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Media Framing of Climate Change Ideology in Kenya

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An Analysis of the Daily Nation Newspaper Coverage on Climate Change in the Context of COP29



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Abstract

Purpose: To examine the extent to which the *Daily Nation Newspaper* covered climate change and how such coverage was framed in relation to efforts to mitigate the climate crisis.

Methodology: The study employed content analysis method to analyse the data sampled from the newspaper. In this case, framing analysis of 36 articles sampled from the *Daily Nation* newspaper published between 1st October 2024 and December 31st 2024 were considered. This was based on a month prior, during and after the United Nations Conference of Parties on Climate Change (COP29) - held in Baku, Azerbaijan from November 11–22, 2024.

Findings: The study found that *Daily Nation*'s coverage of COP29 was largely dominated by climate finance narratives, with most articles emphasizing funding commitments, inequality between developed and developing countries, and issues of climate justice. Less attention was given to climate change mitigation, adaptation strategies, and scientific solutions. The coverage consistently framed Africa as highly vulnerable to climate change and dependent on external financial support, while developed nations were often portrayed as failing to meet their obligations under the Paris Agreement. Overall, climate change was mainly presented as a political and financial issue rather than a balanced discussion that included practical mitigation actions, with emphasis and equivalency frames shaping how readers interpreted the climate crisis.

Unique Contribution to Theory, Practice and Policy: This study is guided by Agenda-setting Theory and Framing Theory, which explain how the media influences public understanding by selecting and emphasizing certain issues while downplaying others, and by shaping how those issues are interpreted. In the context of the *Daily Nation*'s coverage of COP29, the study shows that climate change reporting was largely framed around climate finance and global inequality, while less attention was given to mitigation and adaptation strategies. This contributes to theory by demonstrating how agenda-setting and framing work together to shape climate discourse in a developing country context and may reinforce dominant global narratives about climate justice.

Keywords: *Climate Change, Sustainable Development Goals, Framing, Media, Climate Financing*

JEL Codes: *Q54, Q01, Q56, G32, L82*

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INTRODUCTION

Climate change is a topic that is widely debated, and some individuals still deny its effects (Pupneja, Zou, Lévy and Huang 2023). Although climate skepticism and disagreement about the causes and effects of climate change remain evident in some contexts, such claims need to be geographically and socially contextualized. In the Kenyan context for instance, studies suggest that public awareness of climate change is relatively high, while people often understand the issue through changes they directly experience such as unreliable rainfall patterns, long dry seasons, temperature fluctuations and water scarcity (Makau, Mukundi, Adimo, Gichuhi and Wesonga, 2018). This is particularly important when considering climate change perceptions in Sub-Saharan Africa, where high exposure and vulnerability to climate-related hazards can make climate change a more immediate lived experience than an abstract global debate (IPCC, 2022).

The media on its part play a critical role in the construction of social reality and subsequently knowledge of what is reported in the media is essential in understanding social attitudes towards important issues such as climate change (Mercado, 2012). Climate change is a global catastrophe caused by human activities such as industrialization, deforestation, transportation, agriculture and electricity production (Siyao & Sife, 2018).

As such this phenomenon has become a global threat occurrence with devastating effects on humans and animal habitats. This is a phenomenon that has contributed to global warming which is related to human activities in the world. Kenya is one of the countries that has borne the brunt of climate change. The country has experienced a prolonged drought period, particularly across the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), with severe drought conditions persisting from 2021 into 2023. In 2022, the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) reported that millions of people in the ASAL counties were facing high levels of acute food insecurity as a result of persistent drought, while the National Drought Management Authority (2024) documented the deterioration of drought conditions across much of the country. These prolonged impacts continued to affect livelihoods even after rainfall improved in 2023 (IPC, 2022; NDMA, 2022, 2024). The drought was followed by severe flooding during Kenya's March–May 2024 long-rains season. An event attribution study found out that human-induced climate change had made rainfall events of the type experienced in East Africa about twice as likely and approximately 5% more intense, while also noting the role of urban planning and other compounding factors in determining flood impacts (Nying'uro et al., 2024).

In 2022 and part of 2024, Kenya experienced one of the worst droughts ever experienced in a span of forty years. Both human and livestock lost their lives during this period. Extreme weather conditions have become the norm. This can well be illustrated by perennial floods which occur in every rainy season. The forest cover is slowly shrinking while industrialization is on the rise. There is therefore a need for climate action to start from the grassroots in order to confront this challenge. The media, which acts as a watchdog of the society should be in the forefront in shaping opinion about global climate change.

The objective of this study therefore, was to identify and analyze the media frames employed by the Daily Nation newspaper in their coverage of COP29, with a specific focus on equivalency and emphasis frames. In operationalising the two framing approaches, the study treated emphasis framing as the primary approach for examining print news coverage, particularly the selection and prominence of specific themes, issues, actors and interpretations. Emphasis frames on the other hand were identified by examining the aspects of climate change

that received prominence in headlines, leads, quotations, sources, thematic focus and concluding statements. These included climate finance and negotiations, equity and justice, vulnerability and adaptation, urgency of climate action, carbon markets, and global power dynamics.

