

**THE FRAMING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN THE PRINT MEDIA IN
KENYA: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

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DECLARATION

This project is my own original work and has not been presented for an award of an academic degree in any other university or institution.

Signature: Date:

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

Signature: Date:

DR. Stevie M. Nangendo

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to all family members and friends for their support and concern who enabled me complete the entire project successfully.

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ABSTRACT

This project was primarily concerned with the framing of gender-based violence in the mainstream print media in Kenya. Four daily English language newspapers, namely, *Daily Nation*, *People Daily*, *The Standard* and *The Star* as well as two weekly newspapers, that is, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* provided the data presented in this project. The specific objects of this project were: An examination of how the mainstream print media frame the coverage of gender-based violence issues in Kenya, the degree of prominence given to the stories as well as the sources of information that the print media utilize when reporting gender-based violence in Kenya. This project was guided by framing theory.

The stratified sampling technique was utilized to select articles that were printed between February 11th, 2016 and August 8th, 2016 and a total of 25 stories were analysed from the sampled newspapers. Discourse analysis, with the help of a code sheet, was utilized in data collection and analysis concerning the type of stories, placement of the articles, size and space allocated to the stories, frequency and type of the frames used, prominence of the articles in the newspapers as well as the themes and sources of the information of the stories printed in the sampled newspapers.

The results of the study show that physical violence by men against women followed by female genital mutilation/cutting was the most frequently reported form of gender-based violence in the newspapers under review. However, the print media in Kenya continue to report gender-based violence stories especially if they are sensational and breaking news but without much efforts expended at follow-ups. In addition, gender-based violence stories are normally briefs and fillers in the newspapers, thus, extensive size and space need to be allocated to them.

Finally, although the print media usually highlights, informs and enlightens audiences about gender-based violence and its negative effects in society more needs to be done.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In recent decades the terms framing and media frames have been used to analyse the coverage of gender-based violence by the print media in journalism and mass communication studies. For example, Gitlin (quoted in Steeves 1997:25) delineates a media frame as a “persistent pattern of cognition, interpretation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize, discourse, whether verbal or visual.” Entman (1993:52) defines framing as the “selection of some aspects of perceived reality and make them more important in a communicating text, in such a way as to enhance a given problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” Conversely, Tankard (2001) delimits media frames as the fundamental unifying clues for news content which furnish contents and suggests what the issues are through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. On the other hand, London (2016) suggests that media frames are the crucial consolidating concepts that journalists routinely utilize in their bids to endow meanings to specific events and issues. This same notion was expounded further by Gamson and Modigliani (1987) when they state that media frames is are fundamental unifying designs or storylines because they suggest what an event or an issue really entails in a particular society. This is because by organizing everyday reality, a media frame becomes part and parcel of that everyday reality of people in a given community. This everyday reality is

basically an intrinsic attribute of news, which is conceptualized by Tuchman (1978) as a socio-cultural creation which is given form and substance by framing and media frames used by journalists in their daily work.

Conversely, London (2016) believes that news stories about gender-based violence, for instance, should be understood as narratives which carry concrete data and implicit messages that have to be interpreted by audiences. This means that journalists can habitually use framing and media frames in order to inform people about the negative consequences of gender-based violence in the society. Specifically, journalists can use framing and media frames to show the meaninglessness of gender-based violence by framing such violence using negative terms, tones and themes which are understood by audiences. At the same time framing should represent and emphasize that the elimination of such violence is meaningful to society (WHO 2016; UNICEF 2016a; Garcia-Moreno *et al.* 2005). In this same vein, Cappela and Jamieson (1997, cited in Fontaine and McGregor 2002) suggest that a journalist can use a media frame in the same manner that a photographer does by selecting some meaningful contours to highlight or draw attention to, and excluding meaningless ones. Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009) echo this train of thought by intimating that work routines normally force journalists to utilize media frames in including and emphasizing certain feelings, ideas and values while excluding and deemphasizing others. This is normally done in an attempt to assist audiences make interpretations and, therefore, judgments about certain societal issues such as gender-based violence (cf. Baran and Davis, 2012).

Tankard (2001, cited in Fontaine and McGregor 2002) states that a media frame is akin to the frame of a house. Such a frame provides the silhouette around which everything else fits and it also influences the all-inclusive design of the edifice. This notion made Scheuele (1999) to surmise that media frames symbolize the working schedules of journalists because they permit them to identify, classify and package information for audiences in particular and meaningful socio-cultural milieus (cf. Reese and Shoemaker 1996). And as observed by London (2016), it is through the utilization of framing and media frames by journalists that these significant contexts bestow to news its intrinsic value and coherence (cf. Scheuele and David 2001). In fact, framing and media frames deal with how the media cover, for example, gender-based violence as well as with how the media puts this same violence in the minds of audiences (Lippmann 1992). Cohen (1963, quoted in Wimmer and Dominick 2009) suggests that the media may not always be successful in telling people what to think, but they are usually successful in telling them what to think about. Indeed, Lang and Lang (1966:468, cited in Wimmer and Dominick 2009) explicate that the mass media usually “force the attention to certain issues...They are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about.” On his part, Larson (1994) explains that the kinds of things people discuss, feel, think and worry about are powerfully shaped and directed by what the media prefer to publicize and this essentially constitutes the public agenda. Therefore, Wimmer and Dominick (2009) conclude that if the media decide to give size, space and prime time to covering gender-based violence, this will become the most important item on the public agenda. Additionally, if the news media devote prime coverage to school dropouts among girls because of female genital

mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), a form of gender-based violence, then audiences will also rate it as the most significant issue to them. Conversely, when the media give prominence to unemployment among women because of gender discrimination the issue becomes vital in the minds of audiences and so forth. This is called agenda setting which is concerned with the relationship between media priorities and audience priorities in terms of the relative importance of news coverage priorities.

