A Corpus-Linguistic Analysis of News Coverage in Kenya's *Daily Nation* and Great Britain's *Times*

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Abstract

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This study uses institutional theory and corpus linguistics to understand the differences between press systems. Institutional theory suggests that institutions, including the press, develop some shared characteristics across organizations within the same field, but also develop unique tendencies that reflect the social and political system within which each organization exists. Thus, one should see differences in output between organizations operating in systems faced with different institutional influences. This research uses word frequency comparison, an analytical technique from the corpus linguistics toolkit, to address the following question: What are the similarities and differences in word use between two newspapers representative of press systems whose institutional characteristics have developed within different political and social environments? The answer to this question advances empirical scholarly understanding of non-Western press systems as institutions. Using Britain's *Times* and Kenya's *Daily Nation* as comparative case studies, this analysis finds that many professional stylistic habits and norms of journalists are portable across significant geographic and cultural distances, as a majority of heavily used words are shared across the two newspapers. Where there are differences, the *Daily Nation* tends to rely more on language indicative of nation-building and an Africa-based identity, while language in the *Times* indicates an orientation that views citizens as important change agents in political processes and Great Britain as

a player in global events. This study shows that in spite of the globalization of journalism culture, local political and social institutions are still important to understanding how journalism works.

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

Mass media play an important role in democratic governance. That role has been studied extensively in stable Western democracies, where the mass media have been conceptualized as forming an institution of their own (Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999; Ryfe, 2006a). The role of mass media in areas with unstable or evolving democratic governance is less studied, perhaps because the media in such contexts are often not free from government constraints (Freedom House, 2014) and thus cannot be conceptualized as filling the same enforcement and accountability role as they do in the West (Waisbord, 2007). But the fact that mass media in such countries are not entirely free does not mean they are unimportant in defining social roles or governing structures. In fact, recent events in East Africa indicate that the government does view the mass media as an important power. Along with Kenyan government officials William Ruto and Henry Kosgei, radio broadcaster Joshua Arap Moi is on trial at the International Criminal Court for allegedly inciting national violence after the country's 2007 election. Prior to the country's 2013 election, government and NGO officials made a point of emphasizing the power of the media in ensuring a peaceful election and transition of power. In Rwanda, radio broadcasts and newspaper content are believed to have helped prime the population for the ethnic violence of 1994.

The mass media have significant social power even in regions of limited governance, and even when they do not operate with one homogeneous voice (as Western mass media are frequently believed to) (Bennett, 1990; Entman, 2006). In considering how to understand mass media in areas of limited governance, an institutional framework situates the mass media within the influence of a social and political fabric while also allowing the media power to create and operate by set rules and patterns of their own. This project extends the

literature on institutional theory to nonwestern journalism and examines ways differences manifest. Using analytical tools from corpus linguistics, this study examines word use in Kenya's *Daily Nation* and Great Britain's *Times*, which developed institutional characteristics within different political and social environments, to look for similarities and differences in news style.

Chapter 2

THE INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MEDIA

Three primary aspects of institutional theory have been applied to journalism and mass media (for examples of this application, see Cook (1998) and Sparrow (1999)): the concept of *path dependency*, the nature and structure of *rules*, and the influence of *isomorphism*.

Path dependency implies an institutional tendency to reproduce along a stable and settled trajectory determined by past events, absent external incentive to do otherwise (Ryfe, 2006a). Institutions are enduring and difficult to change and, when they do change, generally do so slowly (Mahoney and Thelen, 2009) and in ways that are limited and guided by past events and decisions. This means possible changes are bounded and influenced by past shifts, and that a path once taken, even if structurally inefficient, can become the prevailing norm as the actors involved adjust to the change (Thelen, 1999). In journalism, this path dependency can be seen in, for instance, the way norms surrounding the use of quotations shifted in similar ways simultaneously across U.S. newspapers at the turn of the 20th century (Ryfe and Kemmelmeier, 2011), the shift in U.S. media toward press independence and objectivity over roughly the same period (Kaplan, 2006), and the slow pace at which byline norms shifted (Reich, 2010). Path dependency also helps explain how press institutions developing under different political constraints could develop different norms and purposes (Starr, 2004). This theory of institutional stability and change allows for an analysis that incorporates history while also allowing actors a degree of agency.

Rules, according to sociologists (the definition most often used in journalism studies), are rationalized myths that lend stability, legitimacy, resources, and longevity to the organizations adopting them (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). They are "normative assumptions or expectations about appropriate or legitimate modes of behavior" and involve the exam-

ination of obligations, values, and commitments in the context of news production (Ryfe, 2006b, p. 205). Rules constrain actors to follow norms for appropriate behavior, whether at an individual, organizational, or interorganizational level (March and Olsen, 1998). These myths create formal structures as impersonal prescriptions that specify appropriate ways to accomplish those ends, and are beyond the discretion of an individual participant or organization to change (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Tuchman (1972) highlights one myth within U.S. journalism with her exploration of objectivity as a set of procedures constituting a "strategic ritual" with only some resemblance, in the end, to the concept of "objectivity" invoked. In mass media, these rules are generally seen as social pressures (March and Olsen, 1989) rather than economic incentives (North, 1990); the economic definition of rules, invoked somewhat by Sparrow (1999), sees rules as constitutive recipes for behavior that impose negative consequences on those who do not follow (North, 1990; March and Olsen, 1998). Rules, then, are procedures that constrain actors to abide by particular norms.

Within this definition, scholars have suggested there are different categories of rules — those that bind all who consider themselves journalists (e.g., what a news story is), and those that vary by context (e.g., who should be interviewed in the story creation process) (Scott and Meyer, 1994; Ryfe, 2006b). In journalism research, studies support this division with indications that not all rules bind journalists around the globe (Weaver and Wu, 1998). Journalists typically share similar values of newsworthiness and topical importance (Shoemaker and Cohen, 2006), and they tend to be attracted to bad news (Donsbach, 1997). In many international newsrooms, news values, complaints, and routines are similar to those of Western journalists but production styles, ethics, and working conditions vary widely (Waisbord, 2013). The presence of some shared rules among journalists across national boundaries indicates that there is some unifying institutional structure and sense of news values across those borders, but that rules binding news production vary — and this variance can be explained by the concept of isomorphism.

Isomorphism, the third aspect of institutional theory useful to journalism studies, is another constraining process that encourages homogenization by forcing one unit in a popu-

lation to shift to resemble others facing the same set of environmental conditions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Three categories fall under this broad term: *coercive isomorphism* is imposed by political influence and a desire to appear legitimate; *mimetic isomorphism* occurs when institutions become more similar as a response to uncertainty from ambiguous goals, unfamiliar technologies, or other pressures; and *normative isomorphism* stems from professionalization and the desire of members of an occupation to police themselves and maintain standard practices and procedures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Several types of isomorphism together can pressure an institution to conform with existing or defined practices and institutional structures. Organizations whose structure mimics the surrounding environment are more likely to survive (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Institutions take the shape they do in response to pressure, both internal to a profession and external from the environment by mandate or a desire to reduce uncertainty.

While these concepts have been explained primarily in the context of Western (particularly U.S.) media (e.g., Entman (2006); Lawrence (2006)), they also have explanatory power in non-Western media and offer a useful lens through which to explore how journalism is impacted by cultural and social surroundings and history, and especially to pursue a comparative understanding of journalism in different institutional contexts. Institutional theories of organizational change can explain how and why news organizations shift in response to changing environmental pressures — a relationship that has thus far been examined primarily in the U.S. (Lowrey, 2011) and European countries (Domingo, 2008). Institutional theory also provides a framework to expand the study of international journalism culture as a set of situationally derived values and practices (Hanitzsch, 2007; Hanitzsch et al., 2011). Scholars of international journalism have examined the role of government in facilitating a democratic press (Waisbord, 2007), imitation and homogenization in Argentine media outlets (Boczkowski, 2010), the types of norms taught in non-Western journalism education (Ebo, 1994; Kupe, 2013; Odhiambo, 1991), and how journalists' choices of news topics compare across national boundaries (Shoemaker and Cohen, 2006). Recent arguments for the impact of globalization on journalism have suggested that some similar norms and practices have

been adopted by journalists around the world (Waisbord, 2013). Each of these aspects of journalism can be interpreted through an institutional perspective to yield a rich account of the ways mass media guard, maintain, and change in response to internal and external forces.

The idea that enduring norms are spreading and shared globally suggests that, wherever it is practiced, journalism has shared institutional qualities even if, within a shared framework, there are wide interpretive differences on how one should pursue and produce "good" journalism. Indeed, new institutionalism emphasizes the potential influence of outside forces and sets a foundation for comparative analyses of media fields and organizations operating in different institutional frameworks (Benson, 2004; Sparrow, 2006). However, many assumptions of institutionalism have yet to be examined in the context of non-Western countries and weak democracies. An institutional perspective allows for an exploration of the ways journalism perpetuates the status quo in a given context; ways the mass media maintain a presence and impact in their immediate and global environments; and the variation and similarity of media outlets within shared environments (Sparrow, 2006). Institutionalism also provides a context in which to examine change in media systems both within and outside Western democracies (Pan, 2000; Hughes, 2003), and to examine how media systems differ in their political involvement, response to the unexpected, and international and other news coverage (Sparrow, 2006). This study advances the study of global journalism with a cross-national examination of news style.

Chapter 3

CORPUS LINGUISTICS AS A TOOL TO COMPARE BODIES OF TEXT

One might expect manifestations of the same institution (i.e., democracy or mass media) to look different in different social contexts. Mass media in sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, have many features of Western journalism, but because of the different social and institutional contexts one might expect the journalism practiced there to look different from that practiced in stable Western sociopolitical systems. One way this difference could show up is in media content, which has been shown to look similar across outlets in the same sociopolitical context (Bennett, 1990; Lawrence, 2006) and to be affected by contextual institutional values (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Benson, 2006).

When examining media texts, the study of language use can shed light on media structure and values (Bell, 1991). Automated phrase-frequency lists from newspapers have been compared with congressional records to measure newspaper slant (Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2010). Newspapers have been compared cross-culturally to determine national cultural representations through headline analysis (Develotte and Rechniewski, 2001); to examine use of "pseudo-titles" (Meyer, 2002); to examine newspaper use of metaphor (Krennmayr, 2014); to examine language use over time (Baayen and Renouf, 1996); and to compare newspaper coverage with other textual discussions of a topic (Baker and McEnery, 2005).

Researchers have also used corpus-linguistic analysis to look at particular topics in the news, including an examination of refugee discourse through concordance analysis (which studies the uses and meanings of selected words by examining them in the context of three or four surrounding words in the text) (Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008) and examination of the genetically modified food debate through word analysis (Cook et al., 2006). Word counts

are also used to generate textual topics or themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003; DiMaggio et al., 2013) and genre (Stamatatos et al., 2000), information which can be used to track changes in topics over time (Newman and Block, 2006) and estimate framing differences across newspapers (DiMaggio et al., 2013).

Following this tradition, this study examined news style — the form and structure of journalistic writing (Johnson-Cartee, 2005) — using methods adapted from corpus linguistics. Corpus linguistics, the study of language as expressed in real-world texts, is a useful tool in understanding patterns and differences in bodies of text, or corpora. Word-frequency comparison is one of the best ways to determine corpus similarity and homogeneity (Johansson and Hofland, 1989; Kilgarriff, 1997; Hunston, 2006). Corpus linguistics tools are often used to compare two or more bodies of text, or corpora. Word-frequency methods, particularly when combined with other methods such as concordance analysis and topic modeling, effectively highlight differences between bodies of texts for analysis. This methodological toolkit lends itself well to an analysis of writing styles, as they highlight differences in word choice and also allow analysis of individual words in context to further analyze how words are used.

