

**THE SPACE OF CONFERENCE OF PARTIES TO THE UNITED NATIONS
FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE IN KENYAN MEDIA:
AN ANALYSIS OF *DAILY NATION* AND *THE STANDARD* NEWSPAPERS**

WAHOME J. MWANIKI

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**A Report Presented in Partial fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of
Masters of Communication Studies at the University of Nairobi.**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution for award of a degree.

Wahome J. Mwaniki..... **.....**

K50/76685/2009

Signature

Date

This report has been submitted with my approval to the University supervisors

Dr. Samuel Siringi

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.....

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late mother Teresina, who inspired me to pursue education to the highest level at an early age.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

COP	–	Conference of Parties
EU	–	European Union
GDP	–	Gross Domestic Product (national wealth)
IPCC	–	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KNCCAP	–	Kenya National Climate Change Action Plan
NGOs	–	Non-governmental organisations
UK	–	United Kingdom
UNFCCC	–	United Nations Framework on Climate Change Convention
USA	–	United States of America

ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate how Kenya's print media cover Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change which is international forum that discusses climate issues annually. The study is anchored on the agenda setting theory. The study was conducted through content analysis of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. The sampling frame was individual issues in the two newspapers for the period of the study, amounting to 130 days translating to 260 issues from the two dailies. A sample of 223 stories was selected from the target population. The study objectives included finding out the frequency of reporting, the prominence given to the stories and the sourcing of the stories, and the perspective reflected in the stories. Data was obtained from the libraries of the two dailies and coded to allow for analysis. Data was analysed using descriptive statistics and narratives. The study found out that on average less than one story was reported from Conference of Parties per day, except when there were dedicated pages for the event. Few stories made it as page leads, constituting only 27 per cent, while foreign sources dominated at 65 per cent over local sources in the stories. The stories also reflected mostly the foreign perspectives at 69 per cent which had no relevance to local audience. The conclusion is that the coverage might not influence agenda setting of climate change issues. The study recommended that the print media improve on the coverage of Conference of Parties to enhance public understanding and set the agenda for appropriate public and policy makers response to the issue.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter explains the development of climate change as a core issue in the mass media. It provides the international, regional, and local perspectives of its centrality in the media coverage, and narrows down to Conference of Parties to the UNFCCC, a key international forum, which is attended by over 200 countries every year in different capital cities, and which is the subject of this study.

The chapter also shows why the issue of climate change continues to be an important subject that demands media attention as a result of its central role in the survival of mankind, particularly in developing countries like Kenya. The chapter brings out the problem statement, the objectives and the rationale for the study.

1.1 Implications of climate change

According to Hoornweg (2011) climate change has been identified as a global challenge that has attracted interest from communicators in recent years. According to Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) the increasing temperatures that are triggering change in weather patterns causing rising sea levels accompanied by increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather conditions have made climate change a core media topic due to implications on human welfare.

IPCC has defined climate change as significant and lasting change in statistical distribution of weather patterns over period ranging from decades to millions of years. The term climate change is also used interchangeably with global warming by public, and refers to increases in temperature over time, and which is one effect of the climate change

phenomenon. This study uses the terms interchangeably to be in tandem with its usage by the public. Scientists have warned that global temperatures triggered by climate change will continue to cause changes in weather patterns increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather conditions.

According to Boykoff (2007) the greatest effects of climate change in Africa is on food security due to increasing temperatures and shifting of rain patterns that lead to scarcity across the continent. The United Nations Human Development report (2008) has pointed out some of the effects associated directly and indirectly with the climate change as drought that has negative implications on food security, floods that cause destruction of property, deaths, and displacement of population. Diseases like malaria are also indicated to be exacerbated by changing temperatures while scarcity of resources like water and fodder for animals is cited to trigger communal conflicts.

In the same United Nations Human Development report Kenya is singled out among the countries which are already facing adverse effects of climate change with drought becoming more frequent and severe causing occasional food shortages. Norrington-Davis & Thornton (2011) has argued that Kenya's main economic sectors remain highly vulnerable to the impact of climate change. Houghton (2009) however argued that despite Africa not being a major emitter of carbon dioxide gases due to its low industrial levels, it is the most affected by the effects of climate change. In 1997, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change acknowledged that climate change was a threat to humanity and bid developed nations to compensate developing countries in what was called the Kyoto Protocol.

Against this background, global warming and the attendant climate change has therefore become a key development issue that ought to be among regular subject in the mass media locally and globally. The role of the mass media in disseminating information, creating awareness, interpreting and providing platform for debates on matters such as climate change is widely accepted.

1.1.1 Conference of Parties

According to Gupta (2010) the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992, attended by 194 out of 206 states, and subsequent regular international meetings (Conferences of the Parties, COP) represented efforts at forging international coordination in dealing with climate change. Article 2 of the Convention UNFCCC was created in 1992 to provide a framework for policy to stabilize atmospheric greenhouse gases at sufficiently low level to prevent dangerous atmospheric influence on the climate (Oppenheimer et al 2005).

The first Conference of Parties was held in Berlin, Germany in 1995 and has since been held in different countries every year. Kenya hosted the 12th session of COP in Nairobi in 2006. Globally, mass media has been central in mediating and disseminating to the public information from debates that take place during COPs. Many countries send large number of journalists to these meetings. For example according to UNFCCC, 2000 journalists were accredited to cover Conference of Parties in Cancun in 2010 and 3200 in Copenhagen in 2009.

Another study by Ukonu et al (2012) on how Nigerian newspapers covered climate change in 2009 and 2010 found out that 82 stories out of the 204 studied were from COPs held in Copenhagen and Cancun, which underscored the importance of COPs in disseminating information on climate change. The media in Nigeria viewed the two conferences as major global events that needed wide coverage.

Under Article 6 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) parties agreed to promote actions to develop and implement education and public awareness programmes on climate change and its effects. They also agreed to promote public access to information about climate change and its effects.

Kenya developed National Climate Change Action Plan 2013-2017 in which it identified the media as key to disseminating messages concerning the climate change phenomenon. According to Project for Excellence in Journalism (2006), television and daily newspapers are the primary sources of information due to their wide reach in society, therefore it is important to investigate their coverage of topics like climate change.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Because of the enormity of the environmental problems, climate change needs ‘careful, longer than bite- sized reporting and analysis’ (Stocking &Leonard, 1990).

According to National Climate Change Action Plan 2013-2017, the matter of how Kenya deals with the challenge of climate change is central to achieving its development objectives. However articles on climate change in Kenya’s news media are scarce, with the possible explanations for this linked to the tendency of reactive reporting and

exclusion decisions on climate change stories based on issue 'carrying capacity' of media (Atieno&Njoroge, 2014).

Obonyo (2010) observed that generally reporting on climate change stories in print media is 'episodic' while most of the climate change stories rarely make it to front pages. The trend globally is that reporting on climate change increases during the period of Conference of Parties, but currently there is no study on how Kenya has handled the reporting of COPs during which every country lobbies for its interests. Yet some scholars like Shanahan (2009) have also noted that generally the quantity of climate change coverage in African media is not proportionate to level of the threat that it poses to the continent, and little research exists in Africa on media coverage of the topic despite its vital role in raising awareness on disaster preparedness.

Tagbo (2010) also found out that most of the stories in Nigeria and South Africa are sourced from foreign media channels, therefore lacked local perspective relevant to local audiences. Yet according to McQuail (2005) news stories regarding international incidents are often reported in different ways depending on cultural bias of the reporter. Sarwono (2010) in a study on Indonesia newspapers on coverage of COP in Bali and Copenhagen observed that issues were viewed as tight negotiations dominated by political interests of powerful developed countries while news of developing countries like Kenya were not adequately covered.

Kenya's print media will not help set agenda and reflect Kenya's interest in global climate change discourse, if the stories covered are few, prominence is lacking, and relies mostly on foreign sources, while largely expounding on foreign perspectives. How the media covers international discourse on climate change has implications on how public

respond to the challenge and how policies are formulated for the attainment of Vision 2030 development objectives.

This study therefore examined how the print media has handled the reporting of discourse during the Conference of Parties with a focus on frequency and prominence given to these stories in the two leading national dailies *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. It also explored the sourcing of the stories and story slants in regard to local or foreign perspectives. A deeper analysis on implications of these aspects on agenda setting of climate change was conducted.

1.3 Broad objective of the study

- i. The main objective of this study was to investigate how Kenya's print media has handled the reporting of international discourse on climate change during the Conference of Parties.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives of the Study

- i. To investigate the number of stories covered and the prominence given to the stories in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers on issues discussed during the Conference of Parties.
- ii. To explore the sourcing of the stories and their implications on agenda setting as covered in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during the Conference of Parties.
- iii. To examine the story perspectives and their relevance to local audience and implications on agenda setting of these stories as covered in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during the Conference of Parties.

1.3.2 Research Questions

- i. How many stories are reported on climate change and what prominence are given to them and their implications on agenda setting as covered in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers during the Conference of Parties?
- ii. Who are the sources of the climate change stories and what are the implications on the agenda setting as covered by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers during the Conference of Parties?
- iii. What perspectives are reflected in the climate change stories and their relevance to local audience as covered by *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during the Conference of Parties?

1.4 Justification of the study

As indicated in the statement of the problem, the public relies more on media coverage to receive information on climate change and plays this role by creating awareness, interpreting difficult scientific research findings, and providing a forum for discourse. Conference of Parties is the major forum where global discourse on climate change is conducted, countries push their interests, and ultimately decisions are made and action plans adopted. Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen et al (2013) argued that the media should be key facilitator of debates since the public are represented by government officials at the international forums, to ensure a domestic accountability mechanism that enables citizens to indirectly contribute to the international norms that are adopted and government policy.

The media coverage of these climate change debates emphasizes the importance of the issue to the public. The number of stories covered in the print media during these conferences and the prominence given to them indicates the importance of the topic of climate change to the media and to the society. Scarce reporting on climate change stories implies that the topic's significance to development is still underestimated in public domain (Atieno & Njoroge, 2014). Therefore, high coverage of COP climate change debates would indicate that the matter has received the required media attention, and by extension from the public and become an agenda. The sources used in the stories has implications on public understanding of climate change as they have varied interests. The content of the stories has to reflect local perspective for the audiences to relate to them and set agenda for the public to take action in adaptation and mitigation of the effects of climate change.

By seeking to find out how frequently the stories on climate change are reported in the print media and the prominence of the stories during the Conference of Parties, accompanied by the sourcing of these stories and their implications, coupled with story slants for perspectives and implications, the study is filling a void of information on the status of coverage of climate change in Kenya during the Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

1.5 Significance of the study

The findings of this study will be useful to the policy makers, particularly those implementing the National Climate Change Action Plan 2013-2017 as it indicates the importance given to the topic by media and by extension that level of creation of awareness to the public. It also alerts them of possible bias in formulation of climate change policies when relying on media content for information.

The study will also be useful to the media houses as it will enable them to know how they have covered the global issue of climate change during the Conference of Parties. The findings are expected to trigger editorial decisions on how to increase coverage and prominence of the topic, while increasing the relevance of the content to the public by having more local perspectives reflected in the stories. Researchers in the communication field and other related studies can use the findings as base for future studies.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study was carried on all hard stories that mention 'climate change' and 'global warming' in their text from Conference of Parties held in 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011 and 2014. For the purpose of the study, the period of Conference of Parties is a week before the opening date and a week after the closing date. This translated to 26 days for each COP. The reason for picking the week before the COP is to capture the stories reported as precursor and the purpose of the week after is to accommodate follow-up stories or those stories that spill over to subsequent dates. This translated to 260 issues for both dailies, out of which 223 stories were identified for study.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The challenge was that some of the stories that would make it to the sample size may not directly mention ‘climate change’ or ‘global warming’ which is the basis on which a story was picked. Lack of adequate resources also will constituted a limitation as well.

1.8 Definition of operational terms

Carbon emission- the release of carbon to the atmosphere and which is responsible for greenhouse effect.