Sutherland *et al.* (2015) also assert that although news media audiences are not simply passive recipients of information, who or what is selected to appear in the news or how those individuals or events are portrayed can have a profound influence on the attitudes, behaviours and beliefs of the audiences (cf. Flood and Ease 2009). This implies if gender-based violence is bequeathed prominence in the daily newspapers it will have an impact on attitudes, behaviours and beliefs because it will be discussed frequently by the public. This is because print news and information media usually report current affairs surrounding, for instance, gender-based violence. This can create awareness in people about the impairment that gender-based violence causes to the bodies and minds of girls and women. This public consciousness can ultimately assist in confronting and/or challenging the pervasive existence and nature of gender-based violence in society. Steeves (1997:3) notes that the media “along with other ideological institutions (such as schools, churches, and families) help sustain societal values, and also are capable of challenging them. As such, the media are significant agents in informing citizens about salient social issues like gender violence.” This is because the “ways in which the news media chooses to frame domestic violence can have important ramifications, influencing how society perceives the dynamics of such violence as well as solutions and public

responsibility” (Gillespie *et al.* 2013:233). According to London (2016), in journalism in general the interpretation of the framing of the informational contents of news reports by audiences is much more important than the actual news reports. This interpretation is accomplished using metaphors, catchphrases and other symbolic devices that provide a shorthand way of suggesting the fundamental storyline. Thus, framing utilizes symbolic devices to offer an oratorical conduit through which distinct fragments of information are given a context and relationship to one another. In this connection, Entman (2007:164) conceptualizes framing as “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation.” The few culled elements of perceived reality are characteristically extracted from, and/or reflective of, shared socio-cultural myths and narratives that are derived from the primary frameworks of audiences (Goffman 1974). Therefore, in utilizing framing and media frames to cover news stories all journalists must be alive and sensitive to these socio-cultural myths and narratives although they systematically filter them for optimum coverage (Matthes, 2009; Iyengar 1991; Gans 2009).

Edwards and Sharpe (2004) suggest that gender-based violence is nowadays recognized as a major development, humanitarian, human rights, justice as well as social relationship problem all over the world. According to WHO (2016), this violence encompasses a wide range of acts that include real and potential threats as well as intimidation that go beyond physical violence and whose consequences consist of psychological harm, deprivation and mal-development that compromise the wellbeing of individuals, families and communities (cf. Krug *et al.*, 2002). There are several types of gender-based violence including self-directed violence, interpersonal violence and

collective violence. The other forms such as dowry-related violence, preference of girl/boy child and female genital mutilation/cutting are culture-specific and constitute grave violations of human rights both in Kenya as elsewhere on the globe (Krug *et al.*, 2002; Kithinji and Mburugu 2000). According to the 2014 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, many of the perpetrators of gender-based violence include current and former intimate partners, relatives, in-laws, teachers, employers, political and religious leaders, the police as well as other authoritative figures (Kenya National Bureaus of Statistics 2015). This implies that many incidences of gender-based violence usually occur in homes, workplaces, educational institutions and other public places (cf. CDC 2003; CDC and NCIPC 2003).

Richards *et al.* (2011, quoted in Sutherland *et al.* 2015) discovered clear differences in reports that framed homicide within the context of intimate partner violence compared to those that did not. It was also found that newspapers framing the murder as intimate partner violence were likely to include information for women on where to seek help. Gillespie *et al.* (2013) similarly revealed that reports of framing femicide or feminicide within the broader social context of violence against women used advocates as sources of information about the crime and included information for readers about safe places for women to go if they needed help (cf. Sutherland *et al.* 2015). In addition, Carlyle *et al.* (2008, cited in Sutherland *et al.* 2015) noted that the imperative to fill daily newspapers with sensational stories is one of the reasons why emotional abuse receives such scant attention. This is perhaps the rationale why the media have a murder-centric focus, whereby reports of homicide during intimate partner violence take precedence over those of other forms of violence against women, for instance, emotional

abuse. Wimmer and Dominick (2009) states that framing theory comprehends that the media can impact a certain perspective, or spin, by how they cover events and issues related to gender-based violence and that this, in turn, can influence public attitudes, understanding and interpretation about this type of violence (Carll 20003; Price *et al.* 1993). This is because the news media are the main sources of information for audiences about gender-based violence in society (Shen 2004; Steeves 1997).

1.2 Problem statement

WHO and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (2016) reports that there have been increased calls to address the many negative consequences of gender-based violence in many communities around the world although progress has been slow (cf. WHO 2016, 2013a, b; UNICEF 2016b; Iberi 2014). One approach which has been suggested as being constructive in promoting efforts aimed at preventing gender-based violence is the use of framing by the mainstream print media. This is because the media are today recognized as having a central role to play in highlighting several vices such as gender-based violence which bedevil communities around the globe. UN Division for Advancement of Women (1993) states that gender-based violence should normally be conceptualized as that form of violence that is targeted at an individual because of his or her sex. Therefore, this form of violence consists of all acts and behaviours which are intended to inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering as well as threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty. There are various acts that are normally associated with gender-based violence and these encompass child abuse, female genital mutilation, homicide, femicide/feminicide, rape, sexual coercion, female infanticide, and

female foeticide through sex-selective abortion, preference of boy-child as well as emotional and sexual harassment (UNAIDS 2016; Edwards and Sharpe 2004; Paymar 2000; Pence and Paymar 1993). In addition, the UN Division for Advancement of Women (1993) states that the other acts of this violence consists of verbal abuse, economic cruelty, emotional or psychological ill-treatment, destruction of property, widow disinheritance, and specific acts of violence which occur during pregnancy. The additional acts of gender-based violence are all languages, manners and actions that violate one's sense of selfhood and trust. The CDC (2003) suggests that gender-based violence is usually committed by a present spouse, ex-spouse, current or former boyfriend or girlfriend as well as a dating partner (cf. CDC and NCIPC 2003). Conversely, the 2014 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey states that many of the perpetrators of gender-based violence include current husband/partner, former husband/partner, current boyfriend/girlfriend and former boyfriend/girlfriend. The others that were cited consist of a father/step-father, mother/step-mother, sister/brother, daughter/son, other relative, mother-in-law, father-in-law, other in-law, teacher, employer/someone at work and police/soldier (Kenya National Bureaus of Statistics 2015). This implies that many incidences of gender-based violence usually occur in families or homes and in other intimate relationships such as in workplaces, educational institutions and other public places. Recent global prevalence figures indicate that about 1 in 3 (35%) of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime (WHO 2016a, b, c, 2013a, and b). Conversely, the 2008/2009 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) reports that about 45% of women aged 15-49 have experienced either physical

or sexual violence. Specifically, the survey reveals that 25% have experienced physical violence and 14% have undergone both physical and sexual violence (Kenya National Bureaus of Statistics 2015).

