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**THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY**  
**Graduate School of Media and Communications**

**DROUGHT AND FOOD SECURITY IN KENYA: CONTENT  
ANALYSIS OF THE NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS  
2018-2019**

By

**MARK SIMIYU NAMASWA**  
535176

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of  
Arts in Digital Journalism

Nairobi, Kenya

May, 2021  
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APPROVAL PAGE

The Aga Khan University  
Graduate School of Media and Communications

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of  
Arts in Digital Journalism

Members of the Thesis Evaluation Committee appointed to examine the thesis of  
MARK SIMIYU NAMASWA-535176, find it satisfactory and recommended that it  
be accepted.

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Dr. Alex Awiti, PhD.,  
1st Supervisor

---

Dr. George Gathigi, PhD.,  
2nd Supervisor

---

Nancy Booker, PhD.,  
Director, Academic Affairs

---

Member,  
Thesis Evaluation Committee

May, 2021

## DECLARATION

### **DROUGHT AND FOOD SECURITY IN KENYA: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS 2018-2019**

I, **MARK SIMIYU NAMASWA-535176**, declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university and that to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. The editorial assistance provided to me has in no way added to the substance of my thesis, which is the product of my research endeavours.

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Signature

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Date

## DEDICATION

I dedicated this study to my late dad, Martin Makoe Namaswa.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes first to the Aga Khan University – Graduate School of Media and Communications (AKU-GSMC) for the study opportunity they gave me, their support and understanding during the entire journey. Dr. Nancy Booker (the Director-Academics), and my two supervisors, Dr. Alex Awiti and Dr. George Gathigi were very helpful in providing guidance and direction during the entire academic process. I would also like to express my gratefulness to Dr. Sam Kamau, who during odd days occasioned by the covid-19 pandemic would be reachable in drafting letters of recommendation for my other career-related endeavours alongside Henry Kibira who made a number of logistical processes possible. This work would not be possible without the hand and encouragement of Hesbon Owilla and Paul Kimweli who made follow-ups when covid-19 had seemingly stalled everything. I will also not forget the patience of Mr. Augustine Gitonga who provided the much-needed literature used for this work as well as where to source much of the material used in this research. Lastly, I appreciate my colleagues at AKU-GSMC with whom we developed contacts, shared responsibilities and learnt from each other.

## ABSTRACT

The study is motivated by repetitive cycles of drought and food security crises in Kenya where there seems to be no solution in dealing with cyclic but erratic weather patterns. The study focused on examining patterns of coverage and prominence of drought and food security stories in two major Kenyan newspapers, *The Nation* and *The Standard* and if these trends were event driven or influenced by among other factors, politics or alters by humanitarian organizations or the scientific community. This study sought to explore media coverage of drought and food security in Kenya over the entire year 2018 and year 2019. The objectives of this study were: (i) to examine patterns of drought and food security in Kenya, (ii) to identify frames in media reports on food security and drought, and (iii) to explore tone in stories on drought and food security. The study involved analyzing available previous research material on drought and food security and media reports available in Kenya on the subject to provide a literary background on the study topic. The study used both the framing theory and the agenda setting theory to gauge the trends and evaluate how these two newspapers covered drought and food security stories during the study period. The study adopted qualitative research approach. The researcher conducted quantitative content analysis of newspaper copies from two of Kenya's leading print newspapers: *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. The study analyzed copies of the two newspapers, specifically permanent document formats (PDF) copies for purposes of the study. The stories published by the two newspapers were then analyzed and categorized to get better context and assess the trends of publication over two year's period as a way of identifying patterns of coverage, trends of coverage and the tone *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers used in relaying information on drought and food security in Kenya. This study found out that the nature of coverage was sporadic, event-driven and in some cases, stories took a political dimension. The study found that individual newspapers often embarked on setting the agenda on the importance of drought and food security issues by allocating more space to the topic as well as sustained call to action by the relevant authorities. This study concluded that drought and food security stories are generally covered by the two newspapers throughout the year, however, the coverage is usually event driven and concentrates around major events such as deaths of humans and livestock. The researcher recommended for the strengthening of skillsets in newsroom teams tasked with reportage of science and environment-related beats for greater accuracy and underscoring the importance of such information disseminated to Kenyans. The study suggested further investigation on audience research to determine whether Kenyans can be cultured to appreciate scientific media content on a sustained basis as opposed to relaying food and security issues only when major events occur or when linked to politics.



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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>DCX:</b>	Data Collection Extension Services
<b>MCK:</b>	Media Council of Kenya
<b>NMG:</b>	Nation Media Group
<b>RMS:</b>	Royal Media Services
<b>SG:</b>	Standard Group
<b>USAID:</b>	United States Agency of International Development.
<b>UNESCO:</b>	Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNICEF:</b>	United Nations Children’s Education Fund
<b>UNGA:</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>WFP:</b>	World Food Programme

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

Drought and food security issues have been documented in the history of modern-day Kenya for at least 100 years and in that duration, 28 of these droughts have been classified as major—and the intensity notably increasing over time (Murungaru, 2003). Part of the reason for this climatic variability has been attributed to climate change with some experts pointing at the alternating cycles of floods and severe drought in the country between 2004 and 2006 as evidence of climate change-driven droughts. In fact, some humanitarian organizations such as the Kenya Red Cross which often come to the aid of affected populations estimate that over 70% of all disasters in Kenya are linked to climate variability (Kenya Red Cross Society [KRCS], 2012). However, it is important to note that Kenya, as a whole is fairly susceptible to droughts given that at least 80% of its total land mass is classified as arid or semi-arid, which coupled with poverty levels condemns about 3.5 million Kenyans to malnutrition and starvation (Olielo, 2013). Initially, Kenya reported a drought once every decade but starting from the 1980s, this frequency increased to once every five years, which then shortened to once every 2-3 years in the 1990s then almost every year in the 2000s (Huho & Kosonei, 2014). The impact of drought on food security in Kenya has also varied, according to the severity of drought in question and the socio-economic dynamics of the affected region. Though droughts in Kenya have occurred as recently as the year 2019, Huho and Kosonei posit that some of the most detailed documented droughts in the last 100 years' period was between 1999 and 2001 resulting in

deaths of between 60% to 70% of livestock in arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya, crippling food production, and decimating water resources across the country. Oxfam, another aid agency operating in Kenya also opines that drought and food insecurity have become so common in the country that even among pastoralist communities, it is considered normal to experience drought, and unusual to have rainfall (Oxfam, 2006). While agriculture is touted to be the backbone of Kenya's economy, the reliance on rain-fed agriculture also continues to expose the country's food security to the ravages of droughts. According to Huho and Mugalavai (2014), while erratic rainfall patterns in semi-arid areas in Kenya can ordinarily result in between 25% to 75% crop failure, the risk increases to between 75% and total crop failure in arid zones.

Newspapers and other news outlets have been documenting drought and food security crises in Kenya through their networks of reporters and correspondents in their bureaus and independent journalists in Kenya's remote outposts out of whom *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers have some of the widest networks in Kenya. Even though newspapers were once more powerful, and more authoritative means of disseminating information than they are today, they still retain a role in informing the audiences on the happenings around drought and food security in Kenya.

This study was motivated by the need to evaluate the contribution of Kenya's two leading newspapers: *The Nation* and *The Standard* in covering stories on food security and drought in Kenya. The study focused on a two-year period covering the year 2018 and 2019 representing the latest spate of droughts as per the time this study was conducted, with the

researcher focusing on patterns of coverage, frames used in the stories and tone used by the two newspapers.

Nevertheless, the goals of this study focused on creating an understanding of how Kenya's two leading newspapers covered food security and drought within the study period. This chapter outlines the background to the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study research objectives, and also outlines the scope and limitations of this research.

## 1.2 Background to the Study

Kenya frequently experiences drought and food insecurity which the media covers, yet available evidence indicates little media or research attention is drawn to indicators of chronic food shortages for populations (Clover, 2003). Research on geographical distribution of food insecurity in Africa highlighted the difficulty in finding specific information in Sub-Saharan and the Horn of Africa due to uneven spread of indicators of food insecurity such as stunting in children (Hilderink et al., 2012). Pozzi (2013) adds that cardiovascular and metabolic diseases also manifest as a result of malnutrition, a result of famine and food insecurity. However, distinguishing between drought and famine has always been confusing, notes Maixner (2013). Below et al. (2007) define drought as a long term event triggered by lack of precipitation, deficiency in water supply, leading to crippled agricultural productivity, lack of drinking water and eventually famine. Cox (1978) regards famine as the total breakdown of food production or distribution in a region leading to mass starvation and disease. Biellik and Henderson (1981) add that drought can lead to famine



but famine does not always exist in a drought situation if measures like relief food are put in place.

Humanitarian entities such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) state that indicators of chronic food insecurity like anemia among people within the reproductive age bracket are rarely explored in the media (USAID, 2018). Instead, more media attention goes to incidents of starvation and deaths of humans, wildlife and loss of livestock because of the impact and attention it generates among audiences (Carty, 2017).

While some humanitarian and non-governmental organizations issue periodical crisis warnings that go unnoticed, the media picks the stories when a full-scale crisis has taken off, for example, in Kenya the World Vision, a non-governmental organization issued an alert for March-August 2018 on an impending food crisis that would affect 2.55 million people, already on emergency drought classification (World Vision, 2018). However, most media houses picked up the crisis when it was underway starting from January-April 2019, in the latest large-scale occurrence of starvation. However, the media might not be fully to blame for the tendency to report disasters. A 1997 to 2009 research into disaster reporting versus demand for newspapers found a close positive relationship between covering negative stories and increased sales in newspapers (Arango-Kure, Garz, & Rott, 2014). While it might not be the duty of the media to handle the crisis, the media plays a role in informing the masses, stirring public debate and calling relevant authorities to action well in advance and consistently among other roles (Keo, 2011).

Drought and food security remain a global concern and it is estimated that a quarter of the world's population lacks access to adequate food. At least one billion people globally go hungry every year with drought being cited as the number one cause of food insecurity blamed for malnourishment and hunger (Hilderink et al., 2012). Available research indicates that food insecurity is most pronounced in developing countries which includes sub-Saharan Africa. Malnutrition—a result of hunger and drought is also cited as a big contributor to health challenges and the disease burden (De Groote et al., 2005).

This study examines media coverage of drought and food security in Kenya by the two leading Kenyan newspapers; *The Nation* and *The Standard* in the period 2018 and 2019. The year 2019 is when the latest sporadic spates of drought and food security concerns were witnessed and reported across Kenya. The year 2018 is the period preceding 2019 when the drought occurred and will provide a background on whether these two newspapers reported any adverse climatic changes or indicators leading up to the drought.

While Kenya's neighbours: Ethiopia, South Sudan and Somalia, have been classic cases of nations ravaged by drought and famine, Kenya shares similar and overlapping climatic conditions as well as spillover humanitarian crises linked to adverse climate and conflict by virtue of falling in the same geographical location. Periods of drought and famine witnessed in East Africa and the Horn of Africa often lead to humanitarian catastrophes (Maigua, 2014). The local geographical terrain does not make matters any better since much of the land across the Great Horn of Africa is arid and semi-arid. While Kenya is viewed as one of the most advanced economies in East Africa, it is still vulnerable to drought (Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit Africa Region, 2011). The

aim of this study thus, is to examine the quality, consistency, pattern and depth of news coverage of food security and drought in two leading Kenyan newspapers.

Globally, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set in 2015 by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), target to accomplish key aspects of progress. One of these key goals is combating poverty and hunger in the form of inadequate food and nutrition, commonly referred to as food security. Another goal is through ensuring there's access to clean water and sanitation to all of the world's population and global organizations mandated with making these goals attainable such as the United Nations realized that the media will play an integral role in communicating their agenda to the masses. Consequently, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for instance, has developed a media handbook as a guide to journalists to accurately convey information on food security.

Developed nations have attained food security among other improvement goals (Kaguara, 2014) but it remains a challenge for third world nations such as Kenya. Clear communication on approaching drought and food security crises remains a challenge in Kenya. Bodker and Neverla (2016) note that the lack of easily available information on the complex relationship between agricultural production, food and nutrition continues to make populations in developing countries vulnerable in tackling food security emergencies.

Media coverage is important in shaping and assessing the present and future interventions to the food crises by stakeholders in key areas such as climate change, drought, food security and where the impact of these phenomena is felt (Maigua, 2014).

This study focuses on the state of media coverage on food security in Kenya in 2018-2019 where the most prominently covered regions during this time by leading media outlets included: Baringo, Turkana, Tana River, Taita Taveta, Garissa and Kitui counties. While most locals have traditionally survived in environments characterized by extended dry spells and sporadic cross-border cattle raids, (Breene, 2017) notes that it may be assumed that residents of areas like Turkana, Baringo, Garissa, Kitui and Tana River can easily cope with harsh climatic conditions. In many cases, this assumption by authorities including county and national governments promote the tendency of not highlighting a developing food crisis until it reaches critical levels. As a result, the Kenyan government has also noted in some of its reports that famine relief assistance is a common feature in areas such as Machakos, Turkana, Laikipia and Isiolo (Huho & Mugalavai, 2014).

### 1.3 Statement of the Problem

Drought and food insecurity continue plaguing Kenya almost six decades after independence with the affected areas not just limited to arid and semi-arid areas but also extending to previously arable lands. Some sources estimate that from the year 1970 through to 2006, droughts accounted for at least 20% of all-natural disasters to afflict Africa and in the process affecting almost 80% of the continent's population at one time or the other (Huho & Mugalavai, 2014). What follows are food and water crises that degenerate into humanitarian emergencies. The net effect contributes to the larger challenge of communities being caught unawares and unable to adapt to the risks associated with climate variability (Ojwang, Agatsiva, & Charles, 2010).

One argument holds that the media has been part of the food security crises by only calling government to account when food insecurity has reached critical levels, or by dropping the topic altogether before another crisis occurs (Sinoga, 2012). This study, established that news organizations indeed cover food security stories over a more extended period than what Sinoga (2012) calls critical levels. For instance, apart from daily news reportage, newspapers such as Kenya's *The Nation* and *The Standard* selected for this study, also dedicate their time and space on analysis, opinion pieces, features and even entertainment. While these two newspapers could make food scarcity a sustained news coverage item, Tagbo (2010) points to an inconclusive debate on whether the state of coverage of food security and drought was consistently covered or not.

This study therefore, analyses newspaper stories by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers published between January 2018 and December 2019 on drought and food security to identify patterns of coverage, frames of coverage, and the tone used in the stories.

#### 1.4 Research Objectives

The general objective for this study was to analyze and point out patterns of coverage, framing of stories and tone in print media coverage of food security and drought in Kenya.

##### *1.4.1 Specific Objectives*

1. To identify patterns of coverage of food security and drought by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers between 2018-2019.

2. To identify the frames, *The Nation and Standard* newspapers used in the coverage of food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019.
3. To identify tone in which *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers portrayed the food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019.

#### 1.4.2 Research Questions

This research seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What were the patterns of coverage of food security and drought by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers between 2018 and 2019?
2. What frames did the Nation and Standard Newspapers use in the coverage of food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019.
3. what tones did the two newspapers portray the stories on drought and food security in Kenya?

#### 1.5 Justification of the Study

The media continues to come under sharp scrutiny from the previously silent audiences on how it covers important issues such as food security, drought situations, and social justice among others (Quesnel, 2017). While different nations present varying degrees on what interests their local populations; food security and drought remain major issues in developing nations such as Kenya. For over 50 years after independence, stories of food scarcity and drought continue surfacing, mostly in developing nations (Uhe, 2017).

