

## Agenda setting and coverage of climate change adaptation issues in Kenyan Print Media

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### Abstract

This paper analysed leading print media in Kenya, the Daily Nation and the Standard, coverage of the COP 26 and COP 27 major global environment meetings. Using the agenda-setting and social responsibility theory of the press, content analysis examined the frequency and prominence of climate change adaptation in Kenyan print media, stories published a month before, during and after COP 26 and COP 27. The paper analysed stories published in October, November, and December of 2021 and those published in October, November, and December 2022 from the two leading dailies in Kenya. Results show print media in Kenya focuses more on adaptation stories and then mitigation, frame climate change stories using disaster, victims as key actors in disaster stories; government officials feature prominently in events-driven stories. The paper concluded that the agenda-setting role of Kenyan print media impacts public awareness and understanding of climate change adaptation issues. The paper recommends improving on frequency and framing of climate change adaptation stories on community voices, media houses having consistent and prominent placement of climate-related stories, specialised training for local journalists in environmental reporting, and involving experts and policymakers. Diversifying content and public engagement can drive action on climate adaptation.

**Keywords:** climate change; adaptation; agenda setting; print media; Kenya

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## Introduction

The Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are most affected by climate change because these countries are more susceptible to extreme weather events, such as droughts and catastrophic floods, which are expected to increase the risk of disease, starvation, and poverty in these areas according to a report by UN-OHRLLS (2009) titled the Impact of Climate Change on the Developed Prospects of the Least Developed Countries and Small Island Developing States.

Climate change has gained prominence, rising to the centre of most human activity due to long-term effects on ecosystems, economies and societies. Because human activity continues to produce Greenhouse Gas emissions (GHGs), which are the primary driver of climate change, the issue continues to get attention on a worldwide scale. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's 2023 climate change report emphasizes that these emissions are causing the earth's surface temperatures to rise (IPCC, 2023). This paper highlights that in order to lessen the negative effects on future generations, quick behavioural adjustments are necessary. According to the IPCC (2023) report, between 2011 and 2020, surface temperatures rose by more than 1.1°C over pre-industrial levels (1850–1900). It is important that significant reductions in greenhouse gas emissions be achieved by 2030 (UNEP, 2022).

Kenya is, to a great extent, influenced by climate change in nearly all its economic sectors, including forestry, agriculture, tourism, transportation, and manufacturing, despite it having low Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions. Between 1995 and 2015, the country's Greenhouse Gas



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emissions (GHGs) increased from 56.8 million metric tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> to 93.7 metric tonnes. By 2030, projections point to an additional rise of 143 metric tonnes (Government of Kenya, 2015). The country's agriculture sector accounted for 40% of GHG emissions in 2015, followed by Land Use, Land Use Change, and Forestry (LULUCF) at 38% and transportation at 18%. According to the Nationally Determined Contribution Kenya updated in 2020, Kenya, like many other nations, is constrained by both national and international frameworks in order to prevent these levels from rising any further (Martius et al., 2023). Kenya has shown commitment to protect the climate system for the benefit of the present and future generations by supporting the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) process, ratifying the Kyoto Protocol in 2005, and contributing to continental and regional climate change initiatives (Government of Kenya, 2016b, 2016a; Republic of Kenya, 2023). That is because Kenya's economy is highly dependent on the natural resource base, which means that it is highly vulnerable to climate variability and change. Rising temperatures and changing rainfall patterns, resulting in increased frequency and intensity of extreme weather events such as droughts and flooding, threaten the sustainability of the country's development (Government of Kenya, 2016b).

Kenya has identified challenges related to climate change and has taken steps geared towards disaster risk reduction, humanitarian action, preparedness and response actions in addressing drought and other disasters. However, as climate change risks and vulnerabilities increase, additional efforts will be required to address future vulnerabilities and enhance sustainable development to enable the country to attain its goals under Vision 2030 (Government of Kenya, 2016a). Kenya's priority climate actions are in the six mitigation sectors set out in the UNFCCC: agriculture, energy, forestry, industry, transport, and waste. The actions are expected to lower GHG emissions and help Kenya meet its national climate change demands (Republic of Kenya, 2023). Kenya takes climate change seriously, as demonstrated by its enactment of the Climate Change Act (Number 11 of 2016), the first climate change-dedicated legislation in Africa. It provides the regulatory framework for enhanced response to climate change, and mechanisms and measures to transition to low carbon climate resilient development.