Equivalency framing was treated as a more narrowly defined category because conventional newspaper articles do not ordinarily present logically equivalent versions of the same information. For this study, an equivalency frame was therefore recorded only where the same factual information, event or outcome was presented through alternative but logically equivalent formulations that could potentially produce different interpretations.

The study thus explored how different framing techniques were employed by the newspaper. The analysis therefore first established whether clear instances of equivalency framing were present and, where they occurred, examined how alternative formulations were used. It then examined emphasis framing by assessing which aspects of climate change were selected, highlighted and given greater prominence within the articles. This approach allowed the study to distinguish between the salience of particular climate change themes and the narrower phenomenon of presenting equivalent information in different ways.

It further looked at how these frames could potentially contribute to public understanding and perception of the climate change discussions and its outcomes at the international conference. However, because the study analysed newspaper content rather than audience responses, it did not directly measure changes in public attitudes or establish causal effects on public opinion. Instead, it examined the media representations and framing patterns that have the potential to shape public understanding.

The articles that were analysed were those that were published a month prior, during and after United Nations Conference of Parties on Climate Change (COP29) held in Baku, Azerbaijan. The study further sought to uncover underlying patterns in media representation and their potential influence on shaping public opinion, political discourse, and policy formulation that are geared towards saving the planet from climate change.

Global Climate Action Paradigm

Environment preservation is essential to the planet's long-term sustainability, however, efforts to promote pro-environmental conduct often do not take into consideration the underlying force behind such action (Do Canto, Grunert, and Dutra, 2023). From a media perspective, however, understanding pro-environmental conduct also requires attention to how environmental issues are communicated to the public. Climate change is a complex and often technical issue involving scientific evidence, international negotiations, financial commitments and national policies. The media therefore plays an important intermediary role by selecting, interpreting and presenting this information in forms that are accessible to the public. How these issues are represented can influence which aspects of climate change become visible and prominent in public discourse. In the recent past the world has come together through conventions such as Conference of Parties (which brings together world leaders) to address the problem of climate change. The mandate of such a conference is to come up with resolutions that can help in the mitigation of climate change.

These international climate conferences are also important media events because they provide journalists with specific developments, actors, disagreements and policy decisions around which climate change stories can be constructed. The media does not simply report what

happens at such conferences; through the selection of issues, sources, quotations and perspectives, it can give greater prominence to some aspects of climate negotiations than others. Consequently, coverage of COP meetings provides an important site for examining how global climate governance is represented and framed for national audiences. In the year 2015, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals commonly referred to as SDGs after three years of multi-stakeholder consultations and intergovernmental negotiations (Bexell & Jönsson 2017). SDG number 13 calls for urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts. This goal is further subdivided into five specific targets that focus on different responses to challenges that are brought about by climate change (Szabo, Nicholls, Neumann, Renaud, Matthews, Sebesvari, & Hutton 2016). The SDGs therefore provide an important framework through which climate change can be communicated and interpreted by the media. In news coverage, for example, climate action can be associated with adaptation, mitigation, climate finance, sustainable development or social justice depending on which SDG-related dimensions journalists choose to highlight. Such selection is important from a framing perspective because giving greater prominence to one dimension can make it more visible to audiences while other dimensions receive less attention.

The Paris Agreement (PA) was established to strengthen the global response to climate change, by setting targets for mitigation, adaptation, and finance, and establishing mechanisms through which to achieve these targets. The effectiveness of this agreement in achieving its targets, however, has raised a lot of concerns (Raiser et al, 2020). This may perhaps be due to lack of commitment by the Global North in fulfilling its climate financing obligation. Developing nations on their part have frequently expressed concerns about the unfulfilled promises made by developed nations.

Looking at local initiatives, however, many countries in the world have implemented national climate policies to achieve the pledged Nationally Determined Contributions and to contribute to the temperature objectives of the Paris Agreement on climate change (Roelfsema, et al, 2020). Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) is part of Paris Agreement where individual nations come up with initiatives for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and adapting to climate change. In order to achieve these targets from the Nationally Determined Contributions, countries are implementing policies at the national level. The Paris Agreement provided a global stock take in 2023. This was expected to take stock of the collective efforts and to inform the preparation of more ambitious NDCs. In this regard, a clear understanding of the impact of national policies that are currently being implemented by individual countries is essential (Roelfsema et al., 2020).

The media have an important role in making this relationship between global commitments and national implementation visible to the public. By reporting on progress, shortcomings, financial commitments and disagreements surrounding climate policies, newspapers can frame whether governments and other actors are seen to be fulfilling their climate responsibilities. Thus, the media serves as an important link between global climate-governance frameworks such as the SDGs and Paris Agreement, national commitments through NDCs, and public understanding of climate action.