The method usually examines some aspect of individual words (as opposed to discourse analysis, which looks at semantic and syntactical structure) over many texts (as opposed to rhetorical analysis, which examines a few texts in great detail), and integrates quantitative methods (to paint a picture of the entire body of text) with qualitative methods (to examine select parts of the text in greater contextual detail). Included within corpus linguistics are the use of word frequencies, where researchers examine a list of the N most frequently occurring words in a text; phrase frequencies, where researchers do the same thing with phrases longer than one word; concordance analysis; and key word in context analysis, a specific type of concordance analysis that seeks to understand the use of statistically important words in the text. Studies utilizing corpus linguistics typically combine quantitative and qualitative analysis to first isolate significant features, such as words or phrases, from large quantities of text, and then analyze those features in their contexts, thus providing the tools needed to

compare bodies of texts and draw conclusions about differences in writing style. Informed by corpus linguistics, this study examines word-frequency lists drawn from a large quantity of text, compares them with words drawn from other bodies of text, and, with further analysis, draws conclusions about word use as it reflects on the institutional features of the news outlets in question.

3.1 Cases from the Kenyan and British press

This analysis compared cases of Kenyan and British news. These two countries have many differences along with some key similarities which make them ideal cases for a news-style comparison. The early formation of Kenyan mass media occurred through settler presses instituted by Great Britain at the turn of the 19th century (Huff, 1968; Scotton, 1973). The Kenyan press has developed along a trajectory that has emphasized the nation-building power of the African- and English-language local press (Scotton, 1973) and have recently been characterized as exhibiting elements of "journalism for social change" (Skjerdal, 2012). Meanwhile, the British press developed into a strongly professionalized, self-regulating, neutral commercial press (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Institutional theory would suggest that these two press systems developed along trajectories that best fit their individual environments, but that they likely share some norms based on shared professional identities and the pressure of normative isomorphism. I examine two newspapers: The London *Times* and Kenya's *Daily Nation*. Each has a similar role within its respective community: Britain's *Times* has a reputation for being the most independent elite-oriented newspaper in the country with one of the highest circulations, and is representative of a country whose press system is situated among stable and strong institutional powers. The *Daily Nation* is the most independent (of political influence) and influential (widely read by elites) news source in Kenya and has a reputation for being a high-quality press leader in sub-Saharan Africa. Kenya is one of many countries in sub-Saharan Africa generally considered to have an unstable political system.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH QUESTION

Institutional theory, corpus linguistics, and cases of the *Daily Nation* and *Times* will be used to address the following research question:

What are the similarities and differences in word use between Great Britain's *Times* and Kenya's *Daily Nation*, two newspapers representative of press systems whose institutional characteristics have developed within different political and social environments?

Chapter 5

METHOD

I used several elements of corpus linguistics to answer this question: First, I compiled separate lists of the 500 most frequently occurring words in the *Daily Nation* and the *Times*. I then analyzed those words in several steps and examined selected words in textual context to determine how they are used in the respective texts. These examinations highlighted differences and similarities between the two bodies of texts pointing to distinctions between news style.

5.1 Sampling

I downloaded and examined all content indexed by Factiva[1] for articles published in the news sections of the *Times* and the *Daily Nation* during 2013 (the most recent complete calendar year for which data were available when the study began). A news-section comparison maintained an equivalent comparison across outlets – each has a news section – and excluded most irrelevant items such as recipes, music reviews, opinion columns, and wire stories (which are primarily contained in international news sections). While downloading articles from Factiva yields a different sample than would be obtained by scanning news pages, it is an accepted method of obtaining news content for analysis and sidesteps the complication of obtaining physical newspapers, converting text, and sorting news copy from advertising copy, news copy, photo cutlines, and other content. This process yielded a total N of 53,638 news articles: 1,992 from the *Daily Nation* and 51,646 from the *Times*.[2]

[1]I chose Factiva rather than LexisNexis or another news database because only Factiva archived both the *Daily Nation* and the *Times* over the time period under analysis.

[2]The difference in N between news outlets does not affect this study, as I compared word frequencies (i.e., a ratio measure), not actual word occurrence.

5.2 Methodological steps

Using WordStat, a textual analysis software, I searched through text documents of each newspaper's content to create two lemmatized[3] word-frequency lists, each listing a newspaper's most common words (Kilgarriff, 1997). From these lists, I deleted conjunctions, infinitives, and prepositions, along with words that appeared in the Factiva metadata for each article, and retained the 500 most common words in each list after those exclusions. While there are statistical methods for calculating the words with the highest lexical variation across word lists (Rayson and Garside, 2000), this study examined similarities and differences, so followed a more emergent method of iterative analysis in comparing the two lists. Because relative frequency of different parts of speech can reveal structural choices in texts (Biber et al., 1998) and split the word lists into smaller functional groups for more detailed comparison, I next examined the two word lists comparatively by parts of speech (pronouns, adjectives, nouns, and verbs).

In the first step of analysis — passing through the word lists to analyze words by part of speech — it quickly became evident that many words in the list could be used grammatically in more than one way. Although parts of speech are complicated and difficult to identify, language is systematic and its systematic classification and study can yield fruitful results (Hirtle, 2009). This project relied on denotative classifications of various parts of speech, but adjusted and adapted where such a change seemed to make the analysis clearer.[4] For ambiguous words, I tallied the word use by starting at a random point in the text and counting use in the first 100 instances, or 10 percent of total uses, whichever number was smaller.

[3]WordStat's users manual contains the following description of lemmatization: "Lemmatization is a process by which various forms of words are reduced to a more limited number of canonical forms. A typical example of lemmatization would be the conversion of plurals to singulars and past tense verbs to present tense verbs. The lemmatization algorithm implemented in WordStat is a dictionary-moderated method, partly inspired by Krovetz's KSTEM suffix substitution algorithm. Since the lemmatization algorithm does not rely on a prior part-of-speech tagging of words, it is much faster than traditional lemmatization routines. It may, however, result in a few invalid word substitutions, but usually, those errors will have no major consequences on the result of an analysis" (Provalis Research, 2010, p. 24).

[4]This method is in keeping with traditionally accepted corpus-linguistic procedures, where word meanings are described with reference to the linguist's intuition and contexts in which terms appear (Dash, 2008).

I counted words by part of speech used, even if the word occurred within a proper noun. Within parts of speech, I categorized words organically. For adjectives, I roughly followed the order in which they appear in written and spoken English: determiner, opinion, descriptive (i.e., size/shape/color), location (i.e., nationality/geographic), and purpose/qualifier. There were approximately a dozen adverbs, and I grouped these separately. In analyzing nouns, I first categorized the noun lists by proper and common nouns (proper nouns are noted with a lowercase "p" in the list). In scanning the list, it became apparent that another meaningful category would be one encompassing titles or roles (i.e., "president," "Mr.," "teacher") — words that describe a person filling a particular role or holding a title. These are denoted in the list with a lowercase "ti" in parentheses.

Following this analysis, I looked at word orientation — descriptive vs. evaluative, co-operative vs. conflictual, and negative vs. positive — each of which can be indicators of a journalistic ideology (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Xiaoge, 2009). I then examined word groupings to look for related concepts and topic groupings, and concluded with a keyword in context analysis to analyze word usage for specific words of interest. In the following sections I first provide an overview of the data gathered through the above analytical steps (data summary), then analyze the data in light of aspects of institutional theory (data analysis).

Chapter 6
DATA SUMMARY

The steps outlined above yielded data on parts of speech used, word sense, and topics. An overview of the data is presented here, organized by parts of speech, along with tables listing the words in each newspaper side by side. First, a general note: The *Daily Nation* and the *Times* have almost identical word frequency distributions, and both resemble a Pareto curve. In each newspaper, around 75 words occur with more than 0.1 percent frequency and constitute around one-third of the text, while hundreds of words appear only a few times. There are 69 words that appear with greater than 0.1 percent frequency in the *Times* and 78 such words in the *Daily Nation*; most of these words are common across both newspapers, with a few exceptions. See Table 6.1 for a list of unique words in this sample and frequency range.[1]

6.1 Unique Words

6.1.1 The Daily Nation

Unique words in the *Daily Nation* tend to be topical. All but three of the *Daily Nation*'s 22 unique words are nouns. The three proper nouns — Kenya, Nairobi, and Kenyatta — refer to place (national and local) and the country's president, Uhuru Kenyatta. One pronoun — "our" — is unique to the *Daily Nation*'s top words list. This word appears 897 times across the approximately 2,000 articles in the sample. Three words on this *Daily Nation* list are used both as nouns and as adjectives, and one unambiguous adjective appears on the list. "County," "security," and "state" are each used as nouns about as frequently as they

[1]Throughout this summary and analysis, data are presented in order of frequency, so a word on the *Daily Nation* list corresponds in relative rank with the word next to it on the *Times* list.

appear as adjectives. In their adjective form, they are often used to modify proper nouns. For instance, from the *Daily Nation*'s June coverage, the word typically refers to specific counties, including "Marakwet County"; "Bomet County"; "Mombasa County"; "Busia County"; and, in a quote, "this county." The plural form of the noun also refers to these geopolitical country divisions.

6.1.2 The Times

There are 13 words unique words to the *Times* in that newspaper's list of words occurring with more than 0.1 percent frequency. Those words tend to have generic senses that could be applied to many topics. No part of speech stands out as overwhelmingly represented among those 13 unique words, though nouns appear least frequently (the two nouns on the list are "week" and "child"), and verbs appear most frequently.[2] "You," the most frequently occurring unique word, appears primarily within quotes, though it is used in Web headlines (occasionally teased and indexed as *Times* news content) and in infrequent first-person narrative articles that resemble letters to the editor or op-ed columns about past occurrences. A typical occurrence is in the Jan. 20 article, "Scots risk losing sterling with vote for split":

> Once **you** start sharing things, **you** have to ask the other lot," Darling said.
> He said it was possible that England would veto the currency plans of Alex Salmond, the Scottish National party leader, in the event of the Scots backing independence. "As soon as **you** call a referendum, the answer is up for grabs. **You** can't predict it," he said.

"You," like most of the words unique to the *Times*, conveys meaning but can be used in multiple topical contexts.

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[2]The *Times*' list is shorter than the *Daily Nation*'s because of the nine-word length discrepancy between the two lists.

Table 6.1: **Unique words in top 35 percent**

Daily Nation	*Times*
Kenya (N)	You (Pr)
County (Adj/N)	No (Adv)
President (N)	May (V)
Court (N)	Child (N)
Country (N)	What (Pr)
Nairobi (N)	Use (V)
Teacher (N)	Good (Adj)
School (N)	Find (V)
Officer (N)	First (Adj)
Report (N)	Get (V)
Kenyatta (N)	Week (N)
Service (N)	Only (Adj)
Public (Adj)	See (V)
Secretary (N)	
Area (N)	
Security (Adj/N)	
Our (Pr)	
Time (N)	
State (Adj/N)	
Should (V)	
High (Adj)	
Million (N)	

6.2 Pronouns

6.2.1 The Daily Nation

There are 23 pronouns in the *Daily Nation*'s top 500 words (see Table 6.2 for a comparison with the *Times*). Within those pronouns, a gender disparity is apparent. There are 8,963 masculine pronouns and 2,528 feminine pronouns, for a ratio of 3.5:1. Objective gendered pronouns ("him" and "her") appear infrequently. In the *Daily Nation*, "him" occurs 757 times, while "he" occurs 5,920 times.[3] The masculine possessive "his" occurs 91,307 times in the *Times* and 2,614 times in the *Daily Nation*. The feminine possessive "hers," by contrast, occurs fewer than 150 times in the *Daily Nation* and is not one of the 500 most common words. "His," by comparison, is one of the 10 most common pronouns in the *Daily Nation*. Other pronouns on the list are difficult to categorize without in-depth contextual analysis.

