourse analysis is an essential tool that can be used in understanding media discourse and its role in the society (O'Keeffe et al. 2007). Media discourse is always on record and this fact has made it interesting for discourse analysts due to the availability of radio stations, television programs and newspapers, all of which are accessible.

5.3.2.1 Discourse on the economic theme

China has made great economic achievements since initiating the economic reform and the Open Door policies in 1978 (Barboza, 2010). However, China's economic success does not guarantee a positive national image or reputation that favors China in many parts of the world. Since the 1990s, the term "the rise of China" is often countered by the phrase of "China threat" (Roy, 1994). The national image refers to the way a nation is viewed by other countries. In recent years, China has acknowledged huge conceptual differences between its self-perception and the way other countries perceive China. To narrow this gap, the Chinese government took a more active approach to improving its international image with the ultimate goal of shaping national policies in other countries, especially those in Africa,

towards China. Media has the power to construct appropriate and inappropriate views and to determine what events or information are important and unimportant for the public (Hall, 1997). The media is a critical instrument in building a positive national image or a means to criticize any event, issue, and country. China's rapid economic growth has drawn increased attention around the world, especially in the Western media. However, the images represented in most of the western media are not completely real; they are biased and sometimes deliberately demonized (Liss, 2003). Such inaccurate portrait in foreign media motivated China to defend itself and speak to the world in its own ways. Since 2009, the Chinese government has invested billions of dollars in its media's global expansion. The goals of Chinese media's international expansion are to build a positive national image and provide an accurate reflection of a modern China to foreign audiences

Therefore, the selected newspaper discourse can be understood as the ways through which the media frames some issues on thematic areas and comes up with public discussions or as a language or system of mediatization that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings. These meanings serve the goals and interest of sections of the society for this study the interest and goals of the selected newspapers. Discourse in practical sense, the media is used to further some discourse as an essential function of its nature. For media to fit into its own realm, it has to disseminate information with particular binoculars or certain slants. Discourse can be understood in different ways. One of the approaches is to look at the discourse as the manner through which groups and individuals communicate. On a deeper level, discourse can be viewed as a symbol or a system of beliefs and thoughts, which determines the way individuals, interpret and understand the world.

Discourse of Sino-Kenya relations therefore, does not limit itself to grammar, spoken language or words. It instead spans out to encompass other meaning generating systems like newspapers, televisions, cinemas and photography. Discourses are seen as ways of representing certain aspects of the world. These include the social world, feelings, beliefs, processes, relationships and mental processes or

thoughts spanning from the mediatized discourses through the explanation of the economic, social and political themes. Further, the discourse has ideological effects. Ideologies are the aspects of the world that help in establishment, maintenance and changing of the social power relations. From these definitions, it is understood that discourse shapes ideologies and ideologies help change the social power relations. Analysis of the selected newspapers discourse can help us understand how the use of the explained themes affects the behavior and actions of the Kenyan audience towards the relations. This can be accomplished through critically assessing the language used by the newspapers in relation to its potential to bring an understanding of Sino-Kenya relations. It is important therefore to know that the news content on any media can be understood well using discourse analysis.

The mediatization of the three key themes (social, political and economic) can be interpreted to mean that there is a deliberate strategy to promote Chinese engagement in the selected newspapers and that the sources used in the reporting of China-Kenya relations are either aware of this strategy or are selected on this basis in creating a discourse. It can also be interpreted that there is a consensus among the sources of the selected newspapers that China's engagement with Kenya is beneficial, good and needs no criticism. The key themes portrayed by the selected Kenyan newspapers are diplomatic, economic and cultural frames. This finding is not strange as previous research has suggested that China Daily Africa for example is the "voice of China" and seeks to present a positive narrative of China-Africa relations to improve communication and cooperation between China and Africa. The use of the media for communication means that the media are being utilized to communicate (by governments, the state, pressure and interest groups, terrorist groups and other political actors) to widely a dispersed people (audience) in the hope of involving them or making them aware of events or goings-on around them. All these activities are of course geared towards creating a discourse that tend to influence the audience's perception on Sino-Kenya relations.