These acts of gender-based violence cause profound harm and injury to its victims and survivors. In fact, it is nowadays recognized as a significant health problem with myriad negative socio-economic, emotional, physical, psychological and mental health concerns as well as outcomes in both Western and non-Western societies (Johnson *et al.*, 2014). For example, gender-based violence hinders the fulfilment of some basic human rights that should be accessible to all individuals. Moreover, it lowers the status of the survivors and/or victims in society because of stigmatization and discrimination and which at times may lead to mortalities (Amnesty International, 2014). Consequently, the loss of productivity in the workplace from the survivors and/or victims of gender-based violence and an increase in expenditures within the household due to medical treatment and legal proceedings constitute some of the most felt economic pitfalls in developing countries today. Similarly, survivors/victims of gender-based violence have their health put at risk by being exposed to sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS, physical and psychological injuries, pregnancy complications, unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and gynaecological disorders such as fistula (Heise 1998; Campbell 2002; Campbell *et al.* 2004; Heise *et al.* 1999). Emotionally, survivors and/or victims of gender-based violence need psychosocial support stemming from the post-traumatic stress, depression as well as fear of recurrence and/or anxiety. At this stage support from families and peers is very important for recovery because it helps the survivors as well as victims to deal with social stigma and rejection. Moreover, Edwards and Sharpe (2004)

suggest that gender-based violence has become recognized over the past decades as a major social relationship and justice problem. Gender-based violence is also a chief concern of human rights groups in all societies that eschew democratic rights for their individuals. This is because it is a violation of fundamental human rights which perpetuate sex-stereotyped roles and the violations deny individuals their human dignity and self-determination which can in turn hamper human development. Similarly, gender-based violence reinforces the subordination of both sexes but more importantly it perpetuates the power and the control of males over females in many communities around the world (Amnesty International 2014). Ajala and Isiugo-Abanihe (2006) suggest that the perpetuation of this brand of violence has continued because of the economic dependence of women on men, patriarchy and the differential socialization processes that females and males undergo. Specifically, Ajala and Isiugo-Abanihe (2016) reiterate that gender-based violence is a vice that afflicts females in particular and males in general irrespective of their ages, cultures, sexual orientations and socio-economic statuses around the world (cf. Naved and Persson 2005; Odimegwu *et al.* 2015; Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH), 2002). The increasing incidents of gender-based violence in Kenya create an ample opportunity for this study to explore the role of the media in highlighting and, thus, shaping changed attitudes towards this iniquity. It is with this in mind that this study examined how the print media frame gender-based violence stories and to determine the degree of prominence given to them.

1.3 Research questions

This study sought answers to the following questions:

- i. How do the mainstream print media frame gender-based violence in Kenya?
- ii. What is the degree of prominence given to gender-based violence stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya?
- iii. Do the mainstream print media identify the sources of their stories?

1.4 Research objectives

1.4.1 General objective

To explore the framing of gender-based violence in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

- To examine how the mainstream print media frame gender-based violence in Kenya.
- To establish the degree of prominence given to gender-based violence stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya?
- To ascertain whether the mainstream print media identify the sources of their stories.

1.4.3 Assumptions of the study

- i. The types of frames the mainstream print media use determine the covering of gender-based violence in Kenya.

- ii. The degree of prominence determines the covering given to gender-based violence stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya.
- iii. The mainstream print media usually identify the sources of their stories.

1.5 Justification of the study

The print media is an essential tool which disseminates information about various issues including gender-based violence to the public. Consequently, this study embarked on examining how the mainstream print media frame gender-based violence and the degree of prominence given to gender-based violence stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya. This study explored the consistencies and inconsistencies that the mainstream print media presents while framing gender-based violence. The findings are important to other scholars and the media fraternity as they will understand the nature of frames and framing used in the covering of gender-based violence stories in Kenya. Various studies have been undertaken about gender-based violence in Kenya but very few have focused on the issue of framing in the mainstream print media. On the other hand, the study will make a contribution towards what other scholars have done elsewhere and it will help identify the attitudes and perceptions of the journalists towards gender-based violence and other gender-related issues. The study will also inspire other scholars to undertake more studies on framing, gender and the media in different countries around the globe.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study focused on the framing of gender-based violence in the mainstream print media in Kenya. Specifically, the study limited itself to six print media publications, namely, *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *People Daily*, *The Standard* and *The Star*. The study did not pay attention to other media channels such as other newspapers, the television, the radio, magazines, and the social media. On the other hand, the focus was also only on how the mainstream print media have framed gender-based violence and not any other subjects.

1.7 Limitations of the study

There were various limitations of this research that required to be addressed. First, the study used discourse analysis to focus on the mainstream print media channels and mainly six publications. One of the limitations of this method is that the study did not collect views and information from other sources such as the public, owners of media houses, correspondents, and other media employees. This is because the opinions and data from these other sources were beyond the scope of this study. On the other hand, a small sample size was another limitation because of the time constraints of the research. This only allowed a limited number of newspapers to be tested for a particular period of the year. However, a small sample was not a problem in this study because the interest was not after a representative sample but on how the contents and issues relating to gender-based have been portrayed in the selected news prints.

1.8 1.8 Definition of terms.

Agenda setting: This is the ability of the press to select some topic of great importance and influence its agenda to the public media.

Episodic framing: Episodic framing is present when the media pick up an issue such as gender based violence and present it in an oriented way.

Female: The term refers to an individual who is capable of bearing young ones or usually produces immobile gametes as eggs that are fertilized by small motile gametes of a male.

Frame building: In the news media, it is selecting of some aspects of an event and relating it in a way meant to promote a particular interpretation to the public.

Frames: This is a presentation of an event by the media to shape how people perceive it.

Frame setting: This is the interaction between media frames and individual's prior knowledge and dispositions.

Framing: It includes construction of a social phenomenon mostly by the press, actors, politicians, social movements and government leaders.

Gender: In this study the term is used as a way of expressing various socially constructed attributes between males and females which are not biological.

Gender-based violence: It means the violence directed at either gender which is capable of causing physical and psychological harm. The violence can take place through coercion and deprivations of personal liberties.

Gender contract: The term is used to explain both an explicit and implicit rule which govern the nature of gender relations such as allocation of personal duties and responsibilities.

Gender system: This is a system of gender roles and actions in society.

Leadership: This refers to practical skills and abilities of a person that can inspire and motivate others to do something which they could not have done alone.

Male: The term is mostly used to refer to individuals who produce small usually motile gametes which fertilize the eggs of a female.

Media: The term media is used to denote a number of outlets such as print and broadcast which serve as a means to disseminate information to the public or a particular group in the society.

Media effects: This refers to the influence in terms of thoughts and actions produced by an event highlighted by media outlets such as newspapers, radios and television.

Media frames: This includes the effort accorded to a particular event by the media with an aim of giving it a specific interpretation and meaning.

Newspaper: This consists of a serial publication containing a collection of articles, news, opinions and adverts. It is printed on daily, weekly or monthly basis.

Priming: It is the effects produced on people's behaviours by events highlighted in the media.

Print media: The term is associated with the industry which deals with printing and distributing of news through newspapers, magazines, leaflets and other means.

Sexual and gender-based violence: These are acts such as sexual assault, coercion or use of threats, abuse and rape which are directed at an individual because of their gender.

Stereotypes: This is a firmly fixed and oversimplified beliefs regarding a particular groups which is not always true.

