

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES IN
KENYA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF DAILY NATION AND STANDARD**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been previously submitted to any other university or faculty for consideration of any certification.

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Joseph and Christine Siele

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the Almighty God for helping me through this project and giving me the strength to study and work.

To my project supervisor, Dr Samuel Siringi, thank you for guiding and encouraging me and particularly being very understanding during my project period. Without your expertise I would not have a project to be proud of.

I thank my lecturers for their key role during my coursework. Were it not for them, I would not have the knowledge I needed and used in my work. I also thank my classmates, my family and friends. Thank you.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASALs	Arid and Semi-Arid Areas
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
KARF	Kenya African Research Foundation
NEMA	National Environmental Management Authority
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to find out how issues of environmental sustainability are reported and framed by the print media in Kenya and specifically on the coverage of the Mau Forest evictions between November 2009 and December 2009. The study employed a mixed methods research approach where content analysis and guiding schedule of questions as data collection approaches and quantitative methods for data presentation. Through a census, the study identifies 202 articles from the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* of between November and December 2009. The time frame was chosen for the study based on the time when the evictions occurred while the two newspaper dailies were arrived at due to the fact that they were two of the biggest papers with regards to national circulation. The researcher developed a guiding schedule of questions to capture the following important variables of the study: Frequency (amount) of environmental issues coverage; prominence given to environmental sustainability (determined by the size of space and section occupied by the story); themes and frames emanating from the stories and the social issues that have a bearing on the coverage of environmental sustainability issues. Data was then analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The analysis showed that the majority of frames had political themes. There was a frequency of straight news items as compared to opinions and editorials and the placement of articles on environmental sustainability was not prioritized as majority of the articles were in the inside pages. This study concludes that Kenyan newspapers inadequately cover environmental sustainability issues and hence limit popular dissemination of knowledge of the same while suppressing public participation. In order to change this, Kenyan newspapers ought to widen their coverage of environmental sustainability issues. It also recommends that newspapers frame articles more as conservation and environmental sustainability in addition to giving readers more say, involvement and bigger participation in environmental sustainability issues.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

This chapter outlines the background information on print media coverage of environmental sustainability, problem statement for the study, objectives and research questions the study will apply, rationale of the study, justification, scope and limitation of the study

1.2. Background to the Study

Environmental sustainability has critically become an important issue as acute weather changes, global warming and environmental degradation take effect. The continual growth of world population demands an increase in resources. In order to meet the increasing demand for these resources, more industrial activities also grew around the world.

It is worth noting that industrialization has resulted in global environmental degradation. (Ahuti 2015) reports that with industrial activities increasing tremendously, water, air and soil pollution has consequently risen. According to (UNEP 2016) environmental regulation and emerging technologies are easing the environmental impact in industrialized countries, but industrial activities as well growing demand continue to put pressure on the environment and the natural resource base. The negative effects of the environment have had an adverse bearing on many ecosystems as they no longer withstand or recover from natural disasters resulting from human activities (Attah, 2010).

Scientists argue that environmental degradation threatens the existence and survival of mankind and thus environmental issues should catch the attention of everyone (Singh 2000). It is this harsh reality that has seen most nations gather every year to find immediate solutions to

environmental problems. Among the most recent meetings was the 21st United Nations Climate Change Conference that took place in Paris, France between 30th November and December 12, 2015. The conference saw 195 nations negotiating and signing what came to be known as the Paris Agreement, a global agreement on the reduction of climate change. The agreement aims at reducing global average temperature to below 2 °C as compared to pre-industrial levels and limiting temperature increase to below 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels. The agreement calls for full commitment by nations in order for human-caused greenhouse gas emissions to be completely rid of before 2100.

On the other hand, UNEP has come up with a raft of mitigation measures to curb the negative effects of climate change. Among them include global policies to manage water-related hazards, build crop insurance and finances, manage land use and strengthen health services (UNEP 2016). In Kenya, environment has been an essential feature of national development policy. The country enjoys a great biodiversity and has a unique tropical climate characterized by varying weather patterns initiated by differing topographical dimensions. The Republic of Kenya (2013) states that the country has a wide variety of ecosystems that include mountains, forests, arid and semi-arid areas (ASALs), freshwater, wetlands, coastal and marine all offering many opportunities for sustainable human, social and economic development.

Today's environmental management and planning in the country can be shaped by the Rio Earth Summit of 1992 since it helped greatly in raising the understanding of the link between environment and development. The Kenyan Constitution (2010) embodies environmental rights, freedoms and sustainability. Article 42 states the need to protect Kenyan environment to benefit

humanity. Articles 69 to 72 provide guidance on sustainability and protection of the environment and natural resources. Kenya's Vision 2030 calls for a stronger commitment and wide interventions to safeguard the environment and make it sustainable for future generations.

However, against all efforts, Kenya continues to lose her biodiversity due to habitat destruction, overgrazing, deforestation, pollution, unsustainable harvesting of natural resources, bio piracy and introduction of invasive and alien species which threaten indigenous species through the effects of predation, alteration of habitat or disruption of ecosystem processes (Republic of Kenya, 2013). A case in point is the destruction of the Mau Forest, one of the country's five water towers (efforts to restore the forest began earnestly in 2009).

Located in southern region of Rift Valley, the Mau Forest Complex forms the largest closed-canopy forest ecosystem of Kenya. The complex provides vital ecological services to the country, in terms of water storage; river flow regulation; flood mitigation; recharge of groundwater; reduced soil erosion and siltation; water purification; conservation of biodiversity; and, micro-climate regulation. The Mau Forest Complex sits within Kenya's Rift Valley and is the largest indigenous montane forest in East Africa. The forest serves as a water catchment area for the country and is a source of many rivers many of which drain into bodies of water like Lake Victoria, which receives 60% of its water from Mau. These rivers exist as lifelines for much of western Kenya's wildlife and people.

The forest has been traditionally inhabited by Ogiek, an indigenous group of people, who lead a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Approximately 10 million people depend on the rivers fed by the forest

complex. However, due to immigration from other ethnic groups, large parts of the forest area have been cleared for settlement. Human activities, especially logging, have led to deforestation of more than a quarter of the area since 1973. The Prime Minister's Task Force on the conservation of the Mau Forest reported that between 1994 and 2009 the Mau Forests Complex has lost over 107,000 hectares representing approx. 25 per cent of its forest cover due to encroachment, ill-planned and irregular settlements, as well as illegal forest resources extraction. Encroachment has occasioned the destruction of approximately 46,122 hectares of indigenous forest (Republic of Kenya, 2009).

Building information consciousness is one way of curbing the aforementioned environmental problems. In this regard, the media act as a conduit and tool for environmental education and appreciation. The media play a critical role in shaping how environmental issues are viewed by common people and environment stakeholders. (Boykoff 2009) observes that over time, mass media coverage of environmental issues has proven fundamentally important in stitching the environment, governance, and daily life together by articulating environmental change.

So far, several studies have attempted to demystify the relationship between the media and the public agenda with regard to environmental issues on the basis that the media are an important source of information as they tend to affect people's perception of the environment (Carvalho and Burgess, 2005; Antilla, 2005; Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004). Research points out that public interest in environmental issues mainly depend on the quantity of coverage produced by the media (Allan, Adam and Carter, 2000).

(Change Challenge.org 2012) reveals that there is a low level of citizen understanding worldwide regarding environmental matters and recommends that the media can facilitate a complete understanding of environmental information. It emphasizes that the media can play vital role in addressing environmental problems and building its sustainability since media reports have a relationship on the way people reason and behave. (Morgan 1997) had foreseen that the media were going to be a key conveyor of the public knowledge of environmental issues. He had portended that much of what people would hear about issues such as greenhouse effect, global climate change, ozone depletion, and water and air pollution would likely come from the media, or from others who have heard it from the media.

Media coverage help to close the information gap by enlightening people on environmental issues, and assisting in simplifying the technical language of climate science for the people with basic or average education.

Furthermore, (Hansen 2007) agrees that media are potentially significant in transforming lives by improving the quality of education, building public awareness on health matters, bringing attention to local community needs and in times of disaster, providing information and sources of assistance to people displaced from their homes. In this regard, it is worth studying how media cover environmental sustainability issues.

Environmental journalism is becoming an important phenomenon in the Kenyan media. With its acclaimed vibrancy and high level of professionalism, the Kenyan media is at a vintage point of spearheading environmental campaigns and awareness. Media coverage on the destruction and

the intrigues surrounding the Mau Forest took center stage and may have influenced decisions to initiate initiation a restoration process (Omungo, 2010). This study looked at how the Kenyan print media cover environmental sustainability issues. Articles, commentaries, reports and features from the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*, Kenya's leading newspapers with the highest and second highest number in circulation, were used for the study.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Environmental sustainability enhances human survival and socio-economic well-being. Environment and natural resources are valuable assets that offer a range of benefits and opportunities for local and national economic development, improved livelihoods and provision of environmental goods and services (Republic of Kenya, 2013; NEMA, 2008).

Worryingly, a dearth of evidence suggests that environmental degradation occurs at an alarming rate globally (UNEP, 2016; Republic of Kenya, 2013; NEMA, 2013; Change Challenge.org, 2012). Resources such as air, water and forests have been depleted, ecosystems destructed and some wildlife extinct thanks to human activities, poverty and global climate change (UNEP 2016).

In Kenya, unprecedented political and socio-economic transformation, high population growth, dwindling productive land and technological changes contribute a great deal to degradation of the country's scarce natural resources such as land, fresh and marine waters and biodiversity thereby threatening the livelihoods of many people.

It has been identified that the media is a critical information tool that can be used to fight against environmental degradation. It is therefore worth noting that the media can be used to drive and

strengthen actions aimed at addressing environmental sustainability problems which are a real threat to the present existence and the future of humanity can be brought to peoples notice by the media. In view of this, the media are considered one of the leading stakeholders involved in the implementation of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) activities. According to (NEMA 2008), the media reach out to all cadres of the society and thus have the capacity to provide access to reliable and relevant information on research findings and best practices to build ESD and improve environmental sustainability.

However, it is regrettable that there is inadequate media coverage of environmental issues due to prioritization of political news by the Kenyan media and the fact that it is highly costly to procure media space for publication of environmental related issues (NEMA, 2013).

This study endeavored to find out how print media covered environmental sustainability issues with the case of Mau Forests Complex being a focus point. (McCombs, Shaw and Weaver 1997) and (Ferguson 2000) insist that print media has a massive power in creating public opinion and constructing environmental issues, and that the agenda-setting role of the media and their framing of issues are too powerful in shaping public opinion and bringing environmental problems to public attention.

It is justifiable to continue studying the effects of media in political, economic and social spheres of life. Most research on media's effects on environment have centered around television with studies showing that there is inadequate research on print media coverage of environmental

issues (Batta, Ashong and Abdullahi, 2013; Carvalho and Burgess, 2005; Segerberg, and Bennett, 2011).

1.4. Purpose of the Study

This study aimed to assess the impact of print media coverage on environmental sustainability issues in Kenya.

1.5. Objectives of the Study

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To investigate how Kenyan print media frames environmental sustainability issues
- ii. To explore the priority given by print media to environmental sustainability issues through placement and frequency
- iii. To investigate the social issues that have a bearing on print media's coverage of environmental sustainability.

1.6. Research Questions

- i. How frequently do print media cover and how do they place environmental sustainability issues?
- ii. How do print media in Kenya frame environmental sustainability issues?
- iii. What social issues have a bearing on coverage of environmental sustainability issues?

1.7. Significance of the Study

The media are a powerful information and advocacy tool and play a critical role in facilitating knowledge in the society. The media can play vital role in addressing environmental problems and building its sustainability since media reports have an effect on the way people reason and behave.

However, there is limited knowledge on the impact of print media's coverage of environmental issues on building a sustainable environment. Therefore, this study sought to fill this knowledge gap by examining how print media covered the Mau Forest Complex crisis, evictions and reconstruction, and how this coverage impacted on the Complex restoration process. Understanding this impact is critical in appreciating the role of the media in sustaining the environment. Most importantly, learning about the impact will help inform future decisions on how to utilize print media in environmental advocacy and sustainability.

The findings of this study also inform environmental policy formulation processes and guidelines and helps environmental policy makers come up with resolute policies and measures. The study also provides recommendations on how print media should cover issues related to environment in order to effectively help in building its sustainability.