Climate change-for purposes of the study, is the lasting change in distribution of weather patterns over years.

Conference of Parties –conferences organized by United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change during which reports on climate change are discussed and action plans adopted. They are held every year in different capitals across the world.

Foreign perspective- story that is sourced from an international news channel and has foreign sources and lacks local context.

Global warming is the increase in temperature over time, and is often used interchangeably with climate change, though they do not mean the same thing, as it is a consequence of climate change, but is applied as the same in this study.

Government officials- These are government officials that include administrative and political leaders from various countries and from Kenya who attend the COPs.

Greenhouse gases in this study is defined as carbon gases trapped in space and regarded as a trigger to climate change.

Local perspective- story that includes local voices and local context in the text.

Non-governmental organisations-These are international and local private organisations engaged in environmental and human rights matters that attend the COPs to push for community interests.

Political situation- This refers to stable or unstable situation in the country due to the political or economic activities.

Science experts-These are experts on environmental issues and climate change whether local or international that are source of the climate change stories during COPs.

Scientific reports- These are the UNFCCC research reports and other country specific reports that are released during the COPs that form the basis of discussions.

Source- this refers to either local or foreign voices or news channels.

1.9 Theoretical framework

Agenda-setting theory forms the basis of this study. Agenda setting was coined by McCombs and Shaw (1972) to describe an observed trend during US political election campaigns where political parties sought to convince voters on issues that were important to them. McCombs and Shaw called it the ‘agenda setting function’ where media coverage arguments public salience of particular issues.

The agenda-setting theory of the media underscores the ability of the media to influence the significance of the events in the public domain and according to Entman (2007) agenda setting define the societal problems that are worthy of public attention. A study by Graber (1984) found out that audiences allow the media to show them what is important especially those that are outside their daily experiences, while Iyengar (1991)

observed that individuals seek facts and interpretations as they have little information about current issues and events.

The relevance of this theory to the study is based on the observation by Wilson (1995) that the public receives much of the information on science from mass media, and further reinforced by Boykoff (2007) who argued that since climate change is complex scientific subject, the public relies on the media for interpretations.

Agenda setting theory advanced argument that the media provided signals to the public on issues that were important to them, and not important. The print media indicates the importance of an issue through use of cues like high levels of coverage and the placement in the pages. Therefore high coverage of the climate change stories during the COPs and placement as lead stories signals the importance of the topic by the media, and its worth for public attention, as maintaining public interest in environment issues is essential in finding solutions and having them implemented (McComas&Shanahan, 1999).

Mare (2011) argued that the media was important in promoting development communication by providing an arena that stimulated diverse discourse on public affairs where issues were produced, reproduced, and transformed. As a result, the media is taken as important for public to appreciate risks, responsibilities, and funding of the climate change policies.

How the media covers such topics as climate change therefore helps to shape public perception, and influences how science is translated into policy, mostly in regard to environment, new technologies, and risks (Weingart et al, 2000). Steffen (2009) also observed that mass media debates represented an important step in political opinion shaping in which varied interested social groups including environmental and business

representatives are involved in seeking solutions. According to (Bovenkerk & Brom,2012) such information sharing may assist in balancing varied interests and reaching consensus and understanding on objectives of global climate governance and different ways of achieving them. The sources and their implications are subject of this study as they are an important part of agenda setting due to varied social cultural, political, and economic interests that they represent. Newell (2000) argued that how climate change is covered could lead governments to act or make it difficult for them to avoid the matter due to perceived pressure to initiate policy response. Newig (2004) also observed a relationship between media attention and the activities of parliament and governments to issues particularly ‘unobtrusive’ issues like environmental problems and climate change in particular.

To argument agenda setting theory is the gatekeeping theory which elucidate how media practitioners decide what to publish, when, in what form and who to quote (source) in the story. How the media processes news therefore influences the agenda setting of an issue. Agenda setting and gate keeping are closely linked.The media uses a pre-determined selective process to determine what is newsworthy. Therefore climate change stories, go through a selective process and compete with others in politics, entertainment, business, and sports for space in the print media. The media managers act as gatekeepers and select information to admit using certain criteria-of what they perceive to be newsworthy or appealing to the public (Koopmans 2004; Hilgartner&Bosk 1988). These gate-keepers include journalists, sub-editors, editors, and editor-in-chiefs

The frequency of reporting and the prominence devoted to debate in the media about climate change during the COP meetings signals the issues' priority and points to likely levels of problem awareness of general public and priority to the policy makers.

The climate change stories like others are processed by gatekeepers who make decisions on whether to cover them and how often, who to include (sources), where to place them in the pages, and some studies like Tagbo (2010) have shown that lack of interest by editors is partly responsible for low coverage of climate change stories. These actions combine to determine the volume of coverage, the prominence, the sources used and the relevance of the information to the audiences and ultimately sets the agenda on an issue or fails to do so. Agenda-setting and gate-keeping theories are therefore appropriate for this study as the public mostly relies on media for information on science generally, and climate change in particular.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

A review of the past literature is important in understanding the current study. It briefly explores the cause of the climate change, implications, and the origin of its reporting in the mass media, and some of the various studies conducted on coverage globally, in Africa and in Kenya and why it's important to study how print media has reported issues from debates during the Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

2.1 Origin of climate change and implications

The climate change phenomenon is not new as it was first identified in the 19th century. Over the years, scientists argued that human activities were responsible for emission of greenhouse gases but uncertainty remained.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, the global warming effect of carbon emission became increasingly accepted as the new challenge and by 1970s and 1980s, consensus on human activities as the cause of the challenge became widely accepted (IPCC, 2010). The implications of the climate change on human welfare are global as well as local.

A report prepared by Stockholm Environment Institute in 2009 has enumerated the implications of climate change for Kenya. The extreme weather conditions that include floods and drought are expected to increase in the future costing the country an estimated loss of three per cent of Gross Domestic Product. This will require Kenya to budget for between one billion dollars and two billion dollars by 2030 to mitigate the effects of

climate change . The country has already experienced such extreme weather conditions that has cost billions of dollars in last two decades.

The challenges that Kenya is faced with include food insecurity, loss of coastline, destructions of property and infrastructure like water systems, electricity, and roads, loss of livestock and crops, escalation of diseases like malaria and even conflicts over scarce resources.

The report recommends that strategies to mitigate these effects need to be initiated. Such plans will however not succeed without proper communication of the problem and understanding as it will require participation of the public. The media has a major role to play in dissemination of information, mediation, interpretation, education, and providing forum for discourse.

2.1.1 A historical development of media coverage of climate change

As the debate on what caused climate change ensued, the media became the platform of the debates. An article in *New York Times* in the 1930s that pointed out that ‘the earth must be inevitably changing its aspect and its climate,’ (Boykoff and Roberts, 2008) is viewed as the first coverage of the climate change phenomenon.

Other notable coverage was in the United Kingdom, by the *Saturday Evening Post* that carried an article –*Is the World Getting Warmer?* –which explored the link between the atmospheric temperature change, agriculture shifts and rising sea levels (Abarbanel and McClusky, 1950).

In the midst of the debates on cause of climate change, media coverage of contribution of human activities to climate change peaked in 1957 when US science reporter Robert

Cowen wrote an article for Christian Science Monitor called '*Are Men Changing the Earths Weather*' (cited by Boykoff and Roberts, 2007).

The newspapers in United Kingdom and United States of America were the first globally to cover stories on climate change. However coverage of climate change stories in these countries has not always been consistent as few stories appeared in newspapers in the 1960s and 1970s. There was increased coverage of climate change across the world in the 1980s after domestic and international climate policy coalesced through activities of United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and World Meteorological Organisation (WMO).

Studies on media coverage of the topic increased, particularly after scientific studies indicated that human activities were responsible for the climate change (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). According to (McCright & Dunlap, 2011) the IPCC represents the consensus on climate change and the information generated is compiled through peer-reviewed scientific papers that are not directly accessible to public and require to be interpreted to become understandable to the public (Bell, 1994). This is the communication gap that the media has occupied over the years.

According to Miller (2002) global warming is the most frequently covered environmental issue, and this is not restricted to the news media discourse, but is also found in science and political spheres, including film makers resulting into films like *The Day After Tomorrow* and *An Inconvenient Truth*.

According to (Boykoff&Boykoff, 2007) coverage of climate change declined again in mid- 90s as the media grappled with how to accommodate views of skeptics who became frequently quoted in newspaper and television stations as 'balance' to views of scientists,

at a time when science reports, international conferences and political promises, accompanied by scientific uncertainties were not regarded news.

Over the years many studies focusing on media coverage of climate change have been done mostly in developed countries like United States of America, United Kingdom and developing countries like India, China, and Latin America (Boykoff and Roberts, 2008). Carvalho (2005) observed that most of these studies were on volume of media coverage of climate change. Few studies exist globally on how the media has covered COPs, while no known study exists in Kenya.

2.1.2 Frequency of coverage of climate change stories

The number of stories covered on climate change is the first indicator of the importance given to the issue over a period (Carvalho, 2005). On the opposite, following from quantity of coverage theory, Mazul (1998) argued that the decline in media coverage on climate change communicated the message that the matter was no longer a priority or relevant. Consequently, the higher the number of the stories covered on the topic, the higher the priority it is perceived to be given as an agenda. Tagbo (2010) argued that Africa could only deal with effects of climate change through public getting regular and accurate information.

However as (Boykoff and Roberts, 2007) argued despite several studies indicating that Africa was the most vulnerable to the effects of the climate change, media coverage of the issue remained low, although the link between levels of media coverage and levels of public awareness of climate change has been broadly acknowledged.

In other studies, Boykoff (2009) found out there was regional imbalance in coverage of climate change with Africa and South America having less stories covered compared to North America, Asia, and Europe. The study findings implied a possible information gap in the reporting of the topic in some of the countries.

Downs (1972) had earlier attempted to explain why there were occasional increase and decrease in coverage of climate change by use of 'issue attention cycles' that identified five stages through which climate change coverage goes. The first stage was categorized as pre-problem stage, the second as alarmed discovery or euphoric realization followed by third stage of gradual realization, the fourth stage as gradual decline of public interest and the fifth as the post-problem stage during which the coverage of the issue is extremely low. Downs viewed these cycles, not as reflective of crisis but effects of media driven by profit motive, and a public that demanded more entertainment news.

Several scholars have however taken a different view to explain the increase and the decrease in coverage of climate change arguing that unpredictable and uncoordinated global events and incidents had thrust climate change to the public and policymakers. Scholars like Hilgartner&Bosk (1988) argued that coverage of climate change was subject of institutional arenas that served as 'environments' where societal problems competed for attention and expanded, combined with principles of selection or the institutional political and cultural factors that influenced the continuity of problem formulation.

Several scholars (Trumbo 1996, Carvalho&Burgess, 2005) have acknowledged that increased media attention and public awareness about climate change has raised interest in communication researchers on how the topic is covered.

Scholars like Schmidt et al (2013) conducted a comprehensive study on coverage of climate change in print media involving 27 countries for between 1996 and 2010. Twenty-five studies from these countries were summarized with focus on changes in media attention. It involved studying over 150,000 articles from print media in these countries for trends on increases or decreases in the number of stories reported. Among the major findings were that the coverage of climate change stories reduced and peaked during events of global interest like the Conference of Parties across all countries.

The study found coverage of climate change stories was generally increasing in all countries, although at different pace. Developing countries like Kenya were however not included in the study and few studies exist on the levels of coverage in most African countries in general, and on coverage of COPs in particular.

Some of the reasons given for increased coverage during COPs was the concerns by various countries over possible outcomes of the discussions that could impact on their interests, or the attendance by prominent political actors in the international negotiations. The other possible reason for increased coverage was the mobilization by civil society groups during such summits (Benfold (2010) cited in Schmidt et al 2013). The study noted such increases occurred during COPs held in Copenhagen, Kyoto, The Hague and Bonn and Bali. The findings are relevant to this study which seeks to find out the levels of coverage of climate change stories during COPs in Kenya.