As international conferences such as COP 26 and COP 27 met to discuss climate-related concerns, media coverage was critical in spreading information, changing public attitudes, and catalysing action around yearly themes. While the media widely covered the talks and agreements achieved at these conferences, there is an obvious lack of attention on the critical issue of climate change adaptation measures and their significance to local populations and contexts. An underlying assumption of many studies related to this topic is that higher levels of media attention during such events can influence public opinion concerning the perceived relevance and threat of climate change or the necessity to engage in mitigation or adaptation efforts (Wonneberger, Meijers, & Schuck, 2020).

Earlier research on climate change in Kenya highlights a predominant focus on media coverage of sensational disasters, instigating panic among audiences (Mungai, 2021). The nature of this coverage is identified as reactive, emphasising events like droughts and floods (Atieno & Njoroge, 2014). However, it is widely recognised that news media portrayals of climate change have strongly influenced personal and global efforts to mitigate it through news production, individual media consumption, and personal engagement (Swain, 2021). This research problem is emphasised by the concept that insufficient coverage of climate change adaptation maintains a biased narrative, concentrating exclusively on the catastrophic effects of climate change while ignoring effective solutions at the local level. The public's grasp of practical techniques that communities may use to address the immediate and long-term effects of climate change is limited due to a lack of attention to climate adaptation measures. As a result, community engagement in mitigation initiatives is hampered, as is the much-needed move towards sustainable practises that can create resilience and sustainability.

The news media is one of the main sources of information about climate change, and it has a high credibility rating. Media consumption patterns predict behavioural objectives, individual mitigation actions, concern for climate change, and, to a lesser extent, understanding of climate change (Shao & Yu, 2023). Print media, notably the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers,

have contributed to the conversation on climate change in Kenya. That includes highlighting the need for climate change adaptation as a means of mitigating the effects of the phenomenon, as the paper will do.

The 2022 State of the Media Report (Media Council of Kenya, 2023) indicates that the Daily Nation newspaper and the Standard newspaper are two of the top national newspapers in Kenya by audience reach. Both publications have a sizable readership across the nation and cover a wide range of news and topics. As one of the six daily newspapers accessible in Kenya, the Daily Nation newspaper is produced by the Nation Media Group (Mwita, 2021). Generally, the study sought to analyse how the COP meetings mould print media coverage of climate change adaptation in Kenya and to identify the top news primes focused on. In so doing, the study specifically sought to describe the coverage of climate change adaptation stories in Kenya's print media on COP 26 and COP 27 meetings, determine the dominant function of the media in communicating climate change adaptation and evaluate how print media primed climate change adaptation before, during and after the COP 26 and COP 27 meetings.

This paper chose to study COP 26 and COP 27 because these conferences represent groundbreaking moments in global climate negotiations, especially in advancing climate action and looking at key issues of as climate finance, adaptation, and loss and damage. COP 26 in Glasgow marked significant progress with new commitments under the Paris Agreement, while COP 27 in Sharm El-Sheikh's goal was implementation, particularly for developing nations like Kenya. Therefore, analysing these two COPs provides important insights into the evolving global climate agenda, showing the central issues for countries in meeting their climate goals and advancing adaptation strategies, media and agenda setting of these being one of them.

## Methods

Climate change poses a challenge to countries worldwide, with news media being an important source of information on the issue (Hase, Mahl, Schäfer, & Keller, 2021). This study employed a mixed methods research design to analyse the coverage of the United Nations Climate Change Conferences (COP 26 and COP 27) in selected newspapers in Kenya. This mixed methods approach provided a comprehensive understanding of how COP 26 and COP 27 were covered and framed in the selected newspapers, offering valuable insights into media representation of international climate change conferences. The research design integrated quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide a comprehensive understanding of the coverage and content of the newspaper stories on environmental issues in COP 26 and COP 27. A purposive sampling method was utilised to select all newspaper articles covering COP 26 and COP 27 during the period under analysis. The chosen newspapers for this study were the Daily Nation and the Standard, the two most prominent newspapers in Kenya by readership numbers. The research specifically examined stories published one month before, during, and after COP 26 and COP 27. COP 26 occurred in Glasgow from October 31 to November 13, 2021, while COP 27 took place in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt, from November 6 to November 18, 2022. Consequently, the analysis encompassed stories from October, November, and December of 2021 and those from October, November, and December of 2022 in the two selected dailies. The sample included articles published in the selected newspaper during the periods of the conferences and immediately following them. Articles were included if they were directly related to COP 26 or COP 27, regardless of their placement within the newspaper or the section in which they appeared, although climate change coverage is not given prominence through the placement of stories on key pages in Kenya (Mungai, 2021). Stories were picked for analysis based on the fact that they covered environmental issues as proposed by researchers who provide a framework for analysing media's role in coverage of climate change and how perceptions from media representations on climate change affect public perceptions (Swain, 2021). In total, 92 publications were reviewed, all of which focused on different adaptation strategies and adaptation-related topics.