1.8. Rationale

The researcher chose to conduct this study because the Mau Forest has been central to political machinations to the extent that political seats are won or lost with respect to politicians' stand on the Mau Forest issue and yet the forest continues to get depleted while the media focus more on the politics instead of the conservation.

1.9. Scope of the Study

The study focused on print media coverage of environmental sustainability issues. It used a case of the Mau Forest Complex, its destruction, occupants' evictions, and its restoration process. Two newspapers – the *Daily Nation* and *the Standard* – were be used. The decision to use the *Daily Nation* newspapers is because the paper has the biggest circulation and readership, and

reaches out to all parts of the country (KARF, 2014). The *Standard* has the second largest readership in the country. The study used environmental articles, reports, features and commentaries appearing within a specific period of time. Literature focusing on media coverage – and specifically print media coverage – of environment issues were reviewed.

1.10. Limitations of the Study

This study was limited in scope and methodology. It centered on the Mau Forest Complex which forms a relatively small part of the wider Kenyan environment and biodiversity. The use of only two newspapers – *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*– limited the study since the way the rest of the papers cover environmental issues is not necessarily similar to that of the two chosen papers. The fact that the study focuses on the media coverage of the Mau Forest, located in Kenya, and uses the Kenyan print media means that its findings cannot be generalized to the wider perspective of how print media cover environmental issues globally.

Time will be another limiting factor in this study. The study needed to be concluded and the final project submitted before November. Therefore, the researcher had to work extra hard to prepare research instruments, make logistical arrangements, collect and analyse data, report on the findings and prepare a final report for submission within the stipulated time frame.

1.11. Operational Definitions

Environment

Throughout this study, environment refers to the sum total of water, air and land interrelationships among themselves as well as with humans, other living organisms and property.

Environment Degradation

It is the deterioration of the environment through depletion of resources such as air, water, soil and forest; leading to the destruction of eco-systems and the extinction of wildlife.

Environmental Sustainability

It refers to the ability to maintain the factors and practices that contribute towards a quality environment on a long-term basis such that it can meet all the demands placed thereon without reducing its capacity to allow all people to live well at present time and in the future.

Environmental issues

These include the loss of biodiversity (wildlife, forests, fisheries), pollution of water resources, nature conservation and protection and soil and agricultural pollution

Print Media

These are printed publications used to disseminate news and news-related information to a mass of diverse audience. In this study, print media refers to the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter discusses important scholarly work and recent studies on the media coverage environmental sustainability issues including climate change and global warming. The chapter comprises of two sections; the theoretical framework and the review of literature. This study looks at what has been done in the global sphere, at the regional level and lastly in Kenya with regards to print media coverage of environmentally sustainability issues. In the theoretical framework, the researcher uses communications theories to explain the print media coverage of sustainability issues in Kenya. In this case, the researcher uses agenda setting and framing theories.

2.1.1 Coverage of Environmental Sustainability Issues Globally

Many scholars agree that both spheres of mass communication and that of climate science were seen to be coming together in the early 1950s. (Abarbanel & McClusky, 1950), do give credit to the Saturday Evening Post, a newspaper in the UK as having published the first story on climate change which was titled 'Is the World Getting Warmer?'. According to (Abarbanel & McClusky, 1950), the story investigated the relationship between the changes in agricultural practices, rising sea levels and atmospheric temperature change. Seven years later in 1957, in a year which was termed as the 'International Geophysical Year', the coverage of man's contribution to climate change by the media increased.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, reporting on climate change by the media saw a dip globally save for a few articles in the USA and the UK. It was not until the realization of international and local

climate policies especially in the mid-80s that coverage started growing. This was due to the activities of bodies like the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Meteorological Organization.

As policy continued getting popular, it was then time for the three i.e. media, science and policy to intersect and this happened in 1988. (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004) write of Margaret Thatcher, the then UK Prime Minister as having given a statement saying that with climate change man had started a huge experiment with the planet. At around the same time, (Shabecoff, 1988) states that James Hansen, a NASA scientist in his testimony to the US Congress said that he was 99% certain “that warmer temperatures were caused by the burning of fossil fuels and not solely a result of natural variation”. Something else that contributed to an increase in coverage of climate change was the growth of the media in this particular period. (Bagdikian, 2004) writes that media companies across various western countries came together through mergers and acquisitions and therefore giving rise to media conglomerates.

From a global perspective, the coverage of environmental problems by journalists and discourse on sustainability has been changing over the last decade or so. In the beginning of 2006, coverage of climate change, fossil fuels, and the environment became big at a time when the price of gas and petroleum products went high. However, ten years down the line and this trend has changed significantly (Boykoff & Simmons, 2007).

Thus, the amount of environmental coverage and single environmental issues has been moving up and down. There are issues that have remained persistent albeit with different concepts and

framings being used over the decades while other have been increasing and decreasing. For instance, the newspaper coverage of how natural resources ought to be used was prevalent in the 1970s (Boykoff & Simmons, 2007). A decade later, the same topic was put under the wider topic of sustainable development. The new millennium witnessed the ideas of eco-efficiency, wellbeing, and happiness with regards to the utilization of natural resources.

Nonetheless, the overall trend has been an increase in the coverage of environmental issues that are global in nature, for instance, global warming thanks to the cross-border nature of such environmental concerns (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2008). This global nature of the environmental problems is emphasized by various cultural, economic, technological, and social processes of globalization that are connected to the environmental concerns. Examples of these globalization processes include transnational chains of consumption, global trade, global form of marketing, global brands, as well as advertising.

It is also imperative to note how media ownership has been consolidated in this era where a number of newspapers from different countries can be owned by one individual (Lorenzoni & Hulme, 2009). There are also other factors such as the use of English as a global language and in the development of communication and information technologies.

(Boykoff 2009) in his analysis of media coverage of the environment looked at factors that dictate media coverage although in a dynamic and complex manner. According to him, the media is part of a wider network through which messages about the environment are produced, consumed, and processed. This means that environmental news has to compete with other

messages for attention and visibility, which can be entertaining and informative in nature. This makes it hard for audiences to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant knowledge since there is an overflow of information. (Lyytimaki and Palosaari 2004) have looked into the coverage of environmental news in Finnish magazines and note that it was about 2-3% compared to other news before the year 2000.

By 2010, this percentage had gone up to between 5 and 15%. While this shows a significant growth in the coverage of environmental concerns, half of these newspaper stories tackled environmental concerns and instead tackled issues to do with energy, natural disasters or housing, which are regarded as environmental topics as well. Notably, topics that made the front page of many newspapers had to do with leisure, including sports, culture, human relationships, and entertainment. Other topics were dealt with the economy, politics, and health.

In the United Kingdom, (Boykoff and Mansfield 2007) did analyze several newspapers between 2000 and 2006 and established that there was also an emphasis on climate change though from an anthropogenic point of view. The amount of coverage appeared to be more on other media such as TV than the newspaper forum. However, the differences between environmental issues coverage in print and other media typology is still uncertain due to inadequate comparative research (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2008). Also, consolidation of ownership of media and the increase in use of technology to disperse news are also contributing to this uncertainty. Also, daily circulation for tabloids in the UK appeared to be much higher than when compared to broadsheets. This is so because it appears that many readers of these tabloids are in the working class sector. These are the influential sources in the country and they have been representing

environmental concerns to the UK citizenry for a long time. The Sun, the Mirror, the Daily Express, and the Daily Mail have framed their news articles through charismatic mega fauna, weather events, and such rhetoric but few stories focused on climate issues, risk, or fear (White, 2010). The most prevalent tones of this news were spelling doom and fear.

Clearly, the quantity of newspaper stories regarding environmental issues and sustainability is high; however, the quality is doubtful. Newspaper coverage of the same in the US took up about 2.7% of overall news. (Neuzil 2008) took note of newspaper coverage of several wildfires in the US and noted that they underwent two phrases. First, the newspapers covered such environmental news only when there was a disaster or when the corporate sector had done something wrong. Second, the newspapers covered the environmental concerns when it was established that they were the consequences of economic, social, or cultural factors.

In the 1970s, for instance, the press was largely blamed for following up on environmental movements instead of reporting on specific and important environmental subjects (Neuzil, 2008). This led to several important issues being missed out or overlooked. An example here is the enactment of the National Environmental Policy Act into law in the year 1969; this was a very significant law that was far reaching in dealing with the environment yet very few newspapers in America covered the event. In the same view, the press and journalists were also accused for sensationalism in that they lacked a good understanding about the environmental issues (Neuzil, 2008). The newspapers also appeared to focus on distant issues in Afghanistan instead of local issues.

Remarkably, the reasons as to why the press increased its coverage of environmental news in the 1970s is because there was an explosion of information during this time. The ecological stories decline dramatically after a few years though. In 1970, the number of reports in Harper's, Time, McCall's, and National Geographic was 48 but the coverage went down to 29 in 1971 Lassen, (Horsbol, Bonnen, & Pedersen, 2011). A number of reasons have been given as to why this drop in coverage came to be.

According to the Economist magazine, the excitement about the environment was forgotten because environmentalists mis-predicted disasters. For instance, there was a prediction in the 1970s that raw materials were fast being depleted. Yet a year later, the price of oil went up and new wells were discovered in the North Sea. Despite this decline, however, the press continued to pay more attention to more environmental issues than when compared to the 1960s. Between 1961 and 1970, coverage of such news stood at 158 but the number increased to 291 between 1970 and 1980 (Lassen, Horsbol, Bonnen, & Pedersen, 2011).

As the 1980s progressed, the highest agenda in press reporting of environmental issues had to do with energy resource management, specifically in the US. Still, economic issues appeared to dominate stories about the environment and sustainability. In 1988, environmental concerns were very much significant to a point that the Times chose it as the concern of the year.

In the last few years, environmental issues have been covered extensively (Boykoff & Simmons, 2007). As a matter of fact, a number of newspapers have a section for environmental news that they write regularly. The New York Times and The Dallas Morning News have had sections on Tuesdays for covering environmental news. Furthermore, new magazines have cropped up to

deal with the environment, for instance, the E Magazine, Buzzworm, Garbage. There have also been journals solely focused on the environment, for instance, Mother Earth News, Audubon, Sierra, and many more (Boykoff, 2011). And although this coverage cannot be compared to topics of economics and politics, at least the environment is now at par with news on education or health.

In parts of Asia, efforts have been made by various organizations to increase environmental information to journalists. In 1988, the Asian Forum of Environmental Journalists was established to increase the knowledge of journalists regarding the environment and generally everything to do with science. Compared to the West, however, environmental issues and sustainability have not been predominant as much. In India, nonetheless, print media if used to cover environmental concerns can have a huge impact on the community.

According to (Kumar 2001), more than magazines, two national dailies can affect a large area in India than other kinds of media. In the country, however, many Indians lack the proper knowledge regarding how degradation in the environment can affect people and communities. The poor people in the country even after reading the news cannot voice their concerns about the environment since they do not have the means.

In India, there is also the aspect of newspapers covering environmental issues when there is a national disaster or a large scale issue. Therefore, although print media can cover a lot of these issues, little is done about sensitization or bringing awareness to the public (Kumar, 2001). Critics note that the print media in the country ought to do enough to help sensitize the public

about issues such as deforestation and farming that contribute to the degradation of the environment; though local news regarding the environment is somehow more than the national scale coverage on the same.

Most print media in the country talk about the environment in the editorial column but most of the outlets talk about politics and other controversial matters that are deemed more important to the public. Therefore, good writings or articles talking about deep environmental issues are missing (Kumar, 2001). In sum, most print media in Indian speak about the environment and issues of sustainability only when there is a disaster such as landslide or floods.

The Western media has been blamed by NGOs for unfairly covering environmental issues and sustainability as well. Media coverage of crisis in other parts of the world is often stereotyped and selective in a way. While certain small media outlets would print a lot about environmental concerns, they would be less in others. Therefore, although many western journalists possess the required knowledge about environmental concerns and sustainability, reporting will depend on a number of theoretical frameworks mentioned above such as frames. Issues that are of great importance and those that impact the West will be covered but those that deemed to be less significant will be left out.