Thematic framing: This includes the way media places events and events in a larger and more analytical level.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This section deals with previous literature about the study problem. Specifically, it deals with how the media has framed gender-based violence in Kenya and other part of the world. In addition, the section ends with a discussion about the theory that will guide the study.

2.1 Framing and the media

McCombs and Shaw (1968) point out that research on framing and media frames started with the 1968 coverage of the presidential campaigns and elections in the United States. These authors revealed that most of the pioneer researches argued that if the news media paid more attention to a particular story then audiences rated that story as being more dominant and important than others. This was referred to as agenda setting by the media which means that there is a strong association between the prominence which the mass media assigns certain issues and the significance accredited to those issues by mass media audiences (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). According to McCombs and Shaw (1968), this prominence is usually on the frequency, size and space of the story, relative placement of news articles, and the amount of coverage given to a story in the media. Therefore, agenda setting is primarily concerned with how the media directly influences or persuades audiences about what kind of story they should think about and how they should think about that story (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, cited in Price and Feldman 2009). In this kind of scenario, audiences are viewed as being utterly passive because

they simply permit the media to introduce them to innovative ideas (Shah *et al.*, 2009; Carol and McCombs, 2003).

According to De Vreese (2005), there are two main ways of conceptualizing framing, namely, frame building and frame setting. Specifically, the concept frame building refers to the factors that affect the internal structural qualities of media frames and it is normally applied to how news reporters give prominence to stories in the newspapers (Kwansah-Aidoo, 2005). The factors which constrain the building of frames consist of editorial policies and guidelines, resources, time, space, vested commercial interests of media houses as well as news priorities and values (De Vreese 2005). These factors constrain frame building in such a way that the media frames which are generated by journalists inevitably highlight some issues while ignoring or discarding others. Nonetheless, the primary purpose of highlighting certain issues at the expense of others is to persuade audiences to read about those issues. This is usually achieved by building and then applying the most dominant frames since these have the greatest influence on audiences (Gastil, 2008). For example, Iyengar (1994) found that the most dominant frames in newspaper analyses of politics and elections are normally episodic media frames which lay emphasis on the winning and losing by individual candidates. De Vreese (2005) further suggests that a game or competition schema framed episodically is the prominent frame which is used to focus on the style of either a winning or losing candidate in the elections in order to bring out an overall picture of the polls.

Sutherland *et al.* (2015) also reiterate that in most countries media stories about gender-based violence is exceptionally biased towards event reporting or episodic

framing. These stories focus primarily on discrete and prominent incidents of, for instance, gender-based violence which are located in specific socio-cultural contexts and time periods. For example, in their study Wozniak and McCloskey (2010, cited in Sutherland *et al.* 2015) found that episodic framing was more inclined towards breaking news and first reports of gender-based violence rather than follow-up features as well as the overarching socio-cultural contexts in which such violence occurred. Yet, the socio-cultural context is imperative because it commonly refers to the fact that the gender-based violence perpetrated against women is rooted in patriarchy which fuels gender inequality in many societies. Gebner and Gross (2006) clarifies that episodic framing tends to elicit individualistic rather than societal attributions of responsibility for gender-based violence. Specifically, episodic framing is less likely to consider the government than individuals as being responsible for gender-based violence in the society.

According to Morgan and Politoff (2012), events-based news stories normally discuss gender-based violence against women in relation to incidents of violence such as criminal events and the stories are often framed in relation to law and order. Therefore, Carlyle *et al.* (2008) intimate that events-based coverage of gender-based violence against women is commonly represented in individualized terms rather than through contextualized accounts (McManus and Dorfman 2005; Taylor 2009). Maxwell *et al.* (2000) moreover contend that the propensity to report distinct episodes of aggression against females, rather than the social factors of the crime, is problematic because it shifts the onus of solving the predicament from the society to the individual victim and the perpetrator.

On the other hand, Scheufele (1999) states that thematic framing presents stories in a broader context that encompass socio-cultural, economic and political factors which contribute to gender-based violence in different societies. Iyengar (2007) and Gebner and Gross (2006) add that thematic framing is more likely to attribute gender-based violence to broader institutions such as the society or the government than to individuals as perpetrators and victims of the violence. Therefore, London (2016) surmises that individuals who read episodically framed stories concerning gender-based violence at the individual level will tend to attribute the violence on individual failings compared with those who read thematically framed stories about higher rates of gender-based violence at the national level. This is because readers of thematic frames will be inclined to believe that the causes of and solutions to gender-based violence at the national level are as a result of poor government policies and, therefore, beyond the control of individuals (cf. Matthes, 2009).

However, Sutherland, *et al.* (2015) caution that there are no single clarifications about how or why print media audiences are influenced by what they read in the news. This is because the influence of the media is a complex process interlocking multiple actors including sources, journalists, editors and audiences. But unquestionably, and relevant to the objectives of this study, the way the information is framed can increase public understanding of gender-based violence and more importantly challenge its existence in society (cf. Eastal *et al.* 2015). The Internet is likely to change episodic and thematic framing in journalism research and mass communication studies because it exposes audiences to a variety of infinite amount of information online (Metzger, 2009). These online frames may compete with each other and in the process give more holistic

and positive views towards the elimination of gender-based violence. However, audiences also play greater roles in the selection of the media and which frames they are exposed to when using the Internet. This could result in exposure to similar multiple frames simultaneously and the strengthening of the attitudes of audiences towards the purging of gender-based violence in modern societies (Metzger, 2009). In fact, Morgan and Politoff (2012) suggests that attitudes, perceptions and knowledge all shape how people apprehend and deal with all social problems that occur in their midst.

De Vreese (2005) suggests that both framing and media frames can also be studied as a communicative process. This is because both framing and communication are dynamic, ever-changing and fluid and they consist of frame building and frame setting. Conceptually, frame building encapsulates all those aspects of news and information that determine the internal structures of each news story. Frame setting, on its part, involves the interactions amongst print media frames as well as the comprehension and dispositions of readers of newspapers. In particular, frame setting helps readers to translate and, thus, apprehend in emically meaningful idioms a news story about gender-based violence in the newspapers. According to De Vreese (2005), frame setting has been investigated thoroughly in an attempt to explore and capture the scope and circumstances under which audiences reflect and mirror the media frames availed to them. Entman (1993) contends that media framing is actually an imprint of the power of patriarchy and hegemonic structures in media houses which fails to accord prominence and dominance to stories about gender-based violence against women.