Out of all the stories covered about climate change, the paper only analysed those that had a climate change adaptation angle. The analysis involved a content analysis of articles published in

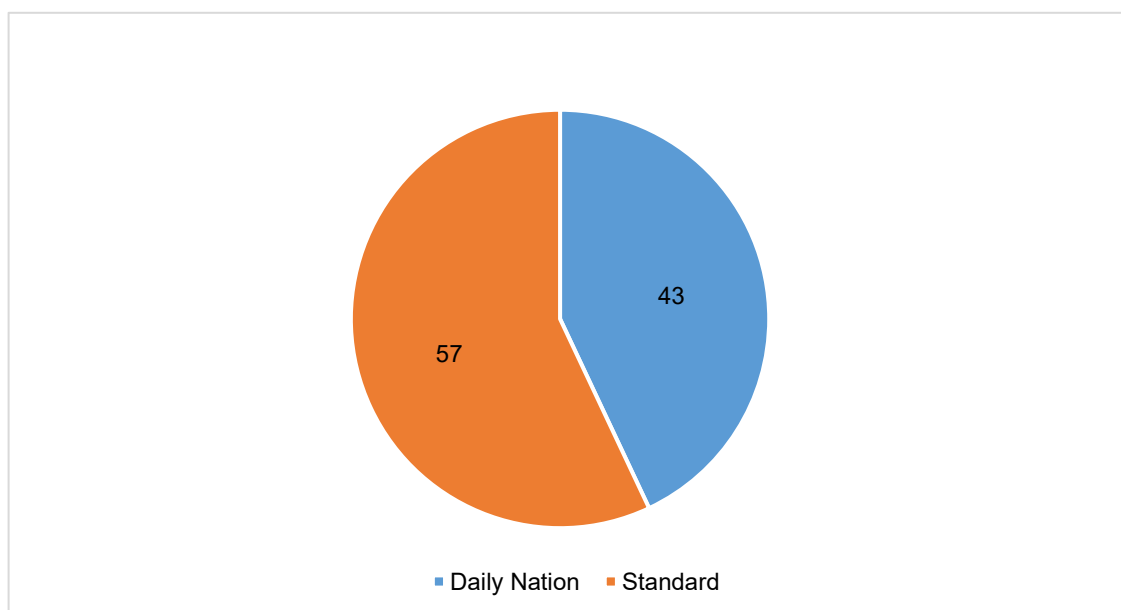
the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers only during the specified time. Leveraging the e-paper libraries of both newspapers, the study started by pinpointing the relevant months for each paper. It then identified articles specifically addressing climate change adaptation, categorising them by type, such as news stories, opinion editorials, pictorials, and others. The methodology for this study, therefore, involved a mixed-methods approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The study used a purposive sampling technique to select leading Kenyan newspapers, the Daily Nation and the Standard, due to their national reach and influence and the fact that they are the two leading newspapers in Kenya. The time frame for the study was specific periods of 2021 and 2022 when significant climate-related events, including COP 26 and COP 27, were organised to analyse the intensity and focus of coverage during these periods. That is important because it is critical to show how national contexts influence media priorities in the Kenyan context, as climate change coverage in print media has an effect on how media frames climate negotiations (O'Neill, 2020).

Quantitative analysis involved variables including frequency of climate change adaptation articles, prominence of coverage (e.g., Front-page placement, paged 3-4, back page) and source attribution (e.g., government, NGOs, scientists). The categories studied were framing of climate change adaptation (e.g., mitigation vs. adaptation focus), thematic analysis (e.g., vulnerability, policy responses) and type of content (e.g., news reports, opinion pieces, features). That helped in assessing the level of attention and priority given to climate change adaptation in the Kenyan print media because media representations of the future are a key component of climate change and energy policies (Vikström, Mervaala, Kangas, & Lyytimäki, 2023).

Qualitative content analysis was conducted to explore how climate change adaptation was framed in the selected articles. That involved examining the themes, narratives, and perspectives presented, such as the emphasis on mitigation versus adaptation and the portrayal of vulnerable communities and their voices. That included calculating percentages, frequencies, and averages to summarize the findings and identify trends in the coverage. Qualitative analysis involves a thematic analysis of the content to identify key themes, narratives, and framing techniques used in the newspaper stories. That provided insights into how COP 26 and COP 27 were portrayed and framed within the newspapers' coverage. This is important because Journalists from the Global South pay more "attention to reporting policies, agendas, activities, and events that affect the developmental issues and are committed to the improvement of the life of the people" (Chattopadhyay, 2019). Validity and reliability were ensured through standardized coding procedures, inter-coder reliability tests, and triangulation of data sources and methods. That enhanced the credibility and rigour of the study.