2.1.2 Coverage of Environmental Sustainability Issues in Africa

Just like in other issues, the African continent has been lagging behind when it comes to reporting about environmental sustainability issues in the continent. Remarkably, print media coverage has depended on different countries as well as regions. (Mare 2011) did a study on newspapers in South Africa and established that reports on climate change and environmental

sustainability somehow generalized the impact. Therefore, the reports did not reflect the urgency and they were dismal in nature; only up to 1% of the print media tackled the environment issues. (Mare 2011) also established that they were negative in nature, official centered, and event-based. Also they were in the middle pages where they receive much less attention. Furthermore, the reports give very little about the environment from a local perspective or the African context. They were mostly foreign sources, specific, biased, and appear to be a conflict between the North and South of the continent.

(Tagbo 2010) has observed that climate change is a significant issue of development; however, it appears to be overshadowed by other issues that are much more pressing and visible to the public. From up North in Nigeria to South Africa, there is a consensus on how environmental issues are covered. (Tagbo 2010) also establishes that by nature, climate change has never been a priority such that it can make the front pages of African newspapers unless where there is an economic, local, or political angle to it. Many journalists in Africa are perhaps facing a hard time while reporting environmental issues because there is a lack of understanding in general.

There are a few journalists that are up to the task on these issues unlike journalists in the developed world. Many local journalists consider climate change as an intricate story that cannot fit the usual print media especially due to the deadline culture in most newsrooms. As (Tagbo 2010) envisions, climate change and environmental sustainability is an issue regarded as cancer or slow poison that requires the experts to write about it in the print media.

It is also imperative to point out that the African continent has experienced turbulence in form of wars and disasters; therefore, the political history of a country goes a lot to determine the priority

given to environment sustainability or climate change. For instance, while the west started to speak about environmental concerns in the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa was much concerned about issues to do with getting independence (Allan & Thorsen, 2009). Recently, however, much of climate change and environmental concerns in the country have been lifted from foreign media. The Star, for instance, reported about international climatic events but lifted from the Reuters. As such, they were stories concerning the environment but outside the country, for instance, in Australia and environmental conferences.

As mentioned before, news is also framed according to the importance within the local context. In 2010, for instance, climate change became a significant issue in The Star when it reported that a South African official would likely become an official of the UN tasked with climate change (Tagbo, 2010).

In Nigeria, matters to do with the environment have also been written in print media but not with the gravity that it requires (Nisbet, 2010). There are a number of issues that have led to this. First, Nigeria has a huge population with many languages; therefore, print media finds it hard to reach every corner of the population. Nigeria is also known as a world producer of oil; however, a large chunk of the population still lives in poverty because of corruption. Therefore, Nigeria is a country with immense issues such as lack of accountability, power struggles, weak institutions and much more. These are the main issues that are reported in print media more than environment concerns according to (Tagbo 2010).

However, the continent cannot afford to disregard issues of environmental concern because African countries face the large consequence of climate change. Just like in South Africa, environmental coverage in Nigeria is lacking in terms of the local context. About 65 percent of reports by The Guardian, for instance, have been about the environment from an international point of view and not from the Nigerian context. The reports also talk about international events such as the UN conference in 2009 on the environment, the Oslo meeting, and other NGO news such as WWF. Therefore, most of these reports are from the foreign media and from a foreign point of view.

Without a doubt, there is a huge difference between coverage of environment news by print media in the West and those in Africa. It appears that environmental sustainability and climate change are still new terminologies to journalists in the African continent. African governments also lack the required mechanisms and resources to involve journalists to write about or campaign on environmental sustainability. It is only in South Africa where there has been a considerable amount of reporting about environmental sustainability. Print media is still dominant in most parts of Africa than electronic media (Mare, 2011).

Therefore, it is still a leader in informing and educating the public with regards to matters of environmental degradation and sustainability. Still, little has been done to deal with the situation. Comparing between the West and Africa, it appears that there is a lack of awareness on environmental issues in Africa. Many African journalists are not adequately informed about the impact of environmental degradation. When they report therefore, they do so from a global perspective and not from a local perspective (Kanini, 2010). It is easier to find newspapers

reporting about climate change in general instead of local environmental concerns. Although there may be journalists that want to cover news that deal with environmental sustainability, they may lack the necessary equipment and resources to carry out their investigations compared to western journalists.

There is also a poor connection between governments in Africa and the media. African governments have other issues to deal with that take precedence, for instance, corruption, hunger, and land problem to the point that environmental sustainability is put to the bottom of the list (Hansen, 2010). Therefore, inadequate resources have been directed towards educating the public on environmental degradation. For instance, although there are ministries of environment, they rarely release researched information or scientific data for journalists to use in their reports or awareness campaigns.

2.1.3 Coverage of Environmental Sustainability Issues in Kenya

Mainstream print media in Kenya are the *Standard* and the *Daily nation*. A lot has been done tackling climate change issues in Kenya; however, there is little research that has framed such environmental issues in print media, newspapers to be specific. Nonetheless, (Kanini 2010) did assess the role of setting agenda of the media especially in conserving the environment. Kanini found out that although there was adequate information regarding climate change as an issue, there was little information on how to mitigate the effect of environmental degradation and how to carry out sustainability (Kanini, 2010). Also, most research tends to focus mostly on the climate change impact on a global scale.

Another research by (Shisanya & Khayesi 2007) has also focused on how climate change is perceived in relation to environmental and socioeconomic issues but specifically in Nairobi. The main question tackled by this researcher was whether communities in Kenya and other such countries regard climate change and environmental sustainability as a significant threat to their lives than other developmental issues. According to the findings of (Shisanya & Khayesi 2007), respondents in Nairobi do not view climate change as a significant issue than when compared to other prioritized issues such as poverty alleviation, insecurity, corruption, and other socioeconomic issues.

2.2 Theoretical Framework Overview

According to (Mugenda, 2013), a theory is a set of concepts or constructs and the interrelations that are assumed to exist among those concepts. It provides a guiding schedule in the search for answers to questions that have been formulated in the study. This study is guided by two media effects theories; i.e. agenda Setting theory and framing theory.

As many researchers acknowledge, there appears to be a thin distinction between framing and agenda-setting theory. Therefore, the researcher used both these theories because they ask the right questions that were helpful in the research. These questions deal with the kinds of issues and potential solutions that print media ignore in their coverage. Since news framing for instance, has the potential of weakening arguments or eliminating voices, it is thought that media can frame environmental concerns in a way that favors one side without seeming to be bias. This is why these theories are significant for this study. Through it, the researcher will learn whether or not the Kenyan print media is telling the right issues about environmental sustainability.

Theories like framing and agenda setting allow us to comprehend our world through objective explanation and description of events such as global warming and sustainability.

2.2.1 Framing theory

With regards to environmental communication, one theory that can be used to examine how media covers the environment is the framing theory. The definition of frame as given by (Hansen 2010) is: “principles of emphasis, selection, as well as presentation that comprises of tacit theories regarding what happens, what exists, and what else matters.” Hansen also offers another description of framing as the selection of certain aspects of perceived realities to make them more relevant within a communication text with the aim of promoting the definition, interpretation, evaluation, and recommendation of a particular issue”. And according to Nisbet (2009), framing is an interpretation of the story and setting in motion a certain train of thought. As such, framing interprets and issue and reveals why it is a problem, as well as, what are the causes and the answers.

Journalists utilize frames to produce news reports that are appealing and interesting at the same time. In view of this research, frames are a significant part of public engagement when it comes to communicating environmental issues to the audience. According to Nisbet, the following frame types apply to issues of the environment and climate change: Morality/Ethics; Competition/Economic Development; Public Health; Conflict/Strategy; Governance/Public Accountability; Alternative Path/Middle Way; Runaway Science/Pandora’s Box; as well as Technical and Scientific Uncertainty (Nisbet, 2010).

The morality and ethics frame touch on the rights and wrongs of society while the competition and economic development refer to market benefit/economic investment (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2008). On its part, conflict and strategy frame is all about the friction between different groups, the elites, and other personages while governance and public accountability capture policy and research that serves special interest or the interest of the public. The middle way frame also reflect the approach between polarized and conflicting opinions while the Pandora science is reflective of the requirement for action to avoid catastrophe (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2008). Last, science and technology seeks to find answers to what is alarmist and what has been scientifically confirmed.

There is a connection between these types of frames by (Nisbet 2009) and recent groupings of different discourses regarding environmental issues by (Lassen et al. 2011). According to (Lassen et al. 2011), there are three prominent discourses that talk about citizens' participation in environmental issues: green govern mentality; ecological modernization; as well as civic environmentalism. All of these discourses are often grounded in opinions, attitudes, perceptions, and knowledge.

There doesn't exist definite manner in which one can identify frames found in the news. Scholars including Entman posit that the identification of frames employs such positions as the presence or absence of certain catchphrases. They also include things like expressions, images, sentences and even information, which contain thematically strengthening clusters of judgments or facts. Another scholar Tankard does recommend framing mechanisms that help in the recognizing and

measuring news frames. They include: headlines, subheads, leads, photos, photo captions, quotes selection, source selection, pull quotes, statistics, logos, and even concluding statements.

Across the globe, there are four general categories regarding the environment and climate change according to (Lorenzoni and Hume 2009): denial, engagement, doubt, and no interest. Those who deny see environmental concerns as non-significant and that human beings do not contribute to larger issues such as climate change. Those who engage in environmental issues view this topic as something of great significant while the doubters are not yet sure whether humans are contributing to environmental concerns even though they acknowledge its importance. Last, those who do not show any interest accept the fact that there may be the need to act but they cannot do anything to reduce the impact of human activities on the environment.

Other theories that relate to the frame theory include agenda setting theory, which according to (Hansen 2010), is the power wielded by the media in influencing the perception of the public regarding important and prominent matters or agencies. In other words, the media is capable of telling the populace the important issues. The media allows the society to experience what it is yet to encounter in the physical world.

Agenda setting theory means that the media offers an impression of the outer world so that people can form impressions within themselves. It is also imperative to look at another theory, mass communication, a process that includes the transfer of social values, meaning, and experiences between a communicator and other actors (McQuail, 2005). In view of this, environmental mass communication means having a common content that deals with environmental concerns. In environmental communication, communicators send message to the public touching on environmental concerns, at the same time, they receive feedback and

response from the audience. As (McQuail 2005) puts it, the end of this framework is the establishment of public awareness regarding environmental issues so as to increase public interest and understanding of such concerns.

For the Kenyan print media, understanding these theories is significant in the coverage of environmental sustainability and in the specific case of Mau Forest. The print media, newspapers for instance, can frame solutions and ways that communities and the government can act. Common solutions can include restricting deforestation, reducing population growth, as well as looking for alternative fuel to reduce charcoal burning (Tagbo, 2010). Newspapers in Kenya can also increase their coverage in terms of what Kenyans can do to the Mau environment issues because it is a significant water tower for the country. As (White 2010) envisions, communities ought to improve their immediate environment and thus act as pro-environment agents of change. White also suggests that the print media should be honest, clear, and truthful while addressing the environmental challenge. In the process, they should adopt deep frames instead of conceptual frames such as the use of slogans and catch phrases.

2.2.2 Agenda setting theory

Having been introduced in the year 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw , the Agenda setting theory became a ground breaking study especially in the explaining of the role of the media in 1968 presidential campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The agenda setting theory posits that the media wield considerably huge influence on audiences. This, according to (McCombs, 1972; Shaw, 1973)is in regards to the kind of stories that are considered newsworthy and how much prominence and space to give them

The theory was developed over a period of time and refers to the process whereby the coverage of issues by the media end up causing changes in the awareness of the existence of particular issues. As (Cohen, 1963) stated the media may not always successfully tell its audience what to think but it surely successfully tells the audience what to think about.

Regarding the coverage of climate change, the theory of agenda setting is true for it as it is for other issues. Through agenda setting therefore, the media tells the audience what to think about climate change depending on how the media covers climate change issues. Be it international or local climate change issues, the media guides the audience understanding of climate change issues.

According to (Gitlin, 1980), the media's influence on the audience has become immense. He states that since people are only aware of their small environments, it is the media that then provides a kind of reality to them by offering an image through the content relayed on TV or published in newspapers and also online.

Agenda setting describes the ability of the news media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda. This happens if a news item is covered frequently and prominently, the audience will regard the issue as more important. As McCombs (2006) states, not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news.