6.2.2 The Times

There are 33 pronouns in the top 500 words of the *Times*. A gender disparity is evident here as well: there are 255,540 masculine pronouns and 107,171 feminine pronouns, for a ratio of 2.4:1. Objective gendered pronouns ("him" and "her") appear infrequently; "him" occurs 20,973 times while "he" occurs 139,137 times. The feminine possessive "hers" occurs fewer than 4,980 times in the *Times*, and is not among the top 500 words. "His," by comparison, is one of the 10 most common pronouns in the *Times*. As with the *Daily Nation*, other pronouns on the list are difficult to categorize without in-depth contextual analysis.

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[3]WordStat's lemmatization process converts "him" to "he" and "her" to "she" in the word lists, so this comparison is based on a textual search for the terms.

Table 6.2: **Pronouns**

Nation ($N = 23$)	*Times* ($N = 33$)
He	He
They	It
We	She
It	They
Their	**I**
Who	His
His	**We**
She	Who
I	This
This	Their
Which	Which
Other	You
Our	*Its*
Those	Other
Any	What
My	*Some*
You	*Most*
What	**My**
Many	**Our**
Another	Any
These	Those
Own	Another
Whose	*Your*
	Both
	Less
	Each
	Whose
	Something
	Lot
	Several
	Enough
	Himself
	Nothing

Italicized text indicates a word unique to one newspaper. **Bold** text indicates first-person pronouns referenced in text. Data are presented in order of frequency.

6.3 Adjectives and Adverbs

6.3.1 The Daily Nation

There are 85 adjectives in the *Daily Nation* (see Table 6.3 for a comparison with the *Times*). Several of the most common adjectives in the *Daily Nation* deal with nationality or geography. Of the nine total nationality adjectives in the list, all but two are in the top 30 words, and no other adjective category appears as frequently in the top 30. "County" and "national" are the two most frequently occurring adjectives (sandwiched between the adverbs "not," "also," and "there"). "Kenyan," "African," and "international" occur near each other and in the 30 most common adjectives, signaling that all three appear frequently in the pages of the *Daily Nation*. "Local," "state," "national," and "county" are also used frequently.

Most of the *Daily Nation*'s 13 qualifying adjectives have political associations, including the words "primary" and "secondary," which are both used almost exclusively in reference to schools (i.e., primary school, secondary school), a frequently-appearing topic in this newspaper's coverage. A 20-percent verification sample indicates that another word not apparently tied to a political system — "human" — is commonly used in the phrase "human rights" (about half of the total times the word occurs).

6.3.2 The Times

There are 69 adjectives in the *Times*, and these indicate a strong preference for temporal adjectives, which appear more than twice as often as the next most common (qualifier adjectives). Nine of these occur among the 30 most common adjectives, and there are 23 in the entire list. These adjectives include specific time markers like "yesterday" and "today," age terms including "senior," "old," and "young," and more generic markers such as "late," "never," "already," and "future." Use of words in this category could signal a reportorial reliance on temporal markers to tell "a story," which is how many newsworkers think of their craft. Qualifiers occur less frequently in the *Times* (11 in the total sample and two in

the top 30 words), but still often indicate political processes or agents ("state," "political," and "royal," for instance); the word "prime" is often used in the phrase "prime minister," "Independent" refers to a British political party, and "economic" makes an appearance here as well. Other qualifying adjectives in the *Times* refer to social agents and processes that are not necessarily or primarily political — "family," and "private," for instance. "Family," which is used as a noun and an adjective, is often used to qualify a person or a title, as in "family man" or "family support officers." Neither paper relies on many routine descriptive adjectives, but the *Times* does use the words "white," "full," and "open." "White" is often used in a political context, as it generally refers to the White House or the demographic category, in reference to voters or survey respondents.

Table 6.3: **Adjectives and Adverbs**

Daily Nation ($N = 85$)	*Times* ($N = 69$)
Not	Not
County	*More*
Also	There
National	Last
There	National
Public	New
Last	Also
Security	No
New	Good
State	First
High	Only
No	Now
Only	*Yesterday*
Former	*Family*
General	Just
However	*Many*
Good	How
First	High
Kenyan	*British*
Now	Former

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Head	Old
Late	Public
Most	Very
International	Late
Chief	*Lead (Leading)*
African	State
Then	Long
Local	However
Even	Even
How	Still
Same	*Big*
Early	Young
Still	Chief
Yet	*Great*
Post	Early
Primary	*Too*
Long	*Today*
Old	Never
Free	*Scottish*
Very	Open
Both	Both
Just	Same
Clear	*Royal*
Several	Local
Human	Second
Open	Every
Senior	*Prime*
Foreign	Political
Second	*Large*
Already	*Low*
Every	*Less*
Each	*Must*
Own	Why
Private	*Almost*
Least	Clear
Secondary	*Bad*
Why	Already
Various	*Likely*
Legal	*Small*

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Central	*Social*
Civil	*Once*
Immediate	Private
Young	*Full*
Never	Legal
Political	International
Special	Foreign
Press	*Always*
Financial	*Here*
Key	*European*
	Third
	Future
	Able
	French
	White
	Present
	Unite
	Human
	Hard
	Again
	Independent
	Recent
	Real
	Often
	Ever
	Economic

Italicized text indicates a word unique to one newspaper. Data are presented in order of frequency.

6.4 Nouns

6.4.1 The Daily Nation

There are 273 nouns in the *Daily Nation*'s word list (see Table 6.4 for a comparison with the *Times*). "Kenya" is the most commonly occurring proper noun in the *Daily Nation*'s text, with 0.8 percent frequency; "Nairobi," "county," "country," and "Kenyans" also have more than 0.1 percent frequency in the text. Other frequently occurring nouns — government,

president, Kenyatta — emphasize politics. Uhuru Kenyatta, the current president of Kenya, is the most frequently named person in the *Daily Nation*'s news; his last name occurs with 0.3 percent frequency in the text. In addition, the word "development" is unique to the *Daily Nation*, and is often (though not always) used in the context of socioeconomic development project indicators or progress, typically (though again, not always) occurring in-country.

6.4.2 The Times

There are 239 nouns in the *Times*' top 500 words, and, as with the *Daily Nation*, geographic and political terms feature prominently. These are interspersed with less political words also occurring at a high rate. "U.K.," "Scotland," "Eire," and "Britain" are all geographic terms that appear more frequently than "London," indicating that county and Scottish news might appear in the *Times* with more frequency than news directly referencing London. "Minister," "president," and "leader" are all terms with overt or possible political meanings, along with the name of current prime minister David Cameron — the most frequently occurring name in the *Times*. The word "war" appears about one-third of the way down the *Times*' noun list, but does not appear in the *Daily Nation* (though the *Nation* does use many conflict-related words).

Table 6.4: **Nouns**

Daily Nation ($N = 273$)	*Times* ($N = 239$)
Mr. (ti)	Year
Kenya (p)	Mr. (ti)
Government	One
Police	People
President (ti)	Child
Court	Time
Two	Government
Year	Police
Country	Week
One	*Day*

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Nairobi (p)	*U.K.* (p)
Teacher (ti)	Man
School	*Scotland* (p)
Officer (ti)	Home
People	Woman
Report	*Eire*
Kenyatta (p)	Month
Service	Minister (ti)
Public	Family
Secretary (ti)	Report
Area	Life
Security	Three
Time	Party
State	Country
Million	*Britain* (p)
Three	Million
Commission	Company
Law	*London* (p)
House	World
Ms. (ti)	*Sunday*
Member (ti)	*Page*
Official (ti)	School
While	Court
Woman	*Pay*
Hospital	House
Leader (ti)	Way
Child	*Group*
Billion	Service
Issue	State
M.P. (p)	Force
Man	Number
Union	*End*
Attack	Health
Education	Death
Week	Ms. (ti)
Justice	Hospital
Office	David (p)
Dr. (ti)	President (ti)
Road	Member (ti)

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Land	Live
Kenyans (p)	Night
Month	*Support*
Kenyan (p)	Head
Cabinet	Cost
Company	*Labour* (p)
Governor	Plan
Head (ti)	Four
Family	Business
Project	Tax
Home	*Age*
Suspect	Five
Judge	*Name*
Part	Bank
Development	*Thing*
Bill	Leader (ti)
Health	Office
University	University
Africa (p)	Officer (ti)
Student (ti)	Staff
Fund	M.P. (p)
June (p)	City
Ministry	Money
Deputy (ti)	Official (ti)
Number	*Risk*
Region	Issue
Community	*Film*
Election	Hour
July (p)	Job
Water	Director (ti)
Authority	Law
Life	March (p)
Rule	Secretary (ti)
Force	Mother (ti)
Thursday (p)	*Cameron* (p)
Monday (p)	*Friend*
Lawyer	*B.B.C.* (p)
Tuesday (p)	*War*
Committee	Concern

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Way	Council
December (p)	Parent (ti)
Team	Patient (ti)
Director (ti)	October (p)
Five	Power
Death	September (p)
Money	*Study*
Four	June (p)
Mombasa (p)	Question
Vehicle	December (p)
Wednesday (p)	*Campaign*
Ruto (p)	Area
Resident (ti)	System
Uhuru (p)	*Price*
Fight	John (p)
Girl	*Figure*
Matter	Fund
Body	South
South	Problem
K.N.U.T. (p)	July (p)
Minister (ti)	Six
Board	Hand
Assembly	Rule
Bank	*Book*
Worker (ti)	Girl
Statement	Result
Process	Source
Council	Evidence
Release	Decision
World	*Street*
Fire	April (p)
Criminal (ti)	November (p)
Prof (ti)	*North*
Business	*Record*
Centre	*Lord* (ti)
Cause	*Hope*
Boss (ti)	August (p)
Party	*Act*
Term	Election

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Post	Car
Power	Executive (ti)
April (p)	Father (ti)
Cost	*England* (p)
Decision	*Mark* (p)
Salary	*Sir* (ti)
Somalia (p)	*N.H.S.* (p)
Friday (p)	Wife (ti)
Crime	*Interest*
Challenge	*Research*
Constitution	*General*
Parliament	Body
Operation	Level
Senator (ti)	*Investigation*
Witness (ti)	Security
Live	Drug
Accident	Centre
Airport	Bill
August (p)	*January* (p)
Victim (ti)	Policy
Plan	Judge (ti)
Town	Union
East	Market
Programme	Food
District	*West*
October (p)	Term
Action	*February* (p)
Level	*Line*
Budget	*American* (p)
Farmer (ti)	Half
Reporter (ti)	Action
Trade	Billion
Management	Fight
Correspondent (ti)	*Spokesman* (ti)
September (p)	Authority
Appeal	*Sea*
Agency	*Tory* (p)
Agreement	Fire
Form	*Church*

