Framing of Climate Change Stories Covered by The Kenyan Daily Nation and The People Daily Newspapers

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Abstract:
Data collected through qualitative content analysis method and in-depth interviews of sources of information and journalists from two daily newspapers in Kenya, the Daily Nation and the People Daily on how they framed climate change stories during part of 2012, the year when the Kyoto Protocol was ending, found that although the Kenyan media cover climate change, these articles are placed anywhere but front page, rarely took leadership positions on any given page and scarcely on top left quadrant. In effect the media coverage on climate change may not have prominently displayed climate change articles as to solicit public discourses, failed to support the media advocacy objective of the climate change activists and perhaps contributed to the failure of government not to implement the provision of such key international instruments as the Kyoto Protocol. The study recommended that gate keepers be part of the media advocacy for the Public Relations practitioners.

About Author (s)

Henry H. Neondo, I am a budding researcher currently pursuing my PhD while also working as a communications officer. This part of my master's Thesis at the Daystar University, Kenya.

Introduction
This article is focused on one of the three objectives of the master's thesis study that looked at framing of climate change stories covered by the Kenyan Daily Nation and the People Daily newspapers from June to December 2012.

Background
While climate skepticism mostly appears to be a problem with a section of the well informed and resourced western populace, in the south, however, and particularly in Africa, there is pervasive disinterest or 'don't care attitude' by a large section of the public to discuss issues of climate change. The two contrasting scenarios exist in an environment of overwhelming scientific evidence that have continued to show climate change as real and happening. Most of the evidence also continue to show the African continent as at the forefront of the climate vagaries. However, Climate change has and largely remains an issue of the elite and the 'converted' climate justice activists. Why is this so? Reasons are many and varied. But the least of those could be pointed to the African media. Media in Africa do cover climate change, they do. But this coverage has failed to make climate change an agenda of public discourse among Kenyans and Africans in general.

It must be acknowledged that the way the media frame climate change stories could either be an impetus to pull in a varied number of actors or disinterest them. Neelima (2014) argues that the mass media has the capacity to pull in a critical mass on an issue or disinterest them depending on how it frames it. On matters climate change, however, this attraction or disinterest could mean more calls for effective mitigation policies hence budgetary allocation from the State or nothing at all. Notably, while coverage of climate change stories by the mass media is on the rise throughout the African continent, the African public has however remained the least interested in openly discussing it within their social circles. While this is not a comparative study, but tribal competitions and conflicts for resources, mostly presented by the mass media as political disagreements, economy, and any other issue rather than climate change, tend to dominate public sphere (Diepeveen, 2016). Is this oblivious to the public relations practitioners or climate change news makers? This study also aims to, among other reasons, ensure that the public relations practitioners who act on behalf of the institutions or consult as publicists for individual scientists, climate activists and governments become aware of the need to look for ways of making climate change of interest to the gate keepers within the mass media evens as they take the long shots at the larger public through continued positioning of climate change within the mass media.

Media framing
Effective communication is an important tool that can be used to by editors and reporters to identify problems, encourage participation, invite innovation to solve problems of such complex scientific issue as climate change, and promote adaptation and mitigation (Neelima, 2014) through the ability of the mass media to glue together a diverse group of players with differing and divergent views and connect them to a common cause. When reporters and the media write or present an item such as articles or stories to the public, they package it in a manner that reflect their thoughts by the virtue that they hold temporal power to shape opinions and cultivate behaviours (Deguilhem, 2012). The same is true on matters of climate change. The media prime their presentation on a given subject in a way that weighs more on some aspects they consider important and leave out what they perceive as of lesser value. The coverage of climate change by the mass media is intended to give its audience something to think about (McQuail, 2005). Like any other issue, based on how the media present climate change, the audience may be compelled to move to action and seek ways to have it addressed

by means of various advocacy tactics like campaigns or lobbying for better and effective government policies or budgetary allocations. On the other hand, the public may opt to do nothing about the issue depending on the storyline the media chooses to present to its audience. The media may, for example, choose a storyline that portrays climate change as a happenstance event, a phenomenon, or some other thing that may not be of human interest. Framing reflects the richness of media discourse (Vladisavljevic, 2015). MAP (2008) argue that the art of framing is the art of defining an issue to get the broadest possible public support. This is done by tying frames as broadly as possible to people's existing belief systems and worldviews. This means that framing helps achieve two key things in communication. First, it influences how issues are reported and secondly, it also influences how individual audience reacts to a communication text largely based on existing common schemas in their (audience) minds, which originate from a society's culture. Framed messages can exist within the headline of a news story, lead sentence or paragraph, a story's images, sources quoted, metaphors, or in the general tone of the story. Furthermore, the "concept of framing" provides a stylistic examination of the text to identify, perceive, or interpret. It involves the use of or a look into metaphor, spin, storytelling, jargon, word choice, and other narrative elements. Framing also occurs in day-to-day discussions, in which case, framing will mean the selective association and rearrangement of texts entrenched in media content in a particular manner. However, there are arguments that have emerged to show some inherent weakness in the concept of framing. According to these schools of thought, the concept of framing does not represent the views of the audience as the consumers of the news. It rather propagates and advances the media's temporal power (Stack, 2013). The "concept of framing" is thus important when discussing the coverage of climate change and acknowledges the ability of a reporter to present or define a "situation and issues as well as to set the terms of the debate."