Has the discourses created by the nature of mediatization been transformed, expanded, bettered (or indeed worsened) by the selected newspapers? How do the media and other channels of

communication and mass media (in this case the selected newspapers) benefit Sino-Kenya relations? What is the contribution or role of the media and journalism in the achievement of win-win Sino-Kenya relations? Mediatized discourse in the selected newspapers calls, allows, enables or empowers the audience to take an active part in the decision-making process, starting from the choice of accepting the themes that are mediatized to help understand the relationship between China and Kenya, for example, to monitoring their performances and participating fully in the implementation of their state interests. It is therefore important that the discourses not only help people understand the phenomenon of Sino-Kenya relations as a form of action rather than merely a kind of event, but also leads them to criticize from the standpoint of agents rather than spectators this is by critically understanding deeper the discourses presented therein in the selected newspapers.

However, as Kohut (2001) observes, sometimes journalists and the media act as "an ill-mannered watchdog that barks too often – one that is driven by its own interests rather than by a desire to protect the public interest". Based on the foregoing discussions, various organisations, in this case the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SOJMC), University of Nairobi, Media Focus on Africa Foundation (MFAF), Media Institute (MI), and Kenya Editors' Guild (KEG) came together in attempts to promote public understanding of the role of the media in society, and what informs their mediatization of issues through discourses (Christians et al., 2009). In short, what really is public interest according to media people? What informs their mediatization as they create discourses of issues in Kenya? Do they understand the issues to be able to inform the public on Sino-Kenya relations? And what is the media's role in society? Is it to inform, entertain and educate or is to make money? Or is it all of these?

Regardless of the assertions above, there is an emerging realization that people often do not know what media stands for, and whom it mediatizes. Neither do they know what factors influence its coverage and position on issues of public interest. In other words, whereas the media constantly claim to be

interested in issues of public interest, what it sometimes offers its consumers cannot be considered to be of significant public interest. Sometimes what they refer to as public discourses are matters that cannot be of genuine public interest. This is especially true of commercial media that often pursue and obsess about profit at the expense of public good and virtue.

When the selected newspapers framed Chinese presence as the country's development partner, not as an exploitative foe, the narratives focused on China's solid economic contribution and assistance to infrastructural development in Kenya. By framing China as a "development partner," the readers were encouraged to view the engagement from a mutual benefits perspective and downplayed the potential negative impact of China's involvement in Kenya's industrialization process. Even though readers can still exercise their own judgment to make sense of China's involvement in the country, there is still a strong possibility the dominant news frames still have a great impact on readers' perceptions of the events and issues. While China's engagement with Kenya has been framed in favorable narratives as a "development partner", the Kenyan media also should express their concerns regarding the economic consequences of the increasing Chinese involvement. For instance, in the Daily Nation's commentaries on China's economic engagement with the country, the economic competitor frame was represented in a cautious manner such as "cheap Chinese imports may hurt Kenya's bid to industrialize" (Okoth, 2016) and "if we are not careful, the idea of Chinese engagement with us could lead to deindustrialization may not be far-fetched" (Otuki, 2016).

The surge in Chinese investment and China's growing influence in Kenya has sparked controversy, mainly through questions about cheap Chinese imports, Chinese companies' misconducts and Chinese loans. China's loans have attracted a heated debate, concerns of China's loans intensified after the World Bank warned the Kenyan government that it's "appetite for Chinese loans risks choking the economy on the huge repayment burden" (Ngugi, 2016). News articles used the controversy frame depicted China's involvement in terms of disagreements with Kenya's practices. For example, there are multiple articles about the debate over the impact of the Chinese loans. In an opinion piece, the *Daily Nation*

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columnist criticized loans the Kenyan government borrowed from China are expensive and "poorly-negotiated," and these loans would pose risks to Kenya's future generations (Wissenbach, 2017).