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Six	*Industry*
November (p)	Crime
Commissioner (ti)	*Sign*
Executive	*Ireland* (p)
Source	Committee
Information	Al (p)
Incident	*Couple* (ti)
Drug	*Abuse*
Night	Student (ti)
Driver (ti)	Role
Result	Victim (ti)
John (p)	*Account*
Petition	*Medium*
Hand	Team
Youth	Justice
Dead	*Story*
Property	*Prince* (ti)
Institution	Department
Job	*Miss* (ti)
Station	*E.U.* (p)
Base	Mrs. (ti)
Position	*Boy*
Allowance	*Trial*
David (p)	*Michael* (p)
Letter	Information
Laptop	*Ten*
Al (p)	*Doctor*
Passenger (ti)	*Future*
Car	*Test*
Unit	*Charity*
Kilonzo (p)	*Sex*
List	Water
Traffic	Road
Person	*Event*
Food	*Site*
Mrs. (ti)	Property
Resource	*Sale*
Wife (ti)	Programme
Dispute	Community

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Society	*Defence*
Question	Building
Administration	*Arm*
Market	*Star*
Staff	Operation
Violence	*Comment*
Revenue	Post
Sector	Project
City	*Daughter* (ti)
Medic (ti)	*Target*
Conference	East
Bus	*Cancer*
Peace	I*nquiry*
Duty	Park
U.N. (p)	*Heart*
Park	*Phone*
Hour	*Side*
Saturday (p)	*Baby*
Travel	Worker (ti)
Association	*Europe* (p)
Mother (ti)	*Energy*
Effort	*Thousand*
Mau (p)	*Jail*
Concern	*Army*
Affair	*Conservative* (p)
Department	*Link*
Tax	*Queen* (ti)
William (p)	Education
Date	Commission
Evidence	*Idea*
Principal (ti)	*Cover*
System	Agency
Standard	*Course*
Access	*Subject*
Border	
Notice	
Problem	
Wildlife	
Uganda (p)	

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Morning	
Nakuru (p)	
Prosecution	
Turkana (p)	
Parent (ti)	
Policy	
Refugee (ti)	
Representative (ti)	
Village	
Joseph (p)	
Flood	
Examination	
TSC (p)	
Sudan (p)	
Lack	
Role	
March (p)	
Kimaiyo (p)	
P.M. (p)	
Candidate (ti)	
Father (ti)	
Organisation	
River	
Seven	
Journalist (ti)	
Judiciary	
Building	
Kisumu (p)	
Patient (ti)	

Italicized text indicates a word unique to one newspaper. Data are presented in order of frequency.

6.5 Verbs

6.5.1 The Daily Nation

There are 142 verbs in the *Daily Nation*'s top 500 words, and about one-third of them ($N = 40$) are unique to the *Nation* (see Table 6.5 for a comparison with the *Times*). "Be" is

the most common word in the *Daily Nation*; it occurs 25,497 times, comprising 4.8 percent of the total dataset (the next next most common word is "have," with 9,907 occurrences); The third most common word in the newspaper is also a verb: "say." Together, these three verbs make up 8.4 percent of the *Daily Nation*'s text. Verbs unique to the *Daily Nation* are all dynamic, meaning they can indicate change.

6.5.2 The Times

There are 151 verbs in the *Times*' top 500 words, and 49 of them are unique to the *Times*. "Be" is the most common word in the *Times*; it occurs 672,498 times, comprising 4.9 percent of the total dataset, and occurs more than twice as often as the next most common word (which is also "have," and occurs 260,940 times). The three most common words in the newspaper — "be," "have," and "say" — together comprise 8 percent of the text in the *Times*. Verbs unique to the *Times* includes four stative verbs — verbs indicative of static activity or behavior: "think," "feel," "love," and "understand."

Table 6.5: **Verbs**

Daily Nation ($N = 151$)	*Times* ($N = 142$)
Be	Be
Have	Have
Say	Say
Will	Will
Would	Can
Do	Would
Can	Do
Take	Make
Make	Take
Go	Go
Work	May
Time	Work
Should	Use
Tell	Find
Use	Tell

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Meet	Get
Call	See
Pay	Know
Want	*Think*
Add	Call
Ask	Show
Find	*Report*
May	Want
Claim	Should
Charge	Claim
Kill	Write
Strike	Need
Set	Lead
Hold	Pay
Get	Become
Move	Look
Need	Help
See	Give
Give	*Own*
Support	Ask
Seek	Change
Lead	Face
Ensure	Believe
Increase	Set
Speak	Try
Know	*Attack*
Help	Meet
Act	Live
Accuse	Support
Start	Die
Arrest	Kill
Demand	Move
Continue	Put
Urge	Start
End	*Age*
Allow	Hold
Fight	Rise
Receive	Expect
Read	Continue

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Lose	Charge
Die	*Care*
Expect	Play
Release	Mean
Name	*Cut*
Fire	*Run*
Must	*Fall*
Face	Include
Deal	Increase
Involve	Turn
Include	Open
Cause	Keep
Address	Allow
Mean	Lose
Return	Offer
Provide	*Suggest*
Live	*Appear*
File	Bring
Remain	Deal
Note	Remain
Plan	*Win*
Show	*Feel*
Put	Return
Offer	*Vote*
Serve	Receive
Shoot	*Fund*
Visit	*Hand*
Fail	*Rule*
Raise	Cause
Send	Sell
Conduct	Talk
Deny	*Base*
Present	Speak
Require	*Describe*
Affect	*Record*
Establish	Act
Open	*Publish*
Drive	*Spend*
Argue	Provide

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Bring	*Begin*
Direct	*Mark*
Change	Leave
Reduce	*Break*
Sign	Send
Arm	Accuse
Attend	Buy
Talk	Carry
Carry	Involve
Agree	*Trust*
Cannot	Arrest
Injure	*Happen*
Hear	*Reveal*
Propose	*Grow*
Become	Control
Buy	Drive
Keep	*Love*
Rise	Warn
Control	Fight
Investigate	Visit
Leave	*Benefit*
Look	*Share*
Write	*Fear*
Unite	Stand
Play	*Attempt*
Sell	*Seem*
Turn	Sign
Warn	Hear
Confirm	Raise
Arrive	*Murder*
Manage	Release
Stand	Fail
Stop	*Review*
Try	Seek
Improve	*Create*
Promise	*Suffer*
Believe	Read
Learn	*Travel*
Pass	Arm

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Steal	Follow
Lack	*Comment*
Follow	Demand
Launch	*Post*
Allege	*Hit*
Join	Agree
Transport	Join
Target	*Build*
Announce	Announce
Deliver	*Link*
	Serve
	Strike
	Cover
	Decide
	Shoot
	Deny
	Design
	Stop
	Understand

Italicized text indicates a word unique to one newspaper. Data are presented in order of frequency.

Chapter 7

DATA ANALYSIS

The above data lead to several observations about news-style similarities and differences between the *Daily Nation* and the *Times*. These observations show evidence of institutional rules at work, both in the similarities between the outlets (highlighted in Observation 1) and differences (highlighted with respect to general conventions in Observation 2. Moreover, these differences are particularly evident in coverage of politics, conflict, and topical foci reflected in Observations 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

7.1 Observation 1: The two newspapers use major writing conventions similarly, in ways that correspond with global journalistic practices.

The *Daily Nation* and the *Times* show evidence of many similar linguistic patterns indicative of global journalistic practices. The two papers utilize similar structural linguistic elements, exhibit equivalent levels of reliance on language indicating absence or negativity, and show comparable discrepancies in their treatment of men and women.

A majority of the words comprising the linguistic backbone of the Daily Nation *and the* Times *are the same.* Of the 75 or so most frequently used words, which comprise around one-third of the total text (32.3 percent in the *Daily Nation* and 35 percent in the *Times*), more than two-thirds are the same and appear in similar orders on each list. Of the 69 words that make up more than 0.1 percent of the *Times*' text, only 13 of them do not appear on the *Daily Nation*'s list. The *Daily Nation*'s list of words that occupy more than 0.1 percent of the text is slightly longer at 78 words, so that 22 words in this sample are unique to the *Daily Nation* (see Table 6.1 for a complete list of the words that are different in each list, along with labels for parts of speech). Both newspapers rely on far fewer adjectives than

they do verbs and nouns. This may be a reflection of news style, which tends to emphasize short, concise sentences and lack of opinion. One possible adjective category — material adjectives — is notable because of its absence; this category of adjectives describes physical attributes of an object (i.e., wooden, metal, plastic, grassy). The total absence of material adjectives implies that neither paper relies on routine physical descriptions of objects — either descriptions are fluid depending on article context, or objects simply do not appear often enough for descriptions to be most-used words.

A key point of similarity lies in the fact that *both newspapers use the adjective "not" more frequently than any other*, and it is one of the 15 most common words in each paper. In one *Daily Nation* article ("LSK criticizes State for frustrating human rights work," Oct. 11), the word appears four times and each occurrence connotes failure: "the selection panel did **not** forward any names"; "the President did **not** ... nominate one person"; "the AG seems **not** to play his duty"; "the KNCHR [Kenya National Commission on Human Rights] has **not** been able to undertake its constitutional mandate." In a *Times* article ("Nurses 'too busy' to provide basic care for their patients," July 29), the term is again used to convey failure: "[the nurses] had **not** done necessary tasks"; "they had **not** had time to do it"; "11 percent had **not** given necessary treatments." These examples suggest that journalists and their sources in both Kenya and the U.K. favor negative, rather than positive, sentence construction. Adjectives with a positive valence, including "good," also appear, but are much less frequent. The frequent use of this negative adjective suggests that the writing style of both newspapers (and, perhaps, the speakers they quote) tends to emphasize absence, lack, or failure, rather than a positive occurrence; this might be considered evidence of the focus on aberration and negativity traditionally considered journalistic news values (Gans, 1979; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001; O'Neill and Harcup, 2009).

The Daily Nation *and the* Times *have similar discrepancies in their textual treatment of men and women*, indicating that, compared to women, men are more often given voice and given an honorific. In both newspapers, men are more likely to be given direct voice through the use of "said," while women are referenced through the objective and possessive pronoun

"her." In the *Daily Nation*, men are given voice through the phrases "he said" or "said he" 2,486 times — once for every three masculine pronouns used. Women, by contrast, are given voice in the *Daily Nation* — through a direct quote or paraphrase — 462 times, or once for every five feminine pronouns used in the text. In the *Times*, Men are cited once for every 10 masculine pronouns in the text, and women are cited once for every 12 feminine pronouns used.

Voice also is seen in the relative frequency of gendered pronouns in the text, and the phrases within which those pronouns appear. Both subject pronouns ("he," "she") and object pronouns ("his," "her/hers") appear in the text, but subject pronouns are more frequent. In both newspapers, men appear far more often than women, and they are more likely to appear as subjects when they are mentioned. Women, on the other hand, are about equally as likely to appear as an object or a subject. In the *Daily Nation*, "he" appears more than twice as often as "his," (5,592 occurrences for the former and 2,614 occurrences for the latter, for a ratio of 2:1), while "she" and "her" occur with similar frequency (1,390 occurrences for the former and 1,138 for the latter, for a ratio of 1.2:1). In the *Times*, "he" occurs 139,137 times and "his" occurs 91,307 times, for a ratio of 1.5:1. "'she" occurs 55,418 times, and "her" occurs 51,753 times, for a ratio of 1.1:1. Overall, men are more likely to appear in the newspaper, and more likely to be treated as linguistic subjects when they do appear. Women, on the other hand, appear less often and are more likely to be used as linguistic objects.