Climate change and Africa
Climate variability and associated disaster risks have been identified as an additional burden, a threat and impediment to achieving sustainable development goals (Nyong, 2010). In the African contexts, the risks and citizens' vulnerability to climate pressures are heightened by Africa's limited technological options, wanting infrastructure, skills, and inadequate information. Particularly endangered are the deprived communities in remote areas, where more than 70% of the continent's poor subsist on agriculture for food and livelihood. A report by the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC., 2018) of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) showed that human-induced warming reached approximately 1°C (likely between 0.8°C and 1.2°C) above pre-industrial levels in 2017, increasing at 0.2°C (likely between 0.1°C and 0.3°C) per decade IPCC (2018). IPCC consistently shows that no other continent is bound to severely suffer the impacts of climate change as Africa (IPCC., 2014). The fourth and fifth reports of the IPCC pointed out that Africa's human existence: its population, its ecosystems and its unique biodiversity will all be major victims of the warming world (IPCC, 2014; UNEP., 2011). Media reports in Kenya and elsewhere often show people either displaced or killed by floods during rainy seasons; or people and livestock famished or dying from severe malnutrition in drought situations; not to mention the dwindling arable farming or fast-expanding Saharan desert towards the south of its original boundaries, all thanks to climate change. In its fifth report of 2014, the IPCC indicated that given its geographical position, Africa, majority of whose citizens suffer from widespread poverty, will particularly be susceptible to climate change due in part to its limited "adaptive capacity [the ability or potential of a system to respond successfully to climate variability and change (IPCC, 2007). The sad reality, however, is that Africa is also the continent that least contributes to carbon emissions thanks to low levels of industrialization,

over-reliance on natural resources and low consumption of industrially produced goods. UNFCCC (2006) posits that Africa accounts for only 2–3 per cent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions from energy and industrial sources and the continent's per capita emissions of carbon dioxide in the year 2000 were 0.8 metric tons per person, compared with a global figure of 3.9 tons per person (UNFCCC, 2006). As an indicator, despite the annual occurrence of floods and droughts whose frequencies appear shortening, no individual, community or government has found a suitable solution that could curb the impacts of this environmental malaise. From a bird's view, therefore, climate change in effect jeopardizes the survival of an already vulnerable population, a fact that is also supported by the joint African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN, 2014) and the African Union (2014) report. The impact of climate change particularly portends a grim scenario for Kenya.

Print Media in Kenya
Print media together with the radio remain unchallenged as key channels to get news in Kenya despite the rise and popularity of digital media. The role of print media in Kenya cannot be gainsaid. Several studies done in Kenya by Synovate Group, Strategic PR, Mars Group among others have time and again revealed that the Kenyan public trusts the media as the most important source of information. This was also corroborated by an opinion poll by Infotrak. According to the opinion poll, 87% of Kenyans have confidence in the media and were contented with the informative, educative and watchdog role of journalists (Ngetich, 2016). Kenya has four daily national newspapers in English and one in Kiswahili all published in Nairobi with a combined daily circulation of almost 400,000. Numerous studies have however been conducted on the practices of dialogue investigations which have sought to understand how the media uses language to construct different ensembles of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is assigned to the causes and consequences of (and sometimes solutions to) climate change. That notwithstanding, the media in Kenya is yet to demystify the concept of climate change as Boykoff (2008) would argue. In other words, the media has yet to help people understand what climate change is. Yet, Boykoff (2011) notes, masses of people on day-to-day basis continue to interact with such concepts as 'climate change', climate variability, 'global warming,' adaptation and mitigation, carbon sequestration, carbon emission and carbon cuts as common terms when most of them have no science background.