On April 6, 2016, *the Daily Nation* opinion piece warned, "China's loans can bring debt to unsustainable levels. Some of China's loans are non-concessional, which can raise debt-to-gross domestic product levels quickly" (Ngugi, 2016). On May 25, 2016, the *Daily Nation* article headlined "In looking at 'friendly' Chinese loans, the devil is in the detail" also questioned the intention of these Chinese loans. In this article, *the Daily Nation*'s columnist Jaindi Kisero highlighted the terms of the loan agreement and explained why the Chinese loans are controversial. A few months later, *the Daily Nation* published another article headlined, "Why Chinese Loans are a recipe for huge debt burden on Kenya" (Okoth, 2016). In this article, a Kenyan economist Gitau Githogo warned that "Kenya risks choking in the heavy loans whose 'no strings attached' outlooks are deceiving given the way the country gives into various economic benefits during the implementation of the projects done by the Chinese" (ibid). Githogo said that the Chinese government is using its financial leverage to win Kenya's infrastructure projects and successfully deny local companies' opportunities to contribute to local economy. The biggest controversy of China's loans is that Chinese companies performed the projects' feasibility research, won the tenders, and were financed by China Exim Bank. Apparently, it is contradictory. This article ended with a quote from another economic analyst Robert Shaw indicating that Chinese loans are very expensive. Undoubtedly, Chinese loans would burden Kenyans for generations and the situation can be avoided if the Kenyan government borrows from other alternatives.

Articles with controversy frames related to China's involvement often revolved around unfairness or secrecy over contracts. On July 4, 2016, The Standard published an article headlined "Chinese fish floods Kisumu markets" reports about controversial sentiments between the Chinese company and Kenyan fish farmers over Kenyan fish markets. It showed how cheap Chinese fish retailing in local markets and "killed the fishing industry" around Lake Vitoria regions (Ogutu, 2016). This news report

has opened a debate and led to local "leaders protest over fish imports from China" (Ayaga, 2016). Therefore, "many local fishmongers have been pushed out of their businesses".

5.3.3 The Implication of meanings of the emerging discourses on mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations

Ogenga, (2007) propound that the level of how texts, located in particular social contexts, influence the way in which they construct meaning. In other words, there are particular societal structures that influence meaning construction through texts. The contention is that language constitutes a pre-existing reality. It does not reveal nor reflect pre-existing reality. Therefore, meanings of media texts are largely influenced by their authors and how they utilize language to construct meaning (Ogenga, 2007). The selected Kenyan newspapers mediatized events surrounding Sino-Kenya relations owing to certain factors that limit their operation. A good example, out of the many events that have been mediatized to give meaning regarding the Sino-Kenya relations, is the cartoon representation of the Chinas loan to Kenya. "Remember the Chinese proverb, "A Loan is never a Gift" appearing in The Standard, August 25, 2015 there is no doubt that this captured the attention of the audience who read the newspaper on how the situation was really being reported that created meaning to them. The fact that the media follows a routinized element of mediatization and is dictated by ideologies of journalism is well established it therefore imperative that this thesis interrogates this nature of mediatization that influences meaning through discourse analysis.

The findings in this study therefore indicate that the image of China in Kenya is a complex matter that cannot be settled using a discourse on the thematic areas that mediatize Sino-Kenya relations dichotomy scale alone. Certain aspects of Chinese engagement in Kenya serve to boost a positive image while others have the opposite effect. Because media mediatizing of China is not linear, the emergent picture is also a potpourri of competing images, for instance with *Daily Nation* placing a critical story on its

front page in July 2011 only for *The Standard and The Star* to run with a positive front page article a few weeks later in September 2011.

The study finds that the image of China in Kenya as positive rather than negative or weak. The margin between negative and weak is also not overwhelming. However, when we compare positive and weak codes, the margin. mediatization analysts concur that constraints such as newsroom routines, deadlines and news values influence journalists to make spur-of-the moment decisions in their selection of news items, which in turn tends to lead to the advancement of certain ideas (Entman, 1993). By selecting news agency copy, choosing how to fill pages or how to bring readers 'juicy stories' journalists may develop frames of mind about China that would only change through what Druckman (2007) calls a reorientation of thoughts. This calls to mind the conception of journalists as readers, in this case readers of the news agencies from which they persistently draw international news.