The study noted that economic considerations, particularly from fuel exporting countries motivated high levels of coverage as oil companies that are major emitters of carbon actively sought the media (to influence content) since they as they viewed some policies as complicating their business. The countries with obligations under Kyoto Protocol to

cut on carbon emissions and compensate developing countries, also had high media coverage, with debates involving many groups that had vested interests. The controversy brought about by different interests increased media attention, explaining why countries like Germany with low dependence on carbon producing industries, hence few controversies, registered lower coverage of climate change stories in their newspapers.

The implication is that the media coverage during COPs is determined by the interests that they have in the outcome of the discussions. For example, the coverage of climate change issues in US increased in 1997 ahead of COP3 in Kyoto, Japan after the Senate voted against participation in the conference, and bad media publicity funded by the oil industry that perceived the outcome of the negotiations to negatively affect their businesses. According to Gelbspan (1998) COP3 provided media an opportunity to cover political grandstanding and posturing that involved opposition by other developed nations to US stand.

A study by Sarwono (2011) on Indonesia newspapers indicated that there was greater coverage of climate change stories when the COP was held in Bali, a capital in Indonesia and established that climate change issues were less important in Cancun than in Bali and Copenhagen. The study established that 232 stories were reported in Bali, 184 stories in Copenhagen, and only 69 stories in Cancun. The increased coverage was attributed to excitement and national pride of hosting the international meeting and easy access to the information by the local media. This observation is relevant to this study as Kenya hosted COP12 in 2006 in Nairobi, and similar effect of venue influencing levels coverage is among those established.

Sarwono argued that capitalist interests dominated in most editorial policies, leading to low coverage of local problems, minority community, and non-human victims. The scholar observed that this resulted in low discursive awareness among these groups, while local problems were ignored, even as journalist awareness on impact of global warming and need for conservation was not visible.

How news are constructed and presented to public largely reflect the interests of the elite voices and rarely mirrored the interests of groups that had no influence (power). Sarwono argued that there was a dominant group that was composed of capital holders during the conference who suppressed information on environmental conservation since it contradicted with their interests of making wealth. The implication is that news that are not favorable to their businesses are not reported. This observation is pertinent to this study, which seeks to find out the sourcing of the stories reported during the COPs because ultimately they influence how the issue is perceived by the public and policy makers.

Sarwono also observed that the media practitioners viewed Indonesia delegates in the COP as passive despite Indonesia having different problems compared to those of more industrialised countries as it depended on agriculture and marine sectors. The implication of this passiveness was that the media lacked local voices for their stories as the delegates did not articulate the concerns of their country during the discussions. The conclusion of the study was that Indonesia could not follow the international trade stream that was heavily influenced by the interests of developed countries.

Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen et al (2013) also observed that media attention to UNFCCC process particularly when there is a crucial negotiation is significant as it is seen as a

major news item. For example COP15 held in Copenhagen 450 articles were reported, with *Times of India* having 141 articles in the three weeks of the conference, *Guardian* had 80 articles and even the lowest *Vientiane Times* with 9, translating to one article per day on average. According to Boykoff (2013) the climate change news increased significantly dominated by the highly publicized COP15 held in Copenhagen in 2009, together with the leaked *e-mails* of scientists from University of Anglia Climate Research Unit in what came to be known as *Climategate*. These issues combined with stories of energy security, green economies and sustainable carbon markets to increase coverage of climate change stories.

Several other studies in many countries have showed that coverage of climate change stories increased during periods when there were international conferences like Conference of Parties or release of scientific reports. Such episodic coverage were registered in 1995 at the time of release of report by Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Boykoff 2007, Carvalho&Burgess 2005). The increase in reporting on climate change by media during such conferences however differ from one to the other depending on popular events such as Kyoto Protocol of 1997 (Boykoff, 2007, Boykoff&Rajan, 2007) that bid that developed countries to compensate developing countries proportional to their contribution to the carbon emissions to the atmosphere. The COP held in Copenhagen in 2009 has also been noted for the unprecedented high coverage as it marked end of Kyoto Protocol, and a new agreement on cutting carbon emmissions was envisaged.

Painter (2010) conducted an extensive analysis of the media coverage of the COP15 held in Copenhagen in 2009, with a focus on journalists who attended and what they focused

on in their stories. The findings were that 3,880 journalists from 119 countries were registered to cover the conference. According to Painter the level of coverage was unprecedented in the history of climate negotiations across the various countries, and notably African countries that sent 600 journalists to the conference. Consequently, the coverage of climate change stories in the various African countries was expected to increase as the many journalists pursued the various angles to the stories relevant to their audience and presence of many sources together made access to information easier.

This study findings are relevant to this study as it was established that coverage by Kenya's print media during the COP15 was relatively higher, consistent with the observation of increased coverage of climate changes globally as other studies indicated.

According to Lyytimäki (2011) although coverage of climate change stories increased ahead of 2009 Copenhagen Climate Conference as a result of publicity campaigns globally, there was a noted decline in media attention on the topic thereafter which was attributed to frustration on part of actors and journalists over slow progress of talks and failure by developed countries to sign bidding agreement to cut carbon emissions at the conference.

Others like (Gupta, 2010; Djerf-Pierre, 2012) attributed the decline in coverage of climate change to global financial and debt crisis that took away the attention of the media after the conference. Tagbo (2010) established that the turbulent history of many African countries strongly influenced the priority given to the environmental issues such as climate change in the media.

According to (Broadbent et al 2013) the media in China largely ignored climate change until 2003 when the coverage was spurred by international conferences related to post-

Kyoto protocol agreement. China witnessed increased coverage of climate change in 2005, 2007 that peaked in 2009 ahead of CopenhagenCOP15. By 2009 coverage in China surpassed other countries in Asia and even the global average. They were concerned about the post- Kyoto protocol that was to affect their plans for industrialization. In Cancun, China opted for moderate approach brokering deal rather than adopting the controversial stand that was envisaged before the conference. This presented US media with opportunity to assess their dual role as top emitters of carbon gases and innovators in green technology. Two out of five or 39 per cent of the stories discussed China and US role as top emitters of carbon gases and 24 per cent were on investments by China and entrepreneurs engaged in green projects (to mitigate the effects of climate change).

According to Kakonge (2011) India has also recorded significantly low coverage levels of climate change stories because the topic is poorly covered by the local media. The scholar argued that the low coverage of climate change might also be because of the development interests of India, as they contradict the demands for conservation of environment and prevention of climate change.

According to Boykoff (2012) Cancun conference that followed Copenhagen was expected to receive better coverage as several factors indicated. These included a preliminary report of World Meteorological Organisation released in 2010 that indicated that 2010 was among the three hottest years, others being 1998 and 2005 since the monitoring started in 1850s. NASA also announced that 2010 was the hottest year ever. The scorching sun in Russia and the monsoon induced floods in Pakistan were causing concerns at the time. The mention in *WikiLeaks* revelations, according to Pew Research Centre Project for Excellence in Journalism, (as cited by Boykoff) was among the top

five stories during the first two weeks of Cancun conference. The COP meeting at Cancun also promised a face-off between top carbon gases emitters-US and China. These factors combined with indication by World Bank that it would play a greater role in mitigating the effects of climate change were viewed as potential triggers to high media coverage during the conference. On the other hand, few world leaders had committed to attending the event, while many analysts forecasted that few concrete decisions would come out of the meeting.

Despite this background, Cancun conference attracted less media attention compared to Copenhagen in US media. The US-China geopolitical duel over responsibility of emission levels conformed with the observation that dramatized, conflict or controversy oriented information is more likely to get the attention of the media, even as African countries would have been keen on possible funding by World Bank on their adaptation and mitigation measures. According to Broadbent et al (2013) however, China approached the conference with moderate position. This diffused the political exchanges which would have resulted in higher media coverage.

Some scholars like (Poortinga&Pidgeon, 2003) argued that people might have other issues that they regard as higher priorities like threat of terrorism, economic recessions, education resulting in concerns about climate change being lower in their agenda of issues. Tagbo (2010) observed that in Nigeria and South Africa, apart from being a 'disposable beat' climate change is relatively new subject in many African media with less than 30 per cent indicating they had reported on the topic for more than three years, 60 per cent lacked training and time pressure were also cited as reasons for low coverage compared to significance of climate change to the future welfare of mankind.

Tagbo (2010) also found that to most of the local journalists, climate change was a complex science story that could not be properly accommodated in their daily routine because of the deadline culture of the newsroom. It also found out that very few African journalists or their editors have a good understanding of the topic while most of them lacked resources required to investigate climate change stories. The study also found out that climate change was not considered priority by editors and owners of newspapers. This apathy from the gatekeepers subsequently prevented many journalists from committing to personal development in understanding and reporting of the issue. Such background could explain the low coverage of climate change during COPs as some of the journalists could be ill-equipped to handle the technical information that is mostly generated from the COP meetings.

Tagbo concluded that although climate change was a serious problem that required regular coverage in the media, this did not happen, and added that while reliance on foreign reports from international wire services might be enabling a better coverage of the topic, these lacked local perspectives. The scholar noted that the stories were from press releases circulated by organisations. Tagbo argued that newspapers were inclined to stories in politics, corruption, entertainment that sold the newspapers better, so they were given better placement in the pages but added that there should be more attention to stories like climate change than the expected financial gain.

Some scholars have argued because of perceived need for a 'news peg,' by the media certain stories are regarded as appropriate and others as not (Wilkins 1993). Gans (1979) had earlier observed that the media operated with a mindset of a "repetition taboo" that resulted in journalists discarding stories that they considered already reported, in favour

of current and new information. According to Stocking and Leonard (1990) this “allows persistent, and growing, environmental problems to slide out of sight if there is nothing ‘new’ to report”.

Schudson (1978) observed that deadlines to submit stories and print space available also constrain journalists coverage of climate change stories while Wilson (2000) argued that when it comes to coverage of climate change “the underlying causes and long term consequences are overlooked in the day-to-day grind to find a new angle by deadline.” Wilkins (1993) observed that generative first order news values and professional norms of personalization, dramatization and novelty meant where conflict existed between political personalities, media coverage was assured, and the opposite applied.

The news values revolve around novelty, drama, event-centered coverage, personification and principles of impartiality or balance which determined what news was and how it was to be shaped. Since climate change news in the local perspective lack controversy, it would therefore be expected they would not receive much attention from the media.

Ungar (2000) supported the view that media were inclined to dramatization of news and journalists were likely to shun stories that lacked drama as not appealing to their audience, but cautioned that this could deny space for important news content that does not generate excitement or controversy like climate change.

According to Bennet (2002) dramatization is among the journalistic norms that explain the volume of the climate change news covered whereby “ news drama emphasize crisis over continuity, the present over the past or future conflicts and downplay complex

policy information, the workings of government institutions and the bases of power behind central characters.”

Ereaut and Segnit (2006) in their report *‘Warm Words’* argued that dramatized sensational and alarmist news are common in the media, and might even become exciting to the news purveyors. Brossard et al (2004) however argued that journalistic norms that guide reporters influence media coverage of climate change rather than the public interest or lack of it in the issue. They argued that the issues are not just exciting but are constructed by media practitioners to be exciting.

Other scholars like Schoenfeld et al (1979) argued that media coverage of climate change is also determined by editorial preferences and pressure from publishers. The communicators have therefore acknowledged that climate change stories have to compete in the market where other stories like politics and celebrity stories that boost ratings are preferred. Tagbo (2010) also found that coverage of climate change stories was hampered by various factors that included lack of training for journalists, inadequate resources, inaccessibility of expert sources and poor attitude of the editors, among other factors.

Some media professionals shun coverage of climate change because according to (Boykoff & Rajan, 2007) scientists ‘generally use a lexicon of caution and speak in a language of probability, which usually does not translate smoothly into crisp, unequivocal commentary that is valued by the press.’ The use of technical scientific reports that are released during the COPs against the background of lack of proper training could hamper the journalists ability to develop stories from them.