This connection between climate governance and media representation is central to the present study. Rather than treating the SDGs, Paris Agreement and NDCs simply as policy instruments, the study considers how these frameworks and the debates surrounding them are represented in news coverage. The focus on Daily Nation's coverage of COP29 therefore provides an

opportunity to examine how a Kenyan newspaper translated complex international climate negotiations into narratives concerning climate finance, equity and justice, vulnerability and adaptation, urgency of climate action, carbon markets and global power dynamics. In this way, the global climate action paradigm provides the policy context within which the study examines the media frames used to construct meaning around climate change and COP29.

Media Coverage on Climate Change

While it is usually assumed that media attention for major events, such as international climate change conferences, can influence public opinion, studies on changes in public opinion regarding climate change have remained limited (Wonneberger, Meijers and Schuck, 2020). On the contrary, media coverage on climate change and, particularly, coverage of international climate change conferences has received plenty of scholarly attention (Christensen and Wormbs, 2017; Gurwitt et al., 2017). Research with general knowledge claims indicates that repeated exposure to a claim or a particular issue increases its perceived truth when it is encountered again (Jiang et al. 2024).

The issue of environmental change due to human activities and the manner in which the media is handling and reporting it is of significant importance (Hannachi & Hansson, 2021). One of the traits of global communication displayed by climate change coverage is the role of media as an international risk forum (Fugl, 2009). The impact of climate change unfolds over a period of time which in essence do not easily fit within the fast-paced 24/7 news circle in which newsrooms operate (Anderson, 2014).

The slow and gradual nature of climate change creates a challenge for news organizations because its causes, impacts and possible solutions often develop over extended periods, whereas news production tends to favour immediacy, novelty, conflict and clearly identifiable events. Climate change can therefore struggle to maintain sustained news attention when there is no immediate event around which a story can be constructed.

International climate conferences such as the Conference of the Parties (COP), however, temporarily overcome this limitation by providing a specific and highly newsworthy event around which journalists can organize climate-related information and debate. COP meetings bring together political leaders, negotiators, scientists, environmental organizations and other stakeholders, generating speeches, negotiations, disagreements, policy announcements, financial commitments and other developments that fit more readily within conventional news values. COP29 in Baku, Azerbaijan, therefore provided a concentrated news opportunity through which a long-term and complex issue such as climate change could be translated into immediate news stories and continuing coverage.

In most cases, many people around the world turn to the mainstream media for information related to extreme weather. This comes at a time when climate scientists are progressively able to shape how specific weather conditions have been affected by climate change (Pidcock & Pearce, 2017).

Schmidt, Ivanova, and Schäfer (2013) postulate that the media raise public awareness on climate change as a social problem. As a result of this, the journalists operate as an “interpretive community” on climate change (Brüggemann, 2017). In this regard therefore, the media plays a pivotal role in informing and educating the public about the devastating effects of climate change. Whatever is reported must be factual and verifiable. Hannachi and Hansson (2021) suggest that the public should be aware of reports on climate change. This is because their

causes and their effects are based on scientific findings with the aim of finding the best possible answer to scientific questions of societal importance.

Fugl (2009) posits that the media and climate change communication interact in different ways. In one way the media coverage on climate change is habituated by a structured international communication system while in another way, the coverage of climate change has led to global dissemination of information thus demonstrating the globalization aspect of the media and the role of news media as a risk forum. Pera and Aiello (2024) suggest that tailored communication strategies has a better promise in directing public discussion towards desired topics, which bears implications for the design of effective climate communication campaigns. Falkenberg, et al., (2022) observe that climate change and political polarization are two of the twenty-first century's critical socio-political issues. In addition, the effects of climate change on forest-defoliating insects are poorly understood, but could severely reduce forest productivity, biodiversity and timber production (Liu et al. 2025). In this regard therefore, there is a need for the media to enlighten the public about climate change in a factual and balanced manner, without leaning on one side. This is because the media have power to shape perceptions of reality.

Research Gap

Given that the previous studies have examined media coverage of climate change, a gap is evident in the existing literature. Most of the existing studies have examined the coverage of climate change broadly with limited attention to Kenyan newspapers reporting on COP29 conference. Additionally, while previous studies have applied framing theory to climate change reporting, less attention has been given to distinguishing between equivalency and emphasis framing in naturally occurring newspaper content. In particular, emphasis framing has received greater attention in media studies, whereas the application and operationalization of equivalency framing in print journalism remains less clearly established. This study therefore addresses this gap by examining how the Daily Nation framed COP29 coverage before, during and after the conference. By analysing both emphasis frames and carefully operationalized equivalency frames, the study seeks to establish how climate change and its associated issues were selected, presented and given prominence in Kenyan print media.