The main contribution of this study is to bypass the issue of journalistic neutrality in favor of the concept of weak frames in line with established mediatization theorists' view that frames must be available and accessible in the memory of an audience in order to elicit a sense of deeper understanding by the audience. Since the conception of weak frames creates a loop on the positive-negative image scale, the research has tended to consider weak frames as either negative or positive. This model could be found relevant in exploratory, descriptive studies that seek to look at national image as the starting point for in-depth research. In addition, the theories used here could be used to initiate further research drawing on interviews with news producers and consumers.

5.4 Conclusion
This study argues that the aim of mediatization is to make a phenomenon understandable by providing points of reference through the various interpretations of nature of mediatization such as tone, metaphor, and antinomies. In line with the first objective of the study, the data that was analyzed showed that the three newspapers used various nature of mediatization such as tone, photographs and antinomies that

served in mediatizing Sino-Kenya relations within known spheres that their audiences could relate to, thereby promoting deeper knowledge about the relationship.

As per the second objective of the study, it was established that the nature that were used in representing the Sino-Kenya relations had various interpretations to them and it is these interpretations that served in creating proper understanding on the theoretical underpinning of the mediatization theory that the reader could use to enhance their knowledge the Sino-Kenya relations.

In keeping with the third objective of the study, it emerged that despite the various interpretations to the nature, the nature was fused with ideological undertones that served in mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations as a dual beneficial relation between the two states. Nonetheless, media scholars as depicted by the interviews on the journalists have contended that Mediatization of such relations is often susceptible to superficial representation and sensationalism and depends largely on source interpretation as a means of getting an edge (Mc Neely, 1995; Dowler, 2003). Superficial representation and sensationalism refers to media reporting that is controversial, shocking, attention grabbing and graphic. Thus, these reports are fundamentally designed to arouse strong emotional reactions in readers. In the current study, it emerged that the Sino-Kenya relations was not deeply presented to the newspaper reader. This was achieved through the various photographs and metaphors that evoked emotions on the reader, as well as being divisive through the antinomies that depicted the relationship as made of one side benefitting mostly.

Therefore, while the newspapers' mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations may have contributed to creating awareness of the relations, it portrayed it as not a win-win relations but a loop sided one by using various nature of mediatization such as metaphors that enhanced the theme of economic gain to China rather than both states, antinomies that forced the reader to pick a side to support; photographs that evoked various emotions. However, as Moscovici, (1993) posits, an idea, no matter what form it assumes, has the power of making us come together and modify our feelings and behaviour. This

conclusion supports Gagliardone, Repnikova and Stremlan (2010) in their paper "China in Africa: A new approach to media development" argue that Chinese media seek to demonstrate the positive aspects of Chinese media engagement in Africa.

The meaning created in the Newspapers is conciliatory and tends to adopt peace journalism. The newspaper mostly authors articles that are meant to engage the readers about the Win-win relationship between Kenya and China. The paper also adopts neutrality when reporting about Chinese existing in Kenya. Incidences of use of divisive language in the articles are marginal. It can also be inferred from the results that newspapers had attributive words as seen through the explicit bolding of words and phrases, when discussing issues that touch on Sino-Kenya relations.

The results of this study further confirmed that media discourse plays an important role in promoting good understanding of the relationship by the Kenyan and Chinese audience by exploring the themes. It has also been ascertained that the ways through which the newspapers present their news, views and opinions about events involving inter-state relations can influence the attitudes, perceptions, thoughts and opinion of the public about the relations.

5.5 Recommendations

In line with its first objective, this study has ascertained that one of the ways through which the media can promote knowledge of abstract issue is by employing the mechanisms/nature of mediatization as advanced by the theories of mediatization and political economy (Moscovici, 1998). Based on the current study findings that revealed that nature of mediatization can be used to represent a phenomenon in ways through which newspaper readers could easily relate to and understand a phenomenon, this study thus recommends for adoption and continued use of these mechanism as alternative means of mediatization.