Scholars Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) however observed that few issues are covered at any given time as the media was limited by the “carrying capacity” of news pages in print or

the airtime in electronic. As result of this constrain of space and time, the mass media had to 'navigate through an avalanche of sources, information, influences to provide news to the public' as they seek to accommodate the many social problems and their respective promoters. The implication of these decisions is that some stories are carried while others are discarded by gatekeepers in the media who include journalists, sub-editors and editors who decide what is newsworthy. These factors combine to determine the levels of coverage achieved for issues like climate change, and contribute to agenda setting of the issue or lack of it.

2.1.3 Prominence given to climate change stories

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argued that front page news drew attention to, and reflected the emphasis media placed on certain issues, therefore such stories are considered to have a strong agenda-setting influence.

According to a study Tagbo (2010) carried on media in Nigeria and South Africa, there was 'consensus' from editors interviewed that climate change could hardly become a front page subject, except when there was a strong local political and economic angle to the matter. Shanahan (2000) had earlier concluded that media interest in climate change is more focused on the economics, politics and international relations aspects and much less on the science of the matter.

Tagbo (2010) noted that while the media in the Western countries was writing on climate change making it a major public debate, the struggle against apartheid denied the topic much attention in South Africa. In Nigeria, the power struggles of the elite dominated the

news stories with demands for good governance and transparency in public affairs getting more attention.

On the contrary, Tagbo (2010) in her conclusion argued that since climate change stories cut across various disciplines of physical sciences, environmental, economic, social sphere and domestic and foreign policy dimensions, it had potential to make it to the front pages.

Several studies show news media tends to be guided by political agenda (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005). It is widely acknowledged that increasing concentration and globalization of news media ownership has resulted in emphasis on entertainment, human interest reporting which discourages headline reporting of complex issues such as climate change.

Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) argued that the issue that climbed to the top of mass media agenda achieves 'celebrity status' as a social problem that is worth of regular coverage, but Ungar (1992) added that for environment related stories to be at the top of agenda in the mass media they have to 'piggyback' on real-world dramatic events.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) identified media ownership, profit motive, advertising revenue, reliance on experts who were funded by those holding power as sources, as responsible for determining what becomes subject for 'big news' in the global media.

Other scholars like Boykoff and Yulsman (2013) have however argued strongly that journalists ought to regard the climate change as newsworthy and give prominence to the stories due to the vulnerability to the negative effects brought by the phenomenon.

Nevertheless, some studies have also showed the media is subjected to pressure from the many social, cultural and economic interests when reporting on climate change. For example in 1998, *New York Times* disclosed that American Petroleum Institute, opponents of climate change policy, had put together six-hundred thousand dollars to recruit scientists and train them on public relations so they can convince journalists that rise in global warming is too uncertain to justify controls of greenhouse gases (Cushman, 1998).

The number of news articles that raised doubts about climate science and number of appearances by contrarians in talk shows were the benchmarks of the successful campaigns. Their reasoning was that measures to protect environment would greatly impede fossil fuel extraction business.

In another study, Mooney and Kirshenbaum (2009) observed that the print media were reducing number of science dedicated pages, if not being discarded altogether which meant less of stories on topics like climate change while (McKnight, 2010) argued that as a beat is transferred across other news beats it becomes increasingly polarized, so declines in science journalism may further polarize climate change news.

Williams and Clifford (2009) observed that there was a general decline in science journalists in the traditional media, which had increased the workload of the few science journalists that remained. The implication of this has been that the few journalists remaining on the science beat spend less time writing climate change stories and more time acting as gatekeepers maintaining quality control of science news.

Boykoff and Yulsman (2013) also attributed the decline in coverage of climate change stories to reducing number of journalists in newsrooms due to what they termed as the

crisis of newspapers. For example, according to Painter (2010) the *CNN*, a key US media channel reduced their environment, technology and science writers in 2008 ahead of COP15 in Copenhagen in 2009, while the *Guardian* in UK increased its journalists to eight, which resulted in difference in the coverage of the conference. The US media in total reported 176 stories compared to *Guardian* of UK which alone had 251 stories.

2.1.4 Sourcing of climate change stories and their implications

According to Hulme (2009) various actors determine the discourse about climate change policy guided by their varied interests. Such factors include administrators, the media, scientists and NGOs. These sources ensure the climate change story emphasizes some aspects, while others are downplayed or ignored depending on the different groups interests.

Scholars Boykoff&Robert (2008) argued that economic factors or macro-factors also influenced what was covered in the mass media. They argued that how these factors play out differ in each country, shaped by countries social cultural and political backgrounds. These factors influence who is heard (source) in the media. Such influence occurred in the 1990s when contrarians or climate change skeptics emerged as alternative sources challenging the view that human activities as responsible for changes in climate and mounted aggressive media campaigns with their messages often getting higher coverage in the debates than those of scientists.

According to these scholars the contrarians increasingly became quoted in media and as a result affected the perception and understanding of climate change by the public. This is because the media started giving same attention to them as those who acknowledged

anthropogenic factors as cause of climate change (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004). These skeptics or contrarians were controlled by economic interests as they viewed some of the suggested policies of dealing with the climate change as negatively affecting their business. The contrarians were aided by the journalistic norm of maintaining ‘balance’ in the coverage by giving the various shades of opinion an opportunity to be heard. Scientists however objected arguing that their information was founded on scientific facts, and not opinions, and their views introduced a ‘bias’ to the debate.

A study on USA national newspapers by Trumbo (1996) conducted earlier showed a trend from the late 1980s that political rather than scientific sources dominated coverage of climate change stories and argued that changes occurring in the coverage of climate change over time involved change of those getting their message into media (sources) rather than how the media chose to present the information.

Trumbo observed that scientists’ visibility as sources of climate change news witnessed in early years in the media had faded, either through being shunted aside, or voluntarily keeping-off the debates, as politicians and other special interest groups became more pronounced as the quoted sources in the stories. The entry of politicians and business groups, some of who viewed issues being articulated on climate change as a threat to their businesses ensured they had greater voice and consequently the influence in controlling the terms of debate and shaping solutions according to their interests.

Carvalho (2005) argued that Thatcher’s ‘the green speech’ changed the discourse from scientific interest to political issue as it termed it as “one of the dangers faced by humanity” hence increasing the coverage of climate change. The view was supported by several scholars who argued that there was remarkable increase in coverage of climate

change stories in UK and USA national newspapers in 1980s as the issues became increasingly politicized (Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004 and Burgess, 2005, Wilkins 1993).

Boykoff (2012) conducted a study on US coverage of Cancun conference and found that 45 per cent of the 250 sources in 98 stories were political actors, NGO representatives were 22 per cent, business representatives, mostly officials from American Petroleum Institute constituted 14 per cent, economists 1.6 per cent, grassroots people 2.4 per cent, who included activists were however not in mainstream news. The findings are relevant to this study as it seeks to find out the sources of the stories reported during the COPs as these sources represent different interests.

According to Boykoff the Cancun meeting was to come up with climate governance policies, but journalists concentrated on geopolitical machinations of the rich nations or ‘minutiae of negotiations’ where there was less about science of climate change and more of political and economic divisions.

Other scholars like Dunwoody (1986) argued that the environment of tight deadlines within which journalists work in the newsroom can lead to stories relying on only one source for information while McCluskey (2008) noted that journalists specialized in environment beat treated certain sources like NGOs dealing with environment matters differently compared to journalists in the politics beat. The journalists on environment beat were more likely to quote the NGO personnel in their stories than those on political beat.

Since the media mostly portrayed global warming in their stories as a threatening, (Miller & Riechert, 2000) argued that the use of authoritative, mostly government sources was pronounced, as according to Bennet (2002) journalists were inclined to use the

authoritative figures, like government officials, business leaders who could provide confidence to the public that order, safety and security would be restored. For example in the USA scientist James Hansen assertion that global warming was underway at a time when it was experiencing drought and high temperatures in summer of 1988 helped focus the media on the topic. Other studies have also shown that there is often significant acceptance of political and expert voices by public on media coverage of climate change stories (McManus, 2000).

Carvalho (2007) reinforced this observation arguing that political actors had dominated feedback on climate risk in the media over time, and mostly skewed it to fit their perspectives and interests. According to Bennet (2002) personalization of the news is fundamental journalistic norm that had “the tendency to downplay the big social, economic or political picture in favor of human trials and triumphs that sit at the surface of events.” The media focus on personalities is hence regarded as key to determining what will be covered as news, and more often climate change stories are unlikely to fit in this structure.

An earlier study on US newspapers by Pompper (2004) found that selection of the sources influenced the framing of the stories, with the elite media *New York Times* inclined to use more government sources, and the mainstream media *USA Today* using more sources from energy sector and the *National Enquirer* inclined to interviewing more average people. In the coverage of environment stories, government sources focused more on government policy, industry and regulatory issues and individuals on health risks. The three media outlets did not include special interest sources that might have provided contrary views. The sources used in the climate change stories ultimately affect

how the stories are framed, with elite media like *USA Today* and *New York Times* tending to use industry and government sources more as they have a legitimate access to these sources unlike the *National Enquirer*. Pompper however observed that while elite are potentially more knowledgeable, they might express different concerns from the average public quoted in the less reputable media like *National Enquirer*. The journalists as part of the opinion leaders can selectively withhold information to the average person with the potential effect misleading the audience to believe actions being effected are in their interest, as they do not have another reference which would make them have alternative view.

The study did not however enquire to the purpose of each of the stories, but used pattern of words to determine social manipulation, consequently this could have influenced the results. For example, elite media commentaries could have been directed to national audience of policy makers.

The sources of the climate change stories are therefore important in how the public understand the issue and their response and that of the policy makers. The sources frame the problem in the way that serve their interests. Therefore identifying the sources of climate change stories during the COPs in one way of seeking to understand who is influencing public understanding and shaping the response and possible influence on policy decisions reached. As a result it is important to identify the dominant sources, whether local or international, as implicitly it means their voice is heard more than others in the climate change discourse during the Conference of Parties to the .United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

2.1.5 Reliance on foreign perspective stories

A study by Rosa (2009) in Brazil found out that the predominant use of foreign sources and events for climate change stories influenced the way solutions are arrived at, and their relevance to the local communities. There was tendency to block out local coastal processes in Brazil in the national policies resulting in a mismatch with needs of the vulnerable people. Hellebrandti & Hellebrandti (2010) in a study on media representation of impacts of climate change on coastal zone in Brazil also found out that most of the issues were influenced by international scientific and political agendas. Hellebrandti&Hellebrandti (2010) however observed that there was potential human interest in climate change in Brazil, with the media playing a role in the construction and understanding of meaning of impacts of climate change on coastal areas. The study also showed that journalists were trusted more by public as sources of information on climate change, than even scientists at state universities.

The findings emphasize the need for Kenya' media to use local sources more to provide the relevant information to assist in arriving at appropriate interventions. Among the questions this study sought to answer is how far the stories from Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework on Climate Change reflected the local perspective in their context.

Sarwono (2010) observed that how the media constructs global warming issues discussed in the international meetings and resolutions made reflect various interests of the participating countries ultimately affecting the policy making, although the countries are faced by different challenges arising out of the phenomenon.

Antilla (2005) through a study of newspapers from 225 different sources between 2003 and 2004, found out that syndicated channels (wire services) played a role in shaping the manner in which climate change was framed and discussed in the stories covered. How the problem of climate change is framed affects how the people understand it, and their response as well.

A study by scholars Poortinga and Pidgeon (2003), that interviewed 1,547 using face-to-face interaction found climate change was ranked among the least important issues among the environmental risks mentioned in the study. The study concluded that although concerns of general public was expressed, there existed a dominant belief that climate change is a distant, non-urgent and non-personal threat (Darnton, 2005). Since the media often follows what the public has interest in, with this observation, it would hardly be possible for it to accord climate change stories much attention during COPs as well.