## **Results and discussion**

During the monitoring period, a total of 92 articles were identified across both newspapers. The Standard newspaper accounted for 57% (52.5) of these, while the Daily Nation newspaper had 43% (39.5) of the overall count. Notably, the stories published between October to December 2021 significantly outnumbered those published in the same period of 2022 for both dailies. The Standard newspaper covered 67% of the stories in 2021 compared to 33% in 2022, while the Daily Nation newspaper published 62% and 38% of its articles in 2021 and 2022, respectively. The increase in stories in 2021 can be attributed to the COP meeting and the Annual Devolution Conference, themed "Multi-level Governance for Climate Action." To amplify coverage from the conference, the Daily Nation newspaper dedicated a monthly pullout on climate action, focusing on stories of transformation in the counties. Notably, a majority of the stories in this pullout were sponsored content, shedding light on the various approaches' counties were employing to mitigate and adapt to climate change. Graph 1 shows the stories and which newspaper contributed to the count analysed.



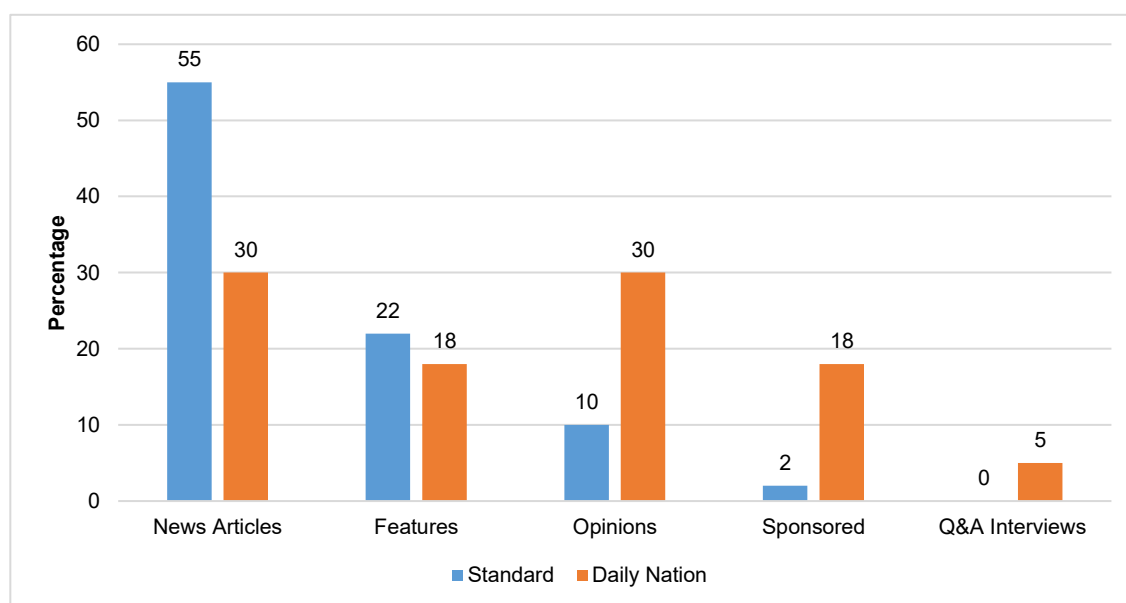
**Graph 1.**  
Share of articles sampled from each of the two newspapers

During the study period, neither of the newspapers featured an adaptation story on its front page. The average position of these stories, calculated by adding up the page numbers and dividing by the number of stories per day, was page 24 for the Standard newspaper and page 31 for the Daily Nation newspaper. In the case of the Standard newspaper, the most prominent article was published on page 2 on November 12, 2022. Titled 'Kenya's Wins and Commitments at Cop27,' the article presented an infographic detailing Kenya's commitment at the COP meeting. These commitments included adaptation strategies such as the construction of a dam at the Tana River to generate power and support agriculture, along with investments in a geothermal plant and a solar power plant.

Similarly, the most noteworthy stories in the Daily Nation appeared on page 2. The paper ran five separate stories on page two of various editions on November 1st and 3rd, 2021, and three pieces on page two of the November 14, 2022 edition. All five items on page two of the Daily Nation were accounts of actions taking place within the COP conference, which might explain their prominence. Both newspapers contained climate change sections, similar to how national news, business news, sports, and entertainment are organised. This separation was most visible in November when the COP meetings were either continuing or starting. Furthermore, both dailies included special pullouts for stories, such as the Standard newspapers Seeds of Gold and the Daily Nation's Climate Action series.