Greenberg, Knight, and Westersund (2011) noted that the depiction of climate change as science may have contributed to limiting its salience in many societies. Even in many parts of Africa, including Kenya, climate change has been depicted almost exclusively as an environmental concern. A worrisome fact is the "magnitude of climate change coverage in African media that is disproportionate to the level of threat it poses on the continent". More worrisome is the fact that a study titled "Least responsible, most affected, least informed" by the BBC Media Action showed that the public understanding of climate change in Africa is lowest on human-induced global climate change, its causes, and its consequences despite the fact that the African citizens are at humanity's climate change frontline (BBC Action, 2009). The less information or the quality of it that reach the masses, the less the masses engage themselves in discussing and debating the phenomenon and hence less contribution to possible solutions.

Statement of the Problem
As the background has shown, climate change directly relates to the quality of life and its sustainability. It is thus crucial for public relations practitioners who act on behalf of the institutions, individual scientists, climate activists and governments to continue positioning it

within the mass media and hence within the public purview. The vulnerable communities need to be made aware of the need to build their adaptive capacities for enhanced resilience. Governments, on the other hand, need to set aside much needed resources among many other competing needs to help mitigate the impacts of climate change. Although industries that produce ozone-depleting greenhouse gases are aware of the need to cut emissions, they must however be made to carry the burden of doing so through the public and press borne out of aggressive public relations advocacy (Pickard, 2013). While coverage of climate change stories by the media is notably on the rise throughout the African continent, the African public is however the least interested in openly discussing it within their social circles. Since the question is no longer whether the media in Africa is covering climate change, of interest is to find the answer to the question why this coverage has failed to make climate chan.   The overall study had three objectives but for the purpose of this article, these are narrowed to one; to establish the prominence of the published climate change articles with the corresponding research question as; where were these stories most likely to appear or placed?   Several studies have sought to know whether climate change and media or journalists are a topic of study. In addition, there are also several media framing-related studies. However, these are mostly in the West and hardly in Kenya. In addition, while climate change has remained a hot topic of discussion among scientists and climate change advocates, a study on some aspects of how the media frames these discussions remain important. The continued global arguments around climate change attests to the significance of studying the subject. Over the years, serious scientific studies have been devoted to the media and climate change in bid to clear ambiguities in the way the media and public perceive, discuss and debate about the issue. Exploring climate change controversy in the media has remained significant as discourses in the media often influences public discourses, and in terms of science, this would influence the way science is translated into policy. Besides, this study intended to add literature on climate change coverage and communication not only in Kenya but globally.

Method
For effective study of how media in Kenya framed climate change stories duringthe period under investigation, June –December 2012, the study used descriptive research design and applied elements of both qualitative and qualitative content analysis research methodologies.
Content Analysis
According to Prasad (2008), content analysis is a critical means of discovering forms upon which scholars and researchers can methodically evaluate news media and its use of frames and hence form the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions about the content. Under the content analysis method, scholars are able to evaluate clusters of messages to see how these combines into their audiences' schemata. This study looked at content analysis as an objective, systematic, and quantitative method of describing the content of texts and infer meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages. The target population were all those articles in the two dailies during the period under study that had such phrases as climate change, global warming, climate science, climate change policy, emissions, carbon emissions, greenhouse gases, drought, floods, carbon weather changes/changing. The data was compiled from the issues of the two daily newspapers published from June 1 to December 31 of 2012. In the period, there were 213 days, meaning there were 213issues each of the two dailies printed from Sunday to Sunday. The study thus mined data from the 213 issues of the People Daily and 213 issues of the Daily Nation. All the needed issues were found at the Kenya National Library Headquarters located at the Community area of Nairobi. The data type encompassed news stories, editorials, Op-eds, features, fillers, letters to the editor, ear, front- or back -page stories, lead story or fillers and followed some well-defined

categories. Photographs and cartoons that predict or display any aspect of climate change and its variants were also selected for sampling. The selection however excluded advertisements for reasons that advertisements tend to aim at persuasions instead of laying bare facts that could help a reader make informed choices. The technique of choice was to go through by scanning and reading all the articles from 213 issues each of the Daily Nation and the People Daily. Those identified to have carried articles of interest were chosen and separated for analysis. Most content analyses of climate change communication are quantitative analyses conducted manually, that is, carried out by human coders. In such an analysis, researchers follow certain steps based on their research questions. This study opted to define coding units by defining terms in their natural or intuitive borders (Stemler, 2012). For example, newspaper articles, letters, or poems all have natural boundaries. A coding unit and schedule, pilot testing and checking inter coder reliabilities were developed and adhered to. Preparing "coding" plan for the analysis and coding of content was also done concurrently. A piloting coding schedule was done before launching the full-scale content analysis. Articles were categorized by length: small (0-400 words); medium (401-800 words) and long (801-1,200 words). They were also categories by "tone" (positive, negative or neutral), and dominant frames, which vary depending on source of media. Two types of data were collected; secondary at the coding level and primary at the complementary level when qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted. At the secondary level, interest was to content analyze the tone as a frame besides the placement and position of climate change articles occupied on an issue or page.