In both newspapers, there is an even greater discrepancy in use of honorifics. The masculine title "Mr." is much more frequent than the female equivalents, "Mrs." and "Ms." In the *Daily Nation*, "Mr." is the fifth most common word in the sample and appears 5,165 times in the newspaper. "Miss" and "Mrs." occur much less frequently; "Ms." appears 763 times, and "Mrs." appears 217 times. In the *Times*, "Mr." appears 48,483 times, while "Ms." appears 10,621 times and "Mrs." appears 4,991 times. These comparisons provide evidence that men are more likely than women to be given titles when they do appear in newspaper articles. This is evidence of an expected reliance on convention, as newspapers

have been shown to rely heavily on elite sources (Bennett, 1990) who are often men (Zoch and Turk, 1998).

The *Daily Nation* and the *Times* share substantial similarities in the bulk of their news style; this is evident in the number of words shared across the two papers' lists of words used with more than 0.1 percent frequency, in similar treatments of men and women, and in similar reliance on journalistic conventions such as attribution. These similarities provide new evidence that journalists across cultural, political, and geographic borders share similar senses of news and newsworthiness (Shoemaker and Cohen, 2006; Waisbord, 2013), and evidence that, even in dissimilar social and cultural situations, journalist are constrained by some similar institutional rules that govern their professional behavior in news style (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This behavior is indicative of normative isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), a hallmark of institutional, organizational behavior.

7.2 Observation 2: Within these prominent journalistic conventions there is evidence that word usage in the Daily Nation *and* Times *expresses some of the cultural and political norms of their home nation.*

Variations in noun use, references to time, and the relative frequency of self-referential pronouns suggest that the *Daily Nation*'s news style is influenced by the surrounding culture's collectivist identity and prioritization of verbal and written story-telling, while the news style of the *Times* is influenced by its culture's individualistic identity and monochronic emphasis.

The Daily Nation *relies more heavily than the* Times *on nouns among its most frequently used words, indicating an emphasis on concrete storytelling.* Many of these nouns emphasize particular characters, e.g., "Kenyatta," "report," "teacher," and references to counties and their governments. One key feature of oral discourse-influenced writing, which has previously been documented in news outlets throughout sub-Saharan Africa, is an emphasis on specific and concrete details (Bourgault, 1995). Situational thought patterns and narrative, which involve concrete referents such as nouns, are also emphasized in cultures with strong

oral communication traditions (Ong, 2002; Hadisi, 2012). In addition, noun-to-verb ratio is indicative of level of formality: Academic prose has a very high noun-to-verb ratio, while fiction and spoken language have lower noun-to-verb ratios (Biber et al., 1998). Both newspapers use at least twice as many nouns as verbs, but the *Daily Nation* relies slightly more on nouns over verbs, indicating that writing style in the Kenyan newspaper is slightly more formal. The *Daily Nation*'s greater use of nouns suggests a reliance on storytelling norms common in cultures with long histories of oral communication.

The two newspapers also refer to time differently with patterns one might expect of polychronic and monochronic cultures. The *Times* uses 23 time-referential adjectives, while the *Daily Nation* uses only 15. This is a small difference in percentage (27 percent of adjectives for the *Times* vs. 22 percent of adjectives in the *Daily Nation*), but different approaches to time become more apparent when examining individual words used in each list. The *Daily Nation* relies on primarily comparative, or relative, temporal adjectives, such as "early," "late," "new," "old," and "immediate." The *Times* uses most of these words but also includes the words "tomorrow" and "today," specific temporal markers that place an event or occurrence on a calendar. Neither list includes "past," but the *Times* includes "present" and "future." Through all of these word choices, the *Daily Nation*'s list suggests a news style influenced by a polychronic culture that is concerned with people and the present moment more than schedules, while the *Times*' list reflects a news style influenced by a monochronic culture that values timekeeping, schedules, and calendars (Hall, 2000).

Pronoun use across the two newspapers suggests that the Daily Nation*'s news style emphasizes collective identity, while the news style of the* Times *emphasizes individual identity (Hofstede, 1983, 2001).* The pronoun "our" is the only pronoun unique to the *Daily Nation* in the list of words occurring with greater than 0.1 percent frequency. To understand how *Daily Nation* reporters use the word, I performed a keyword-in-context search and examined the first 200 occurrences of "our" in the text. Of the first 200 instances sampled, the word "our" appears within a quote 194 times. When it is not used in a quote, it is used to refer to national identity or infrastructure, as in "**our** country and neighboring states"; "**our** roads";

"**our** respect for Kenya"; and "**our** goal of safe and secure communities." When used in a quote, the word typically represents the speaker's attempt to speak for a group, as in "**our** total revenue"; "**our** investigations"; "**our** people"; and "**our** culture." The tendency of so many speakers to invoke collective identity in their speech indicates a priority on collective identity — not necessarily at the expense of personal identity ("I" is also used frequently), but certainly in comparison with the British context of the *Times*, where "our" appears further down the list and appears with less than 0.1 percent frequency.

"Our" is one of a set of pronouns that highlight the newspapers' respective cultural orientations: first-person pronouns "I," "our," "my," and "we" (listed in bold in Table 6.2). A text search indicates that most instances of these four pronouns in each newspaper appear in quotes. Thus, use of these pronouns does not imply that reporters are using personal voice — a practice that would be unconventional in light of Western reporting conventions, but historically more common in non-Western countries Bourgault (1995). However, the relative frequency of each does send a message about how quoted sources conceive of their agency. In the *Times*, singular personal pronouns are more frequent than the plural in both subjective and objective cases, while the reverse is true in the *Daily Nation*. In addition, the relative frequency points to the importance of one over the other in text patterns. In the *Times*, the singular and plural pronouns are grouped closely together ("I" is followed closely by "we," with only "his" in between; "my" and "our" are the 18th and 19th most common pronouns, respectively). In the *Daily Nation*, five pronouns separate "we" from "I" and two separate "our" from "my." While the *Times* shows a slight preference for singular pronouns, the *Daily Nation* shows a more pronounced preference for plural pronouns.

These differences might well reflect how Kenya is generally more collectivist than Great Britain, which is more individualistic (Hofstede, 1983; Ma and Schoeneman, 1997). People in individualist cultures are more likely to be driven by personal beliefs, values, and attitudes, while those in collectivist cultures are more likely to be driven by social norms and responsibilities (Ochieng and Price, 2010). Collectivists tend to identify themselves as members of a group that shares responsibility for work and success or failure of a project (Triandis, 1993;

Hofstede, 2001). Individuals in collectivist cultures typically have a "we"-consciousness and collective orientation (Hofstede, 1983). The relative prevalence of plural pronouns in the *Daily Nation* shows that news style can change to reflect aspects of national culture, as "we" and "our" each appear about 38 percent more often than the related singular pronouns "I" and "my," respectively. In the *Times*, "I" appears about 20 percent more often than "we," and "my" appears only about 10 percent more often than "our," indicating that individual identity holds greater weight than collectivist identity in the British cultural context. Nouns, treatment of time, and first-person pronoun use all suggest that news style is influenced by an outlet's unique cultural surroundings.

7.3 Observation 3: The two newspapers exhibit different understandings of geopolitical identity: The Daily Nation *emphasizes nearby events and a nation-building emphasis, while the* Times *emphasizes presence in global politics and citizen participation.*

Through use of geographic terms and the relative frequency and terms with which politics is discussed, the two newspapers indicate different focuses. *The* Daily Nation *focuses on local, national, and East African news, with a heavy emphasis on political coverage via power centers of politics; the* Times*, by contrast, focuses on global news, with a less heavy emphasis on politics that highlights the role of citizens in political processes.*

Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show word clouds of geographic terms used in the two newspapers sized according to their relative usage.[1] The Daily Nation tends to focus on the nation of Kenya, with some focus on surrounding regions and little emphasis on world regions beyond East Africa. The Times, by contrast, mentions "world" about as often as it names any particular country within the United Kingdom, with "national" appearing slightly more frequently than any country name. In the *Daily Nation*, a cluster of words referring to the nation — "Kenya," "national," "Nairobi," and "country" — figure prominently in the newspaper's

[1]For instance, the largest word in the *Daily Nation* graphic, "Kenya," appears 2,727 times, while one of the next largest words, "country," appears 1,351 times, and "Sudan," one of the smallest words on the list, appears 179 times.

coverage, while words referring to the continent (Africa, African) and the world (world, international) appear far less frequently. Nearby countries (Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda) are the only other countries the newspaper mentions by name, but appear infrequently, about as often as Kenyan counties Kisumu and Nakuru. Far more common are words referring to generic geographic landmarks, such as "water" and "road." The prevalence of words related to the country in which the *Daily Nation* is located suggests a preoccupation with national identity and news that one might expect to see of a newspaper with recent historical ties to the nation-building process (Huff, 1968; Scotton, 1973), such as the *Daily Nation* and other East African newspapers.

The *Times* shows a similar interest in local and national news: The largest word in the word cloud, "national," appears 30,791 times, and the next most frequent words in the topic appear with half that frequency. However, the world features much more prominently: The next largest words after "national" are "Britain," "London," and "world," and all have similar frequencies (15,367, 15,292, and 15,159, respectively). Not surprisingly, the national entities mentioned by name in each newspaper's word frequency lists are geographically nearby; in the *Times*' case, most countries listed by name are part of the U.K., including Scotland and Britain, Ireland and Eire (the Gaelic word for Ireland), and "U.K." "National" is nearly twice as common as any individual country's name, and "world" nearly as common as any country name (with the exception of Scotland, which features slightly more prominently). Europe and "European" both figure little in the newspaper's coverage, with 4,333 and 4,980 mentions respectively. These relative frequencies imply that the *Times*' coverage focuses on national and world news with less focus on nearby, European news.

A scan of 100 articles from July 12 reveals some information about how the *Times* uses the word "world." It is used in a story discussing the possibility of an Olympic Games in China; the posthumous trial of a dead Russian man wanted for tax evasion; and a series of stories about Greenpeace protesters climbing the Shard in London. In general, the term conveys a sense of influence and an awareness that a particular event, while taking place in a particular country, is significant to an audience beyond national borders. In making

these choices in news style, newsworkers at the *Times* convey a sense of groundedness in a unique geographic identity along with awareness of other events on the world stage and the role the U.K. plays in those events. The differences in geographically-oriented words in each newspaper support research finding that newspapers have global news agendas but put national spin on that news based on their particular geopolitical and cultural orientations (Clausen, 2004).

Political references in both papers suggest that the Daily Nation *has a stronger pro-national and institutional focus than does the* Times. Figures 7.3 and 7.4 show politically oriented words and their relative frequency of appearance in the two newspapers. The *Daily Nation* uses more politically-themed words with greater variation in frequency, which is apparent in the size disparity between words in the word cloud, while there are fewer words in the *Times*' list and they occur in more similar frequencies. By far the most used words in the *Daily Nation* refer to political branches: "government," "president," "court," and "police" are among the most frequent terms, followed by "officer," "Kenyatta," and "national." Terms that could be related to elections or other democratic processes — including "election," "party," "term," and "candidate" — appear much less often than terms relating to political powers. The topic also includes names of specific political figures: Uhuru Kenyatta (president), William Ruto (deputy president), David Kimaiyo (police deputy), and Kilonzo (Mutula Kilonzo, a former justice and minister of education, died under suspicious circumstances in April 2013). The number of words in this topic and degree to which they link to other topics suggests that politics is a defining issue to the *Daily Nation.* Politics connects to education through Senator Kilonzo, minister of education; it connects to conflict through "police;" it connects to security through "police," and to geography and identity through "border," "Kenya," and "Kenyans."