East Africa has also been the focal point in environment and drought studies in the recent past due to its climate variability and impacts of drought and food crisis on local populations (Gebremeskel et al., 2019). While newspapers such as *The Nation* and *The Standard* have covered food insecurity and drought since independence, Franklin (2008), opines that mainstream news organizations are not the only ones with such information. Social media too, is a conveyor of information on drought and food security but newspapers are still looked upon by audiences to provide more credible, accurate and ordered reality since they are still perceived to wield power and credibility (Ball-Rokeach, 1998). Power, in this context (Grossberg et al., 2006), refers to potential impact media has in the decision-making process of the targeted masses. Ball- Rokeach and Loges (1996) define media power as: “The power to control not just access to knowledge construction but also rules that operate in the discourse of the knowledge construction process” (p. 13). In the United States, for instance, research has implicated the media in taking up much time and attention of audiences and shaping their conversations on economic, social and political decisions (Grossberg et al., 2006).

Huho and Mugalavai (2014) assess the impact of drought and food security in the *International Journal of Climate Change* underscoring the importance of the subject matter with an assertion that agriculture supports up to 75% of Kenya’s population-directly or indirectly. Birch (2018), examines food security in Kenya from the economic viability perspective, land size, productivity and average age of local farmers (60 years old) and its impact on Kenya’s future food production. Ocharo et al. (2019) underscore the pillars of food availability, access and utilization in Kenya. However, the above examples, like most studies available assess drought and food security either from the scientific, development

studies or agricultural economics disciplines but rarely from the media studies or communications perspective which this research introduces.

### 1.6 Significance of the Study

In an era where journalism and media content generation are evolving fast, this study will provide a better understanding on how media covers significant issues such as drought and food security from the study period and beyond. With advancement of science, technology and sourcing of scientific data, the audiences are continually seeking accurate and timely information on global issues such as drought and food security. This study gives a look at how the media reports assumed a pattern, framed stories and their tone during the study period. This study also provides a brief account of what transpired in terms of media coverage during the study period and comparative evaluation of media coverage of drought and food security. The findings of the study seek to stir debate on newsroom agenda setting, strengths and weaknesses of the media on reporting of drought and food security related issues over the 2018-2019 period.

The findings from this study provide future scholars with a bias on media evaluation with a background of academic material to help engage in meaningful discourse in, among other issues: the use of frames in media coverage, tone in Kenyan media coverage and coverage of drought and food security in Kenya.

Findings from this study will also shine a spotlight on how media covers drought and food security to enable media trainers gain insights on how to formulate media practice, policies and guidelines on how media can better allocate editorial time and resources on key issues such as food security, distribute human resources on covering important



scientific beats such as climate change, and re-evaluate how they frame such stories to attain the maximum time and resource value for their audiences.

### 1.7 Scope of the Study

This study focused on researching the coverage of drought and food security issues by *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers in Kenya. There are several other popular newspapers in Kenya, but *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers still lead in readership market share according to the Kenya Audience Research Foundation (KARF) survey reports. The two newspapers both have a long publication history in Kenya. The research focused on a publication period for the two newspapers running from January 1, 2018 to December 31, 2019. In January 2019, the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA) announced that nine counties were in the stressed food security phase followed by escalated coverage of one of the most recent spates of food insecurity in Kenya. Drought is a process rather than an event so the year 2018, provides the context through which the study can gauge patterns of coverage of drought and food security. The study was limited to *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper editions within the study period that have articles with these search words: food security, drought, hunger, starvation. Previous studies on agriculture, climate change, drought, food security have variously used these search words (Burke & Lobell, 2010).

The study also examined patterns on how the two newspapers have covered food security and drought for instance, how many articles a month, the trends of escalated or reduced frequency of coverage, and the type of focus of articles in the coverage. The newspaper articles used in this study ranged from news stories, features, editorials and

opinion pieces and are limited to Kenya as an area of study since the two newspapers are local dailies with national coverage. The study was also interested in the way the stories of food security and drought were framed by the two newspapers as well as the tone used by the two newspapers in crafting drought and food security stories.

### 1.8 Limitations of the Study

This study on media coverage of drought and food security is limited to print media in Kenya, specifically the two leading newspapers in Kenya, *The Nation* and *The Standard*. The two newspapers which by virtue of their relatively long history of operation in Kenya, national outlook in readership and reach, as well as the spread of its human resources in terms of correspondents across the country was deemed a good representative choice of print media.

The study period for the research, January 1, 2018 to December 31, 2019, focused on 2019, the year when escalated food crises was widely reported in Kenya. The year 2018 was incorporated to capture elements of signs of drought and food security since droughts are more of processes rather than events and take time before they manifest. For purposes of this study, the two years suffice in highlighting patterns of coverage, tone and framing of food security stories in Kenya's print media with *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers representing Kenya's mainstream print media.

### 1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

**Big Four Agenda:** Kenya's industrialization, food security, healthcare and housing plan.

**Content:** Published or broadcast material available by the media for public consumption. Content refers to journalistic output created for consumption by the audiences. News articles, features, videos and documentaries broadly constitute content.

**Media:** News outlets. These include television outlets, newspapers/magazines publishers, and online platforms.

**Splash:** A lead story or the main story in a newspaper or magazine, often full page (one) and the biggest story on which that specific edition is anchored.

**Spread:** A newspaper package, element, ad or feature that spreads (*bleeds*) across the gutter of facing pages.

**Feature:** An in-depth story about an issue or a subject that interests' readers but is not necessarily related to breaking news. Features are usually longer than breaking news stories and occupy a page or more.

### 1.10 Summary

This chapter outlines the research objectives, the research questions, the scope and limitations of the study as well as the justification and the significance of the study. The chapter also provides a brief introduction to drought and food security coverage in Kenyan newspapers which forms the basis of this study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of available literature on media coverage of drought and food security in Kenya during the study period. Further, the chapter discusses the framing and agenda setting theory as theoretical framework and details how they link to this study.

#### 2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on the Agenda Setting Theory and the Framing Theory to explore how *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers covered drought and food security issues in 2018-2019. These theories aimed at providing a framework for analysis of media coverage by the two papers over the study period.

##### 2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw suggest that the Agenda Setting theory is grounded in trying to explain matters deemed important to members of the public. This theory draws its roots from politics and public affairs especially when media attempts to publish stories on issues such as public utilities, the economy, transparency among other matters deemed important (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Gerhads (1992) argues that it is part of political actors' attempts to legitimize their actions through media. McCombs points at newspapers specifically using cues to highlight the importance of issues such as: length devoted to a story, making a story the lead story or headline - and repeating these cues on

a daily basis to draw public attention on the matter and set the agenda and shape public opinion.

Lipman (1922) posited that the media stands in the gap of the arena of public affairs and how members of the public perceive what happens in this arena. Eilders (1997) says media also play the interpretation and assessment role of facts and opinions they disseminate. The Agenda Setting theory is anchored on the media focusing on a limited number of issues that might be deemed important: drought and food security in this case. McCombs says, another principle on which this theory operates is creating images in the minds of audiences, for instance, in Lipman's view the media, such as through newspapers. McCombs and Shaw tested Lipman's views on whether the media indeed shaped the perception of members of the public concerning what is happening in the public arena (McCombs, 2014).

The Agenda Setting theory and its application in media also operates on the principle of giving cues or signals to the public on the importance of subjects under discussions. For instance, newspapers often place a story on what they perceive to be important, and what audiences to follow suit, as the main headline story (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). For television stations, the first story in the bulletin is made to appear important after which audiences will also perceive it along the same lines. Finally, according to McCombs (2014), this theory also thrives on repetition of significant issues which means the media can draw public attention to an issue by publishing or airing the issue over and over.

McCombs and Shaw used the 1969 US Presidential Election as a pilot test and found out that what the media adopted as their agenda had an influence on what the public felt were important issues - the public agenda. However, according to Pickard (2016), in the same American media landscape, the press has also been exposed by failing to shift public opinion in a certain direction most notably in covering President Donald Trump's election in 2016. Pickard notes that at the time, network and cable television embarked on a skewed campaign against Trump and in supposed favour of Hillary Clinton, focused more on the spectacle around Trump rather than substance. Trump ended up beating Clinton in the general elections, though with more electoral college votes rather than the popular vote.

In the Kenyan context, issues that the media (*The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers) decided were important during this study period (2018-2019) and which the two papers felt Kenyans had to be informed about included drought and food security in Kenya. The period that these two entities chose to consistently run stories on the drought situation happens to be between January and April 2019, a time they felt the drought was at its worst. They thus set the agenda during this period - that of a food security crisis.

Quesnel (2017), says that public awareness among audiences on drought, food and water related matters worldwide is important yet seldom explored issue even among mainstream media practitioners. For instance, in the US media between 2005 and 2015, the State of California witnessed two distinct droughts spells; the latter occurrence was more heavily covered by the media compared to the first yet no major discourse emanated from this observation. Sinoga (2012) also notes, in the Middle East and the rest of the world, the appearance of droughts is slow, usually missed at first, by the media.

In some instances, events and general occurrences turn out to be of significant scale that media outlets will run with the story regardless of whether there will be pressure to publish the stories or not (McCombs, 2014). This is true of happenings such as natural calamities or terror attacks, however, one of the roles the media in many open societies takes up is setting the agenda. This implies that a deliberate effort is made by media organizations to highlight a certain story, idea or event for the purposes of raising its prominence or awareness among the masses.

Shaw and McCombs (1972) state that media exercises agenda setting by placing emphasis on certain issues and influence public opinion on what they want people to think about. In this study, the researcher examined how the media provided an atmosphere and platform through which agenda setting could be exercised on drought and food security coverage in Kenya, for instance, when *The Standard* and *The Nation* consistently ran stories on food security and drought during a specific period. This study sought to critically examine how *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers made a deliberate attempt to make food security and drought a topic worthy of discussion in Kenya. This study looked at how consistently publishing the articles and pictorials, to create a public debate and if the pressure applied by the stories prompted authorities to respond or not. For example, if the two newspapers created a public debate on whether the government was doing enough in cushioning her citizens from starvation or not.

### *2.2.2 Framing Theory*

Framing in media is closely related to agenda setting. However, the two concepts differ in their focal point with Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) observing that while agenda setting

hinges on the general topic, framing directs attention on the issues at hand, for instance events, and situates them within a field of meaning. The Framing Theory was explored as early as 1972 to explain how the media presents an issue to the audiences, which is called a “frame” and how this influences the public then chooses to process the information. Entman (2007) looks at framing through the lenses of a process of culling some elements of perceived realities, then generating a narrative that highlights the connection between these perceived realities with an aim of directing audiences towards a certain interpretation. Valkenburg, Semetko and Vreese (1999) define a media frame as a specific way in which journalists put together a news story to enhance the audiences’ ease of understanding.

In the case of media coverage on drought and food security, framing goes beyond agenda setting that would explore drought as a general topic but place it in say, a scientific, political or economic setting. According to Matthes (2009) framing bears different meaning to different quarters in media content analysis. Frames are sometimes described as principles of selection, emphasis, and representation with theories of what exists, what matters and what happens. A news outlet will therefore approach an issue through certain lenses, and chose to follow that path with an intention of reaching a certain objective - the objective might originate from the reporter, editor, news outlet or even other obscure forces behind the story such as humanitarian organizations, advertisers or even government. Entman (2007), posits that framing in media can sometimes be deployed to perpetuate a form of bias in news coverage, which in turn generates heat and attention among activists and the citizens towards a certain issue. Valkenburg, Semetko and de Vreese (1999) state that framing starts with the media deliberately or subconsciously, selecting a story and



determining which characters or voices to include in a story, how to include them, as well as what type of tone to use in that story.

The media therefore, selects topics, themes, and decides on how to present them but audiences choose to interpret the information through their own frames. According to McQuail (2010) the Framing Theory is based on a common-sense assumption and that news value will be built by one event connecting with another. Entman (2007) on the other hand, regards framing as a process through which aspects of reality are chosen, then importance or emphasis is given to these aspects. In the case of drought and food security, the intention might be setting the agenda, calling government to accountability or leading a call for appeal in terms of humanitarian aid intervention. At the end of the day, framing will have an effect on the audiences through impacts such as: changes in how audiences interpret issues, how they judge pieces of information presented to them and according to Valkenburg, Semetko and de Vreese (1999), how they will remember the information. The onus therefore, remains within the media to set the context or environment (frame) within which to communicate significant issues to the masses for an intended effect or purpose, or call to action (McCombs, 2014).

## 2.3 General and Empirical Literature Review

### 2.3.1 *The Standard Newspapers: A Brief History*

*The Standard* newspaper is the oldest print newspaper in Kenya. It was founded in 1902 by an Indian immigrant Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee who soon thereafter sold it. The first 60 years of its existence were dedicated to the typical white settler in Kenya, informing him of the happenings in Britain and relaying the happenings of colonial Kenya to Britain.

Its history was a development that went in tandem with that of the railway line that cut across Kenya from the coast to the interior of what was previously the British East African Protectorate. The paper publishes in English and has in the over 100 years of existence changed names from the *African Standard*, to the *East African Standard* and back to *The Standard*. According to Kimani (2018), the paper has evolved from serving interests of the Indian community during colonial Kenya, to those of white settlers and after Kenya's independence established a level of editorial independence. However, *The Standard* newspaper currently takes second position in terms of market share. For instance, in February-March 2019, *The Standard* newspaper commanded 25.3% and 26.9% respectively, losing to its main rival in Kenya *The Nation* newspapers (Kenya Audience Research Foundation [KARF], 2019).

### 2.3.2 *The Nation Newspapers: A Brief History*

*The Nation* newspapers started in earnest in March 1960, less than three years to Kenya's independence after publishing since 1958 as a Swahili publication *Taifa Leo* run by Charles Hayes (The Nation, 2021). This period was defined by political turbulence across the world especially in colonies held by major world powers then such as colonial Kenya, then under British rule. The "winds of change" ushered independence across many previously colonial outposts which included Kenya in 1963. By this time, it was under The Nation Media Group now owned by His Highness the Aga Khan. The media organization with its flagship paper, *The Nation* newspaper, quickly established itself as the voice of the Pan African voice of the people. In March 2019, the *Daily Nation*, part of the *Nation* newspapers was ranked the market share leader in Kenya with a readership control of 48%

(KARF, 2019). Overall KARF estimates that in 2019, print newspaper penetration in Kenya stood at 9.5% reach of the total population, estimated at 47 million Kenyans (KNBS, 2019).

### *2.3.3 Local Media Coverage of Drought and Food Security*

On March 19<sup>th</sup> 2019, *The Standard* newspaper ran a pictorial of the drought situation in both Baringo and Turkana counties quoting the Deputy President William Ruto's denial of deaths from starvation in the two regions (Asamba, 2019). On March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2019 in an opinion piece, *The Nation* newspapers put the number of the dead from starvation in Turkana County at ten (Onyango-Obbo, 2019). Onyango-Obbo, the author of *The Nation* article was offering solutions from successful drought mitigation measures in West Africa. In predictable newsroom tradition, journalists descended on the affected regions to write and film features as well paint a bigger picture of the humanitarian crisis that was unfolding. Even by this time, the government, as *The Standard* newspapers reported, denied reports of deaths from drought and starvation (Chepkwony, 2019). A local chief was reportedly summoned by the area's Deputy County Commissioner to be reprimanded for briefing the media on the escalating food crisis in Baringo amidst government denials of the existence of the crisis.

*The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers used opinion and editorial pieces, news articles, pictorials and features to document the unfolding drought and starvation crisis in Kenya. However, shortcomings of the two newspapers could be deduced by this nature of coverage. For instance, while the drought situation alerts had been issued in late 2018 and early 2019, the intensity of the reportage by the two newspapers seemed to peak in March

2019 but this was not the first, and predictably not the last reports of this nature emanating from the two regions (Carty, 2017).