A study by Takahashi & Meisner (2013) on Peru newspapers on role of foreign voices in the context of vulnerability, showed that adaptation was not given priority in news coverage compared to mitigation and policy formulation. The conclusion was that such coverage was not adequate for a highly vulnerable country like Peru. The findings of this study are important to this study as one of the issues it sought to find out is the level of local sources compared to foreign sources in the stories covered during the Conference of Parties and whether the stories reflect foreign or local perspective, hence relevant to the audience. How the information is presented determines whether the public and the policy makers will act and adjust their life style activities particularly those which assist in reducing negative effects on climate. The failure to inform adequately might result in

public not demanding action from government that is in their interest since interpretation of the climate change issues is not straight forward but complex and contested by various interests.

Eskjaer (2009) in a study comparing coverage of COP14 and EU summit in Middle East and Denmark newspapers found there was great differences in how these two regions dealt with the issues. The findings were that in Middle East stories on climate change were limited and were mostly regurgitated from international news agencies. The stories on climate change were mostly on international politics surrounding COP14 and EU summit and there were no Middle East perspectives in the news stories.

In Denmark there was equal distribution between local and international news on climate change but few stories from COP14 and EU summit were given prominence in the front pages. Most stories were generated by the local reporters and were opinion-based and information-based, and even covered polls on Denmark support for carbon reducing project in Kenya and human interest stories of effects of climate change in Ethiopia. Eskjaer argued that media coverage of climate change has resulted in the globalized public sphere concerned with shared public issues and arguments. The globalized public sphere depends on international media, that has provided forum where nature and risks of climate change are negotiated. It is also a forum marked by increasing self-awareness demonstrated by exposure and debate over different communication strategies by scientific communities and the media (Risbey, 2007 as quoted by Eskjaer).

Tagbo (2010) found out that local media in South Africa and Nigeria mostly relied on foreign media channels for stories on climate change. A study by Mare (2011) also found out that newspaper managers in South Africa did not regard coverage of climate change

as an urgent matter, those stories covered were few, official- centered, event-based and in most cases placed in the less visible inside pages. Most of the stories were foreign-sourced therefore lacked South African perspective. Most of these stories were on contests involving North-South nations over who was more responsible for increasing carbon emissions and about contribution to alleviate the problem. Such contests do not advance the interests of developing countries like Kenya.

A study by (Sarwono, Sunarto, Asteria, 2009) indicated coverage of COP15 in Copenhagen dealt more on venue matters (side issues) than the substantive issues of global warming and climate change. The implication of such stories being reproduced in Africa media, and in Kenya is that they do not add any value to the readers in understanding the issues at stake. In another study (Sarwono, Sunarto, 2010) observed that not much time in electronic media and space in print media was allocated in coverage of climate change convention in Bali, Indonesia.

The conclusion was that in general, the news of environment has not received much attention in diverse media constituting newspapers, magazines, televisions and blogs since these news are not viewed as popular and have low- selling value, which was further emphasized by the small space provided and low frequency of their publication.

A report by BBC World Service Trust (cited by Tagbo, 2010) released in 2009 under the title '*Least responsible, most affected, least informed*' advocated for a broader public understanding of the range of climate change issues to enable Africa to respond and adapt to climate change. The report said better public understanding would enable those most affected by climate change like Africa to communicate their perspectives and experiences to those most responsible in industrialized countries. BBC observed that there was

unidirectional movement of information on climate change from the world to Africa. It advocated for a two-way sustained flow of information that empowers African citizens and ensures publics and politicians in countries mainly responsible for causing climate change are better informed of African realities and perspectives. Shanahan (2009) reviewed coverage of climate change in Africa, Asia and Latin America and found that it was low on news agenda and not well informed. It was observed that while developed countries contributed more to the problem of climate change, coverage of the topic in developing countries was dependent on news flow from developed countries. Shanahan noted that reliance on Western news agencies instead of the local media with relevant content, and few stories on adaptation measures resulted in audiences in poor countries not getting adequate and relevant information.

Ukonu et al (2012) who studied how four Nigerian newspapers *The Guardian*, *This day*, *Vanguard* and *The Punch* reported climate change in 2009 and 2010, found out that most of the stories on the COPs were about the developed countries and how they dictated terms of negotiations, while the developing countries expressed hope for treaties to be reached, and others blamed the developed countries for hindering agreements.

The developed countries depicted developing countries as aid-dependent, and corrupt, which they argued was slowing down utilization of the promised climate funds. The study also found out that where products to fight climate change were promised, this was followed by research evidence, and in six out of the seven times reported in the newspapers, the researchers were foreign bodies, except one by Kenyan Ms Sara Ogalley Ayeyi titled *Africa: Farming Solution to Climate Change*. The study observed that after painting a grim situation, the researchers would project their product as the solution. On

the other hand, MsAyeyi called for greater thought when introducing these solutions- “It was important that new adaptation methods be localized, then evaluated, and tested before they are released for use by local farmers. In many cases farmers were introduced to new technologies that they failed to sustain in the long run.”

The findings of this study evidently brings out why African countries and other developing countries like Kenya should be concerned about the sources and the perspective of the stories carried in their media from COP meetings, to ensure they do not end up shaping the agenda with the external concerns rather than the local ones. In Kenya, generally there are few studies existing on coverage of climate change with most of them concentrated on the framing of issues. Studies on levels of coverage generally, and particularly on how Kenya report major events of global concern like Conference of Parties are lacking. Through investigating on how Kenya’s print media has handled the reporting of debates during the COPs, this study seeks to fill this knowledge gap.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

The chapter deals with research methodology that is used in carrying out the study. It includes the location, research design, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, research instrument for data collection, reliability and validity of instruments, research ethics, operation definition of variables, data collection and data analysis techniques.

3.1 Research Design

This study has used content analysis to extract qualitative and quantitative data from two leading national newspapers -*Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. Coding sheet is the tool that has been used in collection of data.

The choice of the two national newspapers is because they have the widest circulation, estimated at 90 percent by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC). They are the oldest newspapers in Kenya, hence they are also pace-setters in the print media on content development and readership, serving varied audience from elite to the general public. The results of the study are therefore representative of how the print media in Kenya has covered Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

3.2 Target Population

A total of 260 newspapers from both *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers for the Conference of Parties formed the target population for the study.

The period for conference of parties was 11 days. A week before the opening date

and a week after the closing date were added to accommodate precursor stories and those that spilled over and follow-up stories in subsequent days. The rationale of adding a week before and a week after the opening and closing date of the conference was to ensure the data is complete on the conference. This is because many stakeholders express their interests and concerns in this period. This added up to make 26 days for each Conference of Parties(as the table below indicates). All the hard news stories that mentioned ‘climate change’ and ‘global warming’ in the COPs selected for study were coded and analysed to meet the objectives of the study. The dates when the conference of parties were located from the UNFCCC records.

Table 3.1: Schedule of COP Meetings

Year	Venue	Conference Dates	Days (inclusive of 14 days)	Total Number of issues to be studied
2014	Lima, Peru	December 1 st -12 th	26	26x2
2011	Durban, South Africa	November 28 th – December 9 th	26	26x2
2009	Copenhagen, Denmark	December 7 th -18 th	26	26x2
2008	Bosuan, Poland	December 1 st -12 th	26	26x2
2006	Nairobi, Kenya	November 6 th -17 th	26	26x2
Total	5 COP meetings			260

Source : UNFCCC records

3.2.1 Sampling

A purposive sampling method was used in this study to pick Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change that were studied. Every COP was picked because of its ability to contribute to the objectives of the study based on the

local political situation, venue and international agenda, that have been identified by previous studies elsewhere to influence coverage during the COPs. The COPs were picked after review of literature of the history of UNFCCC and observation of the local political situation obtaining in the Kenya during periods when the COPs were held. The years picked are in the last ten years starting with COP12 held in 2006 in Nairobi. These COPs provide the most recent picture of how print media has reported the issues from the forum. The rationale of using a purposive sampling is to capture all aspects of the study based on the three aspects of venue, political situation and the COP agenda, guided by the trends observed in other studies across the world. The COPs picked for study are also well distributed across the ten years to ensure trends emerge from the data obtained to achieve the objectives of the study.

The year 2006 was picked as the base year of the study as Kenya hosted COP 12 in Nairobi. The hosting of the conference influenced the levels of coverage as demonstrated in Bali, Indonesia, when the coverage was significantly higher compared to other COP meetings. The media in Kenya is expected to have understood the issues discussed in COP forum and subsequently were better prepared to increase coverage in subsequent COP meetings.

The political situation obtaining in Kenya after December, 2007 general elections that resulted in political turbulence, and which occupied most of the media reporting in 2008 is factored in the study. The COP 14 held in Warsaw, Poland in 2008 is therefore picked, as other studies like Tagbo (2010) in South Africa and Nigeria, indicated a strong influence of political situation obtaining in a country to levels of attention given to issues like climate change that lack sense of urgency.

According to various studies COP15 held in Copenhagen, Denmark in 2009 attracted unprecedented high levels of attention across the world as a result of the end of Kyoto Protocol of 1997, and the anticipated signing of new agreement on cutting of the greenhouse gases, and which had potential of different implications for various countries. According to Boykoff (2013) the climate change news increased significantly dominated by the highly publicized COP15 held in Copenhagen in 2009. This COP with had high stakes agenda is included in the study.

The COP 17 held in Durban, South Africa in 2011 is included in the study as the follow-up of issue of Copenhagen Accord that called for industrialised countries to provide thirty-billion dollars to developing nations like Kenya in ‘the fast-start-financing’ by 2012 was to be discussed. This is an issue that would potentially trigger a greater interest, and much media attention in these countries. The venue proximity to Kenya was also considered in picking it for study.

The COP 20, held in Lima, Peru in 2014 is included in the study as its recent and also it was to review progress of agreement reached in the previous COP held in Warsaw, Poland in 2013 where parties agreed on an international mechanism for ‘loss and damage.’ The developing countries were viewing this agreement as channel for seeking compensation. This would necessarily lead to greater interest in countries like Kenya due to perceived benefits when implemented. The conference was also held months after a new government was elected into office in 2013. In summary, COPs held in 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011 and 2014 were picked for the study.

3.3. Data collection

The newspapers for the COPs studied were sourced from the libraries of *Nation Media Group* and *The Standard Group*. *Nation Media Group* has uploaded its archival materials of past newspapers, while some of the issues from the *The Standard* newspaper were located at their library in Mombasa road in analogue form. These stories were downloaded using search engines on webpages of the newspapers and missing issues were located in analogue form from library shelves and photocopied and coded to make it easy for study. The UNFCCC records were used to locate when the COPs were held and noted. The data in this study was collected using coding sheet. The coding sheet had columns for the news story count, page placement and the sources followed by story slant for foreign and local perspectives. Coding an article used the newspaper, the page, the month, the day and the year. For example DN411162006 for *Daily Nation* and ST512182009 for *The Standard* newspapers. This enabled story count, story placement, and deeper study of the stories for source and the story slants/ perspective to be done.

A separate coding sheet using codes assigned from 1 to 5 from a list of sources identified as frequent sources during review of previous studies who included experts, NGOs, scientific reports, government officials and others were used. These were categorized as either foreign or local. For a story to qualify to propagate local perspective it had to meet two conditions, that of having local voices and reference to local context in the text. Those which failed to meet the two conditions were classified as having foreign perspective.

3.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data was analysed using descriptive statistics and narratives to achieve the objectives of the study and presented in percentages, tables, bar-charts and pie-charts.

3.5 Validity and Reliability

The data is acquired from two leading national newspapers *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* which have the widest reach in terms of distribution and readership according the Audit Bureau of Circulation. The data is therefore representative of the coverage of Conference of Parties by the print media in Kenya.

The data is widely distributed in the period under study, with each of the COP picked on merit of its purpose to contribute to the realizing the objectives of the study. The rationale for picking each of the COP studied is well explained.