Agenda setting theory's beginning can be traced as far as back as 1922, when scholars like Walter Lippmann expressed concern on the important role that the media can exert in having a

bearing on the setting of a certain meaning on the mind of the audience. In order to show the influence of the media, Lippmann uses the example of individuals who are thought to be enemies in a time when their countries are at war with each other. As an alternative of becoming opponents, without access to war reports from the media, those persons are able to live amicably. Lippmann shows how the media can set an agenda which can then effect the thoughts of the public.

Newspapers for instance do provide hints about the salience of the topics in the news. Things like lead story on page one, other front page display, and large headlines, etc. On TV news there are cues on salience which include the opening story on the newscast, the length of time devoted to the story, etc. When such cues are repeated day after day, (McCombs 2006), states that they effectively communicate the importance of each topic. This means that the news media can set the agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms.

The issue of the Mau Forest complex for instance is such an issue which the Kenyan media and specifically print media have in the past set as an agenda through focusing a lot of attention on its conservation. The issue of the Mau Forest was focused on by the media as an important news item and at the height of the eviction of the forest's inhabitants/ encroachers, the print media focused more on the politics surrounding the eviction more than the importance of the conservation of the forest which was the environmental sustainability issue that drove the eviction.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter discusses the methodology employed in this study. The methodology for the study was streamlined to specifically address the study objectives and answer important questions raised therein. The methodology includes a description of the research design and area of the study, population, sampling methods, data collection tools and data analysis methods that were used. Ethical issues that were worth considering in the study are also discussed.

3.1 Brief Description of Study Site

The Mau Forests Complex has an area of 273,300 hectares (675,000 acres) and forms the largest indigenous montane forest in East Africa (Republic of Kenya, 2009). Located in the Southern Rift Valley of Kenya, the complex comprises seven forest blocks - the Mau Narok, Maasai Mau, Eastern Mau, Western Mau, Southern Mau, South West Mau and Transmara blocks (Kundu et al., 2008); (Olang & Fürst 2011).

According to the Prime Minister's Task Force on the Conservation of the Mau Forests Complex (Republic of Kenya, 2009), the Mau Complex is one of the five water towers in Kenya and the main catchment area for 12 rivers draining into Lake Baringo, Lake Nakuru, Lake Turkana, Lake Natron and the Trans-boundary Lake Victoria.

Millions of people in the Rift Valley and western Kenya depend on the ecology of the Complex for their livelihoods. Benefiting directly from the forests are the more than 50,000 smallholder

tea farmers who provide support to about 430,000 people (Republic of Kenya, 2009). The Prime Minister's Task Force estimates that the Complex contributes more than Kshs. 20 billion per year to the Kenyan economy from tea, tourism and energy sectors alone.

Worryingly, between 1995 and 2010, the Mau Forest Complex underwent significant land use changes due to increased human population demanding land for settlement and subsistence agriculture. This led to massive encroachment causing drastic and considerable land fragmentation, deforestation of the headwater catchments and destruction of wetlands previously existing within the fertile upstream parts.

The Prime Minister's Task Force (Republic of Kenya, 2009) reported that the widespread encroachment led to the destruction of approximately 25 per cent of the Mau Forests Complex: 61,586.5 hectares were excised in 2001; over 17,000 hectares allocated due to expansion of Group Ranches beyond their adjudicated boundaries; and some 29,000 hectares encroached in the remaining protected forests.

The Task Force recommended that immediate evictions of illegal settlers should be carried out and the complex be restored and preserved. Following the recommendations, the government, in November 2009, undertook the eviction of the more than 30,000 families living illegally in the complex ("Kenya evicts thousands of forest squatters in attempt to save Rift valley," 2009).

3.2 Research Approach

According to (Given 2008), a research approach refers to the logical structure that any research follows. A mixed methods research approach will be adopted in this study. Mixed methods

research is an approach that involves collecting, analyzing, and integrating (or mixing) quantitative and qualitative research in a single study or a longitudinal program of inquiry (Darlington and Scott, 2002; Creswell et al., 2003). In view of (Greene, Caracelli and Graham 1989) this approach is useful in triangulating results and expanding the breadth and range of enquiry. The combination of both qualitative and quantitative research provides a better understanding of a research problem or issue than using one research approach alone (Creswell et al., 2003).

This approach was best suited for this study since it provides a means of clearly interrogating the effects of print media coverage on environmental sustainability in Kenya. Quantitative analysis showed the frequency of media coverage of environmental issues whilst qualitative approach deeply uncovered how media frame environmental issues, and how the country's politics impacts how media covered environmental matters.

3.3 Target Population

According to (Sim & Wright 2002), a target population refers to the collection of cases in which the researcher is ultimately interested, and to which they wish to make generalizations. This is the group from which a sample of the study is drawn. The target population of this study comprised all the articles, editorials, special reports and features about the environment and specifically on the Mau Forest Complex evacuations. All these made up 202 items as the target population for this study drawn from articles of both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*.

3.4 Sampling

Sampling is the process of choosing actual data sources from a larger set of possibilities done by defining the full set of possible data sources (termed as ‘population’), and selecting a specific sample of data sources from that population (Given, 2008).

3.4.1 Sampling Procedure

(Orodho 2012) defines sampling process as the steps systematically followed in selecting a number of cases from a population as a sample. In this study, two mainstream newspapers – the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*– were selected. Thereafter 202 articles including news items, editorials, special reports, and features on environment from the two newspapers were sampled. The sample was drawn from publications appearing between 1st November, 2009 and December 31st 2009, the period in which the eviction of the more than 30,000 families dominated print media news.

Individual newspaper items appearing between November 1, 2009 and December 31st 2009 were selected using key words like “Environment”, “Environmental Sustainability”, “Mau Forest”, “Mau Forest Evictions”, and “Mau Forest Squatters”. The *Daily Nation* copies were available in an online directory in the newspaper’s library. Those were identified and printed. As for the *Standard* newspapers, the hard copies were identified and the researcher went through every newspaper falling under the period under review and searching for titles that corresponded to the key words above. The researcher then made copies of all the articles found for use in the study.

3.4.2 Sampling Methods

The researcher reviewed all the newspaper articles about evictions from the Mau Forest in the period indicated so as to clearly establish the frames. Looking at all articles running between November 2009 and December 2009 helped come up with frequencies for the frames which are the coding units in this study. The newspaper articles were sourced from the NMG and *Standard* Group libraries which keeps all the publications of the respective media houses.

Purposive sampling technique was used in the study to select the newspapers. This technique ensured that the researcher selected cases which possess all the attributes required for the study. The papers were selected on the criterion that they were the biggest with regards to national circulation, regional representation and massive influence (KARF, 2014). In order to arrive at the individual articles for the study the census sampling method was employed. A census of all the newspaper items found from the two publications was carried out. Therefore, for this study, the entire population was going to be used i.e. 202 articles of both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* between November and December 2009.

3.5 Method of Data Collection

A guiding schedule of questions was used to as a data collection tool. The question schedule was used to capture the following important variables of the study: Frequency (amount) of environmental issues coverage; prominence given to environmental sustainability (determined by the size of space and section occupied by the story); frames emanating from the stories; political personalities featured and political angles taken by the stories. Data was then analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

3.5.1 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher used newspaper articles (news, opinions and editorials) from the two newspapers sourced from the organization's archives. The data was sourced by the researcher from the Nation Media Group and the *Standard* Media Group libraries comprised of articles from the two newspapers from the beginning of the month of November 1st 2009 to December 31st 2009.

The researcher first classified the articles according to the month they were published, then by type of article i.e. (editorial, opinion, news) and also by placement. The researcher then went ahead to further classify them as per section as either published in the front page, back page or inside.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

(Kombo and Tromp 2006) referred to data analysis as the process of examining raw data for the purpose of making inferences. Content analysis was used as a data analysis method in this study.

(Holsti 1968) defined content analysis as any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages.

According to (Lal Das and Bhaskaran 2008), content analysis goes through six stages namely:

- (i) Formulation of the research question or objectives;
- (ii) Selection of communication content and sample;
- (iii) Developing content categories;
- (iv) Finalizing units of analysis;
- (v) Preparing a schedule and checking their reliabilities; and
- (vi) Analyzing the collected data.

The researcher developed a guiding schedule of questions (appendix 1) to capture the following important variables of the study: Frequency (amount) of environmental issues coverage; prominence given to environmental sustainability (determined by the size of space and section occupied by the story); themes and frames emanating from the stories; political personalities featured and political angles taken by the stories. Data was then analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Data presentation was done using frequency tables, pie charts and bar graphs that summarized and organized data in addition to describing the characteristics of the sample population.

3.7 Coding of the articles

The 202 articles that were identified and used in this study were located through key-word searches. Appendix 1 details the coding of articles by nature, placement and framing. The key words used included Mau Forest, Mau Forest evictions, Mau, etc and this therefore yielded all articles i.e. news, opinions, letters. Appendix 2 is a guiding schedule of questions that was used and Appendix 3 is a sample of an article that was identified and used in the study. The articles were then categorized according to the different frames identified. They were also categorized according to the type of article i.e. news, editorial, opinion. Another categorization was that of placement i.e. whether the article was published in front page, back page or in the inside pages, length and usage of photos.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

In order to obtain valid and reliable results for this study, the researcher used articles published in credible newspapers which have the biggest readership in Kenya. The results therefore are consistent over time and represent an accurate representation of the entire population that the study targeted. The study therefore meets the threshold of validity and reliability.

3.9 Ethics

The research ethics in this study were guided by values of integrity regarding the topic of research. The ethical issues that guided this study was based on the greater good for everyone involved.

In order to fulfill the University of Nairobi's requirements for the award of a Masters of Arts Degree in communication studies, the researcher undertook this study. The student arrived at the research title in compliance with course work covered and went ahead to present it in a concept paper which was submitted to the University for Approval.

Upon the approval of the research topic by the University, the student embarked on writing of a research proposal under the guidance of a supervisor. The student then submitted the research proposal and appeared before a panel in order to defend the proposal. After the proposal defence, and following the corrections, suggestions and additions made by the panel, the student incorporated the same in the research proposal. The student obtained a Certificate of Fieldwork (appendix 4) which was duly signed and then proceeded to collect data.

The student then obtained permission to analyze newspaper articles from both the Nation Media Group and the *Standard Group's* library. Both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* libraries are open to the public upon payment of a fee. The researcher paid the fee and requested permission and was allowed to collect data after explaining that it was in fulfillment of a Masters study and explaining what the research was about.

Upon the completion of research, the researcher appeared before a panel and defended the project. The researcher was issued with a certificate of originality (appendix 5) and thereafter a

certificate of corrections (appendix 6) after having implemented the corrections recommended by the defense panel.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter explores an analysis of the methodology used in this study which was mix of both quantitative and qualitative. It also highlighted the research approach employed by study, case study and content analysis, population and sampling, data collection, data analysis and presentation, validity and reliability, research ethics that guided the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