Analysis began by rendering the stories into textual units centered on keywords such as "climate" and "warming" and constructing a dictionary of the pertinent words needed to identify the themes in the climate change discourse. To categorize the "unit of analysis", frames, and source measurements, a categorical coding form was developed. In addition, an excel spreadsheet for data entry was also created. A coding sheet was used to collect data from each issue, which was used to classify the date, month and placement of the sentence, word, and other units of analysis and the categories to get the information provided from the sentence of the story, paragraph and cartoon and byline. It must be noted that while correspondents and freelancers are a core component of article contributors in the Kenyan dailies, the byline category however lumped all these together with the staff of these two dailies since the interest was not per se the writers but the content. The study therefore chose to only have Kenyan writers (regardless of whether they were staff or freelancers or correspondents) versus the foreign reporters or news wires. An article in either of the two dailies that emanated from the Kenya News Agency or any other Kenyan-owned cum-based news agency was equally treated as were the staff reporters. Assumption was made that these would most likely look at issues from the world view or lens as opposed to a Briton writing for the Reuters or an American for Associated Press.

Image or Graphics
In terms of images and graphics, the study made use of semiotics, which is defined as the study and analyses of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation. When it comes to images, Scollon and Wong (2003) stated that there exist multiple relationships. These include the relationships between the components of a visual image, the relationships between the producers of the visual image, the relationships between the producers and the components, as well as the relationships between the components of an image and those who are viewing it. Scollon and Wong (2003) further stated that interaction order has four main semiotic systems. These include represented participants, modality, composition and interactive participants. Represented participants are elements of a visual image and are either narrative

(present unfolding actions and events or… processes of change) or conceptual (show abstract, comparative or generalized categories) (Scollon& Wong, 2003). Modality is how true to reality a visual image is, and main indicators include color saturation, color differentiation, depth, illumination, and brightness, among others. This study used elements of modality and some interactivity of image and the accompanied texts.

Source

The variable called the Source is operationally defined as the person or institution quoted in a story. Source is defined, categorized, and collapsed into groups called scientists, institutions, policymakers, industry interests, and environmental interests such as advocates, civil society groups as in this case of climate change stories. These would be different in other forms of articles. Another category labeled 'other source' who could not be collapsed or coded into one of the scientists, policymaker, or the special interest groups was also included; this was to help achieve categorize articles exhaustively. According to Nivas (2016), a scientist is defined as one linked to a university, government agency, or other affiliation. Policymaker is further categorized as either associated as an elected official at the local, County or Central Government level or an appointed spokesperson at any level of government. Nivas (2016) also categorized interest groups as an environmental organization/group or an industry that has an interest, may benefit, or be harmed by issues relating to climate change. Multiple sources could be cited in a story. This study coded each citation separately by its order in a story such as 1st quote, 2nd quote. Categories or types of sources and their codes were to be: scientist = 1, politician = 2, industry interest = 3, environmental interest = 4, other = 5. Source 2a was the second quoted source in the story, and values were also coded 1 to 5. Source 3a was the third quoted source in the story, and so on for additional source quotes. Each unique quoted source was only counted once in each unit of analysis (story). Each story followed this same coding method.

Quadrants

Quartering is an informal means of creating an imaginary balance in newspaper designs. According to Ukonu (2013), this entails a systematic approach to balance, which involves halving and quartering the page and noting desirable relationships among the several parts. Ukonu suggested that the horizontal line across the centre of the page is a real one as it is actually present in the fold of the page while the vertical one is less real, but nonetheless useful. These lines create two sets of haves, left and right, top and bottom. With this arrangement, elements at upper left are used to balance those at the lower right. According to Ukonu (2013), more often than not, readers start a page from top left, and reading follows from top to bottom while writing in most English-speaking communities starts from left to right. This has led editors to take the top left corner of the page as a prime point to display the dominant element. In the study, articles in quadrant 1 were assigned value 1, quadrant 2 as 2 continually.