Locally, the unavailability of local scientific data required by journalists in compiling drought and food security as well as climate change related stories has, notably created a dependency on foreign sources of data which raises questions of accurate reportage. A survey by Media Council of Kenya (MCK) on local journalists' reportage of climate change found that 31% of articles published in Kenyan newspapers relied on data obtained from international scientific reports, 23% depended on the meteorological department while 11% relied on scientific journals - meaning Kenyan journalists rely on international rather local data, for local stories (MCK, 2016).

Media coverage of stories on food security, drought and climate change stories, however, depends on who writes the story and what agenda is at stake. Among its findings, the MCK Survey in 2016, noted that majority of stories on climate change and disasters were done by reporters (45%) and correspondents (37%) while sub-editors wrote 11% of the stories and editors wrote the remaining 5%. Now, while correspondents are usually field reporters in far flung areas within close proximity to where the action takes place, they are often under-equipped, underpaid and under-facilitated. This means access to research resources such as the internet for data might not be possible. They also have to bear with tough terrain and long distances to access their news sources. Their close proximity with news sources and local authorities, however, also works against them since negative reportage on matters such as deaths due to starvation might not augur well with local leadership and attract reprisals.

Lack of specialist journalists in newsrooms also creates a challenge when general news reporters are assigned beats on specialist matters such as science, climate change, hunger and drought as well as its intricacies. A 2010 media vulnerabilities survey found that media houses in Kenya that did not have the financial capacity to train and equip their journalists on specialized assignments such as investigative or science journalism almost always ended up with poor quality reportage that is permeated with political influence and other partisan undertones (Oriare, Okello-Orlale, & Ugangu, 2010). Perhaps, attempting to explain another reason for the shortcomings of newsrooms on covering food security, drought and climate relates science stories, Yadav and Rani (2011) found out that majority of senior newsroom managers were arts rather than science graduates. This academic background limited their interpretation of scientific data and proper story execution. However, newsroom decision makers such as editors who also play a part in determining how, what and why stories on food security and drought will run or not and this might introduce the element of partisan interests in the stories. One, Kenyan media house ownership has been criticized for its concentrated and cross-ownership in which its independence is curtailed.

A 2010 survey on media in Kenya found out that media ownership that was almost monopolized resulted in the introduction and concentration of media entities in a few hands - hands which had strong political affiliation that transcended into newsrooms and interfered with editorial policies and decisions. Moreover, the report found that in most cases, these media owners were also motivated by profits rather than exercising social responsibility which was also reflected in the editorial policy and opinion (Oriare et al., 2010).

Kenyan audiences on the other hand are regarded as being fragmented, diverse and enjoy a wide range of media products to choose from but their consumption of radio leads, followed by television and finally newspapers. However, they are known to shift preferences quite fast, forcing the media to play catch up (Oriare, Okello-Orlale, & Ugangu, 2010). Consequently, successive surveys on media trust have shown that Kenyan audiences trust the media more than they would trust government including a 2007 survey by the Strategic PR and Research Limited showing that levels of this trust could rise above 80 percent. While this might be true, available studies have shown that in many cases of covering drought and food security stories, the media resort to disaster or crisis journalism where they paint the situation as serious or dire and gather more attention. One explanation for this phenomena is that in a crisis scenario, people generally take in information, process it and react differently from the way they would do in a normal setting. Journalists too, have the tendency of exaggerating facts and figures, and while media communication is not supposed to serve as mass therapy, accuracy remains a tenet of responsibility for the media towards their audiences (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2019).

A corelation between drought and food insecurity, civil strife and violence has been observed and documented globally and in East Africa by both the media and academia. Omolo (2019) notes that dry lands where close to 4 million Kenyans live constitute about 80% of Kenya's total land mass where most people are pastoralists. Omolo further noted that inter-ethnic conflicts occur in these areas over grazing and water resources and sometimes spill over to bordering countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, and South Sudan. The media, however, has been consistent in pointing out that even after 50 years of independence, Kenya has not attained food security especially in arid and semi-arid

regions, referred to as Arid and Semi-arid Lands (ASALs). The media too, has traditionally known that food security issues prick the conscience of policy makers and draw the attention of their audiences. However, in many cases, coverage of food security issues is event-driven, meaning it revolves around the occurrence of major events such as the onset of ravaging drought situation or deaths. Brief History of Drought and Food Security

Reports by humanitarian organizations continue dominating the overall trove of information on the drought situation in Kenya (WFP, 2016). In April 2017, Oxfam, a British NGO estimated that about 13 million people in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia were on the brink of starvation and needed urgent humanitarian intervention (Carty, 2017).

A 2014 report explored the relationship between donor aid and the political establishment in which the donor and the recipient bargain over existing resources (Briggs, 2014). Another report on the politics of hunger and food relief in Northern Kenya explores the belief that food aid has not attained its goal of mitigating effects of food insecurity and drought in the affected ASAL regions where the aid is usually directed to (Lind, 2005). However, the same report admits that food aid distribution does not have a sustainable long term impact on the recipient areas hence recommending for food aid to come accompanied with a level of economic support mechanism for the affected areas.

The World Food Summit of 1996 defined food security as a situation in which all people, at all times have economic and physical access to food that is sufficient, safe and nutritious to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for a healthy and active life (Maigua, 2014). The East African Community Treaty of 1999 lists the attainment of food security among member states and cooperation in the agricultural sector as key among its

objectives. UNESCO on the other hand defines food security based on four yardsticks: physical availability of food, economic and physical access to food, food utilization and the stability of these factors over time (Keo, 2011). Another research by Wakibi, Gichuhi and Wanjiku (2015) found that Kenya, though the largest economy in the bloc is seemingly yet to attain food security for all its citizens.

In the current Kenyan context, the government has highlighted food security among its “Agenda”: Food Security, Affordable Housing, Industrialization and Affordable Healthcare (Parliamentary Service Commission [PSC], 2018). However, it keeps cropping up as a recurrent challenge, seemingly insurmountable. In the case of Baringo and Turkana counties, a multiplicity of factors have contributed to their situation as an almost dust bowl of the republic (Kaguara, 2014). Climate change is among the issues cited for the cyclic state of drought, hunger, underdevelopment and inter-ethnic conflict amongst pastoral communities in Kenya. For instance, Carty (2017) observes that food insecurity continues to escalate across pastoral areas in East Africa owing to a change in climatic conditions, population increase and chronic marginalization of these areas.

During the 1992 Rio Earth Summit in Brazil, experts pointed out that one of the greatest challenges in achieving sustainable development was desertification and climate change (Keo, 2011). In Kenya, parts of Baringo, Garissa, Kitui, Tana River and Turkana counties fall within the ASAL and brings them into the picture. For instance, the Turkana County SMART Survey report of January 2018 established that nearly 60 percent of the total population of Turkana County is considered pastoral with another 20 percent agro-



pastoral and the remaining 20 percent either fisher folk or engaged in urban or peri-urban formal or informal employment (Sirma, 2013).

Regionally, Kenyan media stays ahead in freer articulation of food security and the refugee crisis in East Africa and the Horn of Africa (Vemuru, Rahul, & Gengo, 2016). Kenyan media has also had a past history of success in drawing the attention of the world to food humanitarian crises in neighbouring countries such as Ethiopia, South Sudan and Somalia (Uhe, 2017), with the country also sending relief aid and hosting refugees from her affected neighbours. However, this does not mean Kenya has been immune to these same calamities since large areas of Kenya are classified as ASAL (Kaguara, 2014). These regions present a characteristic susceptibility to frequent droughts and food scarcity between January-April, considered the driest period of the year for most areas in East Africa. It also marks the interval between harvest and planting period. ASAL communities are most vulnerable to ravages of droughts during this time (Maigua, 2014). These areas include North Eastern Kenya, parts of Eastern Kenya, Northern Kenya among others. Print media, including *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, regularly document the food situation in these areas.

However, according to Opiyo, Wasonga, Nyangito, and Schilling (2015), most people have traditionally survived in this harsh environment characterized by extended dry spells and sporadic raids for cattle that sometimes escalate to cross-border conflicts. This might partially account for why *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers appear to have concentrated coverage between January and April 2019. On the other hand, NGOs and humanitarian organization such as UNICEF had issued reports of the escalating food

insecurity from as early as 2017-2018. UNICEF, for instance, noted that drought conditions on Kenya were expected to persist well into 2018, leaving 3.4 million people food insecure and an estimated 500,000 without access to water (UNICEF, 2017). At the time of this study, both Turkana and Baringo had again featured in appeal for humanitarian assistance in the period starting from late 2018, and most notably, January to March, 2019.

However, an almost perennially predictable cycle of food insecurity persists in Kenya while the country has been at the forefront rallying its citizens and neighbouring countries to take an active role towards attaining Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Despite these efforts, available literature on Kenya presents a picture of repeated spells of drought, persistent numbers of hungry citizens, rising food prices and increasing costs of farming that frustrate efforts of individual farmers to sufficiently provide for themselves and the food market (Maigua, 2014).

#### *2.3.4 Patterns of Coverage of Drought and Food Security*

The first objective of this study sought to examine the patterns of coverage of drought and food security stories. Patterns in this context are measurable in terms of how often within a timespan the two Kenyan newspapers covered drought and food security issues within the study period. For instance, this study focused on the number of stories published along time durations such as weeks, days of the week, dates, months and even the two-year study period.

#### 2.3.4.1 Disaster-driven Patterns of Coverage

In many cases, Schafer (2015) observes, media coverage around occurrences of disasters such as droughts and famine seems to escalate but this pattern of coverage is also true in the Kenyan context. Debate on media coverage of drought and food security stories in Kenya has also led to a point of view that the real challenge in media coverage of drought and food security possibly lies in regarding drought as an event rather than a process (WFP, 2016). The MCK also in 2016, found out that Kenyan media framed their climate change related stories differently depending on the platform used. Televisions for example used the “consequence” frame to sell their stories, 58% of newspapers (print) used the “responsibility” frame while 54% of radio stations also used the “consequences” frame. This implies that such stories present an aftermath approach where a crisis has happened or is already underway and suggests that Kenyan media often highlights drought and food security stories when the damage has already taken place.

#### 2.3.4.2 Event-driven Patterns of Coverage

This refers to the tendency by news organizations escalating coverage of food security issues around events such as launches of major projects and summits ( Kaguara, 2014). For instance in matters food security and drought, the coverage might significantly increase across media outlets close to or after a World Food Summit event or in the case of Kenya, the launch of, for instance, the Galana Kulalu Irrigation Project. A study in the United States also found out as early as 1990, that media coverage on environment-related matters such as drought witnessed an increase around major events such as global conferences. At the time, the world was marking the Earth Day which reportedly drew 200

million people in 140 nations across the world to the streets to agitate for more stringent approaches to save the planet from degradation (Marukatat, 1991). This same study also captured Kenya's *Weekly Review* noting that even at the time, the African publication devoted almost as much space to environment related to stories as an American publication, the *Time* magazine, at 4.5 percent of its total space.

### *2.3.5 Frames in Media Coverage*

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), in observing television news stories on European Presidents' meeting in Amsterdam in 1997 documented five main frame types used in media coverage: responsibility frame, human interest frame, conflict frame, morality and the economic consequences frame. Semetko and Valkenburg also noted that the responsibility frame was the most commonly used during the coverage with the reason cited being that those in power wield authority over public institutions that have economic and human resources at their disposal to enable them make the changes the citizenry demanded of them. However, other studies have been able to identify more than five media frames including: economic frames, morality frames, situational frames, attributes frames, choices frames and actions frames (Hallahan, 1999).

D'Angelo (2017) explains a media frame from the perspective of a spoken, written, graphical or visual message through which a communicator contextualizes issues, topics, ideas or persons within a text to receivers by means of mediation. Mediation in D'Angelo's terms implies production and distribution of information through means such as print, film, or the internet such that it can reach its target - the audience. Framing in media and communication is a perspective through which an issue has been portrayed but other studies

also suggest that frames are also crafted by the message creators with an aim of limiting the interpretation of the audiences to what they intended to achieve. In other words, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) state: “some frames represent alternative valencing of information, that is, putting information in negative or positive light, or valence framing” (p. 207).

Valkenburg, Semetko and Vreese (1999) say economic frames delve into the cost-benefit analysis or financial implications of an issue to a nation, a society or a people. In the case of food security and drought coverage in Kenyan media, this frame explores, for instance, losses a community has suffered as a result of a drought situation. According to Boydston, Gross, Resnik, and Smith (2013), political frames manifest in a news story with the mention of political actors, evidence of taking sides politically for instance government versus opposition or political statements around a key issue or lobbying.

This study observed the role Kenyan political actors play on tackling food security and drought issues, the number of stories published within a certain period and frequency of the stories depending on the involvement of politics and political actors. For instance, in the 2013/2014 fiscal year, Kenya set aside 2 billion shillings for the Agri-business Fund and another 3.6 billion shillings for the Galana Kulalu -one Million Acre Irrigation Project in Tana River County (Maigua, 2014). The media has criticized this project as white elephant project with government expected to take responsibility hence the responsibility frame. Hazard and Adongo (2015) also note that other government interventions in ASAL areas continue to elicit debate such as creation of protected areas for tourism and biodiversity versus pastoralism, environmental management, land ownership and control.

Valkenburg, Semetko and Vreese (1999) look at a human-interest frame as that which seeks to personalize a story to bring out issues that draw out emotional aspects of the audience through a problem or event. The human-interest frame in media coverage manifests in many cases, in the form of stories that appeal to emotions. For example, in late 2018 news, Baringo and Turkana, painted a picture of populations on the brink of starvation and by January 2019, water shortages, livestock deaths and human casualties. In March 2019, *The Standard* newspaper reported four deaths in Tiaty, Baringo County and on March 17, year, *The Nation* newspapers reported of hundreds of livestock deaths in Baringo and Turkana counties, and of a population surviving on wild fruits (Nation Team, 2019).

#### *2.3.6 Tone and Media Coverage*

News stories are usually crafted and presented in a certain manner or tone of voice and this might be a neutral voice, a positive voice or a negative voice (Sheafer, 2007). For instance, in matters such as drought security and food security, the voice through which the story is told can come as a message of hope (positive tone), criticism and hopelessness (negative tone) or call to action and offering solutions (neutral tone). Other studies have also shown that when media outlets convey information using what can be classified as negative tone, the information tends to capture greater attention among audiences (Schoenbach & Semetko, 1992); in other words, bad news sells more than good news. Dunaway (2013) point at the ownership influence on tone in news articles arguing that: “...news outlet ownership and economic motivations, combined with political context, influence the likelihood of positive, neutral, or negative tone in news” (p. 25). However,

Rosenson (2015) argues that even though the tone of newspaper coverage on a subject matter is largely set by the political or economic leanings of owners, for instance, Democrats versus Republicans in the United States, journalists generally strive to practice objectivity as this is a core principle of journalistic norms.

Studies also point to a trend in which the tone in coverage of long-term occurrences such as drought changes over time, in relation to the first time the event is documented, for example, when a drought first kills people, stories are told through human eyes and emotional content (Sreedharan, Thorsen, & Sharma, 2019). However, according to Gortner and Pennebaker (2003), the tone soon becomes more analytical, critical and intellectual as the days progress owing to the entry of critics and experts whom the media turn to for solutions and diverse opinion away from authorities such as government. Kepplinger, Donsbach, and Brosius (1989) also points at the importance of tone in media coverage, often applied in political analysis and the ramifications of negative tone on those in elective authority. Boydston, Highton, and Linn (2018), for instance, studied the impacts of distortions in extra-economic media coverage on political incumbents and candidates in the United States - finding that the distortions, negative or positive, could lead to voters rewarding or punishing candidates depending on the perceptions that are created [through tone] in the media articles.