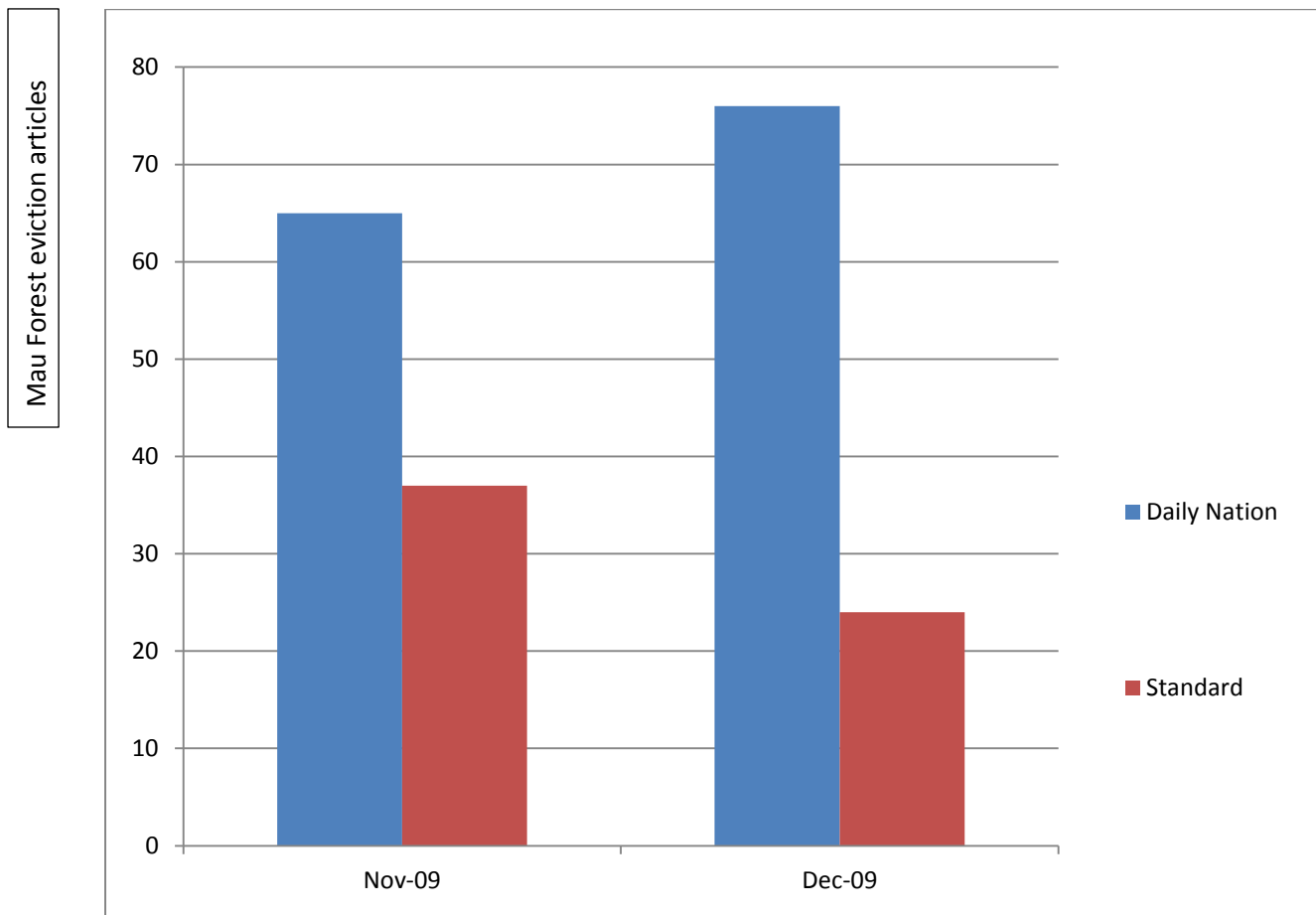
This chapter presents and discusses the findings on print media coverage of environmental sustainability issues in Kenya. The findings are categorized into three i.e. frequency of coverage of environmental sustainability issues, placement of environmental sustainability issues and impact of politics on coverage of environmental issues.

In this study, 202 articles from the two dailies were analyzed. All the articles that were analyzed covered environmental sustainability and specifically the evictions from the Mau Forest between November 2009 and December 2009. The researcher categorized and then analyzed the articles from the two newspapers separately. The *Daily Nation* had 141 newspaper articles between the two months under review. The *Standard* newspaper published a total of 61 articles between November and December 2009.

4.1 Frequency of coverage on Mau Forest evictions

This figure shows the frequency of coverage of the Mau Forest evictions by both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers. The figure shows the total number of articles published during the time under review as found in the census conducted. . The two newspapers which command the highest and the second highest readership in the country covered the evictions constantly over the duration of the two months leading up to and after the evictions. Here below is a presentation of the coverage.

Figure 4.1: Frequency of coverage on Mau Forest evictions



According to *Figure 4.1*, the *Daily Nation* had more articles than the *Standard* on the Mau Forest evictions. All the articles were on environmental sustainability and as the figure shows, coverage was high in the month of November as compared to the month of December 2009. In the month of November, the *Daily Nation* published 65 articles in different sections. In December that year, the *Daily Nation* published 76 articles in its different sections. For the *Standard*, there were 37 articles in November and 24 articles in December 2009.

This is an indication that the *Daily Nation* newspaper had significantly more coverage of environmental sustainability issues as compared to the *Standard*. With its bigger readership, the

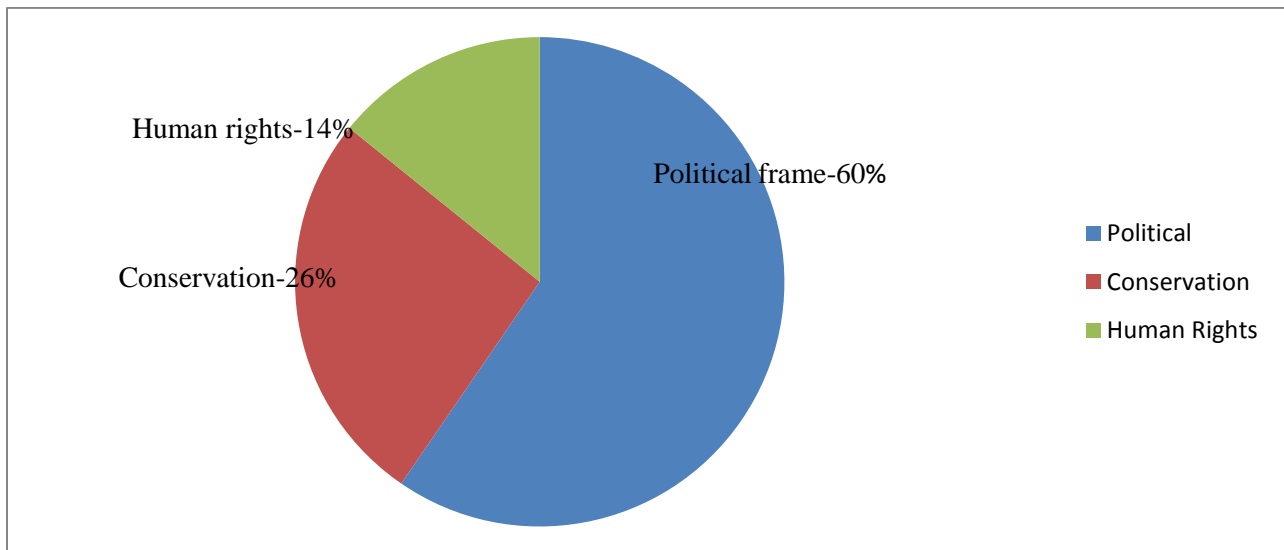
Daily Nation not only reaches more people but also offers its readers more environmental sustainability news. This shows the discrepancy which exists among newspapers whereby some do cover some issues more than others.

With regard to the purpose of this study, which was to find out how the Kenyan media cover environmental sustainability issues, this study finds that some newspapers provide coverage to environmental sustainability issues more than others. This also ties in well with the agenda setting theory. This is because deferent media houses set their own specific agendas as per their editorial policy and the desires of their target audience.

4.2 Framing of Mau Forest evictions by *Daily Nation*

This figure shows the framing of coverage of the Mau Forest evictions by the *Daily Nation* newspaper. The figure shows three frames which include politics, human rights and conservation and what percentage these frames represented in the total number of articles reviewed from the *Daily Nation*.

Figure 4.2: Frame Representations



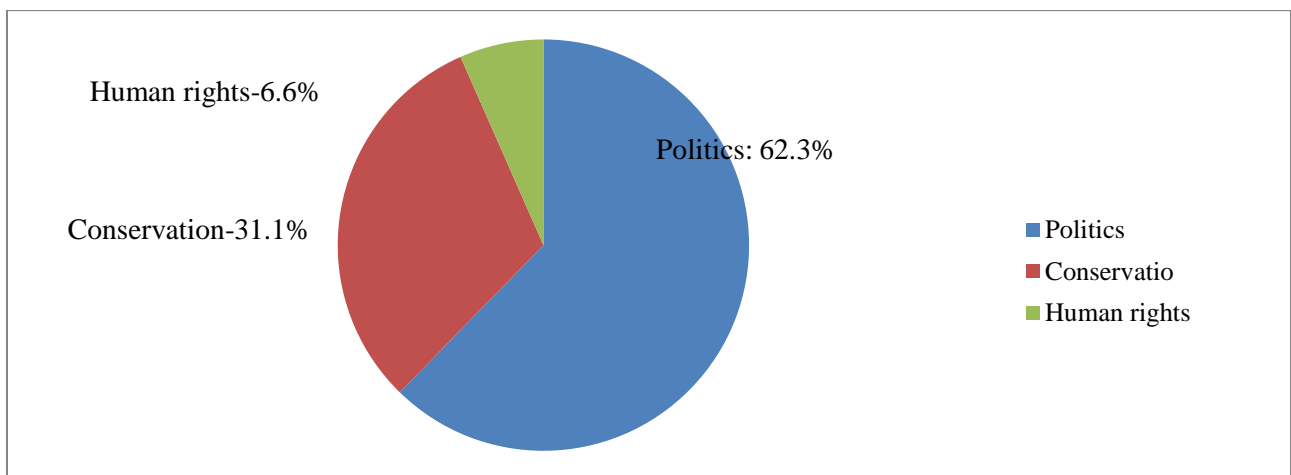
This study found that the *Daily Nation* newspaper framed more than half of its reporting on the Mau Forest evictions as politics. This accounted for 60% of the total 141 articles that were reviewed from this newspaper. Just 26% of the articles were framed as conservation/ environmental sustainability while another 14% of the articles were framed as human rights.

This is clear evidence that the *Daily Nation* newspaper frames serious environmental sustainability issues politically. Such framing makes the reader see the article in a political frame and hence ignore the environmental implications that would otherwise have been passed had the article been framed as a conservation issue. This study sought to find out how the print media in Kenya frame environmental sustainability issues and according to this evidence, the *Daily Nation* frames it as politics.

4.3 Framing of Mau Forest evictions by *Standard* newspaper

Figure 4.3 shows the framing of coverage of the Mau Forest evictions by the *Standard* newspaper. The figure shows three frames which include politics, human rights and conservation and what percentage these frames represented in the total number of articles reviewed from the *Standard*. Here below is a presentation of the frames.

Figure 4.3: Frame Representations



This study found that a majority of the 61 articles reviewed from the Standard newspaper were framed as politics at 62.3% while 31.1% of them were framed as human rights and conservation portrayed the least percentage with 31.1%.

According to this study, just like the *Daily Nation* newspaper, the *Standard* newspaper frames a high percentage of its articles on environmental sustainability as political news. Despite having a lower frequency of articles as compared to the *Daily Nation*, the *Standard* still follows the script when it comes to how it frames environmental sustainability. It shows therefore that the *Standard* would rather have their target audiences read politics than environmental sustainability articles.

4.4 Framing of Mau Forest evictions by *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*

This figure shows an average of the frames that both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers used in presenting their environmental sustainability articles. The figure shows a presentation of percentages of the three frames of politics, human rights and conservation.

Figure 4.4: Frame representations in both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*

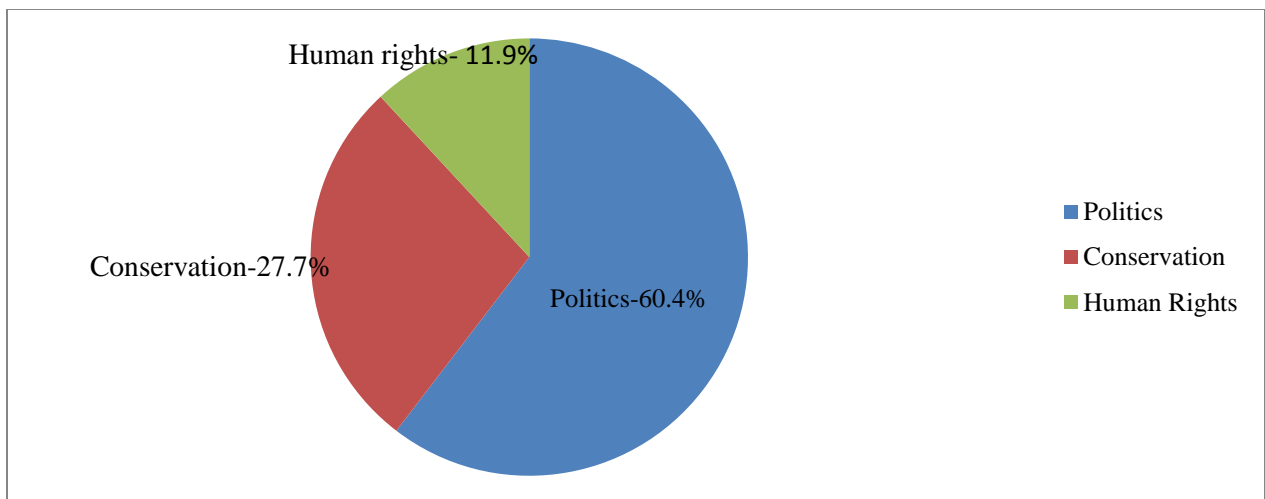


Figure 4.4 shows that the frame of politics in the coverage of environmental sustainability in this study was dominant accounting for a little more than half of the framing i.e. 85 (60.4%). This study found that even in the individual newspapers, politics frame was the most evident at more than half of all the articles reviewed. The second most dominant frame from *Figure 4.4* is the conservation frame and the least dominant is the human rights frame which came about as the evictions were effected.