3.6 Research Ethics

The project proposal received approval after defense from the Board of Examiners and a Certificate of Field Work issued (See Appendix iv).

The collection of data was followed by the defense of the project findings and a Certificate of Corrections issued (See Appendix v). The research was also subjected to plagiarism test (See Appendix vi) and Declaration of originality (See Appendix vii)

The data was collected with consent from the libraries of the two newspapers *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* on condition that the information is to be used for academic research purposes only.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Overview

The chapter deals with data presentation and analysis of the findings and interpretation. The data is presented in percentages, tables, pie-charts, and bar-charts. The analysis and interpretation of the results delves into what the findings mean in terms of setting the agenda on climate change issues discussed at the COPs..

4.0 Frequency of reporting climate change stories

4.1 Number of Stories

The sample consisted of 223 articles from both *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers distributed through the five COPs studied as shown in table 4.1. The coverage in the two dailies shows similarity in distribution of stories with *Daily Nation* having 54 per cent of the total stories reported and *The standard* 46 per cent.

Table 4.1: Number of Stories

COP	2006		2008		2009		2011		2014		Total	
Year		%		%		%		%		%		%
DN	56	51	7	70	47	65	11	48	0	0	121	54
STD	55	49	3	30	25	35	12	52	7	100	102	46
Total	111	100	10	100	72	100	23	100	7	100	223	100

Key

-DN-Daily Nation -STD-Standard - % Percentage

There is great disparity in coverage between one conference of parties to another with coverage in 2006 being highest at 111 stories compared to the lowest at only 7 stories as shown in figure 4.1.

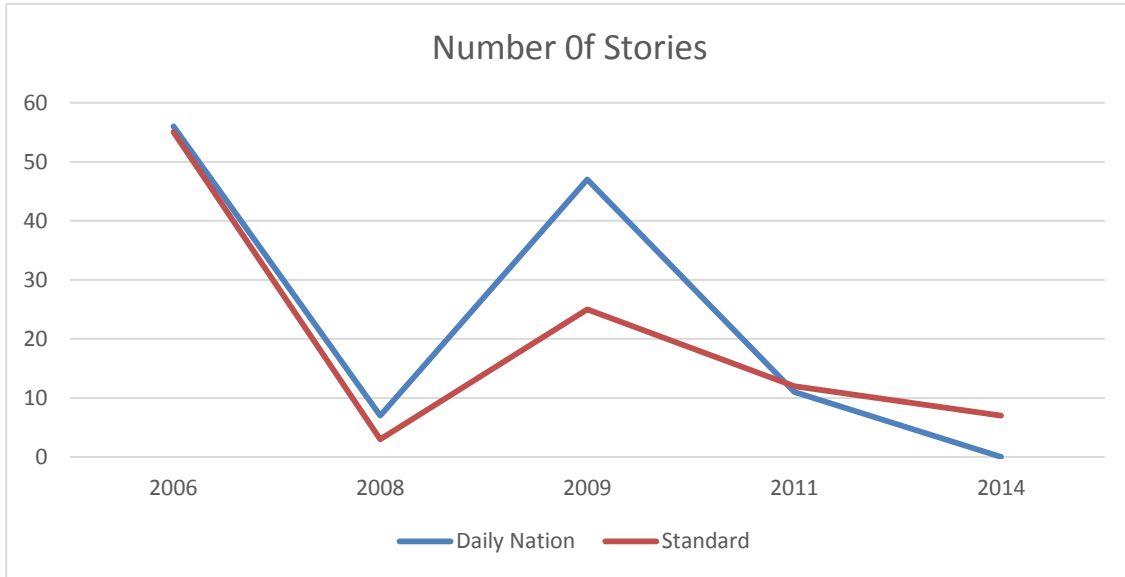


Figure 4.1: Number of Stories

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 indicate that coverage of climate change stories were generally low at less than a story per day except for COPs held in 2006 and 2009 that recorded 111 stories and 72 stories which were the highest in the five COPs studied. The stories reported by both dailies in 2008 were only 10, in 2011 there were 23 stories and in 2014 only 7 stories were reported which translated to less than one article per day as shown in table 4.2.

Year	2006	2008	2009	2011	2014
No. of stories	111	10	72	23	7
Stories per day	4.2	0.3	2.7	0.88	0.2

Table 4.2: Average number of stories per day.

Daily Nation and *The standard* reported 111 stories in 2006 when the COP was held in Nairobi which translated to an average of 4.2 stories per day. *Daily Nation* registered 56 articles and *The Standard* 55 articles in that conference. The reason for high number of articles in the two dailies in 2006 was partly because the Conference of Parties was held in Nairobi which enabled the media to access the information more readily. The newspapers considered the COP a major news event and dedicated pages for the period that the conference was held ensuring the stories were published every day. This finding is consistent with the findings of another study by Sarwono (2011) on Indonesia newspapers that reported an increased coverage, with the national pride of hosting the conference and the easy access to sources being advanced as the reasons.

A total of 72 stories were reported in 2009 in the COP held in Copenhagen translating to an average of 2.7 stories on average per day. *Daily Nation* recorded 47 articles and *The Standard* 25 articles. The high level of coverage is consistent with other studies carried out in other countries on the coverage of Conference of Parties held in Copenhagen in 2009 which had high stakes as countries anticipated the signing of a bidding agreement on reduction of carbon emissions. The findings are consistent with observation by Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen et al (2013) who observed that media attention to UNFCCC process particularly when there is a crucial negotiation is significant as it is seen as a major news item.

The year 2011 when the COP was held in Durban, South Africa the two dailies reported 23 stories translating to 0.88 articles per day which is nearly a news item per day. Other years recorded low number of articles for both dailies in 2008 with total of 10 stories or 0.3 stories per day and 2014 recording total of 7 articles or 0.2 stories per day. The low

coverage of stories in COP14 held in 2008 in Bosuan, Poland was possibly because the COP was held at a time that Kenya was dealing with effects of 2007/2008 post-election violence. The media was more focused on news stories out of this political happening.

In 2011, the two dailies reported 23 articles at the COP held in Durban, South Africa which translated to nearly an article per day. However, 2014 there was very low coverage for the stories as only 7 were reported by the two dailies during COP held in Lima, Peru. The low coverage could have been because a new government elected in 2013 was still settling down and the media was more focused on this issue. The findings reinforces an observation by Tagbo (2010) who established that the political situation in African countries influenced the priority given to the environmental issues such as climate change by the media. The COPs held in 2011 and 2014 recorded relatively low coverage of less than a story a day despite there being strong motivation for Kenya to pursue the issues of thirty -billion dollars ‘the fast start financing’ and review of progress on agreement on mechanism for ‘loss and damage’ in the two meetings.

From the findings of the study, the low coverage of COPs might send the message that the discourse on climate change is no longer a priority or relevant and lead to disengagement (with public) as Mazur (1998) observed. It could also impede public information sharing that Bovenkerk&Brom (2012) argued may facilitate balancing different interests and getting a consensus and understanding on objectives of global climate governance and different ways of achieving them. The lack of adequate media attention might consequently lead to failure to attract parliament and government’ attention like Newig (2004) observed, leading to neglect of the problem as Newell (2000) argued due to lack of perceived sustained pressure to initiate policy response. Lack of

adequate information as Shanahan (2009) observed is major barrier to dealing effectively with effects of climate change.

4.2 Prominence given to climate change stories

4.2.1 Page placement

The results indicate *Daily Nation* had 34 lead stories and *The Standard* had 27 lead stories making a total of 61 articles that were given prominence in the five COPs studied. *Daily Nation* had 87 stories and *The Standard* 75 stories, making a total of 162 articles in the ‘other’ category. These are stories that were placed in less visible space in the newspapers as shown in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Page placement

Newspaper	Page Lead	Others
Daily Nation	34	87
Standard	27	75
Total	61	162

The stories that were page leads constituted only 27 per cent of 223 stories studied while the bulk of the stories at 73 per cent were in the ‘other’ less prominent space in the newspapers as indicated in figure 4.2.

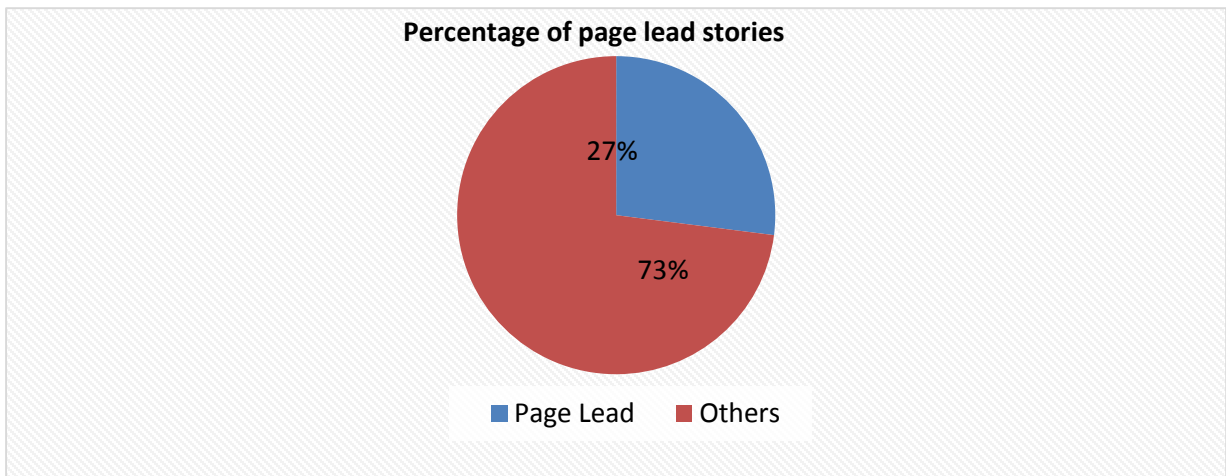


Figure 4.2 : Percentage of Page Lead Stories

From the findings, it is clear that most of the stories from the Conference of Parties do not get the page lead, underscoring the fact that they are not given higher priority by the media gatekeepers when they compete with other stories. *Daily Nation* recorded 34 page leads compared to 87 other stories that were relegated to other lower rank. *The Standard* recorded 27 page leads compared to 75 other stories that were placed in other less visible spaces. In total, only 61 stories of the two dailies made it to the be page lead, while the 162 stories were relegated to the ‘other category’ of less visible places.

These stories were placed in less visible space in the newspapers, indicating they were not the top stories of the day. The findings are consistent with a study by Tagbo (2010) carried on media in Nigeria and South Africa, where there was ‘consensus’ from editors interviewed that climate change could hardly become a front page subject except when there was a strong local political and economic angle to the matter.

The high number of stories relegated to the less visible spaces is consistent with the findings from other studies that climate change stories do not mostly make it to the headlines because they are not considered as urgent and do not aptly fit within the journalistic norms that are inclined mostly to exciting topics like politics, economics, entertainment, sports among others. The climate change stories are also not considered as contributing revenue for these media houses.

Following the observation by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) who argued that front page news draw attention to, and reflect the emphasis media place on certain issues, hence considered to have a strong agenda-setting influence, these findings indicate that the discourse from COPs have not received high profile attention in the media, and consequently might not form the public agenda.

How the media managers handle a story in terms of page placement in the newspapers indicates what they regarded as important to the public or not important. The emphasis that a page lead provides to the story influences the agenda setting on the matter. On the other hand, when the stories are placed in other less visible space in the pages, the public is unlikely to regard it as important.

4.3 Sources of climate change stories during COP meetings and implications

From the results, foreign and local government sources, mostly government officials were quoted more in the stories. Foreign government officials were quoted in 52 stories constituting 35.6 per cent of the stories from foreign sources and local government officials at 47 constituting 61 per cent of the proportion from local sources in the stories covered during the COPs in the two dailies.