## 2.4 Summary

This Chapter looked at the background of the respective newspaper entities used in the study and the theoretical framework used in analyzing the newspaper content used in

the study. The chapter also examined available literature on drought and food security, the patterns of coverage, frames used in the stories by the two newspapers as well as the tone.



## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, sampling technique, methodology and analysis procedures that were used in finding out how *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers covered food security and drought between 2018 and 2019. It highlights how data collection was done, the population, and the sample size that was used. Further, it includes ethical considerations put in place in the course of this study.

#### 3.2 Research Approach and Research Design

The study used the quantitative research approach since it allows for the exploration of numerical media content phenomena such as consistency and framing of stories, investigation and exploration of tone in coverage, as well as investigation of patterns of coverage and how all these relate to each other (Creswell, 2008).

This study used a descriptive research design to investigate how Kenya's two leading newspapers covered food security and drought stories within the study period (2018-2019) with the overarching objectives of identifying patterns, frames, and tone in their reportage.

#### 3.3 Population

The study sought to generalize the findings to newspapers in Kenya and the target population for the study was the two leading newspapers in Kenya: *The Nation* and *The*

*Standard Newspapers*. The time period was between January 1, 2018 and December 31, 2019. The years 2018 and 2019 were chosen because within these two years Kenya witnessed escalated coverage of drought and food security in the media, with Obretch (2019) noting that droughts are often preceded by several seasons of failed rainfall.

In the study, the population comprised of newspaper copies published by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers within the 2018-2019 study period starting from January 1, 2018 to December 31, 2019. It is from these newspaper copies that the research obtained data from newspaper articles needed for this study. The study therefore used the five search terms to retrieve all the articles in digital format from the digital libraries (vaults) of both *The Nation* and *The Standard Newspapers*. A total of 3,125 stories were retrieved (*The Standard*: 1,499, *The Nation*: 1,635). Out of these 235 stories had nothing to do with food security and drought even though they had at least one of the search terms. For instance, there were stories on sports events that used the term drought within the context of goals and winning. Through purposive sampling, the study eliminated all such stories and stories in inserts and pull outs and eventually had a total of 1,523 stories.

The study observed that special pullouts focused on agriculture and business such as *Seeds of Gold* (*The Nation*) and *Smart Harvest* (*The Standard*) would give a disproportionately high number of drought and food security articles that would render the study cumbersome but less accurate. Again, some sports stories routinely came up with one of the search words: drought, in reference to absence of goals or trophies for a team. The elimination of pullouts, magazines and inserts resulted in the elimination of some

1,190 stories. The study was left with 1,523 stories which were then subjected to further purposive sampling.

### 3.4 Target Population

The target population for this study were newspaper articles from *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers with stories on drought and food security within the study period (2018-2019). From the 1,523 newspaper stories in PDF format the researcher skimmed through to determine which were published as part of the daily newspaper editions and which were published as part of magazines and pull-outs. The elimination of pullouts, magazines and inserts resulted in some 1,190 newspaper stories being left out. The study then remained with a total of 333 newspaper stories published.

### 3.5 Study Site

The location of the study was in Nairobi, Kenya. The headquarters of the respective study subjects (*The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers) is in Nairobi and made it possible to access the electronic databases and libraries of the two newspapers. All the past and current editions of the two newspapers are available in Nairobi within their libraries, *The Nation* at Nairobi's Central Business District and *The Standard* at their Mombasa Road offices.

### 3.6 Sample Size

Sample size is defined as the number of subjects selected from a research target population and is expected to be representative of the whole target population. While Mugenda and Mugenda (2013) posit that between 10 and 50 percent of the target

population provides an adequate sample size for analysis, Wimmer and Joseph (1997) state that the sample size is also dependent on factors such as complexity of the study, available time and error margin the project can tolerate. This study ended up with a sample of 333 articles or 21.8 percent of the target population which falls within Mugenda's range as a suitable sample size for this study out of which 154 articles were from digital copies of *The Standard* and 179 of *The Nation* newspapers.

### 3.7 Sampling Procedures

The newspaper articles used for analysis in this study were retrieved through the five key search words and were read, and emergent meanings coded based on the analysis criteria and tabulated in form of numbers. Five key words were used in locating and retrieving stories for this study and they are: food security, hunger, starvation, drought and famine. These key words also feature in among others: a study on food commodity speculation, hunger, and the global food crisis (Chadwick, 2015); the effects of food aid on food security in Kenya (Kaguara, 2014); a study on drought, food security and malnutrition in India (Arlappa & Kokku, 2015); and the food security score for Kenya (Wakibi, Gichuhi & Kabira, n.d). From the 1,523 newspaper articles in portable document format (PDF) the researcher skimmed through to determine which were published as part of the daily newspaper editions and which were published as part of magazines and pull-outs.

### 3.8 Research Method

This study used quantitative content analysis research method to investigate the coverage of drought and food security in *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in the

2018-2019 period in Kenya. Content analysis was not be limited to quantitative data and according to Ibrahim (2015), the assertion is that all content analysis is qualitative in nature meaning that even though quantitative data might be used in the end in form of number, it first has to be read in the text of which texts are primarily qualitative in nature.

The study used an analysis criterion and a coding sheet (*see Appendix B*) to collect data from *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers. They outline parameters along which the study classifies phenomenon under observation in the study for appropriate categorization. Essentially the researcher used directed content analysis technique, which Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2008) say entails coming up with an analysis criterion after which the text from the newspapers is read and categorized based on the set categories.

The study sought to generalize the findings to newspapers in Kenya and the target population for the study were the two leading newspapers in Kenya: *The Nation* and *The Standard Newspapers* and the time period was between January 1, 2018 and December 31, 2019. The years 2018 and 2019 were chosen because within these two years Kenya witnessed escalated coverage of drought and food security in the media. Obretch (2019) notes that droughts are often preceded by several seasons of failed rainfall.

The study therefore used the five search terms (food security, hunger, starvation, drought and famine – developed from an initial keyword list compared with similar researches for context) to retrieve all the articles in digital format from the digital libraries (vaults) of both *The Nation* and *The Standard Newspapers*. A total of 3,125 newspaper articles were retrieved (*The Standard: 1,499, The Nation: 1,626*. Out of these articles 235 had nothing to do with food security and drought even though they had at least one of the

search terms. For instance, there were stories on sports events that used the term drought within the context of goals and winning. The researcher eliminated all such newspaper articles in inserts and pull outs and eventually had a total of 1,523 published newspaper stories.

The researcher observed that special pullouts focused on agriculture and business such as Seeds of Gold (*The Nation*) and Smart Harvest (*The Standard*) would give a disproportionately high number of drought and food security articles and render the study cumbersome. The elimination of pullouts, magazines and inserts resulted in some 1,190 articles being left out. The study then remained with a total of 333 newspaper articles (*The Standard*:154 stories, *The Nation*: 179 stories) published by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers that fitted the five search words and whose date of publication was between January 1<sup>st</sup> 2018 and December 31<sup>st</sup> 2019. After this clean up, the total number of articles on food security and drought in this two-year period in these two newspapers was 333. It is from this target population that the research derived the sample used in the study.

It is important to note that PDF copies of newspaper articles stored by both *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers are an exact copy of their eventual printouts in newspapers. The PDF copies bear all the bibliographical features such as page number, number of words per article, same article space to page ratio, colour and accompanying features such as pictures or graphics found in print newspaper copies. In fact, newspaper publishers send PDF copies to the printing plates for the final printing of newspapers.

### 3.9 Data Generation / Collection Tools

The study used the content analysis code sheet and coding instructions to obtain

information on food security and drought as covered by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers over the 2018-2019 study period. This study focused on the nature of variables of coverage per individual story as explained in the analysis criteria (*see Appendix A*). These eleven variables are: the brand (*The Nation* or *The Standard*), the date of publication, the day of the week of publication, type of focus, space allocated and placement, type of article, title of the story, driver of coverage (determined by comparing with events of the day such as politics or calamity), graphics/pictorial, frame used and tone used.

The brand or specified newspaper that published the analyzed article was coded as: *The Nation* (001) while *The Standard* (002). The dates indicate when (Day/date/month/years) the newspaper and the articles were published. On the other hand, the story title was simplified to reflect the main subject matter of the story published. Story treatment in this research focused on the most common classification of stories used by newspapers, for instance, are they commentaries (opinion pieces or editorials), are they general news articles, features, graphics or pictorials. In this study, general news stories were coded as 001, features 002, graphics/pictorials as 003, and commentaries (opinion and editorials) as 004.

Determining the number of drought and food security stories published per newspaper edition entailed physically counting the stories and indicating when and where they were published. Taking note of the day of the week and date of publication was important as it helped determine how the newspapers prioritized the subject matter in relation to their anticipated readership or audience attention. For instance, audiences will be more receptive to hard news or brief during earlier days of the week but have more time

and patience for long reads such as features on Fridays or over the weekend but this is subject to each publication's audience research data (Akwabi, 2013).

This study was also alive to the fact that publications routinely exercise agenda setting by ascribing prominence to subject matters they deem importance such as food security and drought depending on happenings of the day, the news of the day. This study also focused on important variables such as placement of stories in the newspaper, complementing the story with graphics or illustrations among others. The three main focus levels: high (coded 001), medium (coded 002) and low focus (coded 003) were used (see analysis criteria in appendix A). High focus stories were: (i) located on the front or back page (ii) devoted more than 20 lines to drought or food security issues (iii) were published with a title bearing any of the five search words and (iv) were published with a graphic or illustration on drought or food security. Medium focus stories (coded as 002) on the other hand had: (i) graphics/illustrations that convey drought and food security messages linked with another issue, (ii) have a graphic with a drought and food security related issue (iii) a drought and food security story 10-20 lines long and (iv) a section of an integrated story that devoted 20 lines.

Low Focus stories (coded as 003) had stories that have: (i) a mention of drought and food security, (ii) part of a story related to food security and drought and (iii) story but no graphic. In many cases, food security and drought stories in Africa mostly get coverage in the wake of natural calamities like famine (Aishwarya, 2015). In other instances, these stories are catapulted to national attention by prominent actors such as government officials and humanitarian organizations responding to natural calamity-driven emergencies.



Disaster-driven stories in this study were those anchored on events such as famine, drought, starvation or deaths of livestock and human beings and were coded (001), event driven stories were those anchored around conferences or launches of major government projects and were coded as (002) while stories that were neither event driven or disaster driven were coded as (003).

Stories on food security and drought in Kenya commonly came from reporters or correspondents working for the newspapers in the regional outposts (coded as 001) but in some cases, the stories were sourced from wire agencies such as Reuters, AFP or Bloomberg (coded as 002). Published articles on food security and drought might also come from internal sources such as editorial pieces that convey a publication's stand on the issue (coded as 003), opinion pieces from experts or readers (coded as 004) or come from other sources apart from those listed above, which in this case were coded as 005.

*The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers routinely decide that a story is best told through a series of pictures (coded as 001), or use detailed graph (coded as 002), use illustrations (coded as 003), cartoons (004), side bar list (005) or pie charts (coded in this study as 006).

This study also focused on analyzing the tone used in newspaper articles which involved individual assessment of published articles. An optimistic tone was ascribed to a story that conveyed hope on solutions and innovations found to address problems associated with food security and drought was coded as 001. In stories that painted a bleak or negative state of affairs concerning food security and drought, a pessimistic tone was assigned (coded as 002). Neutral tone (coded as 003) was used for stories that presented

issues on food security and drought as neither optimistic or pessimistic in nature. Stories that called for action were classified as advocacy tone (coded as 004).

### 3.10 Data Collection Procedures

The Standard Group and The Nation Media Group libraries provided the bulk of material needed for this research which were digital copies of newspapers whose publication time period was limited to between January 1<sup>st</sup> 2018 to December 31<sup>st</sup> 2019. This study focused on articles from *The Nation* and *The Standard newspapers* that directly related to food security and drought in Kenya. The key word searches for articles on this topic in *The Standard*, used five search words: Food security, drought, hunger, famine and starvation in *The Standard* newspaper's electronic library storage system known as DCX. On the other hand, *The Nation* newspaper, used the same search words (food security, drought, hunger, starvation), to access articles needed for this study in the electronic storage system known as Digital Technology International solution (DTI).

This study then narrowed down to newspapers that contained relevant articles on food security and drought. The study eliminated pull-out magazines, sponsored content, inserts and other related material that would have resulted in disproportionately high numbers of stories not necessarily useful in determining patterns of coverage, tone, and frames.

### 3.11 Pre – testing of Data Generation / Collection Tools

Two coders coded 10% of the articles for comparative purposes before the actual coding procedure of the articles or stories was done. This was a means of establishing how

reliable the results of the content analysis code sheet were by observing the variation in results obtained by the two coders. To create a reliable code sheet, the results from the two coders were supposed to be identical or the variation in results very minimal. The two coders also generated data such as classifying newspaper articles using the coding instructions independently to determine their nature, how they have been framed and tone. The results were then compared and variations used to refine the coding instructions as a means of preventing carrying forward these inaccuracies to the final data for analysis.

### 3.12 Validity and Reliability of Research Tools

The first coder focused on the nature of articles in the two newspapers and enumerated how many they were, then the second coder also went through the same process as a means of establishing how accurate and reliable the code sheet was. Their results were compared before actual coding proceeded. As a means of ensuring reliability of the two data generation tools, the same process was repeated using the coding instructions with confirmatory testing used to ensure the same results were obtained.

The coding instructions and the code sheet were pretested by being administered to sample newspaper articles and used to establish if they enabled the research to answer the research questions and if therefore, the research objectives were attained.

Additionally, in order to obtain valid and reliable results for this study, this study only used articles published by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, print sources that enjoy credibility and large readership across Kenya. The results of the study drawn from these newspapers are therefore reliable and consistent and meet the threshold of validity and reliability.

### 3.13 Data Analysis and Presentation Plan

The retrieved newspaper articles were analysed according to the developed analysis criteria (*see appendix A*) with the data obtained used to specifically answer the research questions. The articles were first analyzed by categorization of articles into units or variables with similar characteristics such as the newspaper identity (*The Standard* and *The Nation*), the date, and day of publication, the nature or type of article (whether a: feature, pictorial, opinion piece, news article, or editorial), and how it was framed along political, human interest or economic lines. These variables also outline the prevailing tone portrayed in the stories whether they conveyed a message of hope, despair or criticism.

The researcher then evaluated the articles or stories with the aid of the coding sheet as well as the analysis criteria convert obtained data, now qualitative in nature into quantifiable terms. The resultant data coded in tabular format in Excel sheets was then used to track trends such as patterns and frequency of publication of drought and food security stories by the two newspapers over a period of time, how many articles they were, which type of articles dominated newspaper pages and what information can be inferred from these trends in the form of graphs or charts. In this study, the pattern for *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers showed sporadic reportage in 2018 but 2019 showed escalated coverage with increasing number of stories from February 2019 to May before reducing.

After analysis of the collected data, the researcher presented the results of the analyzed data in form of graphs with brief explanations to give meaning and interpretation of the findings. It is key to note that the results from the analysis of data were presented

and interpreted according to the research objectives, research questions as well as in line with the theories explored in this study.

### 3.14 Ethical Considerations

The researcher first sought and obtained authorization from the Ethics and Review Committee of the Aga Khan University - Graduate School of Communications (AKU-GSMC). Then, the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) provided a research license before embarking on data collection.