Procedures to develop qualitative data

The procedure involved in depth interviews. This sought to describe and find the meanings of the frames used by the reporters, the news sources (particularly the press releases sent in by the sources to the newsrooms) in content analyzed. According to Boyce and Neale (2006), in-depth interviews are useful when you want detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviors or want to explore new issues in depth. The two add that such interviews are often used to provide context to other data (such as outcome data), offering a more complete picture of what happened. In-depth interviews should be used in place of focus groups if the potential participants may not be included, or when you want to distinguish individual (as

opposed to group) opinions (Boyce, 2006). Dworkin (2012) argued that sample size used in qualitative research methods is often smaller than that used in quantitative research methods. This is because qualitative research methods are often concerned with garnering an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon or are focused on meaning (and heterogeneities in meaning) which are often centered on the how and why of a particular issue. In-depth interview work is not as concerned with making generalizations to a larger population of interest and does not tend to rely on hypothesis testing but rather is more inductive. Dworkin (2012) further argued that the aim of grounded theory and in-depth interviews is to create "categories from the data and then to analyze relationships between categories" while attending to how the "lived experience" of research participants can be understood (Charmaz, 1990). Semi structured in-depth interviews require a minimum sample size of between 5 and 25 (Kuzel, 1992). This study intended to interview eight respondents. Environmental journalists and editors were targeted for interviews as they are the conveyors and gate keepers of the news the public read. The journalists were picked from the byline on climate change stories in the two dailies during the period under the review and they were the lead to reaching their editors. In addition, four climate change or environmental activists, policy makers and researchers were targeted for interviews as they tend to be the primary sources of information for the environmental journalists. These were chosen from the names or institutions that often appeared quoted in the articles of interest in either of the two dailies over the time under study. In total, the study aimed to interview eight (8) people picked randomly from the names appearing most frequent as bylines of the climate change stories analyzed or most quoted sources in the articles.

Research findings
In terms of page placement
The study revealed that most of the climate change stories were placed in the inner pages as opposed to the front or back pages of the two dailies.

Table 1: Frequency of Climate Change Stories in Either Newspaper

	Frequency	Percent
Front page	3	1.2
Inner Page	255	98.8
Total	258	100.0

Source: (Neondo, 2019)

From Table 1 above, other than the 1.2% of the climate change stories in either newspaper that occupied front page placement, majority were in the inner pages. There were no day climate change stories appeared in the back page of either of the two newspapers. This is corroborated by the Respondent (an editor) who said that he often places climate change story on pages 2 or 3. This implies that climate change was not given prominence by the two newspapers.

Segment placement
Table 2 Segment of the Newspaper where the Story is Found

	Frequency	Percent
National news	37	14.3
Opinion	17	6.6
Business and finance	32	12.4
Environment	11	4.3
International/world news	65	25.2
county/regional news	59	22.9
Editor	5	1.9
Development and technology	9	3.5

Other	16	6.2
Total	251	97.3
Total	258	100.0

Table 2 indicates that 25.20% of the stories that depicted climate change appeared in the international or world news pages while 22.9% in the regional newspapers, 14.3% of the climate change stories appeared in the national news pages while 12.4% in the business news pages. Interestingly only 4.3% of the articles were presented as environmental issues and 3.5% in terms of a technological angles. In terms of editorials, only 1.9% were presented as commentaries or editorials.
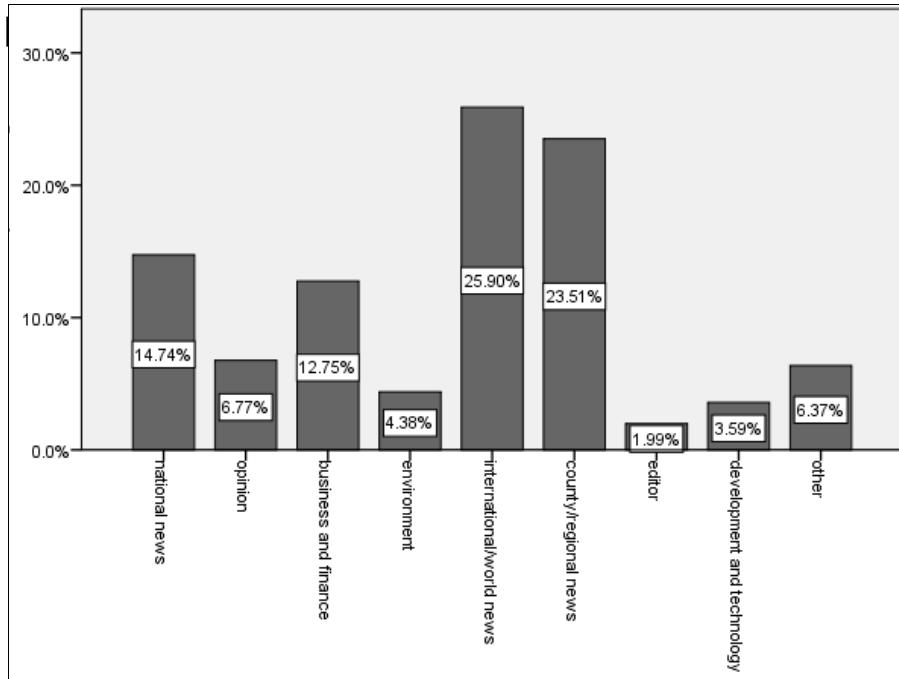

Figure 1: *Segment Where Climate Change Stories are Likely to Appear*

In terms of segmenting articles, 12.75% of the stories were placed in the business segment of the dailies as shown in Figure 1 above shows that 4.38% of the articles appeared in the environment news pages, 3.59% in development and technology and 6.37% in other sectors. Concerning this question, a Respondent (an editor) noted that the choice of the placement of climate change stories would depend on among others, available space.