### **Type of articles that covered adaptation**

A total of 92 articles identified for analysis were later classified in terms of type: news articles, feature stories, opinion pieces, and sponsored or advertised material. Of these articles, the Standard had 55% news items, 22% features, 20% opinion articles, and 4% sponsored or advertising content. 30% of the pieces in the Daily Nation were news articles and opinions, 18% were features and sponsored material, and 5% were question-and-answer sessions with experts. Graph 2 shows the type of stories analysed in the paper.

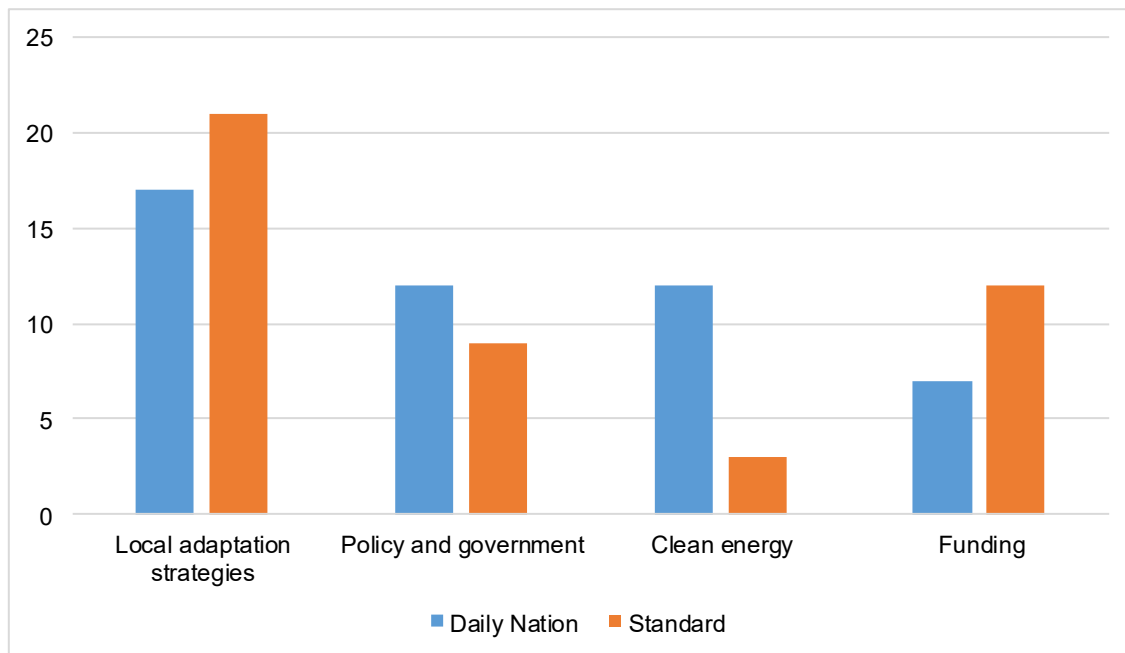


**Graph 2.**  
Frequency of article type for both Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers

The study tallied the primes identified to determine the top three primes from the 92 articles. The primes were classified into various categories, including mentions of extreme events like droughts and floods, the impact on vulnerable communities, such as the death of livestock among pastoralist communities, references to policies or regulations and government involvement, discussions on funding, clean energy initiatives, and local adaptation strategies, such as smart agriculture and water harvesting. It is noteworthy that certain articles encompassed multiple primes, and each prime was tallied separately in each story for the final score.

In the Standard newspaper, the top three primes identified were local adaptation strategies, with 21 mentions, followed by funding for adaptation, with 12 mentions, and policy and government involvement, with nine mentions. Likewise, adaptation stories in the Daily Nation were predominantly focused on strategies employed by local communities, with 17 articles. The second leading primes for the Daily Nation were articles on clean energy strategies and policy and government involvement, each with 12 mentions. The third highest prime for the Daily Nation was on policy and government involvement in climate change adaptation, with seven articles. Graph 3 depicts the share of the primes in the stories for each of the newspapers.

Both newspapers highlighted local adaptation strategies as the primary prime. These stories encompassed various approaches employed by local communities to adapt to the impacts of climate change. Examples included the use of drought-resistant crops to cope with low or unpredictable rainfall, the implementation of water catchment strategies to combat droughts, and initiatives such as planting fruit trees to rehabilitate landscapes and provide a food source. Specifically tailored to the regions where communities are situated, these strategies addressed the unique challenges faced by each locality. For instance, a December 15, 2021, article in the Standard detailed how residents of Wasini Island partnered with a private sector player to plant seagrass and mangroves, aiming to conserve marine life and combat climate change. Another feature in the Daily Nation on October 8, 2022, provided an in-depth account of how a village in Machakos County overcame drought by digging water pans to harvest rainwater and implementing drip irrigation. The story outlined the collaborative effort of villagers who pooled resources to dig the pans, emphasising the financial savings achieved by the community through self-driven labour. Additionally, the articles highlighted the importance of private-sector partnerships in implementing adaptation strategies. Many community projects were carried out in partnership with private sector organisations, illustrating the importance of collaborative efforts and programmes in developing successful local climate change adaptation.