One of the principal ethical challenges regards approaching the study was approaching it with pre-conceived notions, for instance, tackling the issue of media coverage from a point of information that you know exactly what *The Nation* or *The Standard* newspaper's approach on the drought and food security in Baringo and Turkana counties has been. The other ethical issues revolve around individual newspapers, their ownership and how they approach issues. It is well documented in Kenya that media houses and newspapers are owned or controlled by political entities even though this is never discussed in the open.

### 3.15 Summary

This chapter outlined the methods of data collection used in the study. This study used a descriptive approach to find out how Kenya's two leading newspapers covered food security and drought stories. It also outlines ethical issues this study had to overcome.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the study findings. It commences by first outlining the procedure of presenting and interpreting the research findings and the response rate of the content analysed (*The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*) newspapers. Further, in a summary form it discusses the key findings of the study.

#### 4.2 Analysis, Presentation and Interpretation

The researcher sought to investigate the print media coverage (*The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*) on drought and food security in Kenya in the period 2018 -2019. The study was anchored within three specific objectives: -

1. To identify patterns of coverage of food security and drought by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers between 2018-2019.
2. To identify the frames, *The Nation* and *Standard* newspapers used in the coverage of food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019.
3. To identify tone in which *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers portrayed the food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019.

The study findings were therefore presented and interpreted in line with the study objectives.

#### 4.2.1 Response Rate and Demographic Results

The target population for this study was newspaper articles from the two major newspapers in Kenya, *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers with a focus on stories on drought and food security. Since this study did not involve human participants, the response rate was derived from the number of published articles the study set out to obtain, and the final sample used. From the initial 1,523 newspaper stories obtained in PDF format the researcher targeted between 10 and 50 percent of this number to achieve acceptable representation and sample size. Further elimination of stories or published articles deemed not suitable resulted in some 1,190 newspaper stories being left out. The study then, remained with a total of 333 newspaper stories published or 21.8 percent. Since the minimum number of published articles needed was 10 percent of the total 1,523 or 152.3 articles, at 21.8 percent the response rate exceeded the minimum number of articles required for the study.

#### 4.2.2 Quantitative Content Analysis Findings

##### 4.2.2.1 Research Objective One

The study objective one sought to identify patterns of coverage of food security and drought by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers between 2018-2019. On the frequency of drought and food security stories in newspapers; the findings of the study showed that the most pronounced incidence of drought in Kenya based on intensity of media coverage was during the January 2019 to April 2019 period. The study found that starting from January 2018 both newspapers published less than ten articles on drought and food security a month all the way to January 2019 when the stories number rose to over

fifty (*The Nation*) and forty (*The Standard*). This peak in number of stories on drought and food security was sustained up to the March-April period which suggests a possible peak of the drought when the two newspapers paid close attention to the ongoing drought. This is as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

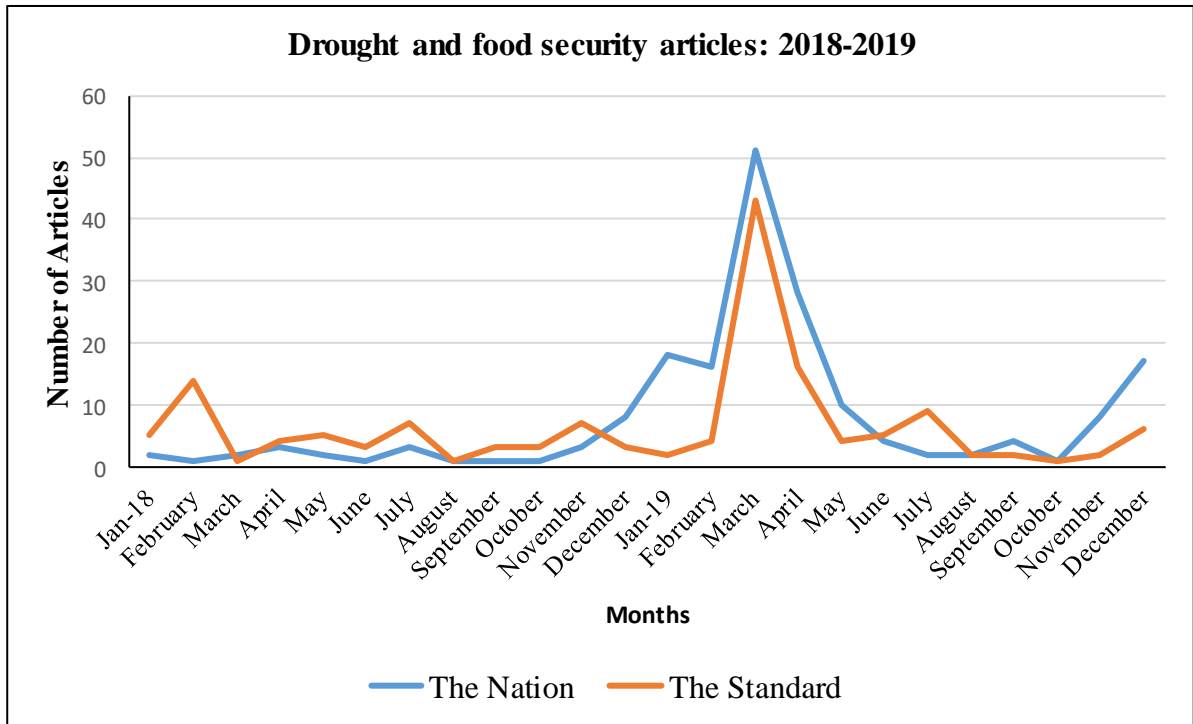


Figure 1: Frequency of Drought and Food Security Articles, 2018-2019

The study also found out that distribution of stories on drought and food security across the two newspapers was almost even across all days of the week except for two days, Tuesday and Wednesdays where *The Nation* recorded the lowest number and three days in *The Standard*: Monday, Friday and Saturday. A study by Wolbring (2014) on newspaper readership about food security found that even though online news presented an important source of information, physical print newspapers still remained a key point of verifiable information regardless of the day of the week. In Kenya research bodies and



media stakeholders have always sought to study readership trends of their audiences in order to gauge when to publish what articles and how many newspapers to release into circulation (Akwabi, 2013). However, as Akwabi (2013) noted, reading of newspaper content takes more than just the availability of published stories; the complexity around reading culture in Kenya has made it difficult for newspapers and content creators to determine exactly what day of the week to publish what type of news hence the almost randomized publication of drought and food security across *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers.

While investigating reading patterns of a sample population in Nairobi Kenya, Chege (2012), found that from 120 people of those interviewed on their reading habits, 70% read newspapers on all days of the week regardless of whether they bought, borrowed or the newspapers were obtained by subscription. This might account for an almost irregular trend in publication of drought and food security stories in *The Nation* and *The Standard*. Figure 2 illustrates the trends of publication of stories per newspaper according to days of the week.

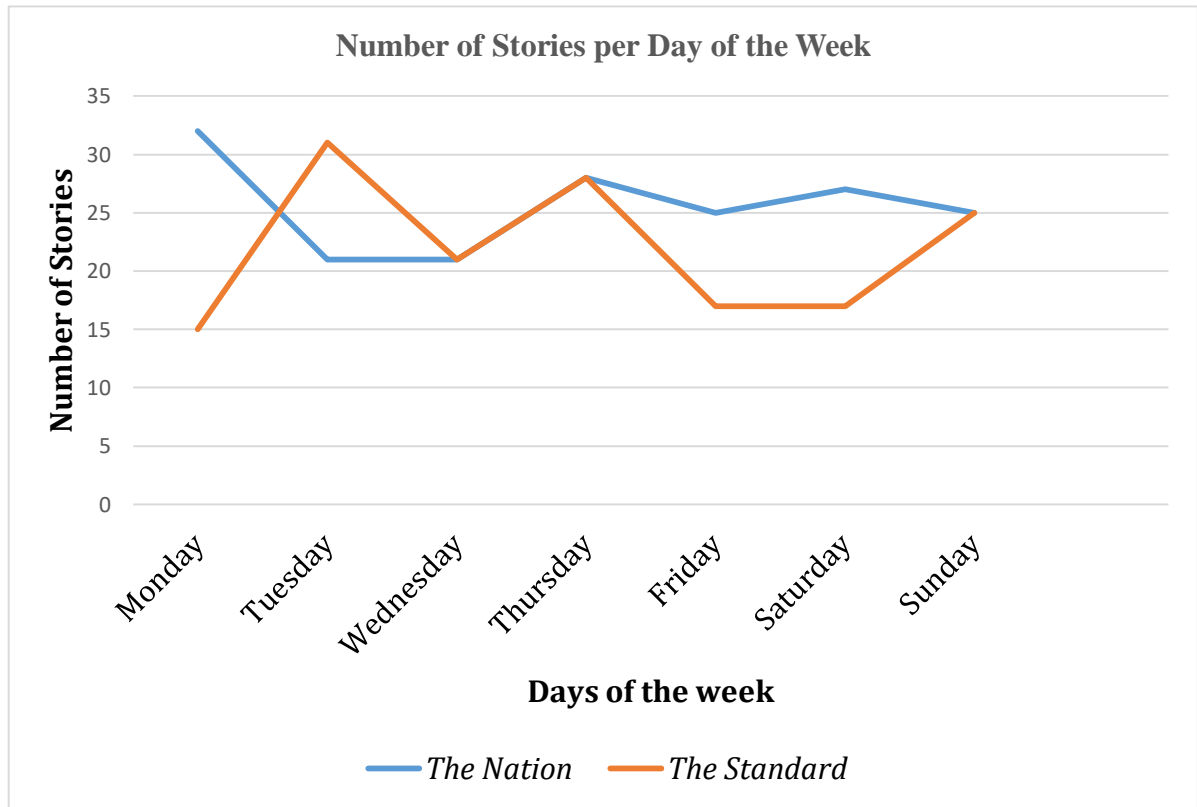
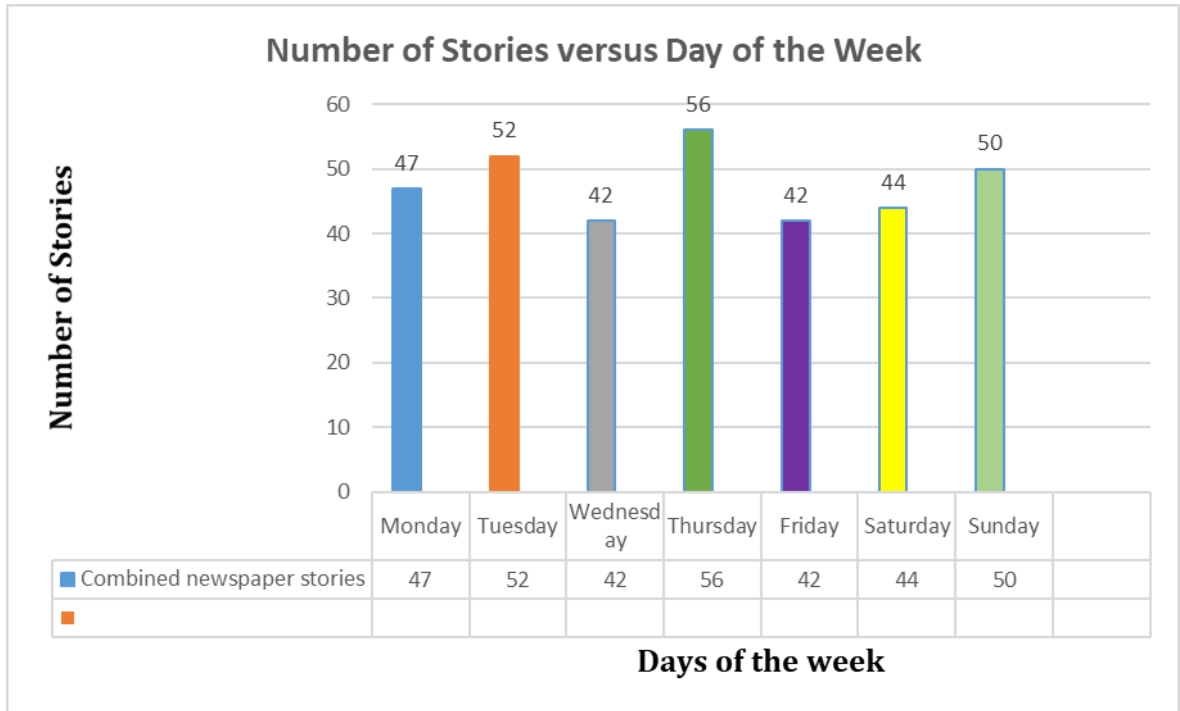


Figure 2: Distribution of stories according to days of the week

*The Standard* number of published stories: Mondays 15; Tuesdays 31; Wednesdays 21; Thursdays 28; Fridays 17; Saturdays 17; Sundays 25. (N=154). *The Nation* number of published stories: Mondays 32; Tuesdays 21; Wednesdays 21; Thursdays 28; Fridays 25; Saturdays 27; Sundays 25. (N=179).

Collectively, *The Nation* and *The Standard* published the highest number of stories on drought and food security on Thursdays (56), followed by Tuesdays (52) and Sundays (50). Other days of the week were; Mondays (47); Wednesdays (42); Saturdays (44); and Fridays (42). Figure 3 below shows a summary of the number of stories as they appeared on respective days of the week during the study period.



*Figure 3: Summary of stories as they appeared on respective days of the week*

*On classification of articles*

Published stories in the two newspapers over the two years were classified as: news articles, features, stand-alone pictorials/graphics, and opinion/editorials. Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of published articles in the two newspapers on drought and food security according to this classification.

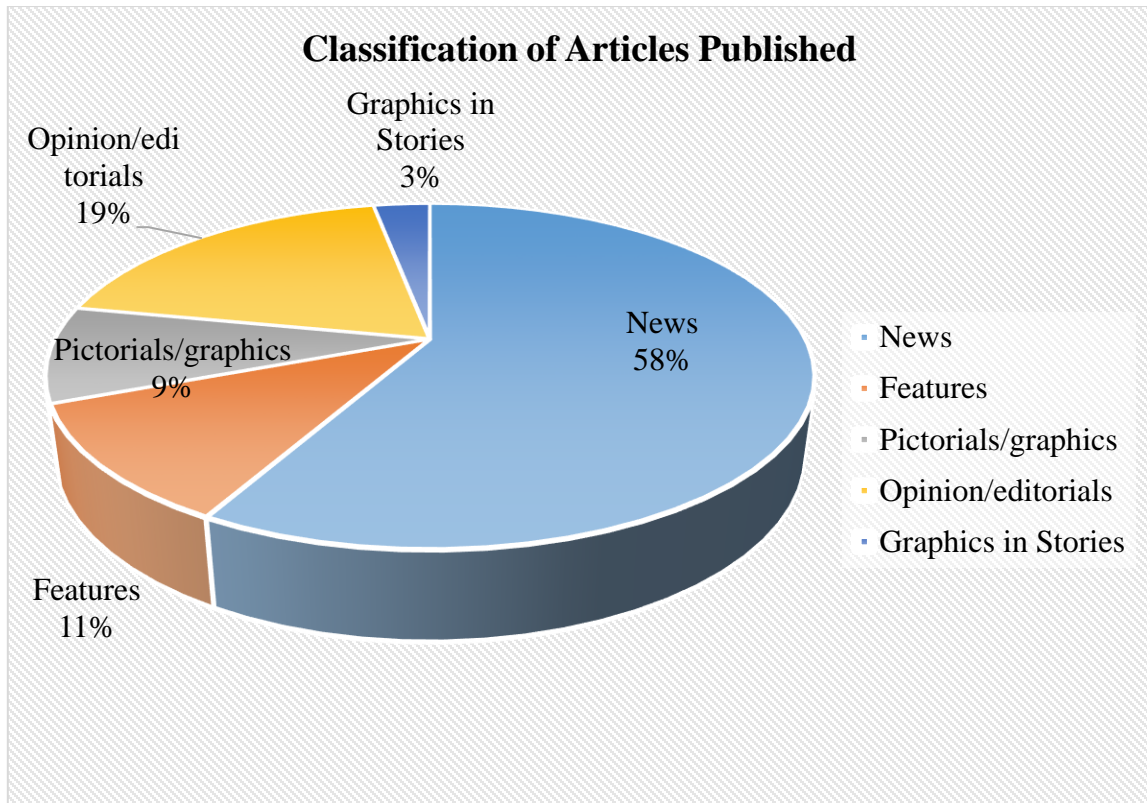


Figure 4: Classification of Articles Published by both *The Standard* and *The Nation*

News articles on drought and food security dominated the coverage over the two-year study period with 199 stories or 58% of the total followed by opinion and editorial pieces at 19%. *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers followed an almost similar pattern in number of published news articles: while *The Nation* published a total of 107 news articles, *The Standard* published 92 news articles over the same study period.