2.2 Media effects

Much of the previous research on media effects has been carried out on political and election matters in various regions of the world. Ross (2010) explains that this previous research has clearly indicated that the news media routinely reinforce dominant norms and values prevailing in any society. This is normally achieved through news analysis and evaluations and not just a mere reporting of events or facts. According to Nesbitt (2006), news analysis and evaluations of gender-based violence, for instance, involve filtering, selecting, and emphasizing certain events in an article. And framing, according to De Vreese (2005), is a central component of this process since news and media frames determine what is excluded, what is included, what is seen as salient and what is regarded as being unimportant and, thus, de-emphasized and discarded. This is because no single story concerning gender-based violence can be described in its entirety given limited space and time demands on news organizations. Therefore, space and time constraints normally compel journalists in the print media to use frames, stereotypes, and shortcuts in order to ensure the gist of any story about gender-based violence is comprehensible to the readers (Nesbitt 2006).

Hirdman (2010) introduced the concept of gender system in media effects and mass communication research to show that it is anchored in two logical assumptions, namely, the separation of the sexes (or sex differences) and male dominance (or patriarchy). This dual logic is upheld by what is described as a gender contract, which states that females and males are born into, and formed by, the gender system. Moreover, this gender system accounts for how and why there are differences in the media

representations of gender-based violence. On the other hand, Khan (2006) employs sex stereotypes to mean “a cognitive structure of inferential relations that link personal attributes, behaviours and beliefs to the social categories male and female.” According to Norris (2007:7), gender frames can be used to describe how journalists make use of orthodox contexts in order to clarify as well as emphasize the flow of narratives about events in the public lives of females and males in their societies. Finally, Chang and Hitchon (2007:35) uses the notion of offender schema to signify conceptual cognitive structures, which people use when trying to comprehend activities, behaviours as well as traits traditionally associated with females and males in different socio-cultural settings.

Consequently, concepts such as frames, schema, and stereotypes are useful heuristic devices when analysing the framing of gender-based violence in the mainstream print media in Kenya. For example, frames describes how journalists make use of the social categories female and male when covering stories on gender-based violence, schema, conversely, are useful in understanding how audiences interpret the terms male and female while stereotypes describe the ways in which the socio-cultural categories female and male subjectively influence the self-perceptions of journalists regarding gender-based violence.

2.3 The nature of media framing

According to Oates (2008) and Corner (2003), all societies communicate, share, and attempt to come to terms with social issues through the mass media. For example, in politics the media have nowadays become the public sphere in which the identities of different leaders as persons of good qualities are constructed. Subsequently, these

qualities are used as criteria to disqualify certain individuals from becoming public political office-bearers. This intimates that the media influence how voters conceptualize political issues as well as their political leaders (Ramsden, 2006). This is also applicable to the manner in which the media influence the conceptualization and, therefore, the interpretation of gender-based violence by audiences. In particular, it has been suggested that the media usually provide audiences with words and phrases that they in turn use when describing matters related to gender-based violence. However, Popkin (2004) argues that people do not always make inferences about gender-based violence based solely on what they listen to, see, and read in the media. This is because people are rational enough to make their own independent conclusions and judgements about gender-based violence and all other social issues that confront them in their daily endeavours.

Nonetheless, Devitt (1993) counters that there is strong evidence that supports the notion that the way the media describe events and issues surrounding gender-based violence can shape the perceptions of audiences. For example, Devitt (1993) states that if the media only gives an account of an isolated incident of gender-based violence, audiences may entirely miss to apprehend the inter-linkages between the socio-cultural contexts and the causes of gender-based violence. Yet, according to Morgan and Politoff (2012), fathoming the contexts and causes of gender-based violence is crucial because they help in devising effective actions that can help in averting the occurrence of such violence in the future. This is primarily because the causes of gender-based violence are strongly embedded in the socio-cultural environments where people live, work, and play. Consequently, strategies to prevent gender-based violence need to target these same

places. For the same reason, in politics if a newspaper only describes the attire of a female leader or simply comments on her marital status but neglects her views on gender-based violence, the reader may gain less understanding of where she stands on such an issue.

Some scholars such as Murray (2010) and Leeper (2011) firmly indicate that there are major gender differences in the way the media cover the views of females compared to their male counterparts concerning various social issues and events in society. For example, the media tends to give less coverage as well as low priority and prominence to the views of females relative to those of the males. In addition, the coverage received is likely to be negative and stereotypical (Carroll and Ronnee 2007). Similarly, Devitt (2009) examined news coverage in six state-wide races in the US and found that female and male gubernatorial candidates received approximately equal amounts of news attention. However, the news media were more likely to focus on the personal lives, appearances, and personalities of female candidates while male candidates received more news attention concerning their perceived expertise on policies and public priorities. Carroll and Ronnee (2007) also observed that the issues of foreign policy, defence, trade and economy were more likely to be discussed in relation to males while female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) was mentioned in reference to females.

Leeper (2011) similarly notes that stereotypes are usually employed when females are framed as being more competent at handling such issues as poverty, education, and environment, childcare and healthcare though males are framed as being more adept at dealing with issues related to the economy, foreign policy, national security, and defence.

Diekman and Eagley (2010) remark that research on stereotypes and the use of gendered terms suggest that males are generally perceived as possessing instrumental traits such as boldness, rationality, unemotional, hardworking, untrustworthiness, vitality, competitiveness, effectiveness, toughness, intelligence, aggressiveness, knowledgeable, independence, and ambitious. On the other hand, the expressive traits which are associated with females include gentleness, honesty, weakness, attractiveness, passivity, emotional as well as uninformed and unintelligence (Carroll and Ronnee 2007; Kahn 2006).

Fox and Oxley (2003) observe that media framing based on these stereotyped female and male traits just serves to reinforce the traditional public versus private distinctions which are prevalent in many societies. According to Bysrtom *et al.* (2011), in politics the press today continues to distinguish between female and male political candidates by framing them in terms of their policy priorities and their personal qualities including their appearances, sex lives, marital statuses, family lives, leadership experience and education (cf. Banwart 2001). Specifically, the attention paid by the media to the marital statuses and children of female political candidates reflects the double standards still in place in society when evaluating the abilities of females in balancing their professional and personal lives. Thus, journalists are fond of framing females in ways and with words which emphasis their traditional and prescribed stereotypical roles, appearances and behaviours. Moreover, females are more likely to be subjects of negative gender distinctions and publicity where their sex is conceptualized as a barrier and an obstacle in public life. On the other hand, males are more likely to be described in gender-neutral terms. This has made Lynda (2008) to conclude in fact

correspondents often field questions to female politicians which they do not always ask male politicians. Thus, feminists such as Carter and Steiner (2008) believe that decisions and productions concerning gender-based violence news items do not always necessarily follow the values of what qualifies to be a news story in terms of newsworthiness, exclusivity, and timeliness. This research examined the types of gendered frames as well as stereotyped male and female traits that the print media have used while covering gender-based violence in Kenya (Fox and Oxley 2003).