In keeping with the second objective, this study has highlighted that nature of mediatization can have various interpretations to them and that it is these interpretations that lead to the formation of a discourse. However, the good and bad news about a discourse created is that they are difficult to change once they have been established (Moscovici, 1998). Thus, media practitioners should be careful not to use mediatization nature that are infused with language and imagery that could potentially be misleading. This is due to the fact that false or misleading analogies can create potentially permanent impressions on their audiences' imaginations, thereby affecting their subsequent discourse and behaviour regarding a phenomenon that is mediatized.

After studying the various implications of using the nature of mediatization to bring meaning in the newspaper articles in accordance with the third objective of the study, this study recommends that, whilst use of captioned photographs and use of attributive words in the media is a good way to enhance a reader's engagement and to bring meaning in an issue (Hoijer, 2004), it is important to consider the possibility that the reader may be disillusioned by emotionally loaded information or messages because of their various interpretations that may in turn affect how they understand and relate to a phenomenon (Olausson, 2005).

This study recommends that the Kenyan press adopt a suitable journalistic approach by including a better narrative of Sino-Kenya relations by having more stories by Kenyan and Chinese sources and from an African perspective. The domination of one source projects a biased dominated perception of China-Kenya relationship. The Kenyan mainstream press should consider having more African contributors as well as Non-Chinese and African sources to present a balanced view of the relationship. The fact that the audience is majorly composed of Africans based in Africa, it is imperative that they hear more from one of their own to balance the perspective and add the African voice in the relationship.

The dominance of the three frames in the three newspapers is a limitation on the broader issues and content that can be tapped for the benefit of China-Kenya relations. Apart from economic, diplomatic and cultural frames in the coverage of Sino-Kenya relations in the selected Kenyan mainstream press, it is recommended that diverse other areas that would be of interest to both Kenyan and Chinese audience and that respond to their immediate concerns are adopted. For instance, instead of highlighting only the positive employer and employee relations between a Chinese company and local employees, it would be of much significance to highlight what stakeholders are doing to improve the broader challenges and negative perception associated with poor employer and employee relations between Chinese investors, companies and their Kenyan employees.

This study recommends that the selected newspapers being a representative the other mainstream press in Kenya adopt a suitable journalistic approach by including a better narrative of Sino-Kenya relations by having more stories by African sources and from an African perspective. The fact that the audience is majorly composed of Kenyans based in Kenya, it is imperative that they hear more from one of their own to balance the perspective and add the Kenyan voice in selected newspapers.

5.6 Contribution to knowledge

The study has made the following contribution to knowledge:

1. The first and main research contribution is an interdisciplinary conceptual framework that explains how Chinese-Kenya relations is different from their counterparts from the western part of the world. Our conceptual framework also accounts for the nature of the Sino-Kenya relation and is infused into the newspapers' mediatization mechanism. Thus, the core contribution of this thesis is two-fold. The first core contribution is the relations between the two states the second core contribution is the inclusion of the mechanisms/nature of mediatization in helping to develop state relations.

2. This study, which starts in 2015 and continues until 2019, provides a more comprehensive, long-term account, covering a five-year period, and will therefore be better placed to provide a clearer picture

of possible changes in trends in the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations over those years unlike previous studies. Indeed, it covers a wider range of issues relating to Sino-Kenya relations, hence is more extensive and analytical. This is the strong point of this study in contributing significantly to existing literature.

3. The review on existing literature also shows that there is a need to produce more studies on Sino-Kenya relation and more specifically on the area of press mediatization, which are fully cognizant of the specific national and local cultural contexts in which these relations exist, rather than speaking merely in general terms about the Chinese position in the geo-politics. This is because these localized conditions, often the product of editorial policies of the media houses, have helped to create particular representations on the relations specific to Kenya, which are endlessly recycled across different media publications rather than giving it a deeper interpretation.