By contrast, the *Times* uses fewer political words, and the topic seems less interwoven with other topics than is politics in the *Daily Nation.* Fewer specific figures are mentioned by name or position in the *Times*, while names bridge politics with education and security in the Kenyan paper. In the *Times*, "party" is one of the most common words after "minister"

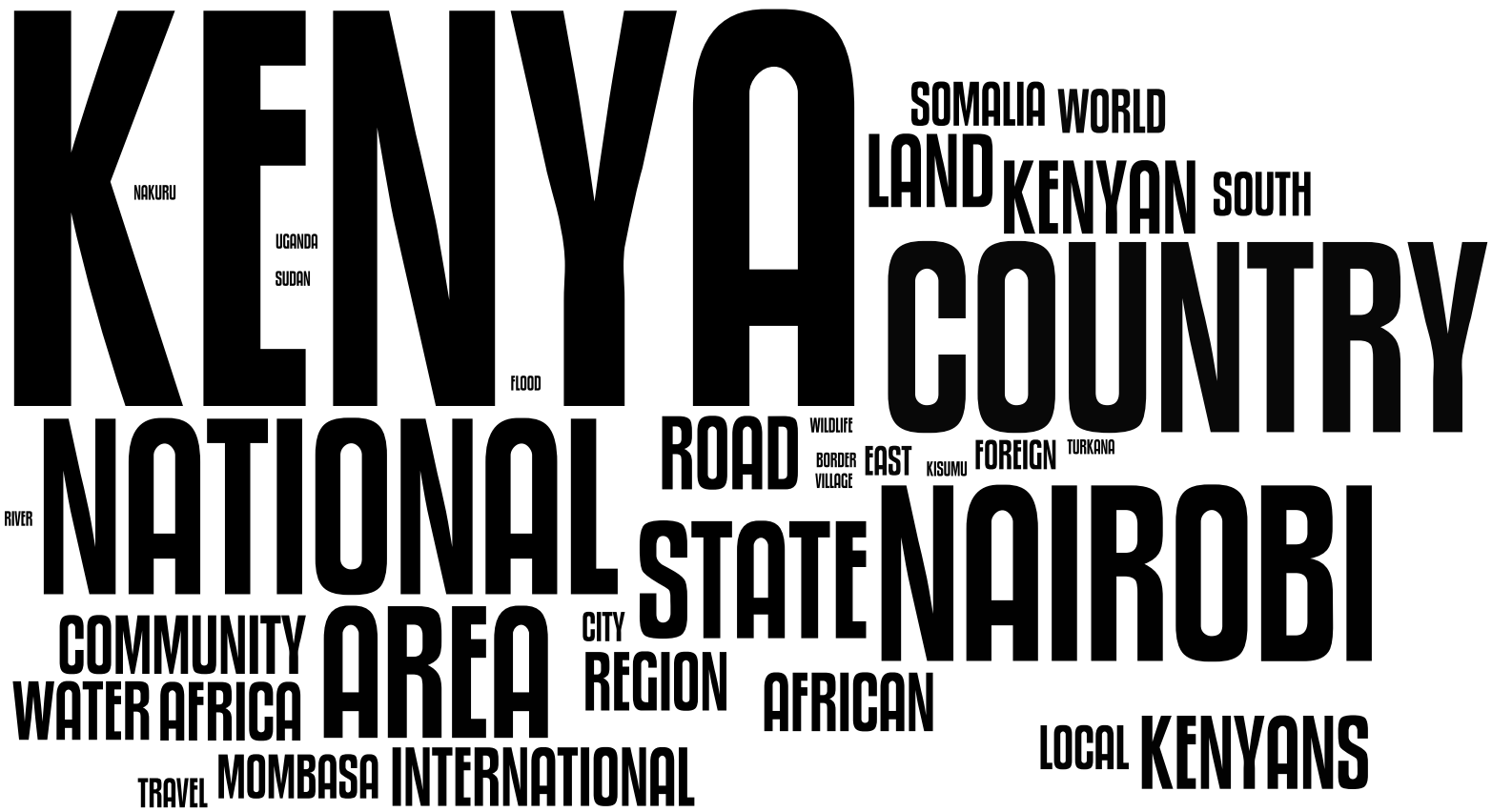

Figure 7.1: *Daily Nation* Geography

Figure 7.2: *Times* Geography

Figure 7.3: *Daily Nation* Politics

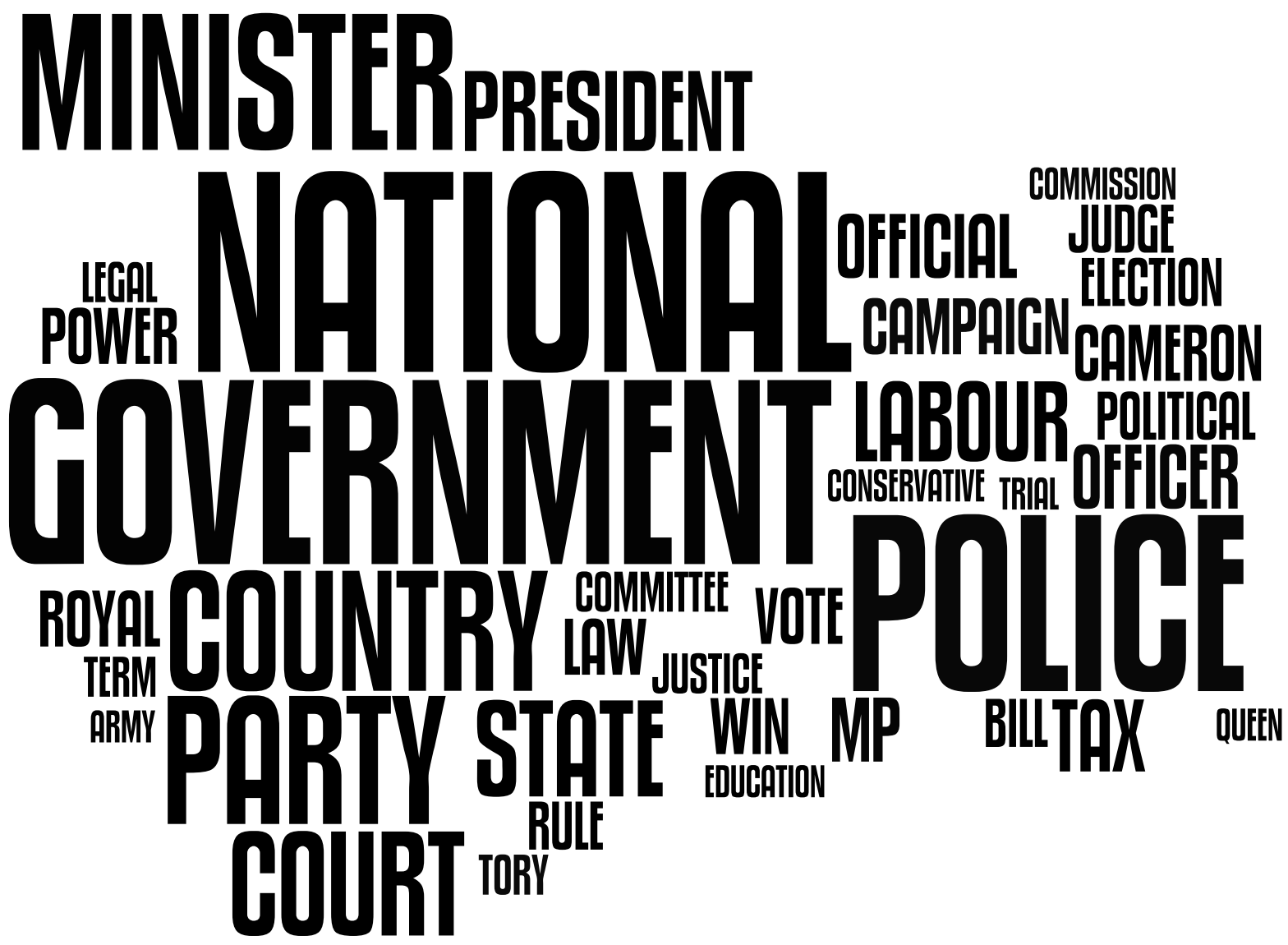

Figure 7.4: *Times* Politics

and "government," followed by "tax," party names (Labour, Tory, and Conservative, with Labour appearing most often), "election," "vote," and "win." The latter group of words refer to political processes or entities that empower citizens. Taxation, while often presented as an onerous task, nonetheless represents an activity that grants citizens some ownership of and representation in government endeavors, as does voting in elections, and participation in political parties.[2] The relatively frequent occurrence of the word "vote" and related words ("win" and party labels) indicates that the act of voting and/or the actions and opinions of voters are items the *Times* deems important to its readers.

A few verbs unique to the *Times* confer agency in the political process. For instance, the verb "vote" appears in the *Times* but not the *Daily Nation*, even though the latter newspaper carries a far greater proportion of political coverage. The verb "win," another word with political connotations, also appears in the *Times* but not the *Daily Nation*. "Vote" appears in political news articles throughout the *Times*, referring to voting processes in the U.S., Germany, Scotland, elsewhere in Europe, and the U.K. One example is a story from Jan. 20, headlined "Secret talk of Tory coup gathers pace," where the verb is used to capture results of a public opinion poll: "40 percent [say] they would **vote** in a referendum to remain in the EU, while 34 percent would **vote** to leave." This example grants substantial agency to the average British citizen, as it reports public opinion poll results on what voters would choose to do in a future election. Such agency is typically not conveyed in political articles in the *Daily Nation* — even democratic events such as elections are covered differently. The *Daily Nation* sample in this study includes coverage just after the conclusion of Kenya's 2013 general elections, and even stories directly referring to the election discuss "garnering votes" and "bagging seats," but not "voting" or "polling" as activities. The general point of view

[2]The U.K. held local elections on May 2, 2013; Kenya held general elections on March 4, 2013, and the available sample for the *Daily Nation* starts in mid-March, a little more than a week after the general election. Thus, the prevalence of election-related stories in the *Times* could be artificially high compared to the *Daily Nation*. However, the words are distributed fairly evenly throughout the sample (the word "election" occurs in 99.6 percent of 100-article cases in the *Times*, and in all 19 100-article cases in the *Daily Nation*), so it is unlikely that the addition of missing *Daily Nation* cases would significantly shift the frequency of election-related words. Similarly, the word "vote" appears in 98.3 percent of cases in the *Times*.

seems to be one that prioritizes official viewpoints over citizen agency.

The above findings are not surprising, given the roots of East African mass media in political enterprise. In Kenya, as in many of the countries in the region, the first newspapers were established as extensions of the British press for colonial settlers in the late 1800s and early 20th century (Abuoga and Mutere, 1988). The strong British tradition of the press as an extension of empire and a tool to inform and promote patriotism permeated early organizational structures as a powerful myth that proved opportune for nationalistic interests, who began using news outlets as tools to promote African independence (Scotton, 1973). By the late 1920s, editors were working as change agents within accepted norms by taking strong positions against protectorate policies (Scotton, 1973). The mission survives today: A stated mission of the *Daily Nation* — to be "the media of Africa, for Africa" — is evidence of the collective responsibility journalists feel to promote national identity (Skjerdal, 2012). The mass media in Great Britain, by contrast, formed in a political system that democratized relatively early with a strong commitment to rational-legal authority and developed a system of self-regulation, autonomy, neutrality, and pluralism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). In both countries, patterns of institutional development can be interpreted in light of path dependency: The mass media are influenced by global norms but constrained and guided by their past roles and the nature of governance in the country's political system.