2.4 The framing of females in the media

Much research attention nowadays focuses on the marked gender differences in the media coverage, construction, and framing of the positions and roles of females in societies around the world. Norris (2007) argues that in Kenya, like elsewhere on the globe, media framing significantly shapes the perceptions among audiences that females and males are supposed to occupy different positions and roles in their communities. This kind of framing is actually informed by prevailing socio-cultural norms, traditions, and prescriptions of patriarchy, which exist in many societies around the world. However, in some countries such as Bangladesh, Brazil, Germany, Great Britain, India, Liberia, Pakistani, Scotland and South Korea females have managed to occupy the highest offices in the land (Murray 2010). In Kenya, the number of females who have been appointed, elected, and nominated to political positions has gradually increased over the years since Kenya's independence from Britain in 1963 (Kamau 2010). This increase has now been helped by Article 81 (b) of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, which stipulates, "not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender"

(National Council for Law Reporting 2019:90). Nonetheless, the representation of females in Kenya's parliament has been and remains minimal (Bwisa 2016). For example, only 9.8% of the tenth parliament was comprised of females while only 20.7% of the eleventh (sitting) parliament is women. This is the lowest political representation by Kenyan females in East Africa because Rwanda has the highest at 58.0% followed by Tanzania at 36.0% and both Burundi and Uganda at 35.0% each (Bwisa 2016).

However, the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, has created special seats for females to occupy in order to participate in the political process in the country. For example, the constitution has forty-seven (47) seats reserved for females to be elected into the National Assembly, sixteen (16) seats for females to be nominated by each political party and one female seat representing the youth, persons with disabilities and the workers into the Senate and county governments. Lastly, there is a provision in the constitution for the appointments and nominations of females into other decision-making bodies (cf. National Council for Law Reporting, 2010). Despite all these affirmative action measures, Bwisa (2016) observes that out of a total of 237 aspirants for the gubernatorial and senatorial positions only 19 females were candidates during the 2013 general elections. Moreover, none of these female aspirants were elected as governors or senators. Conversely, in the National Assembly only 16 females were elected, five (5) were nominated by their political parties while forty-seven (47) are county women representatives. Although the Senate does not have elected females, there are 18 of them filling the 18 (26.8%) reserved seats under the constitution. Lastly, there are only 88 (6.0%) elected female ward representatives out of a total of 1,450 across the country (Bwisa 2016; Mumma 2014).

However, Made (2008) observes that females in such high profile positions and roles are constructed and framed by the media as not conforming to prescribed and stereotyped gender norms. These gender norms stipulate that females are expected to stay in the private sphere, marry and raise families. This is because the public sphere and high profile offices are construed to be a preserve for males. Thus, females who step out of the gender norms are framed as outsiders and using gendered stereotypes. For example, the media described Hon. Martha Karua as “the only man in Kibaki’s government” during the political negotiations after Kenya’s post-election violence of 2007/2008. This is because of her tough negotiation skills (Oyaro, 2007). In such a case, the media fell back on the use of gendered frames informed by stereotypes. Thus, Oyaro (2007) concludes that the way the media frames females could be attributed to how the journalists have been socialized towards females and their issues. According to Kahn (1994), gender biases towards females which are disseminated through the press are significant because they have consequences. This is because people respond to issues based on the information received from the mass media.

2.5 The effects of media framing

According to Reese (2005), the notions of media framing effects, agenda setting and priming have gained momentum in communication disciplines giving guidance to investigations into media content as well as studies about the relationships between the media and public opinion. Scheufele (2007) and McQuail (2005) suggest that the emerging body of research into framing, agenda setting, and priming has signalled the latest paradigm shift in mass communication studies. Specifically, McQuail (2005:2)

traces the history of research into media framing effects through four stages beginning with the early hypodermic needle and magic-bullet models of the 1920s and 30s where media messages were seen to have strong effects on attitudes. The second stage saw the revision of the strong media effects to personal influences as the main influence on attitudinal changes. The 1970s marked another paradigm shift in research on mass communication with the proclamation by Noelle-Neumann (2003) about the return of the powerful mass media and the focus changed from attitude change to cognitive effects of the mass media. In addition, the 1970s was the birth of agenda setting research while the last stage started in the 1980s and it brought about what McQual (2005) labelled social constructivism or negation models such as priming and framing. These models are based on the idea that the mass media has potentially strong attitudinal effects but that these effects, according to Scheufele (2007), also depend heavily on predispositions, schema and other characteristics of the audiences. These characteristics influence how audiences process messages in the mass media.

Conversely, Pan and Kosicki (1993) trace the roots of framing in both psychology and sociology and particularly with work of Goffman (1974). According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), framing refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to portray information in a way that resonates with existing underlying primary schemas among their audience. This is because facts alone have no meaning of their own but it is only by being placed in some socio-cultural context through emphasis as part of a frame that facts take on relevance (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987). Gans (1979) hastens to add that framing does not mean that the journalists try to spin a story or deceive their audiences instead framing for journalists

represent a necessary tool which reduces the complexity of an issue given the constraints related to news holes and airtime of respective media houses.

Entman (1993) further explains how the media provide audiences with crucial schemas for interpreting events by highlighting two essential factors, namely, selection and salience. According to Entman (1993), to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make it more salient in a communication text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treat recommendations. The emphasis on the selection and salience of particular aspects of an issue rather than to the issue itself is what differentiates framing research from agenda setting and gate keeping approaches (Scheufele, 2007). Entman (1993) moreover argues that frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. In media contents, frames reside in the specific properties of the news narratives that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understanding of them (Entman 2007). These news frames are constructed from and embodied in keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images embedded in a news narrative. Through placement and repetition, the media increase the salience of certain ideas while decreasing the relevance of others. Gitlin (2010) adds that frames provide, repeat, and reinforce words and images that reference some ideas and not others. This emphasis on, or exclusion of, information may either be intentional or unintentional and the information that is de-emphasized or omitted can be just as important as the information that is presented in an article (Entman, 1993).

According to Gamson and Modigliani (2007), a single news story can contain more than one frame because frames are elements that appear within a news story while framing is effective because it is a heuristic or mental shortcut. For example, Fiske and Taylor (1991) explain that human beings are by nature cognitive misers, meaning they prefer to do as little thinking as possible. Therefore, frames provide people with a quick and easy way to process information and they use previously mentioned mental biters (or schema) to make sense of incoming messages. This gives the sender and framer of the information enormous power to use these schemas to influence how the receivers will interpret the message. The concept of framing links with that of agenda setting by consistently invoking a particular frame such that the framing party may effectively control discussions and perceptions of issues such as gender-based violence. The impact of these frames on public perception is termed framing effects. Scheufele (2007) explains that people tend to favour the facts that are brought to their attention through frames and the way an event is framed by the media can affect how audiences understand that particular event. Druckman (2001) argues that since frames put the complexity of the world into context to help individuals make sense of the world around them, framing effects occur because citizens do not seek out additional information, but instead look to credible sources such as the media for answers (Goffman 1974; London 2016).