Experts also contributed significantly as sources, with foreign experts as sources at 43 or 29.5 per cent and local experts as sources at 11 or 14.3 per cent. Non-governmental organizations were another popular source used by journalists with foreign organisations as sources at 21 constituting 14.4 per cent and local organisations at 11 constituting 14.3 per cent. Many stories also used scientific reports as sources, but foreign scientific reports dominated at 29 stories or 19.9 per cent, with only 4 local scientific reports or 5.2 per cent being used as source. Other sources that include corporate and journalists had one foreign and four local as shown in table 4.4.

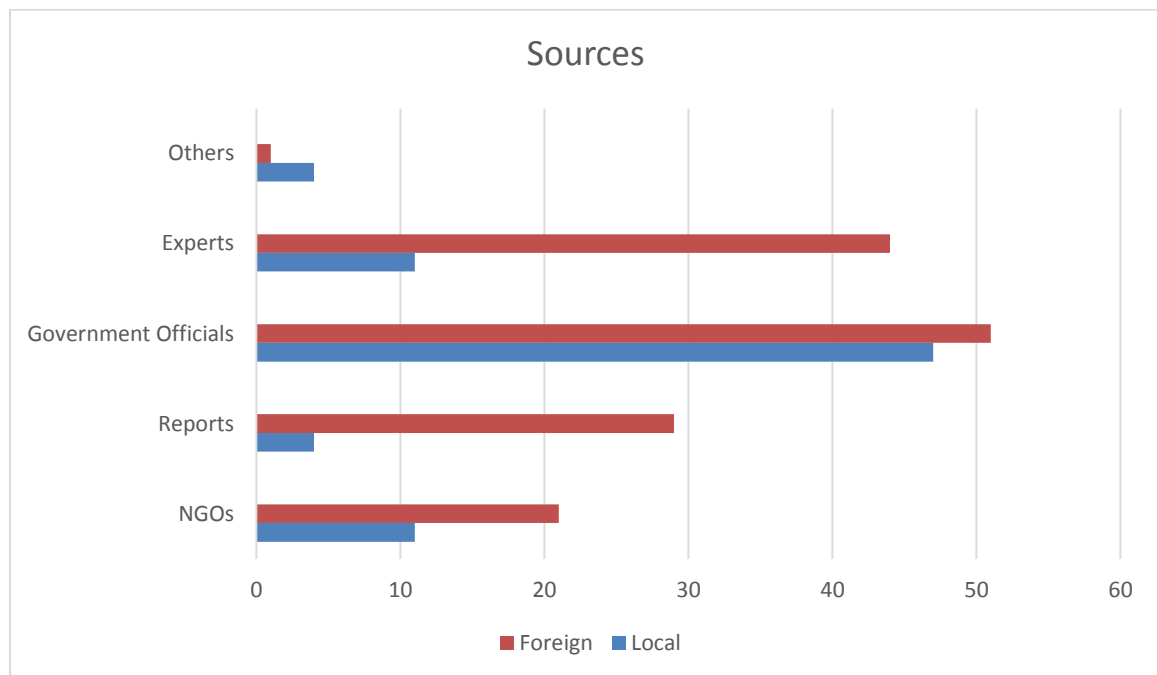
Table 4.4: Sources of stories

Sources	Local	Percentage	Foreign	Percentage
Non-governmental organisations	11	14.3%	21	14.4%
Scientific reports	4	5.2%	29	19.9%
Government officials	47	61%	52	35.6%
Experts	11	14.3%	43	29.5%
Others (journalists, corporates)	4	5.2%	1	0.6%
Total	77	100%	146	100%

Source: *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*

The results indicate that foreign sources dominated in the stories reported in almost all categories that included experts, government officials, reports and NGOs during the COPs, as shown in Figure 4.3

Figure 4.3: Sources of the stories



4.4 Category of sources –foreign/ local

Overall the foreign sources dominated in the stories covered during the COPs with 146 stories while local sources were 77 as indicated in figure 4.5.

Table 4.5:Category of the source of stories

Newspaper	Category of source	
	Local	Foreign
Daily Nation	47	69
Standard	30	77
Total	77	146
Percentage	35%	65%

The sourcing of the stories is important in agenda settings because sources represent certain interests and their voices ultimately contribute to how the public understand the issue and take action. How the information is presented determines whether people adapt to lifestyles that would help conserve environment or not. For example DN261292009 under the title *Africa 'less vulnerable to climate change'* by AFP (news agency) that quotes Global Climate Risk Index 2010, could send message to the public in African countries like Kenya that the problem of climate change is not worthy their attention.

The government officials from other countries contributed most at 52 stories and the local government officials 47 stories. The dominant use of the government officials is consistent with argument by (Miller & Riechert, 2000) that since global warming is mostly portrayed in the news as a threatening crisis, the media tends to use of

authoritative, mostly government sources, which according to Bennet (2002) are likely to provide confidence to the public that order, safety and security will be restored.

The findings are also consistent with view by McManus, (2000) who argued that there is often significant acceptance of political and expert voices by public on media coverage of climate change stories. The findings mirror those of Obonyo (2010) which indicated that increase of coverage of climate change stories in Kenya seemed to follow senior political officials.

Pompper (2004) however observed that while there is inclination to use of elite sources, that are potentially more knowledgeable, their concerns could be different from those quoted by other less prominent media (general public). The sources in the climate change story emphasizes some aspects, while others are downplayed or ignored depending on the different groups interests. This ultimately affects public understanding and perception of the problem as they influence the terms of debate and shape the solutions according to their perspectives and interests. An example is DN201182011 by *AFP* under the title '*Climate change threatens Nile and Limpopo rivers, says study.*' Despite the story saying water evaporation could exacerbate tensions in the region over Ethiopia's plans to construct dams, there is no mention on how Kenya will be affected.

As Pompper (2004) noted the elite sources could also suppress some information with the potential effect of leading the public to believe that the actions initiated are in their interests simply because they have no alternative of information to think otherwise. The use of these sources could also emphasize issues that are not a priority like a study by Takahashi&Meisner (2013) on Peru newspapers established, that foreign voices suppressed adaptation measures while emphasizing mitigation and policy formulation

which were not the priority for vulnerable countries like Peru at the time. Similarly, most of the stories covered in Kenya's print media are from foreign sources, which articulate their interests, and might not be in tandem with interests of local audience. The findings mirror those in other African countries like South Africa and Nigeria by Tagbo (2010) that indicated that most of the stories on climate change in those countries relied on foreign sources. Foreign experts contributed 43 of the stories compared to 11 of the local experts while the scientific reports from foreign sources contributed 29 stories compared to 4 of the local reports. The implication of this is that Kenya lacks strong articulation through the media of issues discussed during Conference of Parties which might undermine the role of educating the public on this global challenge which has local implications.

The findings raise the issues observed by McQuial (2005) that reporting of stories of global nature are influenced by the cultural bias of the reporter. By relying on journalists from other countries, Kenya's print media might import cultural bias and deny the stories a relevant local context, which could lead the public to view the problem as distant, foreign, and not worth of their attention. It is also consistent with observation in other studies that indicate that low coverage of climate change stories is partly due to limited sources in Africa that constrain journalists from covering the topic.

Sources are also important in setting the agenda as they are not free of their interests, and since in Conference of Parties, countries seek to push their interests, the lack of local sources therefore denies Kenya an opportunity to protect its interests globally. Notably, the local government officials as sources contributed significantly consisting 47 of the stories or 61 per cent of reported stories during the five conferences studied, meaning the

presence of these officials in the conferences influenced the levels of coverage. This is consistent with findings by other scholars like Bennet (2002) that indicated that journalists are inclined to use authoritative, mostly government officials as sources of stories. The use of government officials, mostly politicians could be guided by need to dramatise the stories to fit the media temperate of exciting and controversial approach to issues. However according to Pompper (2004) overreliance on government figures as sources could also lead to skewed focus on policy, industry, and regulatory issues, which were found to be their main focus in the stories. This could have the effect of neglecting coverage of other equally important areas of climate change during the COPs.

4.5 Story slant/ perspective

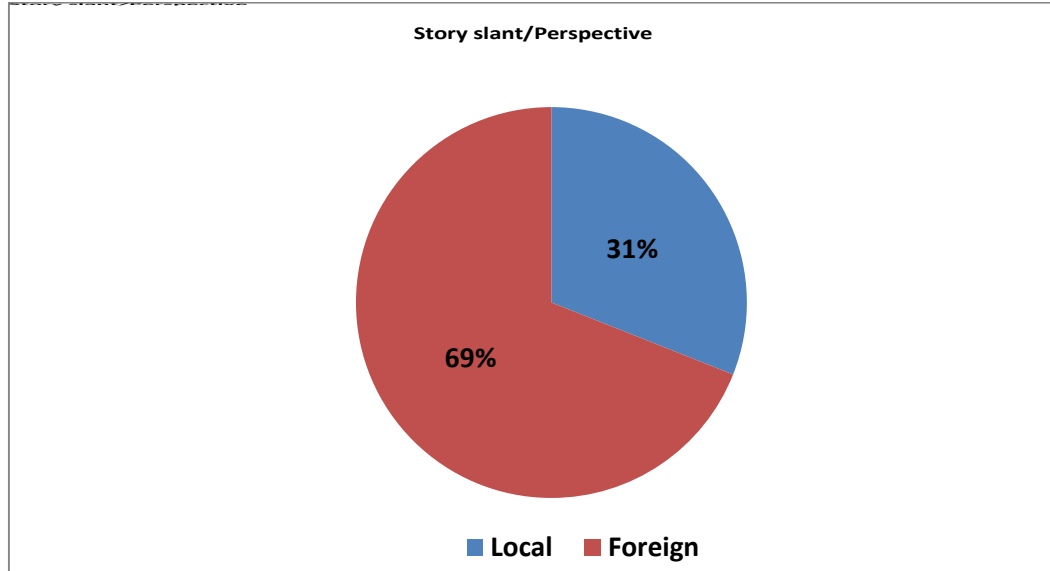
Out of the 223 stories studied, 154 reflected foreign perspective compared to 69 articles that reflected local perspective in the two dailies as shown by Table 4.6

Table 4.6: Story slant/ perspective

Newspaper	Perspective	
	Local	Foreign
Daily Nation	43	73
Standard	26	81
Total	69	154

This constitutes 69 per cent of the international perspective and 31 per cent of the local perspective as shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.4: Story slant/ perspective



Most of the stories constituting 154 reflected a foreign perspective compared to 69 stories that reflected local perspective. The 154 stories constituted 69 per cent of the total 223 stories studied, which is significant compared to 69 stories or 31 per cent of those that had local perspective. For example, DN231182011 under the title *'Thai capital 'sinking at alarming rate'* and DN231232009 under the title *'China harvest at risk over global warming'* had nothing to do with public in countries like Kenya. This finding is also consistent with the findings of other studies in Middle East by Eskjaer (2009) and in Africa by Tagbo (2010) which have indicated that stories mostly reflect foreign perspective in these regions. These stories are mostly supplanted from the foreign media agencies like *AFP, Reuters, AP* and *Xinhua*.

The perspective of the story is closely linked to the sources used either local or foreign government officials, scientists, scientific reports and non-governmental organisations.

These sources are concerned with their interests, which are reflected in the story slant. Some stories although reported by local journalists did not reflect the local perspective, mostly reporting on foreign scientific reports without putting them in the local context. *Daily Nation* had 73 stories reflecting foreign perspective compared to 43 that reflected local perspective, while *The Standard* had 81 stories reflecting foreign perspective compared to only 26 that reflected local perspective. The implication for dominance of foreign perspective in stories is possible influence on how policy solutions are formulated as Rosa (2009) observed in a study in Brazil where solutions advanced blocked out local coastal processes in the national policies resulting in solutions not answering the needs of the vulnerable people. The voices that are mostly heard (sources) through the media, often as Rosa noted in Brazil influence how the local solutions to the challenges of climate change are arrived at. This argument was reinforced by Hellebrandti & Hellebrandti (2010) that media representation of impacts of climate change on coastal zone in Brazil were influenced by international scientific and political agendas.