An example of a news article that focused on a political frame was the *Standard* news article of December 6th 2009 with the headline “*Mau dispute exposes intrigues in key parties.*” In the conservation frame, the articles focused on the activities and events aimed at conserving the Mau Forest. Despite being the frame that ought to have dominated the discussions on the Mau Forest, the articles this study found that conservation took a back seat while the political frame was focused on by the two newspapers.

The issue of human rights of the evicted people was covered by some of the articles published by both newspapers. This came up when the evictions started and with nowhere else to go after being evicted, the evicted families were in a crisis. They resided in camps with no food, healthcare or schools. Some of the articles focused on this particular theme.

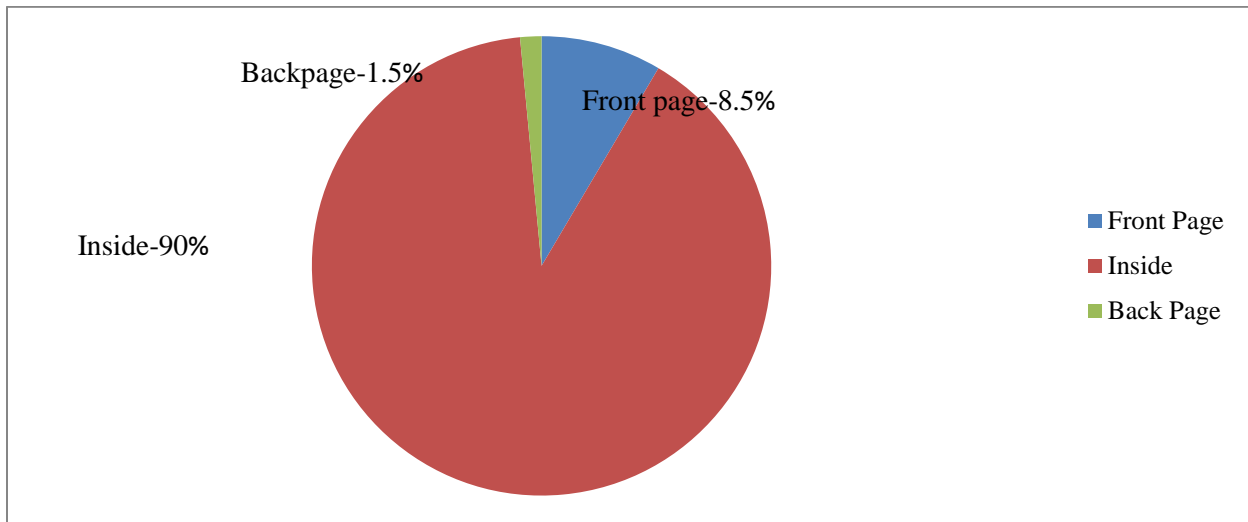
The evicted families’ predicament brought in members of parliament from the Rift Valley region who raised funds to buy them food and other provisions. This was highlighted by the media in a political frame too. This issue though meshed in conservation and human rights was often framed politically in various articles by the two newspapers.

4.5 Placement of articles on Mau Forest evictions by *Daily Nation*

This figure presents the placement of articles on the Mau Forest by the *Daily Nation* newspaper.

The study categorizes placement into three i.e. front page, inside and back page. It presents the percentage of the articles that were placed in the three sections of the newspaper.

Figure 4.5: Article placement



More articles in the *Daily Nation* newspapers were placed on the inside pages. As *Figure 4.5* shows, the *Daily Nation* placed majority of the articles (127) in its inside pages. This contributed 90% of all the articles published by the *Daily Nation* in the two months. The front page had 12 articles featured which represented 8.5% of the total while the back page had two articles.

This indicates that by placing majority of its articles on environmental sustainability on the inside pages, the *Daily Nation* does not attach priority to such news. While the front page is seen as featuring the most important news articles of the day, the *Daily Nation* does not place many articles on this important section. Since it was this study's objective to find out how Kenyan

print media places environmental sustainability issues, it can be said that the *Daily Nation* places a very small percentage of its environmental sustainability articles on the front page.

4.6 Placement of articles on Mau Forest evictions by the *Standard*

This figure presents the placement of articles on the Mau Forest by the *Standard* newspaper. The study categorizes placement into three i.e. front page, the inside and back page. It presents the percentage of the articles that were placed in the three sections of the newspaper.

Figure 4.6: Article placement

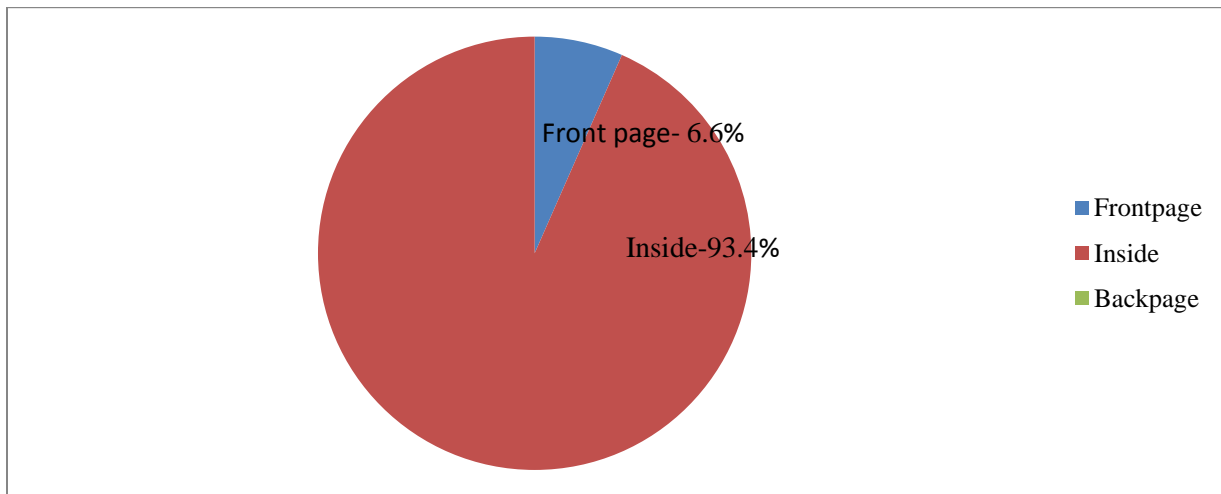


Figure 4.6 shows that the placement of the articles on environmental sustainability by the *Standard* newspaper was dominant on the inside pages. Just 6.6% were on the front page of the newspaper over the duration of two months. The *Standard* newspaper always reserves the back page for sports news as such it doesn't use the page for other news. 57 articles were featured inside pages in the *Standard* and made up 93.4% of all the *Standard* articles that were reviewed. This therefore is evidence that the *Standard's* placement of environmental sustainability articles does not reflect prioritization of the same. Just like the *Daily Nation* newspapers, just a small percentage of environmental sustainability articles make it to the front page.

4.7 Placement of articles on Mau Forest evictions by the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation*

This figure presents the placement of articles on the Mau Forest by both the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspaper. The study categorizes placement into three i.e. front page, the inside and back page. It presents the percentage of the articles that were placed in the three sections of the newspaper.

Figure 4.7: Article placement

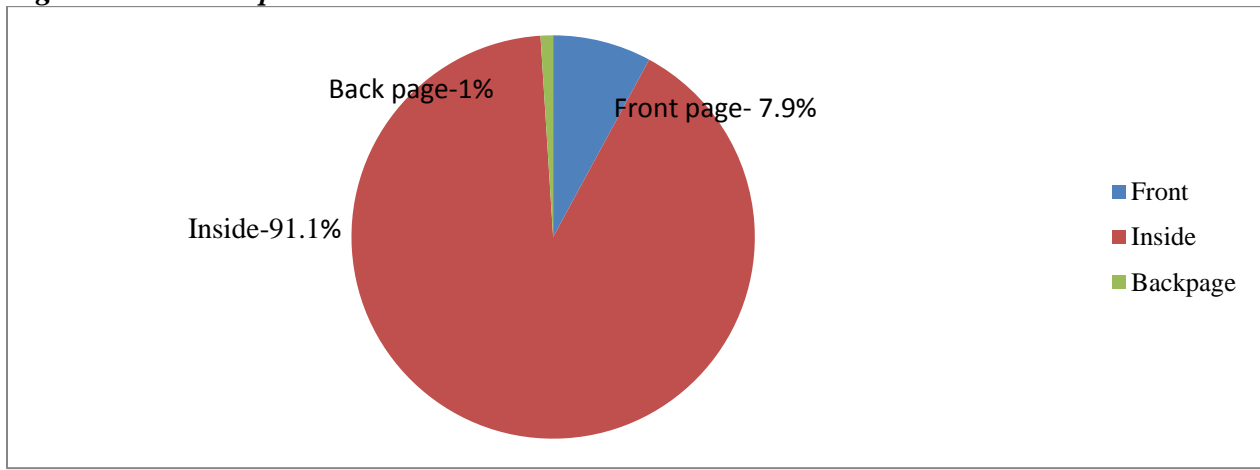


Figure 4.7 shows how the two newspapers placed articles on environmental sustainability in the period under review i.e. between November 2009 and December 2009. Figure 4.7 reflects the data that were collected from individual newspaper reviews because for both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* the inside pages made up the highest number of articles on environmental sustainability followed by the page.

The study found that the articles on the Mau Forest evictions were mainly published in the inside pages as opposed to the front or the back page. The average article placement in the inside pages of both newspapers is 91.1% and 7.9% on the front page and 1% at the back pages.

It is a widely accepted norm that very important news is placed on the front page. However, this study found that the Mau Forest evictions made it to the front page very few times despite the

importance of environmental sustainability issues like conserving the biggest water catchment in Kenya.

4.8 Frequency by type of article

Table 4.8 presents the frequency and percentage of news, opinions and editorials on the Mau Forest evictions published by both the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers between November and December 2009.

Table 4.8.: Frequency by type of article

Article	Frequency			Percentage		
	Daily Nation	Standard	Total	Daily Nation	Standard	Average
News	100	42	142	71%	68.9%	70.3%
Opinions	35	14	49	25%	23.0%	24.3%
Editorials	6	5	11	4%	8.1%	5.4%
			202			

Table 4.8 shows the frequency of the articles reviewed vis-à-vis the type of article i.e. whether news article, an opinion or editorial. This study found that the newspapers gave more space to news articles as compared to editorials and opinions. The news articles were mainly reporting the events/happenings with regards to Mau Forest evictions issues to do with compensation, the politics behind the evictions and what politicians are saying about it. The opinions of readers however were given little space in the newspapers as the study found.

Of the *Daily Nation's* articles, 100 of them were news and made up 71% while opinion articles amounted were 35 and represented 25% of the total *Daily Nation* articles. Six editorial articles were published by the *Daily Nation* in the period under review make up 4% of the total number of articles reviewed.

The table also shows that the *Standard* had 42 news articles which represent 68.9% and 14 opinion articles which represent 23.0% and 5 editorials which translate to 8.1%.

On average therefore, news articles for the two newspapers over the period under review made up 70.3% while opinions made up for 24.3% and editorials made up 5.4% of the articles reviewed.

This table therefore indicates the fact that the print media in Kenya only focus mainly on coverage of news on environmental sustainability while ignoring or giving little consideration to other types of articles on environmental sustainability e.g. expert opinions, letters from readers, editorials despite their importance in pushing the agenda of environmental sustainability. This is a gap in the part of the print media which lends the quest for environmental sustainability at a loss in terms of dissemination of information and receiving of feedback.