Agenda-setting Theory

Developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in the 1970s, the agenda-setting theory suggests that the media does not tell us what to think, but rather what to think about. The core assumption of the theory is that the media play a critical role in shaping public perception by emphasizing on certain issues, events, or topics, making them more prominent in the public's mind. By doing so, the media influences the salience of those issues in the minds of the audience (Mohammed, Mojayem & Adelakun, 2022).

Agenda-setting theory has developed beyond its original concern with the salience of issues. This study distinguishes between first-level agenda-setting, second-level agenda-setting and priming. First-level agenda-setting concerns issue salience: it focuses on which issues receive greater attention in the media and consequently become more prominent on the public agenda. In the context of this study, first-level agenda-setting is relevant to the prominence given to climate change and COP29 in the Daily Nation. The amount of coverage, frequency of stories, placement and prominence of climate-related news can indicate the extent to which the issue was prioritized on the newspaper's agenda.

By the use of agenda-setting paradigm, the media can deliberately determine the topics that it considers more important by emphasizing certain issues over others thus influencing public opinion. For instance, if the media constantly covers climate change as the most important initiative in curbing climate change, people are more likely to perceive it as a significant issue more than the rest. The issues that the media decides to cover will form the media agenda while the issues that the public perceives as important refers to public agenda. The theory suggests that there is a significant relationship between public agenda and media agenda. The agenda-setting can be achieved through priming or framing. Priming is the art of making an issue more conscious in the minds of the public while framing is how an issue is reported by the aim of influencing how people interpret it (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In selecting and broadcasting news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play a crucial role in shaping political reality. Consumers of news learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that particular issue from the amount of information available in a news story and its position (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Given the importance of interpersonal communication to agenda-setting effects (Yang & Stone, 2003), researchers have long noticed the significant role of opinion leaders, individuals or organizations, who can actively shape public opinions in the process of agenda-setting.

Besides the question of the agenda-setting power of influential individuals for the public compared to mass media on social media, studies have implied that even the level to which individual opinion leaders could set mass media agendas is rather dynamic over a period of time. Given that the agenda-setting addresses media's influence on audience cognition (McCombs, 2004), such a psychological component proves that it is not not information about the issue that has the effect; it is the fact that the issue has received a certain amount of processing time and attention that brings the effect (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

This distinction is useful in the present study because the analysis is concerned primarily with the media content that constitutes the agenda rather than with measuring the psychological effects of that content on audiences. Wanta and Alkazemi (2017) have identified six key areas of interest in which studies on agenda-setting theory have been carried out by researchers since its inception in 1972. The first one is the original hypothesis, which looks at the cognitive effects of news on consumers. The second is sources of the media agenda, this is commonly concerned with how competing actors in public debate shape the public opinion. The third category, which is referred to as the policy agenda, deals with the effect of news media on policy, and this is followed by the fourth area which is contingent conditions which explains the circumstances that may affect the agenda-setting process. The fifth category displays the affective component of agenda-setting while the sixth and newest category mainly investigates the function of the agenda-setting process on social media and the internet.

Framing Theory

Developed in 1974 by Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman, the core assumption of this theory is that we experience life through frames. Goffman argues that how we perceive reality will depend largely on how we understand the world around us. In this case therefore, frames are used to structure the meaning of a message. It is largely regarded as a metatheory that consists of the entire communicative process, from the sender and the construction of the message to the message itself and its reception by the audience (Muñiz, 2020).

Teigen and Karevold, (2005) postulates that framing comes in two-fold. First, we have equivalency frames which is commonly used in the field of psychology and behavioural study.

Equivalency frames use different words but convey information that is logically corresponding to the actual scenario or situation. The second one is referred to as emphasis frames which is normally studied in communication and political science. Emphasis frames use different words that selectively appeal to select knowledge structures stored in memory such as stereotype and other representations.

Although Teigen and Karevold's (2005) distinction between equivalency and emphasis framing is useful, the two forms are not equally applicable to the analysis of naturally occurring newspaper content. Equivalency framing has its strongest tradition in psychological and behavioural research, where alternative formulations of logically equivalent information can be presented and their effects on interpretation or judgment examined. In print journalism, however, journalists do not normally present the same information in experimentally controlled, logically equivalent alternatives. For this reason, equivalency framing is treated cautiously in the present study and is not assumed to exist simply because journalists use different words, provide different viewpoints or quote different sources.

Equivalency framing is nevertheless retained because newspaper journalism can occasionally communicate substantially the same factual information through alternative but logically equivalent formulations. For example, an outcome could be expressed in terms of success or failure while conveying the same underlying numerical information. In a climate change story, a development could similarly be described using alternative formulations that communicate the same factual condition but potentially invite different interpretations. In this study, therefore, an instance was classified as an equivalency frame only when the alternative formulations referred to substantially the same information or outcome and differed primarily in their presentation. Differences in opinion, political position, source perspective or thematic emphasis were not classified as equivalency framing.