While *The Nation* published 27 articles classified as opinion and editorial pieces, this study found that *The Standard* newspapers published a total of 38 articles of similar nature over the study period making a total of 65 articles or 19%. Feature stories in which *The Standard* published 23 articles compared to 15 for *The Nation* were the third largest in number and took an 11% allocation of the total number of stories published while stand-

alone pictorials were the second least published, and occupied 9% of the total coverage, graphics included in stories stood at 3%.

### *Space allocation to drought and food security stories*

One the patterns of coverage of drought and food security from which space allocation would be an indicator, the findings indicated that articles on drought and food security by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers varied in length from briefs and margins, half page, one page to 2-page long spreads. The two newspapers, however, did not exceed two pages even in the case of feature stories.

The number of pages allocated to a story as well as the amount of page ascribed to a story on a given page is indicative of prominence of a story (Schoenbach and Semetko, 1992). A study in Nairobi Kenya attempting to find design impacts that influenced reader's choice to pick up and read a newspaper which might include number of pages, Chege (2012) found out that some 14 percent of respondents felt some newspapers had too many pages that needed reduction, 82 percent were generally satisfied with the brand of newspaper they had gotten used to while 4 percent said they did not need to know anything about the number of pages in the newspapers they read. Figure 5 illustrates how articles were allocated space over the two-year study period.

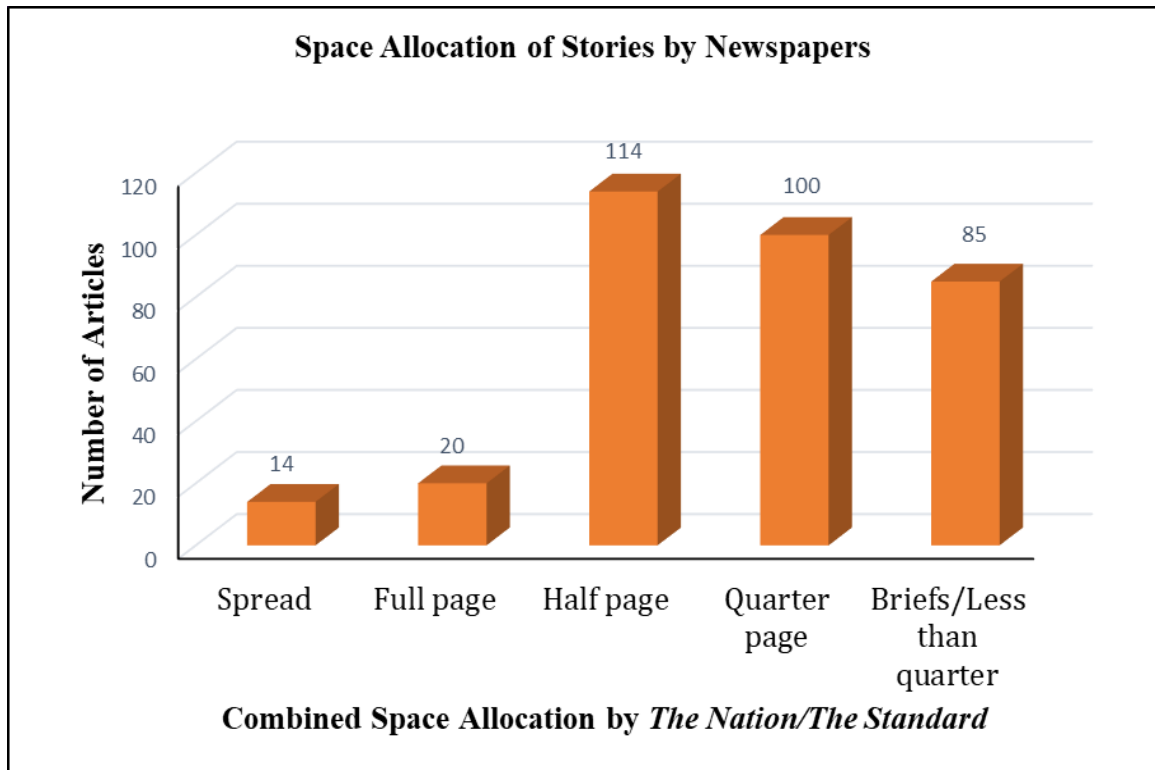


Figure 5: Prominence of articles based on space allocated per story

From the data collected, *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers combined allocated half page space with pictures for the majority of articles (114) on drought and food security, followed by quarter page spaces for 100 articles, and 85 published articles occupied less than a quarter page of space. Half pages are still regarded as high priority spaces in newspapers in Kenya though not as of bigger priority as splashes or full-page articles. On the other hand, the two newspapers' full-page articles and double page (spreads) dedicated to food security and drought during the study period were 20 articles and 14 respectively in number.

Even though both *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers followed a similar pattern in article size and space allocation, each had a slight variation from the other, for

instance, *The Standard* had slightly more spreads than *The Nation* (8 versus 6); produced slightly more full page stories (9 versus 11); *The Nation* then published more half page and quarter page articles than *The Standard* (65 versus 49), before *The Standard* published slightly more briefs and less than quarter page articles than *The Nation*. This is illustrated in Figure 6 below.

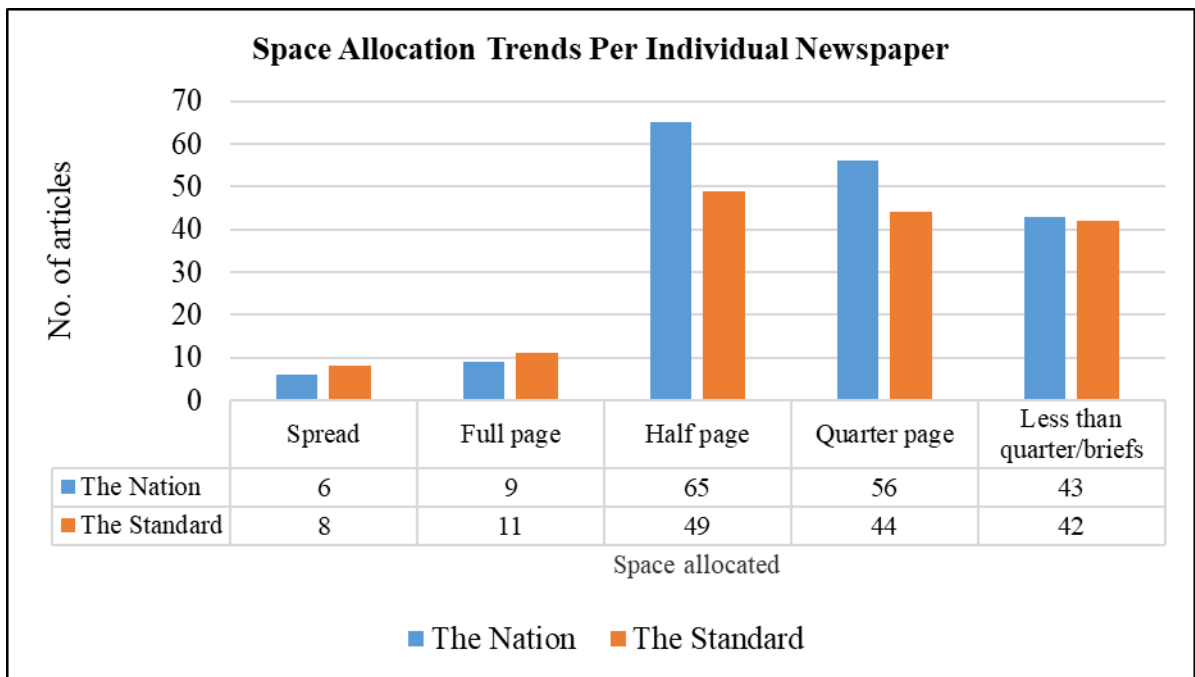


Figure 6: Space Allocation Trends Per Individual Newspaper: *The Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers (2018-2019).

#### *Sourcing of drought and food security stories by newspapers*

The study established that majority of the stories by the two newspapers were sourced by either reporters or correspondents of *The Nation* and *The Standard* during the study period. Reporters are mainly located at the headquarters of the main newspapers and are responsible for the day-to-day supply and curation of news articles and features. Correspondents in the Kenyan context refer to journalists who are contracted to provide

coverage for publications on specific assignments and might not necessarily be in the main newsrooms, but mostly found in bureaus and other far-flung outposts of the newspaper organization. Reporters and correspondents, however, provide the bulk of news reports and features at over 70% as illustrated in Table 1 below.

*Table 1: Summary of newspaper articles by authorship*

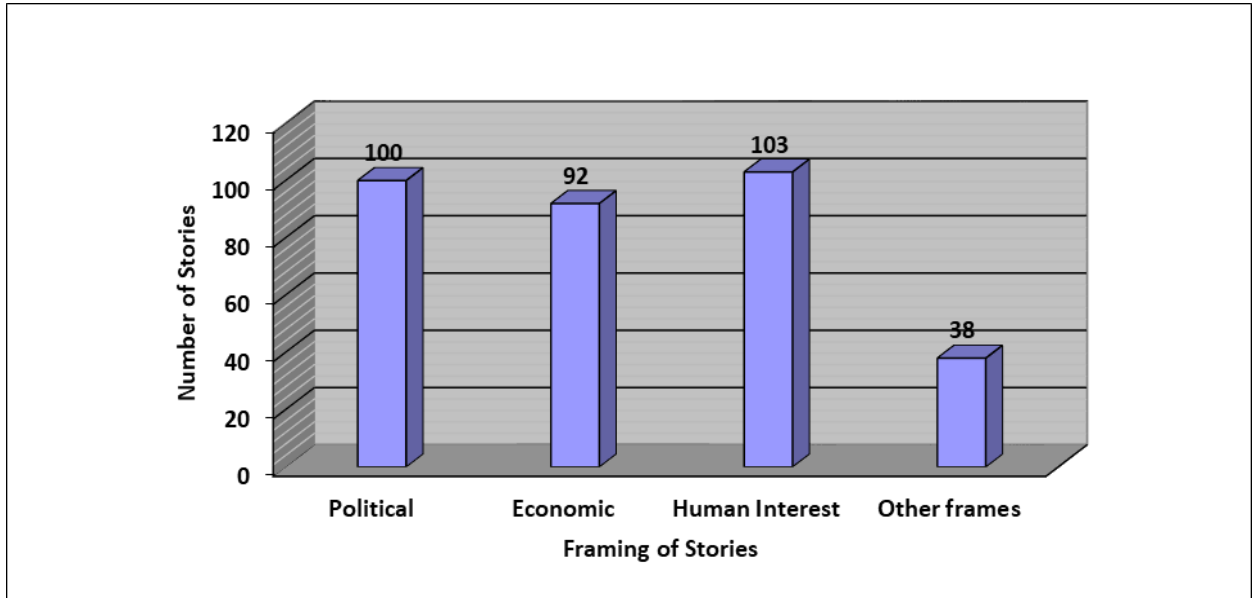
Story byline	<i>The Nation</i>		<i>The Standard</i>		Average
Reporters/Correspondents	128	71.51%	113	73.38%	<b>72.45%</b>
Opinion/Readers/Experts	28	15.64%	25	16.23%	<b>15.94%</b>
Editorial	18	10.05%	14	9.09%	<b>9.57%</b>
Wire Agencies	5	2.79%	2	1.29%	<b>2.04%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100%</b>	

#### 4.2.2.2 Research Objective Two

Research objective two sought to identify the frames, *The Nation and Standard* newspapers used in the coverage of food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019. The study findings indicated that among published articles, frames such as: political frames, economic frames and human-interest frames dominated the total number of published stories. Out of a total 333 stories published by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers on drought and food security (N=333), 103 stories or 30.93% were framed as human-interest stories, 100 stories or 30.03 stories were framed as political, 92 stories forming 27.62% of the total number of stories were framed along economic lines while the remaining 38 stories or 11.41% did not fit the above three main clusters of frames. Figure



7 summarizes how the two newspapers framed their stories along dimensions such as: political, economic or social among others.



*Figure 7: Framing of articles along social, political or economic perspectives.*

Figure 7 above shows that the two newspapers framing of stories in political and human-interest dimensions was almost evenly matched at 100 and 103 articles or stories respectively. Articles on drought and food security that were ascribed an economic frame came a close third at 93 implying that food security and drought as a phenomenon was closely linked to the economics, social and political welfare of a subject area.

Further, the study looked at how framing of stories changed as the drought and food security crisis unfolded in Kenya over the two-year-study period. From the figure 8 below, political, economic and human-interest frames remained less pronounced in The Nation newspapers from January 2019 to April 2019 when the drought and food security crisis was highlighted the most with 30 articles published in March 2019 framed as human-

interest stories. Political frames also peaked at 14 stories in March with economic frames peaking with 18 stories in April 2019. See Figure 8 (*The Nation*) and Figure 9 (*The Standard*).