De Vreese (2005) explains that media framing summarizes the framing concept in terms of frame building (how frames emerge) and frame setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions). In particular, frame building refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames while frame setting refers to the interaction between media frames and the prior knowledge and predispositions of an

individual. De Vreese (2005) adds that the consequences of framing can be conceived both at the individual and the societal level. At individual level, consequence may be the altered attitudes about an issue such as gender-based violence based on exposure to certain frames. Conversely, at the societal level frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as socialization, decision-making, and collective actions about, for example, the elimination of female genital mutilation/cutting.

2.6 Print media framing of gender-based violence and other issues

Previous studies have been undertaken about print media framing of gender-based violence and other gender issues in both Kenya and other developing countries. Omari (2008) carried out an analysis of newspaper articles in *Daily Nation*, *Kenya Times* and *The Standard*. The study found that in Kenya's print media many stories on gender-based violence against females are replete with pigeonhole images that encode domesticity, femininity, and motherhood at the expense of their other roles in national development. Also, as fillers of space in the daily newspapers, stories about females and their issues are accorded less space and are portrayed more negatively compared to their male equivalents. However, female correspondents tended to portray females in the newspaper articles more positively. Omari (2008) further identified several factors, which contribute to the marginalization and low coverage of females in the print media including the idioms and values of patriarchy, a small percentage of female professionals in the print media industry, and the fact that the media industry in Kenya is largely owned and dominated by males.

King'ori and Ojiambo (2016) scrutinised articles in the *Daily Nation* and *Nairobiian* which were published between June 1st and August 31st, 2015. All the articles were concerned with the print media representations of gender-based violence messages from Nyeri County, Kenya. The study came to four conclusions (1) Most of the news articles were neutral, (2) Being a tabloid-style weekly, the *Nairobiian* framed domestic violence in a sensational manner using vivid language, graphics and colourful pictorials while the *Daily Nation*, being a mainstream newspaper, used a more conservative approach in its coverage, (3) The two newspapers used the angry and violent frames to show that the Nyeri woman was the perpetrator while the alcoholic and helpless frames were utilized to portray the Nyeri man as the victim and (4) Previous gender media narratives such as the Bobbitt's gender violence story and the Angry black woman phenomenon paralleled the localised *Nyerification* effect.

Nzuma (2015) focused on the framing of violence against women in the print media in Namibia. News articles, photos, commentaries and editorial were collected from two newspapers, *The Namibian* and *New Era*, covering the period of 1 January to 31 December 2013. The study exposed that violence against women has now become a steady fodder of news in the print media because it is a daily tragedy for women in Namibia. Therefore, the media have a significant responsibility of projecting the seriousness and need for attention to social issues such as violence against women in the society. Nonetheless, the research exposed that violence against women media reports are event-based failing to give in-depth analysis by bringing out the seriousness of the violence against women issue. The study also concludes that the print media in Namibia exhibits a press routine system that marginalises and ostracises women when it comes to

violence against women reportage which reflects a patriarchal discourse. This is because there is a masculine nature in the media reports on violence against women. Towards this end, the study draws attention to the need for media changes in the coverage of social issues like violence against women for the benefit of the society.

Koga (2014) studied the reporting of sexual and gender-based violence in the Kenyan media to understand how and why it is framed. The study found out that the media is judgemental and negatively critical in reporting on sexual and gender-based violence. The media criticises the aggressors or perpetrators and vilifies as well as judges them even before they are given a fair hearing in court. In reporting on sexual and gender-based violence, the study similarly felt that the media are activists for sexual assault victims. This is because the media demand for justice for the victims and their financial and psychological help in order that they can be treated and heal from the physical and psychological injuries of the assault. At the same time, the media demand for prosecution of the perpetrators. The study similarly found that frames such as brutality, injustice, chauvinism and feminism were present in the reporting of sexual and gender-based violence stories in Kenya. Therefore, the study recommends for more coverage of stories on rape and sexual violence as well as the need for accurate, fair and balanced reporting on issues of sexual violence by the media. The study further suggests the need for other studies related to sexual violence and rape, thus making practical steps towards dealing with this problem.

On the other hand, Igbino (2008) examined the Nigerian print media coverage of sexuality issues from January 1 to June 30, 2008. Content analysis was used to examine 594 issues of the three selected newspapers and two news magazines. The

findings show that the print media in Nigeria did not give adequate coverage to sexuality issues for the period under study. Furthermore, the stories which were reported lacked prominence which they nevertheless deserved. The researcher recommended that the Nigerian print media should demystify the concept of human sexuality and enhance the right sexual attitude amongst individuals in the society by ensuring that a majority of the stories on sexuality issues are sourced from specialists in such areas as it would enhance the quality of information disseminated to the public on the subject matter.

Ejigu (2008) content-analysed a nationally representative sample of newspaper coverage of gender violence during the period of September 2006 to September 2007. Three Amharic newspapers, namely, *Addis Admas*, *Police na Ermijaw*, and *Medical* which deal with the social, crime and health aspects of gender violence, were used for analysis. In addition, journalists and editors who work for the sample newspapers were interviewed to supplement the information gathered through content analysis. The results of the study show that in terms of coverage, the analysed newspapers mostly framed gender violence using human interest and empathy frames. However, they ignored economic and conflict frames. Conversely, private owned *Addis Admas* and government owned *Police na Ermijaw* gave gender violence a better extent of coverage compared to *Medical*. Furthermore, rape and beating were found to be the most frequently reported forms of violence in the newspapers. Moreover, many of the articles were informative rather than educative because they focused on reporting committed violence and court trials held regarding gender violence. Little was done, however, in educating the public on the health consequences and possible treatments of the violence.