More specifically, emphasis framing occurs in a situation where the media includes certain aspects of information and deliberately omits other information in order to drive a particular agenda (Entman, 1993). This is done with the aim of influencing decision-making process, thus promoting particular ways of interpreting an issue over others (Druckman, 2001). As a result, the emphasized dimensions become more prominent, making it more likely that message consumers will form judgments that align with the frame's emphasis (Sun et al., 2016).

In the context of climate change reporting, Entman's four framing functions provide a useful basis for examining how newspapers construct meaning around the issue. Defining the problem involves identifying what the article presents as the central climate-related problem; diagnosing causes involves identifying the actors, processes or conditions presented as responsible; making moral judgments involves evaluating responsibility, fairness or legitimacy; and suggesting remedies involves presenting particular responses or solutions as appropriate. For COP29 coverage, these functions can be reflected in reporting on climate finance, climate justice, vulnerability and adaptation, mitigation, carbon markets, international responsibility and disagreements between developed and developing countries.

As a message design strategy, framing is an organised presentation of information in a manner that draws attention towards particular aspects of information while at the same time drawing attention away from other aspects (Bullock & Shulman 2021). Accordingly, this study gives analytical priority to emphasis framing because it is better suited to examining how a newspaper selects and gives prominence to particular dimensions of climate change. Equivalency framing is retained as a supplementary category and is identified only where the

content provides clear evidence of logically equivalent information being expressed through alternative formulations. This approach allows the study to acknowledge the distinction identified by Teigen and Karevold (2005) while avoiding the methodological problem of treating every difference in language, viewpoint or emphasis in a newspaper article as an equivalency frame.

Frames do not always exist in isolation. In order to emphasize a point of view or make a story more compelling, frames may be coupled together. Frame coupling is combination of frames within a story (Carey & Mason, 2016). In other works, both emphasis and equivalency frames can be used within the same news article to draw a point. An editor may deliberately choose to emphasize a point with the aim of shaping readers' opinion.

Media Framing and Climate Change

Climate change has remained as one of the most pressing issues in the society. It is a deluge that is affecting the entire world. In most cases, we get to know the devastating effects of climate change through the media. Sadly, we are only able to make judgement based on what we get from the media. There is a need therefore, for collaboration from different stakeholders to work in unison towards a common goal. Media is a powerful tool that can be used to shape the public opinion. This can be achieved by using either equivalency or emphasis frames. These frames have been used in news media for decades to influence the manner in which news is both delivered and interpreted (Ross & Rivers 2019). Examining media coverage on climate change can provide knowledge on the politics of climate change. Traditional concepts of how public domain epitomises or fails to epitomise significant social and political issues to citizens are scrutinized (Gavin, 2009). This comprises of those studying journalism as well as those practicing it. Climate change policy must therefore take this into account in order to comprehend ways of mitigating global warming (Gavin, 2009).

Olausson and Berglez (2014) for instance believe that the escalating consideration attributed to climate issue has contributed to an increase in social scientific interest in climate change, an interest that has successively expanded to include the developing parts of the world as well. This is why the media plays a key role in shaping public debate, opinion and policy agenda. Framing is one of the techniques that the media have often used to set the agenda. Many studies in communication and related fields have demonstrated that the manner in which an issue is framed regardless of its importance can easily affect how the audience will make judgement about that issue (Schuldt & Roh, 2014). The public generally expects journalists to cover information related to climate change through the media. Studies, however, seem to unintentionally ignore the knowledge transfer chain of the journalist (Amu and Agwu, 2012). Paek and Hove (2024) found that risk perception and negative emotions such as despair, anxiety and fear are mediators between exposure to climate change information in the media and the intention to engage in pro-environmental behavior.

Analyzing the interplay between media influence and public opinion reveals a dynamic relationship. The media not only reflects societal views but also contributes to shaping and evolving public attitudes and perceptions over time. The dynamics of changing public opinion are a complex interplay of various factors that influence how individuals perceive and respond to different issues over time. Public opinion is not static; it evolves and adapts to the dynamic social, political, and economic landscape. One key driver of change is the media, which has the power to shape narratives and influence public perception. The

rise of digital media and social platforms has further intensified this influence, enabling information to spread rapidly and reach a global audience (Iqbal, 2023).

METHODOLOGY

The study sampled the Daily Nation newspaper for the study. The selection was made based on circulation, readership, and presence. A survey conducted by the Media Council of Kenya in 2020 indicated that the Newspaper readership stood at 25% of the sampled population. The Daily Nation stood as the most preferred newspaper at 75%. The Standard followed by 43.1%, Taifa Leo had 12.4%, The Star, The Nairobiian and The People Daily had 5.9%, 5.5% and 4.5% respectively (MCK, 2020). The Daily Nation thus was therefore considered the most relevant newspaper for the study.