**Graph 3.**  
Share of primes from each of the two newspapers

Articles on funding underscored the critical role of financial investment in ensuring the success and sustainability of climate change adaptation strategies. During the COP meetings, the coverage emphasized the need for donors and developed countries to provide funding for both adaptation and mitigation efforts in developing countries. This call to action aimed to hold developed nations accountable for their role in contributing to climate change and their responsibility to assist less developed nations in addressing its impacts. The articles advocated for the fulfilment of financial pledges made by developed countries towards climate change adaptation.

Additionally, at the local level, there were calls for government support, both at the national and local levels, in funding and investing in adaptation initiatives within communities. These funds were proposed to be utilized for capacity building among local communities, supporting community-driven initiatives, and financing resilience-building measures. Examples included funding for the establishment of early warning systems to enhance community preparedness for climate-related events. The overall emphasis was on the importance of financial resources in empowering local communities to adapt to the challenges posed by climate change effectively.

Both dailies highlighted policy and government involvement as crucial factors in climate change adaptation. They asked the government to actively support and implement policies that integrate adaptation strategies across various sectors. This inclusive approach, encompassing agriculture, tourism, pastoralism, and sanitation, aimed to foster sustainable economic development while creating job opportunities, especially for vulnerable populations like youth and women. The emphasis was on the pivotal role of government engagement and policy support in ensuring the success of local climate change adaptation initiatives.

The final top prime shared between the two dailies was clean energy. Articles in this category focused on promoting green energy solutions both nationally and within communities. At the community level, emphasis was placed on the affordability and health benefits of biogas and LPG as clean energy alternatives that are also environmentally friendly. Additionally, discussions during the COP meetings underscored Africa's potential for renewable energy, highlighting Kenya's and the continent's capability to transition to 100% renewable energy by 2030 by leveraging abundant resources like solar, geothermal, and wind. The coverage advocated for cleaner and sustainable energy practices at both local and national levels.

To identify the dominant role that the media played in communicating climate change adaptation between a monitorial role, a facilitative role, a radical role and the collaborative role, the research analysed the kinds of material that captured adaptation and the extent to which they were covered. While different roles emerged based on content, the overarching role adopted by both newspapers was predominantly monitorial. In this role, the dailies focused on meeting the informational needs of their audience by providing comprehensive coverage of climate change adaptation. Despite the diversity in content types, the central emphasis remained on monitoring and disseminating relevant information related to climate change adaptation strategies.

According to Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, and White (2009), the monitorial role of the media involves collecting information that is relevant to the audience and disseminating it on behalf of various clients, such as the government, private sector, and commercial advertisers. In the research, this role was exemplified through a variety of articles, including advertorials produced by different counties, particularly during the devolution conference in November 2021. The Daily Nation newspaper, through its Climate Action series pullout, showcased diverse initiatives implemented in various counties to address climate change and facilitate adaptation. These articles informed audiences about county-specific initiatives, including community education programs that are available for their self-improvement.

When covering the COP meetings, the media took up a watchdog function, where it reported on the commitments that different countries made. Primarily, the media highlighted how developed countries were asked to honour the financial commitments they made towards enabling action against climate change. Articles also highlighted how these countries were asked to make these funds flexible and easy to access, with some African leaders stating how there is a need to hold developed countries accountable for how they honour their commitments, especially where these commitments went unaccounted for every year. This call was especially prominent during the COP 27 meetings that took place in Egypt.

The media also played an advocacy role, where it championed sustainable strategies that provide long term solutions to the negative effects of climate change. The media emphasised how strategies such as setting up irrigation systems, building dams, and planting grazing grass for pastoralist communities would address the cycle of negative impact that communities face as a result of climate change. To make these strategies achievable, the media advocated for the government and local communities to collaborate. This collaboration would charge the government with the responsibility of encouraging local communities by providing the knowledge they need to maintain sustainable action against climate change and by setting up the regulatory framework that would ensure that proposed strategies are easily adopted. Local communities were, on the other hand, charged with the responsibility to take up personal initiative to implement proposed strategies. This role was mostly communicated through opinion pieces and feature articles.