4. The philosophical contribution behind this study is to bring an understanding and analyse the interactions between the various elements of the content of the Kenyan Mainstream newspaper and their relationships with the outside world, or the society in both time and space systematically based on an intepretivist approach, majorly by explicating the ontological (research framework), epistemological (research questions/objectives) and methodological (research methods) units of the research process. From the intepretivist perspective, this paper seeks to situate the question of the analysis of the content of the newspapers under investigation into an intepretivist philosophical prism of subjective objectivism rather than purely objectivism.

5.7 Suggestion for Further Research

This research has filled the gaps related to the exploratory analysis on the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations as mediatized in the Kenya's' selected mainstream press from different ideological contexts. However, subject to the word limit and the researcher's ideological stereotype, the research could only explore the mediatization from perspectives focusing on social, political and economic relations. Ithe

researcher would suggest that future research be conducted with an interdisciplinary approach to further analyze the reasons for the differences in mediatization from sociological, ethnographic, anthropological and historical perspectives to guarantee more comprehensive and authoritative results.

This study focused only on the three leading newspapers in the country. However, given that there are at least five mainstream newspapers in the country, future research could build on the current study by analysing the other newspapers or conducting in-depth interviews with chief editors so as to get first hand perspectives on their knowledge and experiences with using the nature of mediatization in their news articles. In addition, this study could also be expanded by looking beyond printed forms of media to focusing on broadcast media such as television and radio.

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Appendix i: Coding sheet for newspaper analysis on the Nature of Mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations by the Kenyan mainstream press

Articles picked from selected mainstream Kenyan newspapers: *The Star*, *Daily Nation* and T*he Standard* starting from January 1ˢᵗ 2015 to December 1st 2019, for this thesis was meet the following basic requirements: - 50-3,000 words, must be a published article, news story, feature story, political analysis, commentary or editorial piece, not a paid advertisement nor a promotional reference for a full story.

1. Newspaper: 1=Daily Nation (DN); 2= The Standard (SN) 3= The Star (ST)

2. Year: 1= 2015; 2= 2016; 3= 2017; 4= 2018; 5=2019

3. Day of week: 1=Monday 2= Tuesday 3= Wednesday 4=Thursday 5=Friday 6=Saturday 7=Sunday

4. Type of article: 1= news article; 2= editorial article; 3= commentary; 4= others

5. Section of paper: 1= national news; 2= African news; 3= international news; 4= business news; 5= opinions; 6= sports news; 7= others

6. Size of article by number of words: 1= 1-150; 2= 151-500; 3= 501 or more

7. Picture include in the story: 1=yes; 2= no

If No skip to question 9.

If yes;

a) Human Subjects in picture: 1= individual; 2= group 2-5 people; 3= group 6-10 people; 4= group 11+

b) Human subjects in the picture and their active state: 1= happy/smiling; 2= sad; 3= neutral; 4= crying; 5= calm/placid; 6= focused/concentrating; 7= laughing; 8= speaking

d) Non-human subjects in the picture: 1= single building; 2= multiple building; 3= civilian; 4= books/documents/computer; 5= forestry/ foliage; 6= newspaper text; 7= graphs; 8= machinery; 10= flag; 11=others

e) What emotion is evoked by the picture? 1= shame; 2= compassion/sympathy; 3= fear; 4=politeness; 5= anger; 6= disgust; 7= sadness; 8= joy/happiness; 9=surprise; 10=embarrassment

f) Is there a caption explaining the picture: 1=Yes; 2=No

If yes, what is it?

9. Use of antinomies in the story (Refers to a contraction/opposition between two apparently equally valid principles or between inferences drawn from such principles that tend to create a conflict, e.g. us/them): 1= Yes; 2= No

If yes, which one?