The study employed a content analysis method to analyse the data sampled from the newspaper. In this case, framing analysis of 36 articles sampled from the Daily Nation newspaper published between 1st October 2024 and December 31st 2024 were considered. This was based on a month prior, during and after the United Nations Conference of Parties on Climate Change (COP29) - held in Baku, Azerbaijan from November 11–22, 2024.

Purposive sampling was used to select the articles. Both equivalency and emphasis frames were employed in the study. Equivalency frame is a technique where news on a particular subject is presented in different ways by adopting a particular slant. It thus offers multiple perspectives on the same issue. An Emphasis frame puts more emphasis on a particular issue by downplaying another. It seeks to set agenda about a particular issue by prioritizing it over others.

FINDINGS

The objective of this study was to determine how the Daily Nation Coverage of climate change was framed. The unit of analysis for this study was individual news articles published between October 1st and December 31st 2024 on climate change. In this case the study purposively identified the articles that specifically addressed the issues related to climate change. The selection criteria focused on frames related to global warming, environmental issues and international cooperation on climate change, climate finance, greenhouse effects, carbon emissions and COP29 proceedings among others. A total of 36 articles were sampled. The data was then coded manually where the identified frames were grouped into six thematic clusters identified as: climate finance and negotiation, equity and justice, vulnerability and adaptation, urgency of climate action, carbon markets and global power dynamics

Climate Finance

One of the key frames (emphasis frame) highlighted in these articles was the climate finance. The debate on climate finance took the center stage during the conference. The Daily Nation somehow ignored scientific terms related to climate change by presenting it as a political issue that could only be solved by honouring the Paris Agreement. Some of the headline sampled were, *“COP29 Wins, Losses and Compromises”*, *“COP29: As world meets to negotiate climate finance, African delegates at conference struggle to afford food”*, *“COP29: African delegates frustrated over stalled negotiations”*, *“Africa urges action on climate finance as draft text sparks debate at COP29”*, *“COP29 failed Africa: Here’s what went wrong with climate financing bid”*, and *“Takeaways from the COP29 climate summit in Azerbaijan”*. Though framed differently, these articles had a common call on developed countries to honour their pledge on climate financing in line with Paris Agreement.

The articles in unison called on developed countries to compensate the developing countries for the loss and damage caused by increased human activities in the west. The writers advocated for an African continent that would speak with one voice in line with climate change, loss and financing. The articles further cited that there was a lack of commitment by the Global North in addressing this issue. As an example, the article highlighted the financial disparity between the developed and developing nations in addressing the issue of climate change citing that it underscored how poor countries bore the brunt of climate impacts despite contributing a small percentage of global emissions. The failed promises on matters of compensation also took a center stage. The frame called on the importance of developed countries in fulfilling their financial obligations towards the poor nations.

The voices of African leaders were also echoed. These leaders presented climate finance and compensation as their main agenda citing that the \$100 billion annual climate finance target set by the Paris Agreement had been largely ignored. The articles sampled consistently presented climate crisis as an issue of justice with emphasis on equitable climate finance. No image of devastating effects of climate change was used alongside the articles. All the images that accompanied the stories were those that were taken during COP29 proceedings.

Equity and Justice

A recurring frame to the articles sampled was a call for climate justice and equity in addressing climate change. Even though these stories were pegged on climate finance, the editorial slant took the facet of equity and justice in addressing climate change. One article called on developed nations to implement equitable access to resources to combat climate change. It framed Africa as the most vulnerable to climate change. Another article critiqued the financial mechanisms that were put in place by the developed nations citing that it favoured the wealthier nations. The paper argued that this in a way could make the responsible nations to evade their responsibilities of admitting their fault on global emissions. As a result of this there was a demand of \$1.3trillion by the year 2030 to address the plight of poor nations. They called on revision of current financial provision for better balance. Some of the headlines read; *“Africa’s \$1.3 trillion climate finance demand unshakable, negotiators say”* and *“Use COP29 to move climate action forward”*.

In an article entitled, “Dummy’s guide to COP29 talks on global warming”, The writer chose to revisit the Rio 1992 Earth Summit, where nations adopted the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This was done with the aim of stabilising greenhouse gas emissions and to prevent dangerous human interference with the planet’s delicate climate system. The author argued that every nation had a role to play in combating climate change, but at the same time cited that not all were equally responsible for the crisis, nor equally equipped to address the change due to inequality. The article puts that burden on Global North, whose industrial histories are entrenched in fossil fuels. These nations carry the heavier burden because of their historical emissions and financial influence. As for the African nations, it’s a call for climate justice.

Vulnerability and Adaptation

On vulnerability and adaptation, the articles framed Africa as a vulnerable continent in terms of climate change. A majority of articles framed Africa as a continent that is affected most by extreme weather conditions that is necessitated by climate change. It echoed the voices of African delegates by calling for an urgent resolution to alleviate growing climate crisis. According to one of the articles, Africa contributes to less than 4% of global greenhouse gas

emissions thus it was vulnerable 96% of global gas emission produced by the west. The article further cited that adaptation, loss and damage have been overlooked in international climate discussion despite it being a major concern for African countries. The frame therefore emphasized that climate adaptation, damage and loss should be given priority in international negotiations. Global emissions remained off-track to vulnerable nations.