In the aspect of public education, both newspapers featured articles that demystified commonly used terms in climate change reporting. On October 31, 2021, the Daily Nation dedicated half a page to a glossary of terms anticipated during the COP 26 meeting. This glossary, which included a definition of climate change adaptation, aimed to familiarise readers with the jargon used in climate change discussions. Similarly, on November 19, 2021, the Standard newspaper published an article titled 'Understanding Climate Change Jargon,' where it elucidated terms and highlighted distinctions, such as between adaptation and mitigation.

This study also found that the media incorporated articles on climate change adaptation utilizing various formats such as news reports, opinion pieces, feature articles showcasing local community efforts, and advertisements to amplify these narratives. This diverse approach reflects a nuanced strategy that it used to communicate climate adaptation, accommodating different reader preferences and engagement levels. Most articles focused on the impact on individuals, enhancing relatability with readers, and a notable increase in stories coincided with events like COP meetings and the climate-themed devolution conference in 2021. This event-driven coverage



suggests media responsiveness to major climate-related occurrences and international discussions, recognizing them as opportunities to heighten awareness about climate adaptation.

The media was extensive in highlighting various adaptation strategies that local communities could adopt, and this raised awareness about their benefits and advantages. Many of these articles focused on demonstrating the impact of climate change on communities and their efforts to adapt to these challenges. Readers were often urged to seize opportunities during rainy seasons to harvest and efficiently manage water. Some communities were advised to reconsider their lifestyles in response to climate change, with specific recommendations such as pastoralist communities planting their grazing grass to avoid vegetation competition during droughts. Additionally, articles advocated for a re-evaluation of cultural practices, suggesting, for instance, that pastoralists reduce the number of cattle kept and diversify into irrigation farming to mitigate the adverse effects of drought.

The media demonstrated a predominant focus on agriculture, particularly highlighting smart technologies that farmers could adopt. This emphasis on agriculture-related articles might be linked to the sector's significant contribution to Kenya's GDP. FAO (n.d.) stated that 40% of Kenya's workforce, and a substantial 70% of its rural population, is employed in agriculture. This sector directly contributes to 33% of the country's GDP and indirectly influences an additional 27% through its interconnectedness with other industries. Articles spotlighted strategies such as zero tillage, regenerative and organic farming, irrigation in areas with low rainfall, and the use of seeds suitable for harsh environments. Notably, the Standard newspaper, particularly through its Seeds of Gold pullout, featured more stories on smart agriculture, aligning with the publication's focus on agricultural topics.

The primary function of the media in conveying adaptation to climate change was defined as "monitorial." This role included the vigilant reporting of climate-related events, the inclusion of expert insights and reports and reporting how engagement was done towards local communities and government stakeholders. By doing this, the media significantly contributed to the development of a more thorough, inclusive, and knowledgeable conversation about methods for adapting to climate change.

A notable feature of the monitorial role assumed by the media was its capacity to unite diverse voices. This inclusivity was a crucial element of the role, extending beyond merely presenting the viewpoints of government stakeholders to actively incorporating the voices and experiences of local communities. That encompassed vulnerable communities, which are frequently disproportionately affected by the consequences of climate change and play a pivotal role in adaptation efforts. By offering them a platform to express themselves, the media played a significant role in fostering a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of climate change adaptation.

Furthermore, the study revealed that the media's monitorial role extended to incorporating insights from experts and authoritative reports, enriching the discourse on adaptation strategies. By featuring the contributions of experts and referencing reports from reputable sources, the media played a crucial role in fostering a more informed discussion on how societies are addressing the challenges of climate change. Some of the sources quoted in the articles include the National Climate Change Action Report 2018-2022, National Treasury, Food Waste Index by UNEP 2021, Drought Management Authority, and Coast Development Authority, among others.

The study identified local adaptation initiatives as a top prime, receiving extensive coverage in both the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers. With 17 occurrences in the Daily Nation and 21 mentions in the Standard, the prominence of this prime underscores the emphasis on grassroots efforts in building climate resilience at the community level. The articles frequently featured initiatives such as the use of drought-resistant crops, smart agriculture, and water catchment, highlighting the significance of these bottom-up approaches to adaptation. The researcher observed that successful local initiatives often resulted from support provided by the private sector, where organizations undertake projects for Corporate Social Responsibility or Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) investing. These initiatives engage local

communities in tree-planting drives, support youth projects, and provide education opportunities for sustainability. While some articles highlighted government agency support for such initiatives, there appears to be a gap in consistent government support. Experts and opinion-givers have called for increased government involvement, suggesting that embedding such actions into county development plans would yield more sustainable results than providing relief aid during calamities.