10. Themes (Themes may be conceived of in ways that come close to the concept of ideology regarded as common sense thinking or taken-for-granted ideas in a society or among groups for example political, economic and social themes):

1= Yes; 2= No

If yes, which one? 1= political; 2= economic; 3= social

11. Use of metaphors in the story (Metaphors make things and phenomena comprehensible by imagining them as something else, for example "China is the butt of all manner" or "time is money".):

1= Yes; 2= No

a) If yes, which one?

i. Targeting Sino-Kenya relation: 1=yes; 2=no

ii. China or Kenya (mentioned either in general or by name):

b) Is the metaphor used: 1= universal; 2= cultural to Kenyans; 3= cultural to African;4= westernized

15. Overall tone of the article: 1= criticizing China; 2= criticizing Kenya; 3= supporting Kenya; 4= supporting China; 5=supporting the relations; 6= not supporting the relations

Appendix ii: Interview Schedule for the Editors

Introduction and purpose

My name is Josphat Ogweno, a PHD student in communication Studies at Rongo University. I am currently working on my thesis, which examines the representation of Sino-Kenya relations in the Daily Nation newspaper, The Standard and The Star newspapers

Will you please assist in this study by completing the attached questionnaire?

Instructions

This questionnaire includes items that seek your newspaper's content, themes, sources and tone of reporting. However, your general knowledge about the topic and additional information that may enrich this research is welcomed.

It is estimated that this questionnaire can be completed in 15 minutes.

I seek your voluntary participation in this study. You may skip questions or items to which you may feel uncomfortable responding.

Contact Information

For further information, please contact Josphat Ogweno, graduate student, in communication Studies at Rongo University. Tel: +254 729554974

E-mail: josphatogweno83@gmail.com

Confidentiality: Your responses will be kept confidential and no comments will be attributed to any individual in any report that may be produced from this study. However, we do ask you to provide your name and e-mail address so we can monitor our responses and findings and share the final report to you and your organization.

QUESTIONS

1) Has coverage of China in Kenya improved since the launch of Sino-Kenya relations?

i. In what way?

2) What kind of stories does your paper publish on Sino-Kenya relations? What are the main themes?

3) Who are the sources of your news reports, features and or opinion stories?

4) What is the tone of reporting China in Kenya in the Daily Nation newspaper?

     Positive, Negative, Neutral.

6) In your opinion has the Kenyan audience influenced coverage of Sino-Kenya relations?

7) Is the prominence of positive reporting a temporary trend or a permanent strategy to help bring the best of China and Kenya?

Appendix iii: Interview schedule for journalist, Daily Nation, The Star and The Standard Newspapers

Introduction and purpose

My name is Josphat Ogweno, a graduate student in communication Studies at Rongo University. I am currently working on my thesis, which examines the mediatization of Sino-Kenya relations in *The Daily Nation, The Standard and The Star* newspapers.

Were you please assist in this study by completing the attached Interview Schedule?

Instructions

This Interview Schedule includes items that seek your newspaper's content, themes, sources and tone of reporting. However, your general knowledge about the topic and additional information that may enrich this research is welcomed.

It is estimated that this interview schedule can be completed in 15 minutes.

I seek your voluntary participation in this study. You may skip questions or items to which you may feel uncomfortable responding.

Confidentiality: Your responses was kept confidential and no comments was attributed to any individual in any report that may be produced from this study. However, we do ask you to provide your name and e-mail address so we can monitor our responses and findings and share the final report to you and your organization.

QUESTIONS

1. What is your background as a journalist?
2. Does the Kenyan government influence your reporting?
3. Has coverage of China in Kenya improved?
   i. In what way?
4. What kind of stories does your newspaper publish? What are the main themes?
5. Who are the sources of your news reports, features and or opinion stories?
   i. Why these sources?
6. What kind of stories between news, features and opinion receive most coverage? Why?
7. What is the tone of reporting China in Africa in Daily Nation newspaper?

Positive, Negative, Neutral.

8. Has the Kenyan audience influenced coverage in your newspaper Kenya?

9. Is the prominence of positive reporting a deliberate policy by Daily Nation or to help bring the best of China and Kenya?

Thank you very much for participating in this Interview.