Geographic presentation

Table 3 Geographical Focus of the Story

	Frequency	Percent
Local	37	14.3
county/regional	40	15.5
National	64	24.8
International	106	41.1
Other	1	.4
Total	248	96.1
Total	258	100.0

From Table 3, 41.1 % of climate change stories under the period of study were focused internationally while 24.8 % focused nationally or regional. This implies that the two Kenyan newspapers paid more attention to impact of climate change as it happens globally than on the local scene, another example of the dependence on international news wires.

Figure 2 Geographical Focus of Climate Change Stories
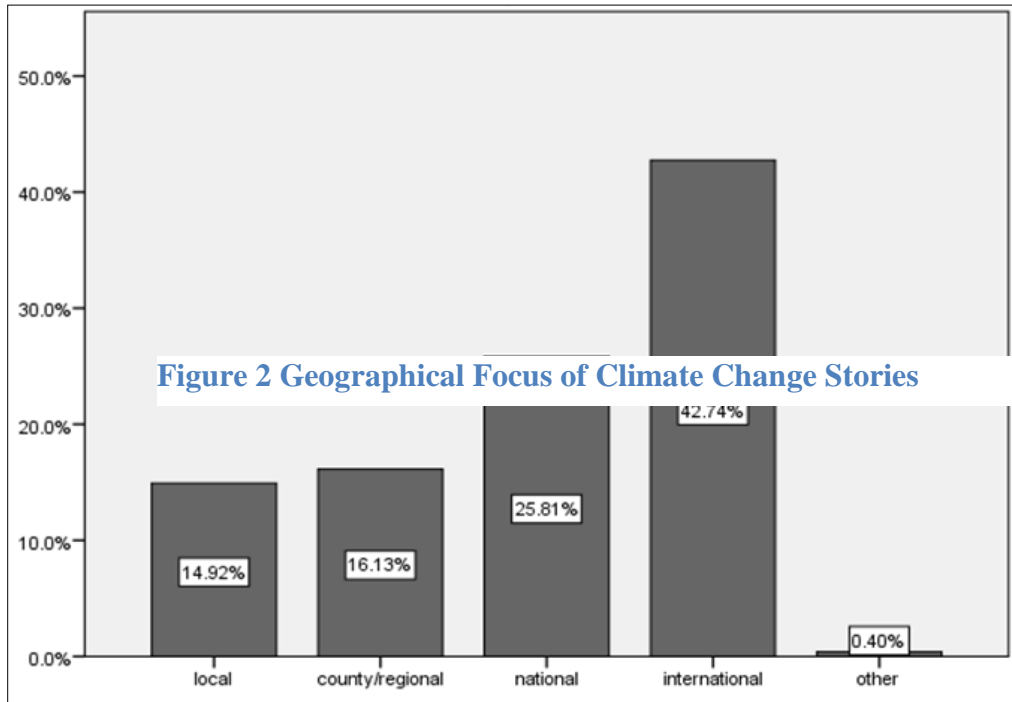
Positioning
Table 4 Inner Page of the Newspaper and Section of Story Placement

	Frequency	Percent
Lead story	94	36.4
Second lead	54	20.9
Standalone story	43	16.7
Filler story	55	21.3
Total	246	95.3
Total	258	100.0

From Table 4, some 36.4% of climate change stories analyzed occupied lead story positions. This was followed closely with those that occupied filler position (fillers) and second lead positions (21.95 and 20.9 % respectively). A Respondent (editor) put it stated that:Media are in the business of selling news. The most topical the news the highly place will it be placed. Most Kenyans are not conversant with Climate change stories; therefore, this influences the place they occupy in the Kenyan media. Another Respondent (climate activist) noted that where the media placed climate change stories depicted whether the subject was important or not in the minds of the readers or listeners of the media. This implies that climate change was seen as an ordinary occurrence deserving no coverage as a news event or was insignificant and therefore lacks human interest.
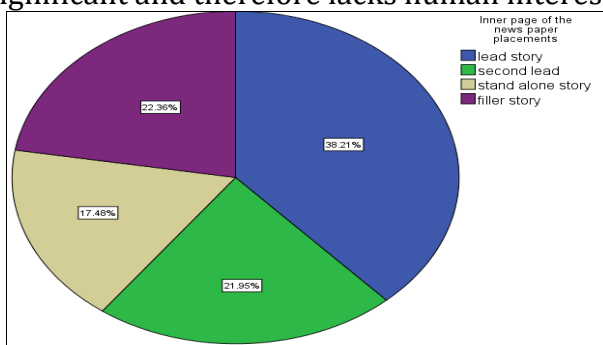

Figure 3 Where are Climate Change Stories Positioned?