4.9 Frequency of articles per political personality

Table 4.9 presents the frequency and percentage of articles that focused on particular political personalities with regards to the Mau Forest evictions published by both the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers between November and December 2009.

Table 4.9: Frequency of articles per political personality

Political Personality	Frequency	Percentage
Raila Odinga	35	39.7%
William Ruto	8	9.1%
Uhuru Kenyatta	2	2.3%
Daniel Moi	7	8.0%
William Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta	2	2.3%
Raila Odinga and Daniel Moi	1	1.1%
Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga	3	3.4%
William Ruto and Raila Odinga	5	5.7%
Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga	2	2.3%
Other leaders:	23	26.1%

Table 4.9 shows that Raila Odinga had the highest frequency of coverage from the two newspapers over the period under review. Other political personalities had their share of coverage in relation to the evictions. William Ruto who opposed the evictions together with other members of parliament from the Rift Valley was subject to coverage by the media. Some articles featured more than one political personality and therefore this study combined this e.g. Raila Odinga and William Ruto in a *Daily Nation* story whose headline read “*Raila and Ruto row on Mau rages.*”

At the time under review, Raila Odinga was the Prime Minister of Kenya and was at the forefront of the conservation efforts. William Ruto, a cabinet minister for Higher Education at the time, together with other members of parliament from the Rift Valley region opposed the eviction of the encroachers without compensation.

As such, the two politicians were at opposing sides of the conservation efforts and this cascaded to the compensation of the evicted which William Ruto proposed but Raila opposed. This also caused more political debates and roped in more political personalities including Uhuru Kenyatta who at the time was the Deputy Prime Minister and also the Minister for Finance. The former President Daniel Moi owned land in the Mau and since the evictions were to affect him, many members of parliament and politicians from the Rift Valley defended him and this was covered widely in a political angle.

This study investigated what social issues had an influence on coverage of environmental sustainability issues. This study found that politics had an influence on coverage of environmental sustainability. It found that issues of environmental sustainability were only given priority if they featured a political personality and even then the framing was political and not entirely conservation or environmental sustainability.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study, and suggests areas of further research in relation to the purpose of this study. The objective of this study was to find out how the media cover sustainability issues in Kenya.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

This section summarizes the findings of the study based on the three objectives of this study. The study sought to: (i) To investigate how Kenyan print media frame environmental sustainability issues, (ii) To explore the priority given by print media to environmental sustainability issues through placement and frequency (iii) To investigate whether social issues have a bearing on coverage of environmental sustainability.

5.1.1 Framing of environmental sustainability issues

The first objective was to investigate how Kenyan print media frame environmental sustainability issues. This study found that the newspapers frame environmental sustainability to a large extent as politics. It is also in very few instances that these issues are framed as environmental sustainability or human rights. Such framing limits understanding of environmental sustainability and importance of it in the mind of the reader. Framing allows the journalist/ editor to emphasize, select, as well as present issues in a manner whereby they tell the reader what matters.

5.1.2 The priority given by print media to environmental sustainability issues

The second objective of this study was to explore the priority given by print media to environmental sustainability issues through placement and frequency. This study found that while there was a disparity in frequency in coverage of environmental sustainability issues between the two newspapers reviewed, there was a bias in favor straight news articles. News articles were more frequent as compared to opinions and editorials on environmental sustainability. On the issue of placement, this study found that articles on environmental sustainability were seldom given priority through being placed in the front page. Most articles on environmental sustainability were placed on the inside pages.

5.1.3 Influence of politics on coverage of environmental sustainability

The third objective of this study was to investigate whether politics have a bearing on coverage of environmental sustainability. This study found that politics influence coverage on environmental sustainability. It found that issues of environmental sustainability were only given priority if they featured a political personality and even then the framing was political and not entirely conservation or environmental sustainability.

5.2 Conclusion

This study does show that placement of articles of environmental sustainability and conservation are mainly in the inside pages where they can often be missed by the reader. Of the 202 analyzed newspapers articles on the Mau Forest evictions, 91.1% of them were placed in the inside pages. These were 184 articles which were all in the inside pages whereas only 16 were in the front page representing 7.9% of the total and only 2 articles representing 1% at the back page.

Secondly, as the study shows, Kenyan newspapers frame articles on environmental sustainability as politics. Framing Mau Forest evictions as a political activity (this occurred at a percentage of

60.4%) served to construe such an important matter as just a political story instead of conservation of the environment in the mind of the reader. However if environmental sustainability issues are framed as just that then more people will understand the government's intentions and debates in the audiences' part will be more accommodating.

Thirdly, from this study, it is evident that newspapers mainly report environmental sustainability and conservation issues like the eviction of illegal settlers from the Mau Forest eviction only as news articles while not giving equal chance to more of other forms of coverage like editorials, columns, opinions, interviews, and supplements. News articles which were 142 of the 202 articles reviewed, represented 70.3%. There is a high disparity when compared to opinions which represented 24.3% and editorials which were only 5.4%.

5.3 Recommendations

This study recommends that even as Kenyan media focus on the politics around environmental sustainability like the Mau Forest evictions, they should give equal focus if not more on environmental sustainability and conservation itself.

With regard to reporting on matters of environmental conservation, the Kenyan print media and the media in general should develop constructive discourse on conservation, environmental sustainability and development in order to contribute toward eliciting a positive impact on legislative changes and policy directions. Such a focus will be a deserved departure from the evident trend as discovered by this study whereby the media serve to fan political duels from environmental conservation matters.

This study recommends that the media should give readers and other stakeholders more say, more involvement and bigger participation in environmental sustainability issues. Kenyan newspapers should not limit their coverage to news. They should open up avenues for more

editorials, columns, opinions, interviews, and supplements for environmental sustainability issues. Kenyan print media should through their articles, participate adequately in environmental sustainability programmes through environmental education.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

This study recommends that further research be conducted into media coverage of natural disasters in Kenya. This is an area that also needs to be studied in order to determine how the media does it especially since such natural disasters some of which occur due to effects of climate change. Natural disasters like flash floods, heat waves and avalanches among others occur as a result of climate change effects. The media's coverage of environmental sustainability has a bearing on Kenyan's understanding of and behavior toward natural disasters as a result of climate change.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: CODING SHEET

Date	New		Article		Ethnicity		Front		Placement		Backpage		Human Rights		Frames		Policies		
	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	Daily Nation	Standard	
11/1/2009	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
11/2/2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
11/3/2009	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
11/4/2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11/5/2009	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
11/6/2009	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	4	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0
11/7/2009	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	4	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	3	0
11/8/2009	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0
11/9/2009	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
11/10/2009	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
11/11/2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11/12/2009	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
11/13/2009	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
11/14/2009	3	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	0	0	1	2	1	0	3	1	1
11/15/2009	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
11/16/2009	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11/17/2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11/18/2009	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
11/19/2009	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11/20/2009	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
11/21/2009	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
11/22/2009	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
11/23/2009	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
11/24/2009	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
11/25/2009	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
11/26/2009	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
11/27/2009	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1
11/28/2009	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11/29/2009	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/1/2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
12/11/2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/12/2009	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
12/13/2009	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
12/14/2009	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
12/15/2009	6	2	2	2	0	0	0	1	4	2	2	1	0	1	2	0	3	2	1
12/16/2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
12/17/2009	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/18/2009	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/19/2009	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
12/20/2009	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
12/21/2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/22/2009	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
12/23/2009	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
12/24/2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12/25/2009	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
12/26/2009	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
12/27/2009	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
12/28/2009	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
12/29/2009	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
12/30/2009	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
12/31/2009	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	42	35	14	6	5	12	4	127	57	2	0	17	19	39	4	35	38	0

APPENDIX 2: GUIDING SCHEDULE

- How many times was the Mau Forest Complex eviction issue reported over the course of the two months?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard
- What percentage of the total number of articles on the Mau Forest Complex eviction issue placed at the front page?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard
- What was the percentage of the articles on the Mau Forest Complex issue placed at the back page?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard
- What was the percentage of the articles on the Mau Forest Complex issue placed on the inside pages?
 - (iii) Daily Nation
 - (iv) Standard
- Of the total number of times that the Mau Forest Complex was reported over the months of November and December 2009, how many times were the frames purely political?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard
- What percentage of the articles on the Mau Forest Complex issue was framed as human rights articles?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard
- What percentage of the articles on the Mau Forest Complex issue was framed as conservation?
 - (iii) Daily Nation
 - (iv) Standard
- Of the total number of times that the Mau Forest Complex was reported over the months of November and December 2009, how many times did they feature political personalities?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard
- What percentage of articles on the Mau Forest gave prominence to politicians who were proponents of the evictions?
 - (i) Daily Nation
 - (ii) Standard

APPENDIX 3: SAMPLES OF ANALYZED ARTICLES

The Mau evictions should neither be ethnicised nor politicised

By GEORGE NYABUGA

The evictions from the Mau forest have been under way since last week. In the fanfare and attendant coverage and discussions following the launch of the harmonised Draft Constitution, the evictions and fate of the evictees inevitably took a back seat. Understandably so. But that does not mean the issue went away. It is still raging and seemingly drawing a lot of fire from the heat it generated.

The evictions evoke a poignant sense of injustice, to victims of historical injustices and the destruction of this water catchment. That people occupying the forest illegally had to leave is not in

doubt. That the forest should be saved is not in doubt either. The principal argument here is, this is a serious issue that needs serious and immediate action. It is a cancer that ought to be eradicated. Quickly.

To dither after the expiry of the vacate notice would demonstrate lack of courage to deal squarely with issues of national and even international importance. Even though those in power are often ditherers when uncertain about the political cost of such action, this is an issue that cannot wait, and whose costs is comparably minimal to the environmental and ecological costs of continued occupation of the Mau. Thus, it is

perhaps gratifying to see action at last.

The problem is, however, the double standards. The application of the law favours the rich and influential. In other words, the political elite inciting people to stay put often do not face the music. Ironically, the law always catches up with the small fish. And there-in lies the conundrum.

SMALL FISH

Whereas the small fish is ready to be fried, the big fish — the massive landholders in the Mau — are sitting pretty, waiting for compensation for land they may never have paid for. Land that was never degazetted.

This is the question the Interim Co-ordinating Secretariat Chairman Noor Hassan found hard to answer when he and Government officials met the media on Wednesday.

Thus, amid the evictions and images of suffering and desolate children, women and the elderly lies complex political issues that threaten not only the exercise but also ethnic relations. This is especially because the issue has not only been politicised but ethnicised. The complications are a consequence of political intrigues versus critical environment conservation. Equally disturbing is that the issue seems to be dividing the Cabinet, and those in Govern-

ment seem obsessed with making political capital out of it.

And amid the hullabaloo, some people believe that that will determine the outcome of the cheery and frivolous power games. In the process, some ministers have only offered perfunctory and unconvincing support to the issue, revealing their parochial attitudes to issues not advancing their political careers. But let's be clear. The issue of Mau should neither be politicised nor ethnicised. The time for action is now. It's time to move out. Period.

Dr Nyabuga is the Managing Editor, Weekend Editions and Media Convergence. gyabuga@standardmedia.co.ke

SAVING THE MAU

You will never walk alone, MPs assure Raila

Leaders come to the defence of Premier after muted threat of censure motion

By NATION Team

Prime Minister Raila Odinga's increasingly solo voyage to save the Mau Forest Complex may have split the Cabinet right down the middle, but it got support from two of his colleagues in government yesterday.

East African Community minister Amason Kingi and his Roads counterpart Franklin Bett, speaking separately, were joined by a number of MPs and civic leaders in dismissing the plan to table a censure motion against the PM, which they said would be stillborn.

Speaking in South Coast, Mr Kingi said the motion's architects had been ill-advised, and asked them to drop the idea for the good of the country.

Partisan interests

"Time has come for leaders to know what is good for this country," Mr Kingi said at the coast. "We should stop propagating partisan interests and learn to move forward guided by the collective interests of this country."

Speaking at the same venue, Malindi MP Gideon Mung'aro dismissed the censure mission as "rubbish", saying it would

never see the light of the day, while his Kiambu counterpart Hassan Joho dared the planners to declare their objective in the open.

Mr Joho said the motion was just "hot air" from disgruntled elements who harbour "sinister motives" against the PM.

Last Wednesday, Agriculture minister William Ruto rallied 10 Cabinet colleagues and more than 50 MPs in castigating Mr Odinga at a harambee in Nairobi, where speakers also announced a new political dispensation in readiness for 2012.