7.4 Observation 4: In approaching conflict, the Daily Nation *relies on ambiguous language indicative of internal processes, while the* Times *relies more on language that is overtly conflictual and externally-focused.*

Conflict-related words in the *Daily Nation* center around crime and disaster — primarily domestic conflicts, e.g., "crime," "arrest," "victim," "flood," and "refugee." In the *Times*, conflict words also include crime (e.g. "crime," "victim," and "abuse"), but several of the words focus on international conflict (e.g. "army," "defence," "war," "target") (see Figures 7.5 and 7.6 for a visual comparison). A comparison of these terms shows that news style in the *Daily Nation* exhibits characteristics associated with peace journalism and development

journalism, while the news style of the *Times* is consistent with Western journalism practices, which typically emphasize information as a value over development or peace goals.

Several words highlight similarities and differences in conflict coverage. *"Police" is by far the most common conflict-related word, and it appears frequently in both newspapers.* The term is often used in crime-related stories, and even when articles cover the police force in some other way, the term suggests the importance of this governmental, institutionally authorized force in responding to and controlling internal conflict situations. After this shared most common word, though, the word lists diverge. Many of the *Daily Nation*'s conflict-related words refer to verbal conflict (e.g. "dispute," "argue," "accuse") or no-fault disasters (e.g. "accident," "incident," "problem," "fire," "flood"). These words indicate a reluctance to shift or withhold blame rather than accept it. Along with the words "peace," "development," and "U.N.," all three of which are unique to the *Daily Nation*, the nature of conflict words in this newspaper suggest both a cultural tendency to avoid direct blame and a general emphasis on peace and stability that is not present in *Times* news coverage.

The second most common conflict term in each paper — "force" in the Times *and "security" in the* Daily Nation *— indicate these different priorities in conflict coverage.* In the *Times*, "force" is used in multiple ways but often refers to police or the military. For instance, in a story about police department budgets (Feb. 16, "Embassy stake-out to catch Assange costs police £3.9 m"): "The extra expense comes at a time when the **force** is cutting thousands of police jobs . . . ." In the *Daily Nation*, security is also used in several ways: When used as an adjective, it often refers to police or other guard patrols, and when used as a noun it typically refers to national or regional security in the sense of safeguarding state interests against internal and external threats (Oxford English Dictionary). The word is used similarly in the *Times*, but its relatively high prevalence in the *Daily Nation* indicates a heightened interest in ensuring safety, both on a national and local level. 2013 was a momentous year for Kenya, with a national election early in the year and the internationally newsworthy Nairobi mall bombing late in the year. However, the word "security" appears with relatively stable frequency throughout the 12-month sample so seems to be of constant,

rather than situational, news interest.

The *Daily Nation*'s apparent emphasis on peace is not unusual in non-Western media outlets in or near conflict zones or developing nations, as Kenya is. Development journalism, a journalistic mindset that emphasizes the importance of nation-building projects and goals, at its most independent provides critical checks against government power and projects, but in many cases presents government projects and leaders in a favorable light, particularly in Africa (Xiaoge, 2009). Regardless of its pro- or anti-government bent, a general hallmark of this style of journalism is a focus on nation-building projects, and it has been often documented as one style of journalism with influence in Africa broadly and the *Daily Nation* in particular (Ogola, 2011). The *Daily Nation* also uses the word "development," which is not on the *Times*' word list. The word is used in several contexts but typically refers to socioeconomic improvement. For instance, "his office welcomed investors for the **development** of the resource-rich country" in the May 27 news article "Agency seeks Sh28bn to light up counties," and "the country is faced by the challenges of reliability and cost of power, which if not addressed could stifle economic **development**" (May 27, "Companies told to find ways to generate cheaper power"), along with references to "development agendas" and "development frameworks" (May 27, "Medical practitioners attend forum in Malaysia"). As seen in these examples, the word "development" is often used to refer to a process occurring in or relating to Kenya, and that process often involves socioeconomic improvement. This focus is a hallmark of development journalism.

Another ideological brand of journalism is peace journalism, a socially responsible and aware practice of journalism meant to contribute to peaceful conflict settlement (Hanitzsch, 2004). While peace journalism encompasses far more than the use of the word "peace," that the word shows up in the *Daily Nation*'s top 500 words and not the *Times* indicates that the topic is more newsworthy to the *Daily Nation*. One example of a story using the word "peace" is "Uhuru calls for regional cooperation," a story published July 31, which states that "President Uhuru Kenyatta has urged regional leaders to embrace **peace** and work closely to remove barriers that hinder the region's economic development." Other

articles refer to "**peace** agreements," peace and reconciliation in Somalia, and that country's "fledgling **peace**." These examples illustrate the fact that the *Daily Nation* focuses, at least occasionally, on peace and peace processes in its reporting.

A series of words related to military processes that appear in the Times *but not in the* Daily Nation *highlight the British newspaper's greater focus on military and offensive strategies.* These words include "war," "army," "defence," "strike," and "target." This sequence of words indicates that the *Times* has a news interest in institutionalized conflict. A sample of "war" in context in the *Times* reveals that the word is typically not used to refer to wars in which British troops are currently involved, but is used either to refer to past wars or in reference to events in other countries, e.g. a story about Bosco Ntaganda, an African warlord on trial before the International Criminal Court for war crimes ("The Congo's "Terminator" denies involvement in murder, rape, and pillage," March 28), or a story about North and South Korea noting "war may break out at any moment" ("Last hotline cut as Pyongyang warns of "horrible disaster," March 28). The news interest in these topics, it seems, is driven not by a compelling national interest (i.e., military investment in the conflicts), but in a desire to keep abreast of world news and conflict. Britain is more likely than Kenya to be compelled to intervene if a war were to break out on the global stage, and this could be part of what informs the *Times*' news calculus.

Another word that is unique to the *Times* is "bad." This simple word suggests that newsmakers and writers in the *Times* are more likely to couch news or information in terms of negative evaluation than is the *Daily Nation.* The word is used in headlines: "Hospital deaths are as bad as air crashes" (March 17); quotes: "I think I have been very unfortunate; I went to a bar and consumed a very modest amount of alcohol and in retrospect it was a bad call on my part" (from "Sexist put-down led to Commons brawl," March 17); and outside quotes in news articles: "There is also a perception the Irish public has grown weary of bad news, and this is part of the reason for the decline in newspaper sales" ("Kenny sees green shoots but the only real growth is in public discontent," March 10). This provides new evidence that, within the global journalistic norm of seeing negative stories as more newsworthy, the *Times*

is more likely to couch articles in terms of unfavorable evaluation than is the *Daily Nation* — a finding that supports previous research finding a tendency toward positive evaluation in African journalism (Bourgault, 1995). Altogether, a comparison of conflict terms in the *Daily Nation* and the *Times* reveals different focuses: peace and security in Kenya vs. tension and world conflict in Great Britain.

7.5 Observation 5: News coverage in the Daily Nation *tends to focus on citizenship and nation-building, while the* Times *shows an interest in social and private life.*

Along with politics, geography, and conflict, the *Daily Nation* and the *Times* both cover topics related to business, education, and private life in their news sections. The relative prominence of each of these provides insight into the news coverage priorities of each paper, so they are presented together in Figures 7.7 and 7.8.

The Daily Nation *clearly prioritizes education-related coverage over other non-political coverage.* In fact, though there are fewer education-related terms in the newspaper, the topic is about as prominent as politics — "teacher" and "school" are some of the most frequently used nouns in the newspaper, and appear more often than "governor" and other political terms. Here as with politics, institutions are prioritized in coverage: "teacher" and "school" appear most frequently, and even "union" — often referring to KNUT, the Kenya National Union of Teachers — appears more often than "student." Education also is closely related to politics in *Daily Nation* coverage. Much education coverage mentions not only KNUT, but also TSC (Teachers Service Commission), an umbrella organization formed in response to KNUT demands, which oversees "registering, employing, promoting, disciplining, and paying teachers," according to its website.

In business and commerce coverage, as in education and politics, the Daily Nation *tends to emphasize power and structure rather than industry.* The only industry worker named by trade is "farmer," and there is also some overlap between business and transportation, where transportation industry stories are covered alongside stories about vehicle crashes.