How Climate Change Stories Were Categorized

Table 5 Categorisation of the Climate Change Story

	Frequency	Percent
Scientific	16	6.2
Business	26	10.1
Environment	183	70.9
Economic	23	8.9
Total	258	100.0

Table 5 shows that 73.79% of the stories appeared to have been categorized as environmental stories and 10.48% as business items. Quite to the contrary, only 6.45% were categorized purely as scientific while 9.27% were categorized in the economic terms. Responding to the question, A Respondent (reporter) said the media's coverage about the issue tend to be as is presented to them by their sources. If the press release or news release sent to the media comes from an environmental think tank, the media will thus categorize it as environmental. On the other hand, Respondent (an editor) said based on who is contacting the media, the article that comes out would present the mindset of the source. Thus, if the source was very technical, the article that people would read would also be technical. This implied that depicting climate change as a science issue limited the number of discussions around it.

In terms of treatment
Table 6 Treatment of the Story

	Frequency	Percent
General news	145	56.2
Feature	54	20.9
Commentary/criticism	35	13.6
Other	14	5.4
Total	248	96.1
Total	258	100.0

Table 6 indicate that the majority of climate change stories (58.47%) were treated as general news items by both newspapers. Only 21.77% appeared as feature items while 14.11% as commentaries. This too resonates with the thinking of Respondents (activists) above who noted that as experts, they find climate change coverage by the media as news items, devoid of depth.

Quadrant Placement
Table 7 Section of the Quadrant

	Frequency	Percent
First quadrant	111	43.0
Second quadrant	56	21.7
Third quadrant	48	18.6
Fourth quadrant	34	13.2
Total	249	96.5
Total	258	100.0

Among the four quadrants of a page (an indication of prominence), the two newspapers tended to place the stories in the first quadrant (44.54%) or second quadrant (the desirable one for the most prominent article) at 22.49% as shown in Table 7 above. Several studies

have shown that most people are right-handed and when faced with a text-packed page, such people tend to start to read at the upper left, then lower right of the page. This implies that editors did not consider climate change articles important and should as well be by passed by readers.

Discussions
This study revealed that the Kenyan media liked placing climate change stories 'hidden' in the inner pages (98.84%) far down from the front page (1.16%). Fortunato (2006) argues that framing methods can be done in two distinct types: exposure and portrayal and that exposure is a characteristic of selection, frequency, placement and the amount of time or space allocated to a news topic are determined by the mass media organization adding that the framing decision can be as important as exposure in how a story is perceived (Fortunato, 2006) and says that by exposure, it is implied the selection of stories that get printed, aired or posted on the website through characteristics such as the frequency (how often), placement (where the story appears-front or inner page) and the amount of space or time given (Fortunato, 2005). Going by the reasoning by Fortunato (2006), the Kenyan media framing of climate change is that of low-key event or issue that does not deserve exposure or lead positioning. McCombs and Mauro (1977) mentioned that page placement story format and other framing mechanisms influenced the level of readership for a news story. Further, Carroll and McCombs (2003) said that newspapers communicate a host of cues about the importance of a topic through placement of a story; the lead story on page one, front page versus inside page, the size of the headline and even the length of a story, all communicate information about the salience of the various objects on a news agenda (Carroll& McCombs, 2003). Thus, by McCombs (2003), the Kenya media framing of climate change stories in the year of study could not have easily been visible and hence unlikely to elicit public debate. Gray and Moffett (2009) argued that there are two main ways of framing a story in the media either as a hard news article or as feature article and depending on these, an article would either be placed in the news pages which tend to be early pages or inner pages if considered as hard news. The study results showed that 58.47% climate change stories were mostly treated as hard, episodic news articles. These are stories with short shelf life and might not persist in the readers mind as to generate long term debates in the public arena. Only 21.77% appeared as feature items while 14.11% as commentaries. Feature stories on the other hand are generally longer and have more freedom of expression and deeper research. Feature writing may be professionally more satisfying because they offer greater opportunity for creative writing with novelty leads that leads readers to understanding the why of an issue that they may not get from a hard news story (Gray, 2009). According to Allen (2016), publisher of the popular website Writing-World.com, "in a sense, the placement of an article is important. The closer to the front of the magazine the article is placed, the more important it is considered to be. News stories are not presented in a haphazard fashion but are arranged according to certain aesthetic criteria designed to maximize both the professionalism of the production and audience impact (Gunter, 2013). Citing Green (1969), Gunter posits that lead stories are the most significant story of the day and occupy lead positions on a news page (Gunter, 2013, p. 197). Editors realize that readers start at the front and they may or may not make it all the way to the back. So, articles editors consider as the most significant, attention-getting, worthwhile or important are placed at the front or centre. Conversely, less important, shorter articles, fillers etc. will be placed further on in the issue. Therefore, one can assume an article placed farther back in a newspaper as less significant than one that opens the issue (Allen, 2016). The implication here is that articles not placed in lead positions of a page are less significant and therefore, climate change stories are often considered by the Kenyan media as insignificant. In terms of quadrants, 44.54% of climate change articles were placed