Some of the adjectives used in these articles included; intense, disappointing, a joke and a step forward to mention but a few. The adjectives were meant to re-emphasize the feelings of African leaders towards climate crisis. It also described lack of commitment by developed world in honouring their pledges on climate financing.

Urgency of Climate Action

The emphasis frame raised concerns with the manner in which climate finance practices were being implemented. A major concern was that of imposing loans for climate adaptation in Africa. Activists argued that this was unethical as it increased financial burden to countries that were already struggling with loan repayment. The framing asked tough ethical questions on this move calling on transparency on its implementation.

On matters of climate action, five articles stressed on the urgent need for immediate action to mitigate global climate crisis which is worsening day by day. On the flip side, the delegates argued that COP29 negotiations had failed to make a meaningful progress in fighting climate change.

New Collective Quantified Goal (NCQG) on climate finance was cited to have been the centerpiece resonating in every negotiation room. NCQG seeks to mobilize climate finance for developing nations in an effort to mitigate global climate crisis. The frame pointed out that, while negotiations were ongoing, the urgency of climate action called for faster and more conclusive commitments. The articles framed the global climate negotiations as slow and with no clear roadmap citing that climate action must be given priority with practical outcomes that can be implemented immediately instead of relying on future commitments that may never be realized.

Carbon Markets and Trading

One of the most significant achievements of COP29 was the resolution of Article 6 of the Paris Agreement that governs international carbon trading mechanisms. By applying emphasis frame, one of the articles addressed the controversial carbon markets and carbon credit systems citing that they were ineffective in mitigating climate crisis. The justification was that carbon credit provided a leeway for the companies to continue with pollution while contributing minimal resources for environmental repair. The author therefore framed carbon credit market as an impediment to fight against climate crisis. The author amplified the voices of local communities in Kenya who have been in the forefront in pushing for a fair share of carbon revenue.

In the Kenyan context, local communities, particularly those in areas rich in natural resources like forests, have been vocal about the need for a fair distribution of carbon revenues. A case example was Mr. Patrick Katelo, a climate advocate who travelled to Baku, Azerbaijan, in search of Climate justice. The Daily Nation framed Mr. Katelo as a man who was on a mission to seek climate justice on behalf of the pastoralists in Kenya through an organization called, Pastoralists Community Initiative and Development. Katelo's story was well framed as he is

among those who come from the most vulnerable regions in Kenya. These areas are the most impacted by the effects of climate change, such as droughts and flooding.

The Daily Nation further emphasized how these communities have highlighted the disparity between the financial gains from carbon trading, which often flow to multinational corporations and governments, and the lack of direct benefits that reach those on the frontlines of climate change. These communities often see little or no benefits from the efforts they make. Such inequity has sparked calls for reforms by ensuring that the mechanisms governing carbon markets not only hold polluters accountable but also contribute to the sustainable development of vulnerable regions, such as those in the rural areas. By amplifying these voices, the article emphasised on the broader implications of carbon markets and the urgent need for a more equitable approach to climate finance.

Global Power Dynamics

The tug of war between the Global North and the Global South was framed as a major impediment in fighting the global climate crisis. Five articles touched on the power imbalances in international climate negotiation where the Global North held a significant power in influencing decision making. Consequently, COP29 was presented as being a high-stakes meeting where global south nations such as Kenya had to play to the interest of the Global North nations.

Frustrations among African leaders did not go unnoticed. The Nairobi declaration which emerged from the African Climate Summit represented a bold and a united call for action. One key area was on developed nations to honour their financial obligation which was seen as essential for mitigating the vulnerable regions like Africa from the effects of climate change. The leaders further called for a comprehensive response to debt crisis. Africa was further presented as a proactive continent in tackling climate change. For instance the formation of Accelerated Partnership for Renewables in Africa (APRA), Africa Green Industrialisation Initiative (AGII) and Climate Smart Agriculture were presented as major milestones Africa has made towards tackling climate change. The delegates thus stressed on the importance of taking immediate action to address climate change. This frame was designed to push for urgent action to mitigate further damage.

There was also a call on the conveners of the meeting to ensure that the discussions did not devolve into a reclassification of developed versus the developing nations and instead focus on promoting climate resilience through a collective responsibility, common interest and support.

One of the articles revealed that there was a deep division among nations regarding climate finance. The developed countries on their part agreed to contribute \$300 billion for climate finance. Critics, however, argued that this amount was inadequate for effective climate action. The developing nations expressed dissatisfaction, claiming that the proposed financial support could not meet their urgent needs. The Daily Nation in this case framed the story in a manner that could appeal to those affected by climate change making them believe that indeed the amount was not enough to tackle the devastating effects of climate change. In this case, the African continent was framed as victims of climate change.