The second top prime identified was access to financing, where access to funds was positioned as a hindrance to the adoption of adaptation strategies. This prime was categorized into narratives around funding from developed countries or international donor bodies and funding from the government for local initiatives. The study established that the dominant themes about funding by developed countries or donor countries were that they were not giving enough support to achieve sustainable outcomes or that pledges of funds were never met.

Articles that were developed on climate change funding did not provide sufficient information on the funding gaps highlighted in regard to international communities. In one story from Daily Nation dated November 2022, during COP 27, a World Bank source was interviewed, and the topic of monitoring the usage of cash allocated for climate change was discussed. That was done to make sure that the funds were used responsibly and that the impact was reported. While the majority of articles urged parties to fulfil their funding commitments, the adaptation articles did not provide enough details about the extent to which the pledges have been fulfilled, how funding has been distributed thus far, or whether mechanisms have been put in place to guarantee that these commitments are kept. That provides an information gap to readers in the area of financing and justice, where readers should be provided a holistic view of the topic for a more informed public opinion. Similarly, articles addressing local funding initiatives primarily advocated for governmental support in facilitating adaptation endeavours, such as constructing dams and conducting research on adaptation strategies. However, these articles exhibited a notable gap in explaining how they were used. Despite articles highlighting stories on how the government invested in adaptation, it should be noted that most of these articles were sponsored content and advertorials featured in climate change pullouts. That exposes readers to a potentially skewed perspective on the perceived advancements in adaptation within the counties and the government's role. Much like articles on international funding, these articles also lacked a comprehensive breakdown of how the funds were used and information on whether the invested funds were equitable to the outcomes achieved.

Another theme identified is around clean energy. The articles shed light on how communities at the grassroots level adopt biogas and LPG, considering them as accessible and environmentally friendly energy sources as part of their adaptation efforts. At a broader national level, the publications discussed a transition towards electric mobility in Kenya, emphasizing its promotion as a strategy for both adaptation and mitigation. The researcher observed that clean energy was portrayed as a dual opportunity for societal and economic advancement, encouraging both the youth and readers to invest in these innovations. This investment was touted as a pathway to sustainable growth and a solution to challenges arising from the impacts of climate change. An important aspect of fighting energy poverty and ensuring a just transition to clean energy was highlighted. Specifically, biogas was emphasized as a cost-effective energy alternative suitable in rural and remote regions in lieu of LPG.

Additionally, wind and solar power were spotlighted as viable energy sources that could be harnessed in areas not covered by the national grid and regions experiencing intermittent power supply due to shortages stemming from reduced hydropower production linked to climate change. These adaptation initiatives align with the objectives outlined in the National Climate Change Action Plan, which delineates strategies for addressing the impacts of climate change. The plan recognizes the significance of renewable energy sources in curbing emissions and bolstering climate resilience.

## Conclusion

This study concluded that the print media in Kenya has predominantly assumed a monitorial role by emphasizing narratives on climate change adaptation and illustrating how communities are embracing adaptive measures to enhance resilience against climate change. The research establishes that significant events, such as the COP meetings, serve as pivotal triggers for agenda setting, leading to an upsurge in the publication of these stories. Consequently, the diversity of themes and primes covered in climate change articles expands due to the influence of such events. The COP 26 and COP 27 gatherings notably heightened the visibility accorded to climate change articles in Kenya, positioning them prominently on page two, especially as news items. That contrasts with feature articles, opinions, and advertorials that were relegated to later pages in the leading dailies in Kenya.

Given that the predominant focus of adaptation stories revolves around strategies implemented by communities, the study also infers that the media plays a crucial role in magnifying these community-led interventions, potentially fostering wider acceptance. Learning plays an important role in helping individuals understand and respond to these changes in a natural world, making it easier for them to cope and adapt. Therefore, through learning about environmental resources and crises, individuals can develop adaptive responses to these complexities. Moreover, the print media can enhance its impact by utilizing feature articles to showcase various adaptation strategies endorsed by communities.

To enhance the agenda-setting and coverage of climate change adaptation issues in Kenyan print media, this study recommends that media houses prioritize consistent and prominent placement of climate-related stories. To incorporate more voices from local communities, presenting adaptation stories from diverse perspectives, such as a business or innovation standpoint, can help in the visibility and impact of adaptation stories. Specialized training for local journalists in environmental reporting to accurately convey complex climate issues to the public and communities and collaboration with climate experts and policymakers can improve the depth and accuracy of coverage. Print media outlets should diversify content by including more human-interest stories that highlight the impacts of climate change on communities, and encouraging public engagement through interactive platforms can further raise awareness and drive action on climate adaptation.

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