in the first quadrant, out of eye flow of view. Lipton (2011) noted that the upper-left starting spot also seems to apply to news web sites. Although eye flow varies by what is on the page, researchers found that eyes tend to start at the upper right before venturing to the right, then down. Therefore, placement of an article in the second quadrant would indicate more prominence and attract first reading followed by the article on the third quadrant. The first and fourth quadrants are the least in terms of prominence (Lipton, 2011). Lipton (2011) further noted that the upper-left starting spot also seems to apply to news web sites. Although eye flow varies by what is on the page, researchers found that eyes tend to start at the upper right before venturing to the right, then down. Therefore, placement of an article in the second quadrant would indicate more prominence and attract first reading followed by the article on the third quadrant. The first and fourth quadrants are least in terms of prominence (Lipton, 2011). As postulated in agenda-setting theory, the coverage of the climate change or any other issue by the media will give its audience something to think about. However, based on how the media present climate change, the audience may be compelled to act and address it or opt to do nothing. The media may for example report climate change to portray it as a happenstance event. Kenyan media tend to present the issue as a happenstance, therefore not able to move beyond the intent of informing. The implication of the Kenya newspapers presenting climate change stories mostly as hard news items is that they deny the Kenyan public the chance to debate the issues for longer periods since as a hard news items, the climate change stories are given short shelf life and hence may risk being pushed to the back banner among other competing advocacy issues (Treadwell, 2004). Matters are not made easier for the discussions around climate change issues in Kenya. The results revealed that climate change is normally categorised by the Kenyan newspapers as science. This conformed to the thought by Greenberg, et al. (2011) that the depiction of climate change as science may have contributed to limiting its salience in many societies, further limiting the voices of people who could otherwise advocate for its mitigation. Qualitatively, some editors interviewed in the study disclosed that while reporters do report on climate change, the submitted stories lacked depth and crucial elements as to qualify lead positions in any given page. Further, they disclosed that articles on climate change submitted to reporters tend to be as presented to them by their sources. If the press release or news release sent to the media comes from an environmental think tank, the media will thus categorize it as environment news, which by practice tend to be in the inner pages in any given issue of a newspaper.

Conclusions
Previous studies in this area have tended to conclude the fact that climate change stories do find coverage in the news media in Africa. Little had been done before about their prominence vis a vis other competing articles or issues in any given edition. However according to this study, the conclusion was that the Kenyan media did not prominently feature the news stories on climate change, choosing rather to place the articles in the inner pages, in less prominent places and in positions that were not in the line of easy eye flow. It was as though the media 'buried' the climate change stories inside their news pages. The exemption however was when the story was on flooding or severe drought in which case, climate change stories would occasionally be seen on the frontpage or take lead positions in an inner page. Further, when the media did cover climate change, the issue is treated as any other hard news item with short shelf-life and hence failed to stay long in the purview of the public as to generate long-term discussion points. Unless deliberate efforts are taken to ensure that editors and reporters understand the gravity of the issue that climate change portend for such fragile economies of the developing world, the media will continue to treat

the issue lightly hence, hinder the building up of critical mass that would demand appropriate actions be taken to curb its long-term effects.

Recommendations

In view of the findings, the study recommends the following that given the infrequent coverage findings from the research, organizations dealing with the climate change should develop strong media relations departments for some sustained beneficial relationships with the media that would assure them frequent media coverage. Positioning and placement of such stories would better be enhanced if the Public relations or information officers from climate change advocacy organisations sent stories that follow the tenets and principles of news so that they become newsworthy and of human interest to gain more prominence.

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