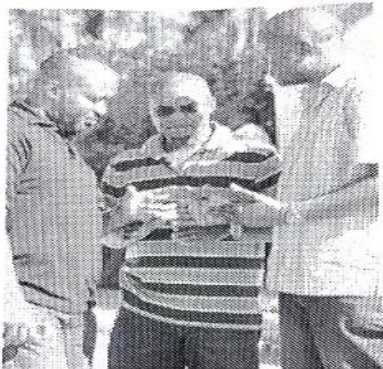
The future

Tourism Minister Najib Balala said guests at the harambee presented the country's future, and that the fundraiser was just the beginning of their working together.

Bui, speaking at the Tononoka Methodist Church yesterday, Galole MP Dhadho Godhwa criticised the politicians, saying they had taken their individual feuds to the public gallery.

"If I differ with another leader, the wise thing to do is to sort out each other in an amicable way as civilised people," he said.

'Can we stop talking and do what we promised the people? It is the work we do that will speak for itself in 2012'



Kalenji MP Kazungu Kambi asked leaders to go slow on their utterances, and warned that they might be construed wrongly by their supporters and cause mayhem in the country.

"It is good that we weigh what we say in public, for our words may make or break the nation," he said.

Environment assistant minister Raimulhan Kalenbe, speaking at the Boma Clinic while flagging off an Anti-Aids walk, said those who had fallen out with Odinga should quit the Orange Democratic Movement, and that it made no sense to remain glued to a party whose leader you had lost faith in.

"It is their democratic right to move out of ODM and start their own party or join another," he said.

Joining the debate in Nairobi, Roads

Minister Franklin Bett said leaders should seek votes through the time-tested way of delivering their promises to Kenyans instead of seeking cheap publicity on the roadside.

A lot of pledges

"Can we stop talking and do what we promised the people? It is the work we do that will speak for itself in 2012," he said.

We went to the polls in 2007, before which we had made a lot of pledges to the electorate. The results of our actions will speak for us," he added.

Mr Bett thanked those who contributed to the Mau evictees' harambee, and stressed that the people of Rift Valley were committed to the conservation of the environment.

"If they were not, we would not have persuaded them to accept compensation and leave the forest," he said.

Government chief whip George Thuo assured Mr Raila of his support, and termed the latter's strict adherence to the Cabinet-sanctioned Mau evictions as "bold".

Rally people

"As leaders, we should be in the forefront in supporting the conservation of this important forest by rallying our people to agree to move out," he said.

The same position was taken by a Bungoma nominated councillor, Lucas Waita, who said the threat on Mr Odinga's tenure could cause unnecessary tension.

"We will continue rallying behind Mr Odinga for the good of the country," Mr Waita said at the Nation Centre in Nairobi.

Laikipia East MP Mwangi Kiunjuri asked Mr Odinga not to feel intimidated.

"I am ready to sacrifice my political career if that is what it will mean by standing with the Prime Minister on the Mau eviction issue," said the leader of Grand National Union party.

He said the ethnic alliance of Mr Ruto, Mr Kenyatta and Mr Kalouzo amounts to trampling the lives of Kenyans for political gains.

"There is no way we can exchange the lives of Kenyans with tribal politics," Mr Kiunjuri said in Nanyuki town on Sunday.

Kisumu MP Hassan Joho (left) shares a point with East African Community minister Amason Kingi (centre) and Malindi MP Gideon Mung'aro after giving their views on the draft constitution at a Diani hotel yesterday. They pledged their support for Mr Raila Odinga over the Mau evictions.
PHOTO: ABAN WAJIRGUA

Where do Mau evictees go from here?

The decision taken by hundreds of settlers to voluntarily leave the Mau Forest Complex is proof enough that poor settlers are more honest and law-abiding than the high and mighty.

The rich untouchables who own factories and palatial homes deep in the water tower are likely to remain put despite calls for everyone to leave the forest.

It is appalling that security agencies always target the powerless first even when they are not the only ones on the wrong.

But instead of thanking these settlers who have given up their homes for life by the roadside, Forestry Minister Noah Wekesa ap-

pears least concerned about their fate.

He has gone on record saying the evictees came from 'somewhere' and that is where they should return.

A statement signed by Mr Hassan Noor Hassan, the chairman of the interim co-ordination secretariat on the Mau Forest evictions, also said the evictees should return to their 'original' homes.

In the Rift Valley, a political hotbed of tribal clashes, calls for people to go back to their original homes are known to have serious ramifications.

What does Wekesa think would happen if the evictees returned to

their ancestral homes to lands they had sold to others?

Has the Government considered that those without land could soon turn into security risks? Because desperate wananchi have nothing to lose apart from poverty and suffering, they could easily resort to robbery, banditry and cattle rustling.

A Kenyan is a Kenyan, whether he be a Mau Forest evictee, or of Somali, Asian, European or Arabic extraction.

All should be treated equally with the dignity they deserve even if they are guilty of breaking the law.

[S R Athembo Onyuro, Kisumu]

Cabinet Minister Noah Wekesa was recently quoted saying that evictees should return from whence they came. That was a reckless statement that could ignite ethnic passions.

Now that the Government has kicked out settlers from the Mau, it should look for alternative land to resettle them.

Why should we have squatters when foreigners wallow in opulence and wealth?

There are 13 rich individuals who own more than one million acres of land in Laikipia. This is enough land to resettle about 200,000 displaced families.

[Weiden Kirui, via e-mail]

Echoes of Mau Complex rattle

Region's key indigenous forests face decimation from encroachment and illegal logging

By ROSELYNE ORALA
and JOEL OKWATO

While the public eye has been on Mau Forest, power saws have been rattling undetected, decimating large chunks of Western Province's most precious forests.

Uncontrolled human activity and illegal logging has put three natural forests in Western Province at risk even as leaders wrangle over the Mau evictions.

The high level of degradation of Kakamega, Mt Elgon and Malava forests has left senior Government officials and environmentalists a worried lot.

The issue of uncontrolled forest decimation in Kenya and other parts of Africa will form part of the Kenyan delegation's presentation to the climate change conference going on in Copenhagen, Denmark.

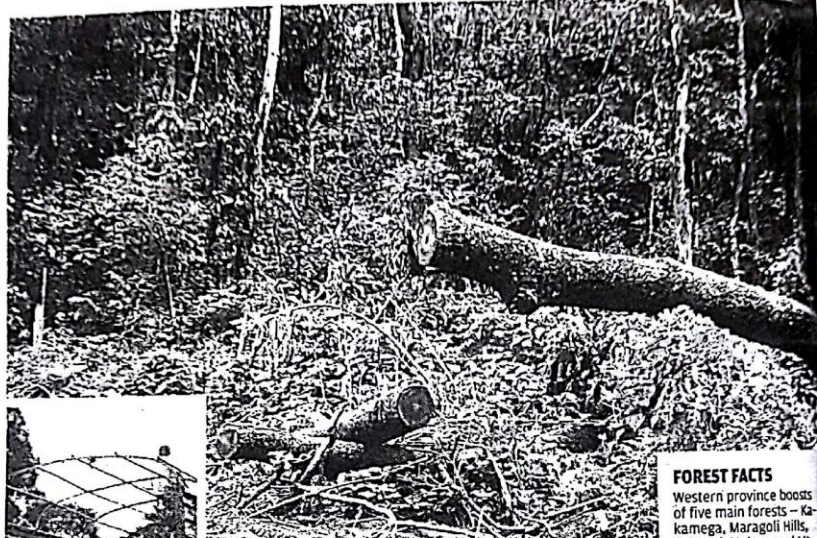
Mumias MP Ben Washiali, who is a member of the Parliamentary Lands and Natural Resources Committee, said his team would present a report on forest destruction in Western Province and the entire country.

Washiali is among eight legislators selected to attend the Copenhagen summit.

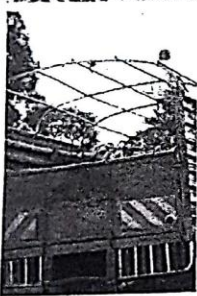
"The outcome of these talks will largely assist in formulation of legal frameworks to conserve and protect our environment," he said.

Washiali and Evans Akula (Khwisero MP) contributed to the Kenyan report with details of destruction of forests in Western Province.

Forestry and Wildlife Minister Dr Noah Wekesa has often expressed concern over the unchecked destruction of Kakamega Forest in particular, the home to a national reserve which



Part of the Kakamega Forest with trees felled by illegal loggers. Inset, a lorry hauls logs out of the forest. (PHOTOS: BENJAMIN SAKWA/STANDARD)



green vegetation and hundreds of indigenous tree species.

Despite it being the only remaining equatorial rainforest in the country, there is no major tourism at this "canopy of natural beauty", that has been under threat from excessive human activities in the last few years.

National Environmental Management Authority (Nema) reports indicate that about 50 per cent of Kakamega Forest's original size, has been depleted in the past 40 years.

CHARCOAL BURNING

Wekesa recently noted that there are over 60,000 households around the forest and cited charcoal burning and firewood collection as major contributors to the depletion of the forest.

"Dead wood is home to snakes, some birds and lizards. This is the reason why we don't allow people to pick dead wood for charcoal burning," said Wekesa.

In Mt Elgon Forest where destruction has gone up in the last two months, the government has launched investigations into alleged involvement of military personnel in illegal logging activities.

KFS head of Western conser-

vancy Mr Solomon Mibey said his department had asked the Department of Defence (DoD) to open an inquiry into the matter.

"We are working closely with our counterparts in the Ministry of Defence to establish the truth. Those implicated will face disciplinary actions," he says.

Mibey said Mt Elgon forest had been adversely affected by haphazard felling of trees especially in Phase Three of the controversial Chebuk settlement scheme.

Soldiers based at Banantega army camp are accused of using former members of Sabaot Lands Defence Force (SLDF) to harvest the logs, which are sold in Teso, Trans-Nzoia and the greater Bungoma.

"We need to preserve our natural vegetation. Our security officers should be in the forefront to ensure this is done instead of them taking part in the destruction," he explained.

In Malava, the problem is encroachment by farmers and those seeking firewood and building materials said Mibey.

Minister Wekesa said the Government is in the process of enacting a new law to streamline

the management of forests.

Wekesa said he had already met with senior officials from Kenya Forestry Service (KFS) and urged them to ensure the new law is adhered to.

The National Anti-Corruption Steering Committee (NACCSC) has also joined in the fray, leveling blame against law enforcers, for failing to protect the forests and the general environment in Western Province.

LAW ENFORCERS

"We want to see law enforcers go an extra mile in protecting our forests," said the NACCSC Acting Director Mr David Githii.

Ms Millicent Kathambi, a Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) tourism officer, said the organisation has embarked on programmes to build awareness among local communities on the importance of conserving the forest.

She said they are promoting alternatives to forest-derived fuel and fodder for animals.

The programmes also promote non-destructive income generating activities such as bee keeping, silkworm rearing and planting of medicinal plants.

'We want to see law enforcers go an extra mile in protecting our forests'

(DAVID GATHII, National Anti-Corruption Steering Committee Acting Director)

FOREST FACTS

Western province boasts of five main forests - Kakamega, Maragoli Hills, Kaimosi, Malava and Mt Elgon

All the forests are under threat from human encroachment and illegal activities

Maragoli Hills in Vihiga district has lost its 12 streams as a result of human activities

Kakamega Forest is an important water catchment for rivers that flow into Lake Victoria

The Isikhu and Yala rivers flow through the forest before emptying their water into the Lake

KWS also seeks to improve existing resource management by enhancing forest protection, reforestation and enhancing monitoring activities.

Githii of the NACCSC says law enforcers have failed to apprehend those involved in destruction.

"Our committee is focused on creating awareness, informal and educating the public on behaviour change and on the importance of protecting their environment," he said during workshop at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology in Kakamega town.

Nema says the destruction of trees has interfered with air patterns and other climatic conditions of the region.

Nema Officer in-charge of Kakamega District Anthony A says damage by timber loggers is the biggest threat to the forest



A log abandoned by fleeing illegal loggers in Kakamega Forest. (PHOTO: BENJAMIN SAKWA/STANDARD)

APPENDIX 4: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK



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Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners' meeting held on 10th September 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.

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Title: PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF ENVIRONMENTAL

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