Appendix iv: Participants Consent Form

Authorization

I have read and understood this consent form and I volunteer to participate in this research study. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form. I voluntarily choose to participate, but I understand that my consent does not take away any legal rights in the case of negligence or other legal faults of anyone who is involved in this study. I further understand that nothing in this consent form is intended to replace any laws of the country.

I have read this form and the nature and purpose of the study was explicitly explained to be by Mr. Josphat Ogweno Okech, a doctoral student at Rongo University. I understand that I will be audio recorded during the interview for not more than 30 minutes. I am aware that I can withdraw from the research study without any penalties.

I understand that the audio recording will specifically be used to capture the questions asked and the responses given accurately which the researcher need to replay later for reflections.

During the study, I shall be available for the interview and will be willing to provide information to facilitate the research. I am aware that while the information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified at any time in the study by my real names

Newspaper………………...Signature……………………………… Date………………….

Appendix v: Research Permit

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **805372**

Date of Issue: **16/January/2020**

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Mr.. JOSPHAT OKECH of Rongo University, has been licensed to conduct research in Migori, Nairobi on the topic: Mediatization of Sino-Kenya Relations by the Mainstream Press: An Analysis of Selected Newspapers in Kenya for the period ending : 16/January/2021.

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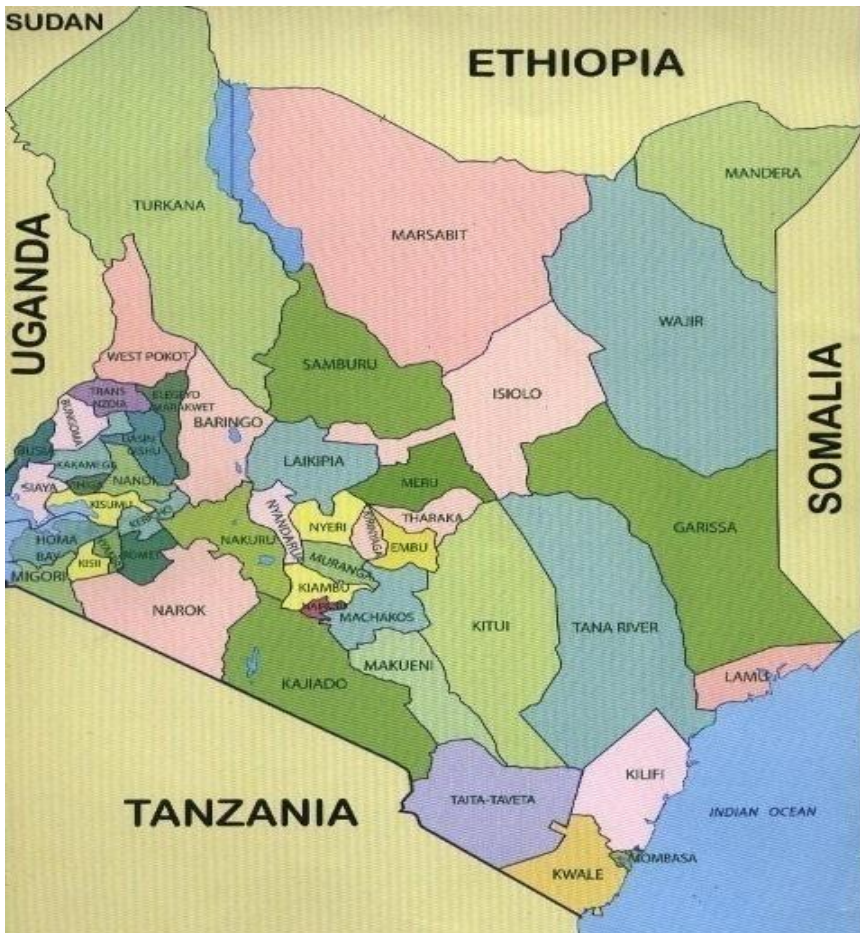
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Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

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Appendix vi: Map of Kenya and China

Source:*www.mapsofworld.com/kenya/china*