For example DN211192006 under the title '*Study proposes ban on Kerosene lamps*' that quotes a report released by United Nations Environment Programme does not adequately capture how majority poor in Kenya who use this type of energy would be affected were such a policy to be adopted. The findings emphasize the need for media in Kenya to strive to bring out the local perspective by contextualizing the discussions at COPs to provide the relevant information to assist in arriving at appropriate knowledge that can inform policy interventions. This is also consistent with findings by Hulme (2009) who observed that the discourse about climate change policy is determined by interests of

administrators, the media, scientists and NGOs as no actor on climate change is without interests. As Ukonu et al (2012) found in a study on media in Nigeria, the foreign media portrays developing countries negatively as aid-dependent and corrupt while experts seemed to front for commercial interests in recommending particular products to fight climate change, putting to doubt their neutrality. For example, ST712202009 under the title *'The mouse that roared at carbon talks'* derided African delegations for failure to boycott talks as they had promised over developed countries failure to sign thirty billion dollars Climate Fund. Therefore fewer stories with local perspective covered during COPs might result in Kenya's climate change reality not being captured, with the consequence of influencing policy without regard for local interests. Sarwono (2010) observed that how media constructs global warming issues discussed in international meetings and resolutions reached reflect interests of participating countries and affect policy making in various countries, although they have different challenges arising out of climate change phenomenon.

As observed, the sources, the media and different cultures might influence public understanding of the environment risks. An overreliance on foreign channels that dwell on global geopolitical divide like observed by Sarwono (2010) in study of newspapers in Peru on coverage of COPs held in Bali and Copenhagen might send a message to the public in Kenya that the problem does not require their attention as it is distant and not urgent, therefore impede efforts of mitigation and adaptation in the country. For example, ST411122006 *-Disagreement over the Kyoto Protocol review* –ST1012172009-*Focus shifts to US, China leaders for breakthrough*, ST1112182009-*Obama heads to talks as*

hope runs out, DN1911192009-*Climate deal in doubt as rich nations waver*, DN211192006-*Bush stand to feature in poll*- are among the articles that show that Kenya's print media also has had a focus on the global geopolitical duels. These findings are consistent with the study by Mare (2011) that found out that most climate change stories in South Africa lacked local perspective as they concentrated on contests involving North-South nations over who was more responsible for increasing carbon emissions and about contribution to alleviate the problem.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter brings out summary of findings, conclusion and recommendation from the study.

5.1. Summary of findings

The study found out that the coverage of climate change issues during the Conference of Parties is generally inconsistent from one COP to the other ranging from an average of 4.2 stories per day to 0.2 stories in the five COPs studied. The coverage was also low since there was an average of less than one story reported per day, except when there were dedicated pages during the COPs as was the case in 2006 and 2009.

Most of the stories on climate change reported during Conference of Parties are relegated to less visible spaces with only 27 per cent of the articles making it to page lead, these stories are not given editorial priority in their placement. The findings are consistent with various other studies that found out that climate change stories are not considered headline stories when competing with other stories in politics, economics, sports, entertainment among others. The tendency of the media to rely on sensational and exciting stories is partly considered the reason for climate change stories not being considered as priority stories in the media. The findings are similar to those of studies conducted elsewhere in the world

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The foreign sources dominate in the stories that are covered during the Conference of Parties with 146 stories out of 223 stories being from foreign sources representing 65 per cent, which mostly denied the stories the local context, as Mcquil (2005) pointed out that journalists are mostly guided by their cultural context in messaging issues of global concern. The local sources are dominated by the government officials at 61 per cent, which some scholars argued could end up skewing the debate by suppressing some voices, and subsequently influencing the understanding of the issues. This is because every actor in the climate change debate has interests. By relying on foreign sources for the climate change stories, Kenya ran the risk of trumpeting the concerns of capitalist groups that Sarwono (2010) observed sought to control what is reported in the media by suppressing conservation issues that they regard as inconveniencing their businesses.

This led to low discursive levels by general public while local problems are ignored. Most of the stories covered during the Conference of Parties also reflect foreign perspectives with 69 per cent of the stories highlighting about effects of climate change in other parts of the world and the geopolitical debates on who was more responsible for climate change. Only 31 per cent of the stories out had local perspective. Most of the stories are regurgitated from the foreign news channels like *AFP*, *AP*, *Reuters* and *Xinhua*. The study found out that local media reported controversy, particularly on geopolitical issues between developed countries like US and newly developed countries like China on sourced from foreign media channels during COPs. The media in Kenya tended to follow this kind of reporting, denying the local audience the local perspectives. The

mitigation of the effects, funding of projects and Kenyan government officials expressing hope that deals that favour conservation were the stories that were mostly covered with the local perspective.

5.2 Conclusions

Low coverage and less prominence given to the climate change stories could result in the discussions at COPs not being regarded highly, hence not ranking high in public agenda, even among the policy makers, and this could undermine public perception and understanding of the issue and ultimately hinder public action in adaptation and mitigation measures.

The low coverage of the stories during these conferences and the less prominence given to the stories does not engender agenda setting for the issues discussed during the conference of parties.

The predominant use of the foreign sources in the stories reported during the COP meetings does not advance the local agenda in the matter as they mostly advance interests of their countries. As observed by Mcquil (2005) the use of stories written by foreign journalists could result in the import of cultural bias as reporters frame issues guided by their world view.

Even where local sources are used there is an over-reliance on government officials as sources which could suppress some views (voices) that are equally important in understanding the problem of climate change and forging of inclusive solutions.

Since most climate stories from COP meetings have foreign perspective, as opposed to local perspectives, there is possibility of this influencing how public and policy makers perceive climate change and influence how policies are formulated locally as other studies found out (Rosa, 2009).. It could lead to adoption solutions that are not relevant to local situation or sustainable to the local environment.

The study concludes that the coverage of climate change stories in Kenya largely mirrors the trends in the developing countries in terms low coverage, less prominence, reliance on foreign sources and highlighting foreign perspective in the stories. The findings are also consistent with world trends where the hosting the event, the international stakes and the political situation in the country influence the levels of media attention on COP meetings, and subsequently the levels of coverage.

5.3 Recommendations

The media should increase level of coverage of climate change during the COPs through having dedicated pages for reporting the stories during the Conference of Parties.

The media houses should consider sending more local journalists to these COP meetings and training more journalists on the issue of climate change to enable them write relevant local stories from these conferences.

The media should also increase coverage through use of modern technology like teleconferencing, and other such internet channels.

The print media managers should be trained on climate change issues to appreciate the potential impact of climate change on development and human welfare to enable more of the stories to be given the prominence they deserve.

The media should also consider adopting a policy of giving prominence to COP climate change stories to enable the public participate more in the discussions that take place.

The print media should consider setting up a database of knowledgeable local sources that can be contacted by journalists to provide the local perspective to the matters discussed at the Conference of Parties to make them relevant to the local audience. Even where stories are sourced from foreign news agencies, the local perspective should be infused in the text to connect with the local audience.

Newspapers should keep track of discussions from one COP to another through a database to enable journalists prepare for these meetings and put the local perspectives into context of the discourses that occur in during these meetings. This will enable the media to set agenda on the matter, and influence policy decisions.

The policy makers should be alert to the possible bias when using the information from the media when formulating the policies as studies indicate that reliance on foreign sources and stories with foreign perspectives could alienate the population where these policies are supposed to be implemented.

The print media need to find ways like interactive media through internet-based platforms for the public to participate fully in the climate change discourse and help set public agenda on the issue.

5.4 Future research directions

Further research should be conducted to inquire into the reasons why there is low coverage of Conference of Parties, with possible narrowing on level of training, editorial policy of the media houses and revenue considerations.

Research should also be conducted on why print media prefer use of foreign sources as opposed to local sources and what effect this has on the public understanding on climate change issues discussed in Conference of Parties.

Furthermore, another study that could be explored is that of the relationship between sources of the stories during the Conference of Parties and the levels coverage as it has been established that with the globalization of the media, and the noted attempt to influence the media reporting on climate change by the corporate bodies whose business is likely to be affected by policy measures.

The conclusion is that more studies on how the media has covered climate change need to be undertaken to inform on the areas that need improvement in the media to enhance better understanding and action from the public and policy makers.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Coding Sheet 1

Code		Local	Foreign
1	Government officials		
2	Scientific reports		
3	Experts		
4	Non-governmental organisations		
5	Others		

Appendix II: Coding Sheet 2

Year	Newspaper	Number of Articles	Page Placement		Sources		Story angle/slant	
			Page lead	Others	Local	Foreign	Local	Foreign
2006	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2007	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2008	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2009	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2010	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2011	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2012	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2013	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2014	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
2015	Daily Nation							
	Standard							
Total								

Appendix III: Articles Used in Explaining Findings

DN261292009

DN231182011

DN211192006

DN191192009

ST712202009

ST411122006

DN201182011

ST1012172009

ST1112182009

DN1911192009

DN211192006

Appendix iv: Certificate of Field work



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COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
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Director's Office: 254-02-2314201 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
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Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners' meeting held on 1/4/2016 in respect of M.A/Ph.D final Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the student can be allowed to proceed for field work.

Reg. No: K50/76685/2009

Name: WAITHOME JAMES MWANIKI

Title: PRINT COVERAGE OF CONFERENCE OF PARTIES

CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE: A CASE OF DAILY
NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS

DR SAMUEL SIRINGI
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

7/4/2016
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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7/4/2016
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Dr. Ndete Ndete
DIRECTOR

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23.9.2016
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Appendix v: Certificate of Correction



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Director's Office: 254-02-2314201 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director.soj@uonbi.ac.ke

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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 25/10/2016 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

Reg. No: K50/76685/2009

Name: WATHOME JAMES MWARIKI

Title: THE SPACE OF CONFERENCE OF PARTIES TO THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE: AN ANALYSIS OF DAILY NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS

Dr Samuel Sirigi
SUPERVISOR

Sirigi
SIGNATURE

11/11/2016
DATE

Dr Samuel Sirigi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

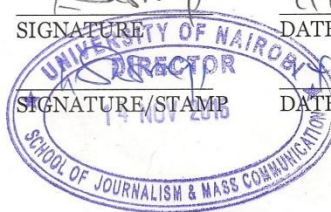
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Appendix vi: Plagiarism Test

11/11/2016 Turnitin Originality Report

Turnitin Originality Report

THE SPACE OF CONFERENCE OF PARTIES TO THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE IN KENYAN MEDIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DAILY NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS by Wahome J. Mwaniki

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- 6 < 1% match (Internet from 08-Apr-2010)
<http://www.eci.ox.ac.uk/publications/downloads/boykoff07-geoforum.pdf>
- 7 < 1% match (Internet from 04-Jan-2011)
[http://forskning.hum.ku.dk/tvaergaaende/klimaforskning/uploads/Communicating climate change in regional new](http://forskning.hum.ku.dk/tvaergaaende/klimaforskning/uploads/Communicating%20climate%20change%20in%20regional%20newspapers.pdf)

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Appendix vii: Declaration of Originality Form

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Declaration of Originality Form

This form must be completed and signed for all works submitted to the University for examination.

Name of Student WATHOME JAMES MWANIKI

Registration Number K50/76685/2009

College HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Faculty/School/Institute JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Department SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

Course Name MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES

Title of the work THE SPACE OF CONFERENCE OF PARTIES TO THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE: AN ANALYSIS OF DAILY NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS

DECLARATION

1. I understand what Plagiarism is and I am aware of the University's policy in this regard
2. I declare that this _____ (Thesis, project, essay, assignment, paper, report, etc) is my original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for examination, award of a degree or publication. Where other people's work, or my own work has been used, this has properly been acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Nairobi's requirements.
3. I have not sought or used the services of any professional agencies to produce this work
4. I have not allowed, and shall not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his/her own work
5. I understand that any false claim in respect of this work shall result in disciplinary action, in accordance with University Plagiarism Policy.

Signature Wathome

Date 11/11/2016