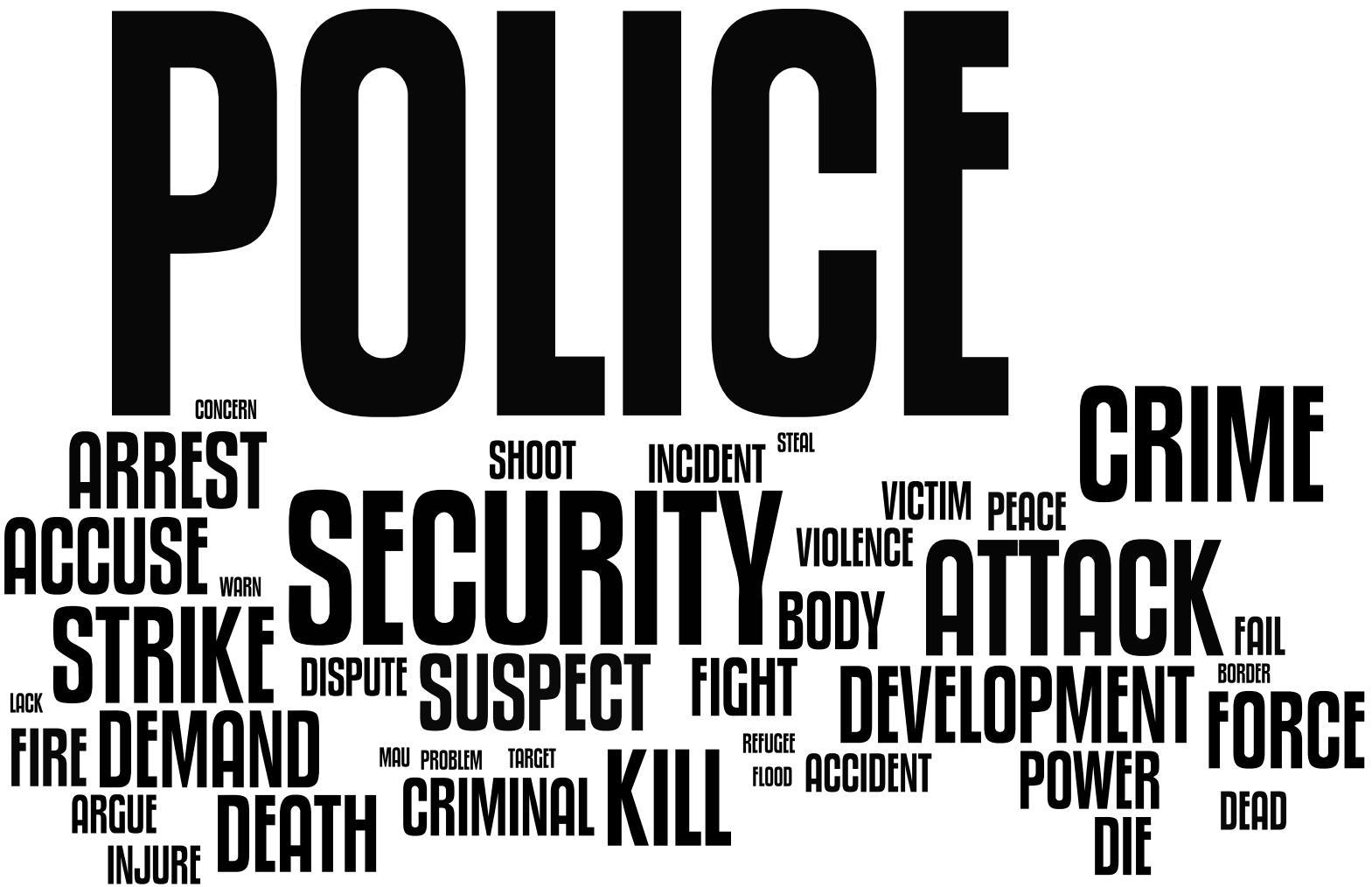

Figure 7.5: *Daily Nation* Conflict and Disaster

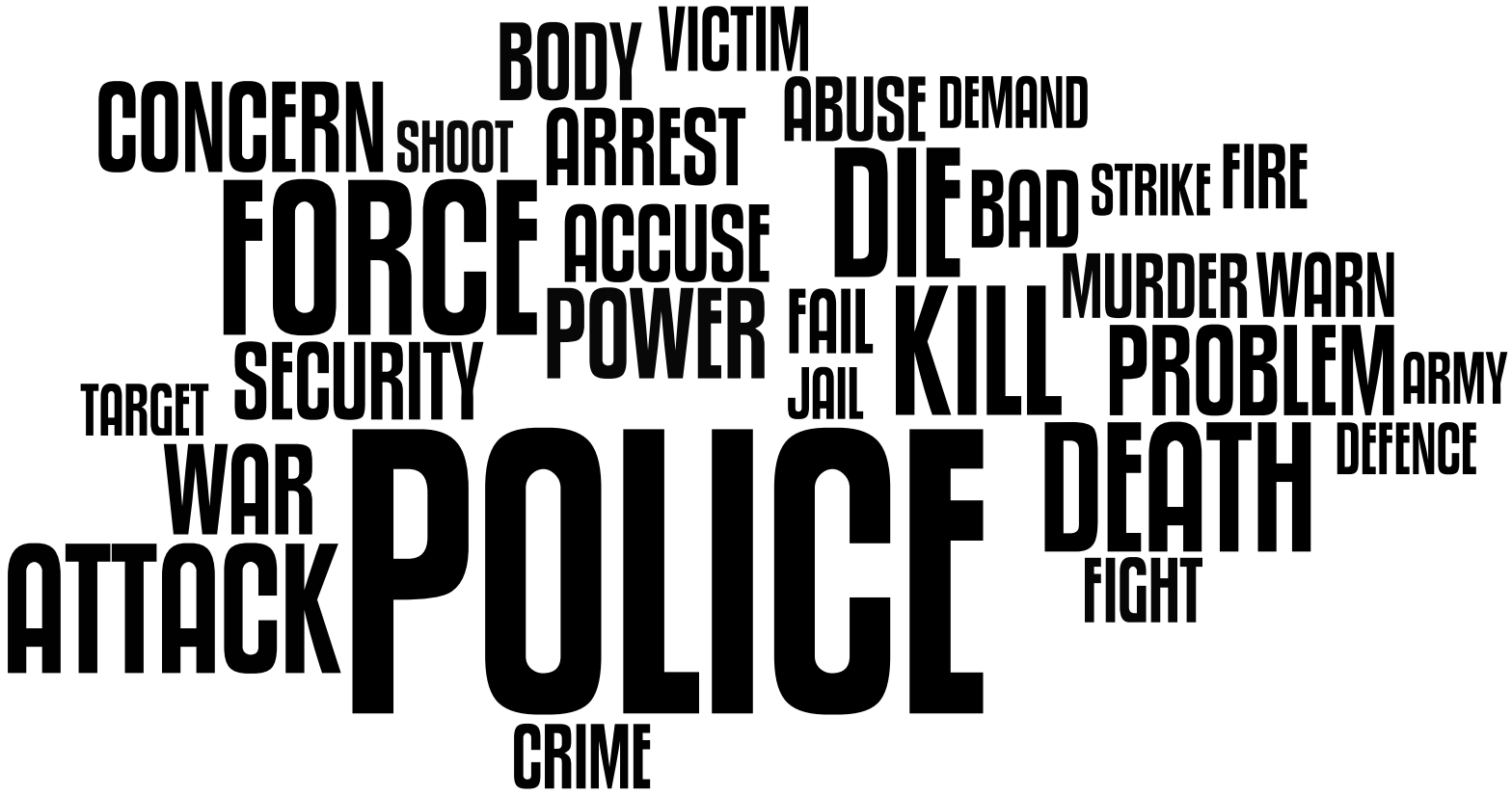

Figure 7.6: *Times* Conflict and Disaster

Within the business category, a group of words refer to finances (revenue, budget, fund, money, salary, cost); another group of words refers to organizational structure (management, executive, boss, business, company, worker, job, agency, organization, building); and another set of terms deal with economics more broadly (trade, market, bank). As mentioned above, the only worker mentioned by name in the *Daily Nation*'s most frequently used words is "farmer," highlighting the fact that Kenya is largely an agriculture-based economy.

While there is some coverage of private life in both papers — the words "family" and "home," for instance, appear in each — the topic has greater prominence in the Times, where "family" is as prominent as "school," and almost as prominent as "work," the most common word in this group. Also relevant to this topic are words that reflect private activities — i.e., activities not typically regulated by the state — such as "church," "food," "film," "home," and "car." A related subtopic that bridges politics and private life is "health," which includes "death," "hospital," "drug," "doctor," "heart," and "cancer." Some of these health terms — notably "cancer" — do not appear in the *Daily Nation*; cancer has been documented as an emerging epidemic in some African countries but is still considered primarily a "developed world" disease (Livingston, 2012). These differences point to the somewhat different roles mass media fill in the respective countries. In Kenya, the mass media are tasked to promote democratic policies (Wanyande, 1996) and assist in maintaining political discourse and security (Ogola, 2011). The media also fill this role in Great Britain, but seem to be more likely to provide non-political, lifestyle news to readers — one characteristic of news produced from a publication with strong market orientation (Beam, 2003), which encompasses a desire to understand and meet customer needs. Great Britain's mass media is generally considered to be market-oriented (Hallin and Mancini, 2004), while in Kenya, the *Daily Nation* and mass media in general fill a state-mandated role and are governed by state regulations. In focusing on political and citizenship-related topics, the *Daily Nation* takes a role in political processes, while the added focus on family and private life in the *Times* indicates broader news interest in topics affecting other aspects of readers' lives.

Figure 7.7: Other Topics in the *Daily Nation*

Figure 7.8: Other Topics in the *Times*

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

Through the lens of institutional theory, this study compared the news style of a key non-Western newspaper — Kenya's *Daily Nation* — with a key Western newspaper — Great Britain's *Times*. Specifically, it compares aspects of news style at two key newspapers — one in a non-Western country with transitioning governance, and the other in an established parliamentarian government. I find evidence that some journalistic rules are held in common across geographic divides (exhibiting *normative isomorphism*). Other *rules* differ across geographic boundaries, an indication that journalists are influenced not only by shared professional rules but also by local factors. Newspapers also exhibit patterns in news style that one would expect of organizations that developed in *path-dependent* ways under disparate pressures. By shedding new empirical light on non-Western journalism, this study extends institutional theory to a relatively unexplored realm.

The findings inform current understanding of journalism practice. Studies have generally shown that, around the world, some practices and values are held in common among journalists, even in different social, cultural, and political contexts (Donsbach, 1997; Shoemaker and Cohen, 2006; Waisbord, 2013). My research finds many shared linguistic patterns between the *Daily Nation* and the *Times*, supporting this understanding of journalism as a global practice with some universally adopted aspects. This study finds that journalists at the *Daily Nation* and the *Times* rely similarly on key phrases like the attributional "he said," and, overwhelmingly, on male sources (another common practice) (Bennett, 1990; Zoch and Turk, 1998). Reporters rely on similar ratios of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and other parts of speech in constructing sentences, and the ratio is indicative of somewhat formal written language. They also rely on many of the same words, indicating that, to both newspapers,

politics is a key coverage topic.

The current study also finds evidence of differences in journalism situated in different geographic and cultural contexts. While several studies highlight global differences in ethical decision-making and other ideological aspects of journalistic work, fewer studies assess differences in writing style across geographic boundaries. This study adds to the discussion of journalistic differences, finding that the *Daily Nation* and the *Times* exhibit some key differences indicative of stylistic and topical variation between the two papers. The *Daily Nation* emphasizes the topic of politics and tends to use language highlighting key political figures and offices, rather than language about political processes involving citizens. The *Times*, by contrast, exhibits a wider-ranging series of topics that include more lifestyle elements, and in political coverage tends to focus more on processes, such as voting and taxation, that empower citizens in political processes. The *Daily Nation* also has a greater emphasis on development and peace, both common elements of journalism practiced in a developing country. These similarities and differences shed light on the ways journalism changes across national borders and ways news style in a non-Western country with unstable governance differs from the news style of an outlet in an established Western political system.

This study also lays groundwork for future studies to explore in more detail the decisions around news style among journalists around the globe. Findings here explain an aspect of journalism in exploring what style similarities and differences exist between news outlets in different parts of the world. However, while this study captures the "what," other questions among the "five W's" are still unexplained. How do reporters and editors negotiate the discussion and decisions that lead to news style? Who has decision-making power in non-Western newsrooms? Why do reporters choose to follow certain stylistic practices over others? I have speculated on some possible cultural, professional, and political reasons for the differences between newspapers, but future research should carry this line of investigation forward with ethnographic research to examine the editorial decisions journalists make in East African newsrooms such as the *Daily Nation* and how they explain those decisions. A qualitative linguistic analysis can reveal similarities and differences between two distinct

journalistic corpora, as this study shows. However, this research can be further strengthened by quantitative research that utilizes the techniques of cluster analysis and computer-assisted topic modeling. Such an analysis would mine the entire corpus of more than 600,000 articles to search for statistically likely topical groupings, providing another look at how coverage varies across these two newspapers (or any two newspapers).

There are key similarities between the *Daily Nation*, a Kenyan news outlet, and the *Times* — a British news outlet — in their reliance on a set of words, mostly held in common, as the linguistic backbone of the news style. Along with the similarities, the newspapers differ in noteworthy ways: The *Daily Nation* tends to emphasize words related to institutional power and public affairs in a way that heavily prioritizes local and national coverage, while the *Times* uses more language indicative of global affairs, leisure and entertainment, and political processes. These commonalities and differences can be understood as evidence of different aspects of institutionalism, exhibited through cultural influence, political context, historical development, and sociopolitical role. This provides new evidence that mass media in East Africa is influenced by both its place within a global journalistic culture and its local context within an unstable democracy and a culture that prizes collective identity. This makes sense: East African journalism has been characterized as a type of journalism for social change (Skjerdal, 2012) incorporating elements of development journalism, thus seeing itself as a state partner in a nation-building project (Ogola, 2011). Journalists in the region work under different constraints than many Western journalists (Servaes, 2009), and one might expect those different constraints to exhibit in news style differences such as the ones I find. In outlining some of the news style differences indicative of different institutional influences, this study provides useful information necessary to move journalism research forward in the study of a globally important occupation and practice.

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