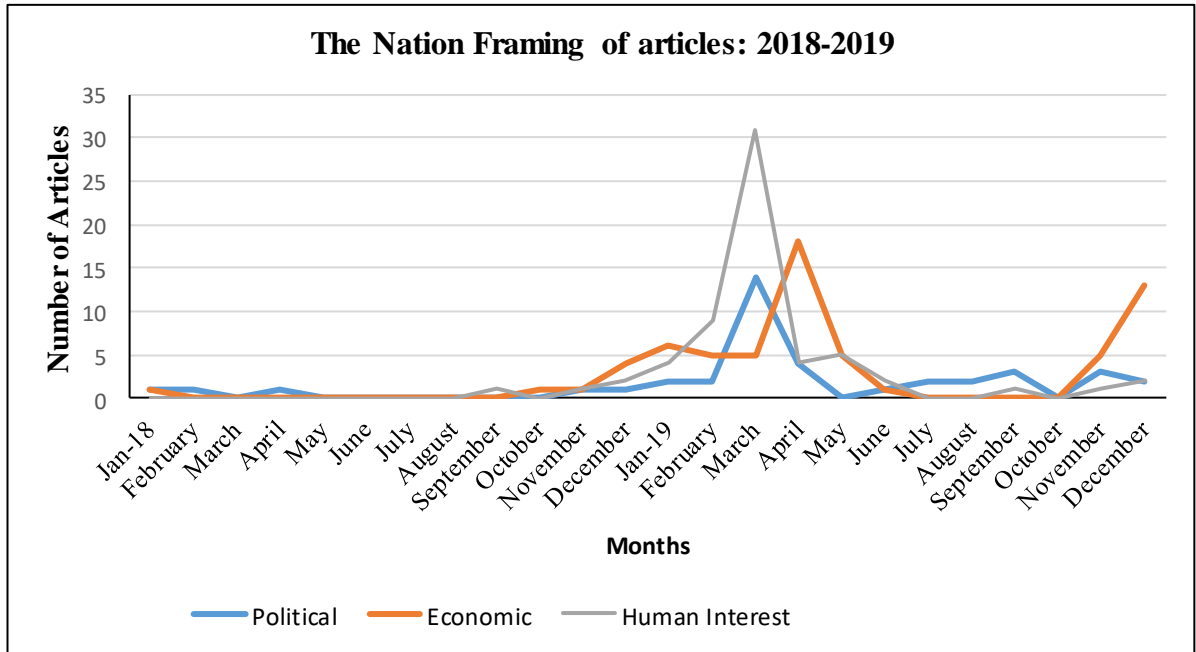


Figure 8: *The Nation* newspaper story frame trends

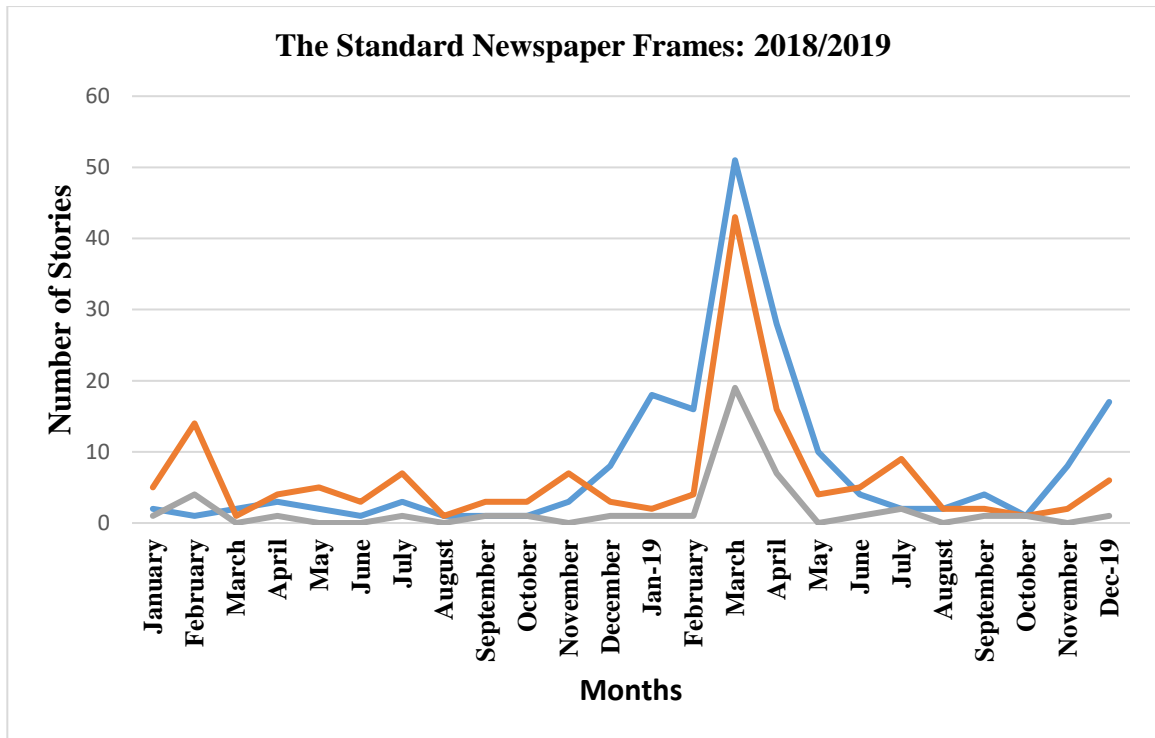


Figure 9: The Standard newspaper story frame trends

#### 4.2.2.3 Research Objective Three

Research objective three sought to identify the tone in which *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers portrayed the food security and drought situation between 2018 and 2019. The study findings indicated that tone in stories on drought and food security published by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers as explored in Chapter 2 of this study takes three main forms: neutral, positive and negative. Tone was analyzed from an article based on not only how information had been relayed, but also from the meaning deduced from the text. The tone from opinion pieces and editorials is most easily identifiable as either positive, negative or neutral but framing of a story can also communicate tones that relay to the reader: negative, positive or neutral messages. This is illustrated in Table 2 below.

*Table 2: Summary of tone in stories per newspaper*

<b>Tone</b>	<i>The Nation newspaper</i>		<i>The Standard newspaper</i>	
	<b>No. of stories</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No. of stories</b>	<b>%</b>
Positive	35	19.55	26	16.88
Negative	130	72.62	84	54.54
Neutral	14	7.82	44	28.57

From the above Table 2, majority of the stories by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers portrayed a negative tone of the drought and food security situation in Kenya. *The Nation* posted 72.62% of its stories as negative while *The Standard* negative stories stood at 54%. However, *The Standard* had almost a third of all its stories portrayed as neutral (28.57%) compared to just 7.82% published by *The Nation*.

The study findings showed that tone was communicated through aspects of criticism, hope, despair, blame or call to action in the stories. Table summarizes the various manifestations of tone the researcher identified in the sample articles from *The Standard* and *The Nation* on food security and drought stories over the 2018-2019 period.

For purposes of clarity, this study identified the specific elements of tone as follows: Neutral tone was broken down to be represented by story aspects such as a call to action; negative tone was explained through despair and blame or criticism while positive tone was communicated through use of the term “hope”.

Findings summarized on Table 2 illustrate the framing of stories on drought and food security in *The Nation* and *The Standard* during the study period painted a picture of desperation in Kenya. Articles depicting the drought situation as dire dominated the two papers over the study period with 178 out of the total 333 sampled articles portraying the

situation as desperate especially around the peak of the drought coverage (March-April 2019) amidst government denial. Some 56 published articles depicted a call to action in mitigating effects of the drought, with 54 articles, likely communicating government and humanitarian response painting a picture of hope. Another 24 articles did not communicate a tone of any of the listed clusters while 20 remaining articles apportioned blame on the supposed actors responsible for the state of affairs. They included both national and county governments as well as entities such as the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA).

#### 4.3 Summary of Key Findings

The first objective of the study was identifying patterns of coverage of drought and food security stories in *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. The findings from this study illustrate that even prior to and at the start of the study period in 2018, there is evidence that both *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers had been documenting food security and drought-related stories. From the available newspapers, however, the number of stories was mostly less than ten per month, for the year 2018, apart from *The Nation* newspapers which exceeded this number in the month of February 2018.

The pattern of coverage also shows the two newspapers also tended to increase the number of stories published in a given week or month depending on major events of the time. For instance, *The Nation* and *The Standard* both increased the number of articles on food security and drought that coincided with reported drought and famine related deaths and food crisis in the months of March 2019, when the first deaths were reported and subsequent follow-up features in April 2019.

From the study, the two newspapers preferred publishing news articles over features, pictorials and features relating to food security and drought. Out of a total of 333 articles sampled from both *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers, more than two thirds (63 percent) of the published articles were classified as news articles, opinion pieces occupied slightly over a fifth of the total allocation (22 percent), followed by features (13 percent), and finally graphics and pictorials occupying the least space allocation (2 percent).

The second objective of the study sought to identify frames of coverage *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers used in publication of drought and food security stories. This research found that the two newspapers framed their stories along common dimensions; political, economic and human-interest story lines which were presented in an almost even pattern. For instance, the study found that the two newspapers allocated an almost similar number of stories along these three frames over the entire two-year period (out of 333 published articles: political stories, 100; human interest stories 103; economics, 92). Only 38 stories were framed by the two newspapers outside of the three main frames.

The third objective of the study which sought to identify tone as used by *The Nation* and *The Standard* in drought and food security stories found out that three types of tone were used: negative tone, positive tone and neutral tone. The most dominant form of tone used by the two newspapers was negative tone (178 out of 333 stories), that was mainly used to paint and picture of desperation or lay blame upon the responsible authorities that did not take appropriate action to avert hunger and starvation and as result of drought.

#### 4.4 Summary

This chapter presented results and findings of the study. Data presentation and analysis was done based on the three research objectives. The study established that both *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers cover stories on drought and food security for the most part of the two years' study period. However, the patterns of coverage indicate a big variation in number of stories published over a certain period that mirror the main events of the time such as food crises or prolonged drought.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of the findings of this study, conclusion from the study findings and possible areas for further research. The study examined the patterns of coverage of drought and food security in *The Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers. Further, the study identified frames and tone used to cover drought and food security stories by the two newspapers. The discussion findings were anchored within the specific research objectives.

#### 5.2 Discussion of Key Findings

##### *5.2.1 Research Objective One*

The first objective of this study was to identify patterns of coverage in food security and drought stories by *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in the study period (between 2018-2019).

First, this study found out that food security and drought-related stories were already being covered by both *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in the months prior to, during and after the study period starting in January 2018 to December 2019. In the course of gathering data, it became apparent that the two newspapers already had running pullout magazines and extracts dedicated to agriculture, food production or agribusiness that extensively covered food security, and agricultural economics and business. However, the pullouts did not specifically address drought and food security from



the perspective of a crisis that was unfolding but mainly from a solutions journalism and agribusiness perspective. In fact, had the research not decided to exclude the main pullout magazines from the two newspapers, the number of stories on food security or drought would have yielded a disproportionately high number of published stories hence rendering the research nearly futile.

Secondly, excluding the pullouts, the two newspapers showed a tendency of sporadic coverage on food security and drought that signals to a possibility of event-driven coverage especially around what would be considered major events by newspapers such as deaths from drought or major scandals involving food commodity importation such as maize (Nayioma, 2016). For instance, *The Nation* newspapers in January 2018 published only two articles directly addressing drought and food security but maintained this low number of published articles at less than five articles a month through February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September to December 2018 when the number crossed the ten articles-a-month figure. However, *The Nation* newspaper's number of articles shot up to 18 in January 2019 then rose to the highest number of 51 in March 2019. This study found out that this pattern of coverage as well as the peak in number of articles was also replicated by *The Standard* newspaper which published 43 articles in March 2019 but illustrated the same sharp increase in number of articles on drought and food security which evenly matched the trends in number of articles also published by its rival, *The Nation* newspapers.

Third, the manner of coverage by the two newspapers hinted at possible deliberate attempts to illustrate the severity of the food crisis in Kenya, in other words—setting the agenda by consistently publishing stories on food security and drought over an extended

period of time, for example, *The Standard* newspapers published five articles on food security and drought in January 2018, increased this number to 14 in February 2018 then dropped to just one article in March 2018 and followed the same trend as *The Nation* throughout most of 2018 until March 2019 when the number of articles rose to 43. This matching trend of publishing to an almost similar number of stories on food security and drought points out at possible deliberate pushing of an agenda by the two leading newspapers in Kenya. Findings in this study also noted the possibility that the two newspapers, perhaps responding to reports on the ground by its field reporters and key informants, embarked on a mission to highlight the food security situation at the national level but other studies indicate that this is not new in media coverage.

Fourth, setting the agenda by the media amongst each other. According to McCombs and Funk (2011), scholars had already documented the agenda-setting role of the media and news outlets, however, looking to establish what in turn set the agenda for the media itself, they found out the element of intermedia influence—media entities routinely influenced each other in selection of stories to cover hence creating homogeneity in topics and subject matter of stories published. *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers during the span of these two years of study, according to findings in this research, appear to mirror each other in patterns of coverage as well as the topic, and by March 2019, both newspapers similarly demonstrated a decline in number of stories on food security and drought. By May 2019, *The Nation* and *The Standard* published 10 and 4 articles respectively, each demonstrating a sharp decline save for *The Standard* in July 2019, only publishing 9 articles before the two newspapers again attained the lowest number of just one article in August 2019.

In terms of sourcing content on drought and food security, reporters and correspondents continue providing the bulk of stories in both newspapers (Kandji, 2006). This might be attributed to their proximity to the subjects of the affliction, their geographical closeness to the affected areas as well as their awareness of their immediate environment and familiarity with main news sources. Correspondents and reporters account for 72% of the editorial content followed by opinion writers, editorial teams and finally wire agencies that posted 2% of the total number of stories on drought and food security.

### *5.2.3 Research Objective Two*

The second objective of the study sought to identify framing of stories through which *The Standard* and *The Nation* portrayed drought and food security in Kenya during the study period.

First, the study found that human interest frames in stories dominated the coverage by the two newspapers, but were almost evenly matched in number of articles with political frames over the study period. Scheufele (1999) states that though media frames might be deliberately used by journalists as a matter of choice, in many cases these frames occur routinely to journalists as a method of quickly identifying and classifying information to easily disseminate it. Human interest stories typically appeal to the emotions of the reader, make the audiences relate to the plight of the affected hunger victims and evoke feelings of sympathy or anger on the state of affairs and provoke the relevant authorities to act according to Gamson (1989). This study found out that human interest framed stories were almost evenly matched in number with political framed stories at 100 and 103 stories

respectively. According to Brugman, Burgers, & Steen, (2017) the most likely reason for this match in number of stories is that in Kenya, citizens expect political actors such as leaders to take responsibility for such crises. Nayioma (2016), points out that much of the media coverage after a drought and food crisis has erupted in Kenya involved politicians attempting to give solutions, or engage in public relations exercises of donating food stuffs to victims of hunger and drought. Articles on drought and food security that were ascribed an economic frame came a close third at 93 implying that food security and drought as a phenomenon was closely linked to the economics, social and political welfare of a subject area. But as De Groote, et al., (2005) note, food security in Kenya and its socio-economic ramifications are not new. In fact, according to De Groote, et al., (2005), several surveys have indicated that overall, even with the liberalization of the maize sector and Kenya's staple, production of maize and other agricultural yields have not improved significantly, pointing at a possibility of having recurrent spells of hunger and drought in the near future.

First, the researcher in this study observed that the two newspapers published food security and drought stories in four main broad formats: news articles, features, stand-alone pictorials/graphics, and opinion/editorials. General news articles dominated the overall number of published stories on food security and drought with 199 articles or 58% of the total articles sampled falling to this cluster while opinion pieces and editorials were a distant second in number occupying 19% of the total space allocated in coverage which represented 65 articles. Opinion pieces on the other hand usually serve the purpose of representing the voices of readers and experts on the prevailing national discourse—food security and drought. *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers made maximum use of opinion pieces and editorials by selection those n food security and drought which would

enable them have a semblance of national discourse in their publications from ordinary citizens, audiences reacting to their stories and opinion leaders in agriculture and economics debating and proposing solutions on agricultural sustainability and ways of combating recurrent droughts in Kenya.

Secondly, this study identified aspects of politicization of food security mainly through news articles. While general news articles or simply news articles typically take a shorter time to compile compared to features which are more complex, incorporate more details hence making it relatively easier and faster to publish news articles (Williams, 2002). With news articles, time is of the essence (like speed in breaking news) and most of the time, the writer will hinge his story on prominence, say if a senior politician is involved, a major event such as mass deaths from starvation or timeliness of the subject matter. Schulz (1982) adds that prominence is directly proportional to the degree of importance a journalist attaches to a story. Politicians often came on board as the national discourse on food and drought moved from highlighting events to calling to action as well as proposing solutions. Articles that tended to blame the government elicited denials from leading politicians (case in point, Deputy President William Ruto in March 2019 in *The Standard*) denying of the existence of deaths from droughts, while other politicians came out to launch drought mitigation projects and others donating food items and water to the worst affected citizens.