Discussion and Critique

The way a story is framed makes a big difference in how the readers understand and interpret the story. Both emphasis and equivalency frames were utilized in the articles. Whereas climate change is a global phenomenon, articles on climate finance utilized equivalency frame by portraying developing countries as victims of climate change. The stories omitted the contribution of African countries towards environmental degradation. Little attention was given to increased human activities in Africa such as deforestation and industrialisation. Such activities have also contributed to higher carbon emissions that have contributed to global warming. This frame painted a picture of broken promises and unfulfilled commitments by the developed countries.

Even though the articles provided a detailed report on climate financing, no efforts made to provide answers or solutions to the challenges the country is facing in relation to climate change. Framing in this case influenced how the audience understood or evaluated the story, but with no lasting solution. Paris Agreement was another prominent theme in the publications. A lot was said about the subject matter. The articles, however, failed to highlight nationally determined contributions where countries are expected to submit their national climate action plans. These are actions that countries are expected to take to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. A lot on Paris Agreement as reported by the newspaper revolved around challenges faced in the implementation- citing that a huge capital was required in implementing Paris Accord. The articles reiterated the need for developed countries to take lead in providing financial assistance to poor and vulnerable countries especially in Africa repeatedly reaffirming that African nations were victims of climate change. This frame brought out the notion of injustice and inequality in the fight against climate injustice-portraying African countries as helpless with no initiative in mitigating climate change.

Politics of climate change dominated the stories in terms of who was to be blamed for the devastating effects of climate change. The articles appeared to suggest that most Africa Countries were more focused on climate finance than the climate action plans. Consequently, there should have been a need for the paper to highlight some of the successful initiatives or stories led by African leaders in response to climate change.

It is believed that a picture speaks a thousand words. All the articles sampled did not depict the magnitude of climate change. Images of the participants in the ongoing conference dominated the stories. Using images related to effects of climate change would have added more weight to the story. The articles further omitted the use of scientific terms on climate mitigation strategies. The coverage rather delved in political debates and climate finance instead of presenting a comprehensive plan on climate actions and solutions.

There was also a perceived lack of progress at COP29. African delegates expressed disappointment with lack of progress during the conference regarding the New Collective Qualified Goal on climate finance. This frame re-emphasised the frustrations by developing nations on failure by developed nations in meeting their responsibilities of honouring Paris Agreement. Some of the articles sampled framed climate change as an urgent global crisis that required urgent and drastic action. It further called on technological solutions or policy changes towards the implementation of Paris Agreement.

Conclusion

Climate change is a topic that requires a high level of credibility. Articles on climate change should be neutral and unbiased. This study revealed significant insights into how climate issues were presented to the Kenyan public by the Daily Nation newspaper. The framings of climate change in the articles sampled were heavily focused on climate finance, with emphasis on the political dimensions surrounding it, rather than on solutions for mitigation or adaptation. By the use of equivalency and emphasis frames, the Daily Nation offered a variety of perspectives. The paper largely highlighted the financial disparities between developed and developing nations. All these were done with focus on climate finance commitments. The articles consistently portrayed Africa, as the victims of a climate crisis exacerbated by global inequalities. The focus on the failures of developed nations to fulfill their mandate under the Paris Agreement reinforced the notion of climate injustice, positioning Africa as a region that bore the brunt of climate change despite contributing the least to global emissions. While this frame provided a platform for African leaders and negotiators to voice their concerns, there was a lack of attention to the region's own contributions to environmental degradation or the need for more proactive domestic climate actions.

The Daily Nation's coverage on COP29 therefore succeeded in highlighting the voices of African leaders in calling for climate justice. It, however, fell short of exploring solutions that are beyond financial commitments, such as innovation in renewable energy, carbon trading systems, and local adaptation strategies.

Recommendations

This study came up with the following recommendations:

1. The Daily Nation should incorporate more scientific information in their articles. This will help in demystifying complex issues such as; global climate change, greenhouse gas emissions, global warming and carbon credits. This will make the topic of climate change more meaningful to the society.
2. The paper should in future consider focusing on climate adaptation and mitigation strategies. The coverage should include the discussion on renewable energies, sustainable farming and any other success stories that can help to combat climate change.
3. The Daily Nation and the media in general should continue to advocate for climate justice by calling on the developed nations to honour their obligations under international agreements like the Paris Accord. This should include equitable frameworks for climate financing where the voice of Africa is amplified in the negotiations.
4. The Daily Nation should make a concerted effort to raise public awareness about local climate change impacts and foster community involvement in climate action. This could include coverage of grassroots climate movements and local adaptation projects. This in a way could empower readers to take climate action in their own lives.
5. A similar study should be conducted on the Standard newspaper, by sampling the publication of the same period to find out the paper framed news stories on climate change during COP29.

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