In the craft of news writing, prominence of voices in news articles is one of the most effective ways of selling the story to the audiences but in many cases, criticism of this method, according to the researcher's observation, it ended up politicizing the story, rather

than highlighting the severity of the matter at hand: drought and food security. This seems to match the findings by Entman (2007) in the discussion of framing bias and the distribution of power where he postulated that it is the media which in its coverage defines who gets what and how. And by this form of bias, the media is likely to distort the reality by giving the voice and power to political actors in news. In this case, almost two thirds of the number of all stories published (199 out of 333) fall in the category of news articles whose key attributes which include timeliness and prominence. *The Nation* published slightly more news articles (107) than *The Standard* (92), but the two newspapers cumulatively presented more than half of their total coverage on drought and food security stories in the news cluster over the two-year study period.

### *5.2.3 Research Objective Three*

The third objective of this study sought to identify tone through which *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers portrayed the food security and drought situation during the study period.

This research classified aspects of tone using criteria such as: hope, criticism/blame, despair, call to action/urgency which the researcher looked for by reading through all the 333 articles. Through qualitative analysis which involves looking for meanings through text, the researcher was able to determine that the most predominant tone through which the two newspapers presented the drought and food security situation in Kenya was by depicting the situation as desperate. Out of the 333 articles sampled for the study, the researcher found 178 articles conveyed the message of desperation, meaning the majority of stories carried a negative tone. Scholars such as Sheaffer (2007) found that positive tone

reduced the importance of an issue in the eyes of audiences hence media inclination carry negative tone in news articles. In the Kenyan scenario, these were mostly articles crafted as breaking news on in-depth features on the key areas in Kenya during the study time such as Baringo and Turkana counties where, according to press reports—impacts of drought manifested through mass starvation of humans and livestock as well as failing crops and deaths.

A close second cluster of 56 stories communicated the food security and drought situation through a tone of urgency or call to action which represented communicated the severity of the situation and portrayed a message of calling for immediate intervention to mitigate effects of food scarcity and prevent further loss of lives. These articles in both *The Standard* and *The Nation* newspapers cut across a variety of stories including: features, news stories, pictorials and opinion pieces published within the study period. They however, seemed to escalate in urgency around the time the drought situation in Kenya was widely considered to be at its severest which based on the number of casualties or affected populations as communicated in articles in the two newspapers, was in the period from March to April 2019. This period falls about a month after media reports first reported of looming water and food scarcity, and initial deaths of livestock which, according to *The Standard* newspaper, happened around Tiaty area in Baringo county.

Though newspapers traditionally publish print articles, both *The Nation* and *The Standard* also took to communicating the seriousness of the situation through stand-alone pictorials that mostly showed emaciated livestock, human beings and large numbers of villagers in deep gorges looking for water and also school-going children in uniform

abandoning their studies to fetch water. However, this scenario could be easily juxtaposed with Kenya's supposed economic dominance position in East Africa as well as the government's development agenda, the "Big Four Agenda" which captures food security as among its key pillars yet, even in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, food security remains out of reach for most Kenyans (UNICEF, 2017).

In a seeming change of tune from the criticism and hopeless depiction of the state of affairs, a tone of hope was conveyed by the same newspapers, for instance, articles offering solutions to the drought situation, and how food security can be attained were published. Some of these articles carried stories of government interventions including subsidizing maize imports, launching of relief food aid and funds and provision of water to the most needy during the crisis. These articles are inclusive of 54 stories out of the 333 sampled which the researcher in this study categorized as among those communicating hope.

These stories of hope also painted the emergence of political actors who sought to reassure the general population, (many of whom are voters) that government was firmly in control of the situation but according to Kiouisis & McCombs (2004), prominence of issues as covered in the media has long been understood to influence how the public perceived them, and also affect the patterns of coverage. It is highly probable, according to the researcher in this study that politicians understand the importance of not only food security and the publicity that it creates around them, but also what this portends for their image in subsequent elections, and would eventually make a difference for them in terms of how many people knew them.



In the Kenyan context, however, it still appears in this research that no matter how many messages of hope and reassurances are published in the media, the interventions such as calls for relief aid, relief funds, water and food interventions in the midst of the crisis still betray the fact that Kenya is still a food insecure country (Ocharo, Makau, Gitau, & Mugachia, 2019). Moreover, the observation in this study was that the food security and drought situation coverage, from the initial denials of a crisis, to the subsequent marshalling of interventions such as food and water donations was eventually politicized and this was reflected through the published articles and concentration of new sources in the stories.

### 5.3 Conclusion and Implications for Practice

An assessment of media coverage over the study period point at a reactive response to the drought situation especially at its apex in March-April 2019. This occurred at a time a simple research would reveal the signs of drought had long manifested in several parts of Kenya before Baringo and Turkana became case studies. The research also revealed that drought and food insecurity situations were more widespread than the areas that received much publicity, coverage and larger space allocation in the two newspapers. Briefs and margin stories also attest to the widespread incidences of starvation.

The two newspapers also gave considerable coverage to political actors in the articles on food security. As framing of stories in the realm of politics has been discussed, political dimensions in stories are meant to sell the story, hinging on the prominence of the news sources and news makers. The net effect is that more articles assumed a political perspective rather than a scientific or socio-economic perspective for which food security and drought is. Moreover, most of the political actors especially government agencies did

not appear well prepared to provide a solution-based approach despite having resource allocations to combat drought and supposedly promoting food security as one of the four pillars of the “Big Four Agenda”.

Trends in coverage of food security for the two newspapers in the study period appear to have dropped in frequency after the initial serious drought-related events had de-escalated. From a peak of over 45 articles per newspaper per month on drought and food security, the coverage dropped to an average of less than ten articles per month starting from May to December 2019.

#### 5.4 Recommendations

Newspapers choose to frame, give prominence or sustain coverage of a given topic or phenomenon guided by their assessment of the importance of the subject. In this case, the trends in coverage of drought and food security by *The Nation* and *The Standard* were informed by the salience they ascribed to the topic. However, it should not be lost to attention that beyond journalistic agenda setting and framing of stories based on events or catastrophes, weather and climate-related subjects are not only scientific but also weighty matters to human existence and the subject should be covered more frequently and incisively than making them event-driven or attached to political actors or scandals.

The predictability of droughts in the East African region is already well documented by scientists as well as humanitarian organizations (Nayioma, 2016). However, the call to action or national debate by leading newspapers can attain greater impact if sustained well prior to catastrophic food security and drought occurrences such as deaths of people and livestock. This can be attained mainly by setting up environment

desks in newsrooms or more broadly science desks with skilled and properly equipped journalists, who develop to expert level in telling accurate stories on among other issues, food security and drought as Atieno and Njoroge (2014) observe.

Finally, there is need to further explore coverage of long-term effects of drought and food insecurity such as stunting in children. For instance, in the entire two-year study period, newspaper coverage revolved around dam and maize scandals and culminating in deaths from starvation hence not maximizing impact (Sinclair, 2005). Less than ten articles in regular newspaper coverage delved into long-term health complications arising from drought and food insecurity, yet available literature, though scanty has proven a correlation between these two medical challenges (Masih, Maskey, & Trambauer, 2014).

#### 5.5 Areas for Further Research

Findings from the study imply that there seems to be a gap in the newsrooms concerning sustaining a national debate on food security in the regular newspaper coverage. In the course of this research, it emerged that indeed *The Nation* and *The Standard* have teams of journalists who regularly write on food and agriculture. However, much of their content is restricted to magazines and pullouts. There needs more research on the effectiveness of these pullouts in the national debate on food security.

In as much as Kenyan audiences and news readership are believed to resonate more with political and scandalous content, more research needs to be carried out on the uptake by audiences on science-driven information. Is it possible to culture Kenyan newspaper audiences into appreciating science as opposed to politics? Is it possible to effectively tell stories on food security without splashing information on deaths and

starvation? The analysis of content in this study will partially answer apart from the above posed questions, why some newspapers run a lot of stories on certain topics and not others, as well as inform newsrooms on decisions on proper resource allocation and compare themselves to media peers of the same size.

While this study attempted to point out at a smaller scale but adequately representative sample, the impact of food security stories on concerned authorities and call to action, it did not delve conclusively into whether this relationship with media should be one of action and reaction. More research needs to uncover the correlation between negative news coverage and government interventions such as setting up irrigation schemes after severe droughts or releasing food aid after reports of incidents of starvation.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Analysis Criteria

#### Analysis Criteria

Criteria	Details	Codes
The brand	Publisher or news organization	Daily Nation-001 The Standard- 002
Dates	Day, month and year when the article of published	Date Format DD.MM.YR
Story title	Simplified to show subject matter	
Story treatment	<p>How can the story be classified based on the content and attention accorded:</p> <p><b>General news:</b> story anchored on events and timely delivery and highly perishable?</p> <p><b>Feature story/long form:</b> Explorative, longer, more insightful tone</p> <p><b>Graphics or pictorials:</b> Story exists as a stand-alone pictorial, or series of pictures with an explainer or caption.</p> <p><b>Commentary:</b> Includes opinion and editorial pieces/<i>Criticism:</i> any story that offers a first-person opinion or is a stated opinion of the newspaper. Includes the editorials and the opinion editorials by columnist.</p>	<p>General news=001</p> <p>Features=002</p> <p>Graphics/Pictorials=003</p> <p>Commentary=004</p> <p>Others=005</p>
Number	Number of food security articles in the newspaper-ordinary Number	Listed as 1,2,3,4,5

Keyword	Indicate the keyword which was used in the analysis	Food security 001 Drought 002 Hunger 003 Starvation 004
Prominence of stories	<p>According to Cotter (2010), prominence indicates the level of importance attached to a story by the publication. High focus stories: appear on the front or back page, are allocated two pages (spread), have a headline that mentions the key words or are editorialized, are in feature form and have an accompanying graphic.</p> <p><b>Medium focus stories</b> These are stories that have a graphic that integrates drought and food security related issue with another and are allocated full to half-page space.</p> <p><b>Low Focus stories</b> These stories bear a single mention of five to ten lines devoted to drought and food security specific story, have a section of an integrated story that devotes 10-20 lines of the story to drought and food security related issue but with no graphic.</p>	<p>High Focus= 001</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front Page =FS</li> <li>• Spread</li> <li>• Back Page= BS</li> <li>• Graphic devoted to drought or food security = G1</li> <li>• Editorial Story=ES</li> </ul> <p>Medium Focus= 002</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Graphic depicts food security-related issue</li> </ul> <p>Low Focus =300</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Section of integrated specific story devotes 5-10lines= L3</li> <li>• Section of integrated related story devotes 10-20 lines= L2</li> </ul>
Nature of coverage	<p>Nature of coverage will be categorized into two that is Adaptation and Mitigation. Adaptation stories are those that focus on problem solving in terms of adapting to the effects of drought and will be coded.</p> <p>Mitigation stories are those that urge citizens,</p>	<p>Adaptation=100</p> <p>Mitigation=200</p> <p>Other=300</p>

	governments or institutions to deal with drought and food insecurity. A story that neither falls under mitigation nor adaptation will be categorized as “other”.	
Triggers of coverage	An event driven stories typically coincides with a summit/conference on drought/food security. On the other hand, a disaster driven story is one anchored on elements of drought/hunger/starvation calamity ((Mulholland, Wolff, Collins, & Zdrahal, n.d)	Event driven=001  Disaster driven =002  Others=003
Main story subjects/Main actors	Main actors include: news makers, or main voices in the story, government officials, victims of calamities, NGOs /Activists. <b>Any other actor</b> not mentioned above, categorized as others.	Government officials: 001 Victims of calamities: 002 NGOs /Activists: 003 Others: 004
Story source	This indicates whether the story was drawn from: Reporter or correspondent, wire agency, editorial or opinion/readers.	Reporter=001 Wire Agency=002 Editorial=003 Opinion/readers=004 Others=005
Graphics/Picture/Illustration	Define the type of graphic used	Picture- 001 Graph- 002 Illustration= 003 Cartoon=004 Side bar list= 005 Pie Chart= 006
Tone	Caciopo & Bernstone (1994), stipulate that tone of the news story can be optimistic, neutral/ambiguous, pessimistic or negative.	Positive Hopeful/optimistic tone=001

	<p>Positive/Hopeful/optimistic tone refers to stories on successes in drought and food security mitigation measures or stories that convey hope.</p> <p><b>Negative/Despair/Pessimistic tone</b> will be for stories that present a bleak outlook on drought and food security situation.</p> <p><b>Neutral tone</b> will be for stories that neither inspire hope nor hopelessness.</p>	<p>Negative Pessimistic/Despair=002</p> <p>Neutral tone=003</p>
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Appendix B: News Frame Characteristics of Published Articles

Characteristics
<b>Human interest frame</b>  Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), define the human-interest frame as one in which a story published bears a human face, and brings emotional aspects attached to an event or crisis. A human-interest frame in a story also paints how groups of people or individuals and groups are impacted by drought or food insecurity.
<b>Political frame</b>  According to Di Gregorio, Price, Saunders, & Brockhaus (2012), the frame in the story bears the face of political actors or persons in positions of responsibility and in many cases, the frame displays conflict or apportioning of responsibility between two or more sides.  According to  Hänggli & Kriesi, (2010) the story refers to two or more sides of the issue or problem apportioning responsibility, blame or even offering interventions.

**Economic frame**

Graber (1993) defines an economic frame in a story as one that uses quantification of losses to affected persons or entities to pass the point. In this case, the economic consequences of drought and food insecurity phenomena such as losses of livestock and farm yields are listed. A story with economic frames also gives projections of financial gains and losses connected to drought and food security.

**Other forms of frames**

Story lists other diverse details not fitting in the above (3) cluster frames

Appendix C: AKU Ethics Review Committee Approval Letter



**THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY**  
*Graduate School of Media and Communications*

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation  
P. O. Box 30623 – 00100  
Nairobi

January 7, 2020

Dear Sir/Madam.

**MARK NAMASWA (STUDENT NO. 535176)**

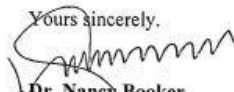
Mark Namaswa is a registered student at the Aga Khan University, Graduate School of Media and Communications. He is enrolled in the Master of Arts in Digital Journalism Programme and has completed his course work. He is now working on his Master's thesis. Mr. Namaswa's topic is "**Food Security and Drought: Newspaper Content Analysis**"

The purpose of my writing is to request you to assist Mr. Namaswa complete this important academic exercise. Any information collected will be used solely for academic purposes. Upon completion of the research, Mr. Namaswa's thesis will be available at our library. He will also submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of completed work to your department.

We appreciate your support to our student towards his successful completion of the thesis research.

Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

  
**Dr. Nancy Booker**  
**Director Academic Affairs**



Appendix D: Introductory Letter from AKU



**THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY**  
*Graduate School of Media and Communications*

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation  
P. O. Box 30623 – 00100  
Nairobi

January 7, 2020

Dear Sir/Madam.

**MARK NAMASWA (STUDENT NO. 535176)**

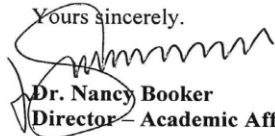
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We appreciate your support to our student towards his successful completion of the thesis research.

Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.


Yours sincerely,

  
**Dr. Nancy Booker**  
**Director – Academic Affairs**

Appendix D: NACOSTI Research License




**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**  
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **718115** Date of Issue: **16/January/2021**

### RESEARCH LICENSE




**This is to Certify that Mr. MARK NAMASWA of Aga Khan University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: FOOD SECURITY AND DROUGHT IN KENYA: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRINT NEWSPAPERS for the period ending : 16/January/2021.**


License No: **NACOSTIP/20/3448**

Applicant Identification Number: **718115**

**Director General**  
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION



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