Muchemi (2015) assessed the extent to which media coverage of cases of domestic violence has perpetuated gender stereotypes among Kenyan media consumers, thus, fuelling more violence. Principally, the paper analysed the framing of domestic violence victims basing on the choice of the words of the reporters, the accounts of eye witnesses and the views of those who consumed the story. The paper also addressed the possible causes of the propagation of gender stereotyping in reporting cases of domestic violence. According to the findings, there is gender-based bias in the media coverage of domestic violence. Further, the coverage of domestic violence in Kenya is full of gender stereotype depiction and perpetuation which is likely to fuel domestic violence. In their study, Gakahu and Mukhongo (2007) revealed that daily newspapers in Kenya are written for males and about their affairs whereas females remain invisible in relation to the serious issues of the day. However, it was noted that there have been some attempts to cover matters concerning Kenyan females and to sell the dailies to them. These efforts have taken the form of having separate and detached “women’s pages” slotted into the main daily and weekly newspapers. Nonetheless, these sections for the females are normally filled with stereotyped roles of domesticity, fantasy, over simplicity as well as beauty and vanity, thus, denying acknowledging the productive roles of females in society. Nevertheless, the study concludes that the negative and stereotyped portrayal of females in the Kenyan print media has deleterious repercussions for the country’s development. (cf. Maria 2003; Kahn 2006; Banwart 2001; Bysrtom *et al.* 2011). In addition, Ceulemans and Fauconnier (1979) argue that the very existence of a separate newspaper section for the female readers is inherently prejudicial and chauvinistic. This

is because it intimates that all other news areas of a newspaper are exclusively the domain of males.

A comparative study by Osindo (2015) tried to establish the framing devices used by both the *Daily Nation* and *People Daily* newspapers to communicate climate change information. The target population for this study consisted of all newspaper articles in the two local dailies ranging from January, 2012 to June 2012. The findings of this study suggest that the effects and mitigation frames were two of the most common frames used to communicate information on climate change. The study recommends that the print media editors should liaise with climate change scientists in order to bridge the gap between available information on climate change issues and audience's perceptions of the same. Again, editorial boards should consider having special supplementary sections in their newspapers dedicated to increasing the level of awareness among readers concerning climate change. Finally, print media firms should train reporters in science journalism so as to increase interest in this topic and build on the reporters' capacity to apply the correct frames that would demystify climate change issues in Kenya.

On the other hand, a study by King'oina and Ogola (2015) aimed at finding out whether there were any differences in the presentation of Kenyan female and male athletes in the mainstream print media during the August 2013 World IAAF Championship in Moscow, Russia. The study discerned that the media sometimes deliberately give stereotype images of female and male athletes. This is because male athletes who participate in boxing, football and rugby are stereotypically portrayed as being more physically strong and mentally tough with real male manners compared with

female athletes. By contrast, female athletes who even engage in traditionally prescribed male sports are stereotypically portrayed as being very emotional and highly dependent on the support of male coaches and their families.

Kitula (2002) moreover suggests that coverage of sports by the media in Kenya has largely been dominated by the participation of males at the expense of the participation of females. In fact, this is mirrored in the customary perception that males are more active and athletic while females are the exact opposite. However, with the continuous participation of females in different sporting disciplines, this has helped shape the reporting of female sports in Kenya. Therefore, Kitula (2012) examined the extent to which Kenyan sports writers treat sports stories involving females in their reportage. The study also sought to establish how female athletes are treated and if the practice of portraying female athletes as the objects of humour continues to exist. The author determined that a hegemonic structure of the Kenyan newsrooms leads to little coverage of female athletes in sports because the focus is usually on males and their activities. The respective sports departments also employ few females.

Okere and Sam-Okere (2013) explored the framing of female participants in the “Big Naira Begins with Small Kobo.” This is a feature column on entrepreneurship in *The Punch*, a leading national newspaper in Nigeria. From the analysis, the paper concluded that the framing of females in the world of entrepreneurship can serve as an important tool for enhancing their socio-economic empowerment. Therefore, *The Punch* can fulfil its mission of being a veritable instrument of social change by increasing its numerical quota of positive images of female entrepreneurs in Nigeria.

Anini (2014) examined the role played by the media in disseminating road safety information in the *Daily Nation* newspapers published in the period between January 1st 2013 and June 31st 2013. The broad objective was to understand how the *Daily Nation* newspaper prime road safety information. Therefore, the study looked at article placement, frequency, and article size, theme of article, article prominence as well as the photos and graphics used. The findings show that most of articles on road safety were published in the inner pages leaving prime pages for other news especially politics. Specifically, a majority of the road safety stories found their space on the cover page only when there was a major smash-up involving numerous mortalities. In addition, many of the articles on road safety were reduced to briefs with very few photos and graphics to support these articles. The research also found out that advertising plays a major role in determining the space allocated to editorial content which has a direct impact on the size of stories in terms of length. The study furthermore established that the editorial policy of the Nation Media Group, which publishes the *Daily Nation*, plays a key role in dictating what kind of material is published. Thus, any material considered not aligning with this policy is either edited to conform or discarded altogether which could compromise or distort the content and in the process failing to convey the intended message (Anini 2014).

Mogambi *et al.* (2013) content-analysed newspaper articles on HIV/AIDS in all issues of the *Daily Nation* newspapers in the year 2010. The major focus was on the role that the print media play in tackling HIV/AIDS in Kenya. The findings indicate that the *Daily Nation* lacks a clear and consistency editorial policy that can guide the collecting and reporting of HIV/AIDS information in an efficient and consistent manner. Similarly,

HIV/AIDS news articles are rarely given prominence in this newsprint. Therefore, there is a need for consistency in the coverage of HIV/AIDS pandemic as well as involving people living with HIV (PLHIV) in discussions of the epidemic.

Onsomu (2015) states that early studies over the low female representation in the Kenyan legislature indicated that male politicians received more total media coverage than female politicians. However, newer studies have suggested that coverage for women politicians has improved over time although less research has been done to compare the coverage of female versus male in the print media. In addition, although some studies have concluded that there is no gender bias in the media coverage, they have failed to consider the quantity and quality of coverage given to the females as compared to the male parliamentarians owing to the fact the number of women in parliament has increased over time. Specifically, the 11th Parliament, having come into being after passing the Constitution of Kenya in 2010, saw more females than ever in the history of Kenya elected and others nominated to the parliament. This is because the 11th Parliament has a total of 86 female parliamentarians with 63 having been elected and 23 nominated by political parties as compared to over 300 male parliamentarians.

Onsomu (2015) undertook a comparative content analysis of articles in the *Daily Nation*, *Saturday* and *Sunday Nation*, *The Standard* and the *Saturday* and *Sunday Standard* newspapers for the period of May to June 2014. The main focus was on the quality and quantity of the coverage of female and male parliamentarians in Kenya. The key findings indicate that the amount of print media coverage conferred to female and male parliamentarians was uneven with females receiving less coverage compared to

their male counterparts. The results more show that news stories, political analysis, features, editorials and commentaries featured both parliamentarians who were covered in political, economic and social spheres but the articles a took neutral tone with gendered frames not being substantially established. Parliamentarians were covered when both in and outside parliament and articles on female parliamentarians were placed in the inside pages of the newspapers and were given less space as compared to placement and size given to articles on the male parliamentarians. The study deduces that there is a need for enhanced efforts towards equipping female parliamentarians to be able to strategically place themselves and seize up the opportunities provided by the media.

In addition, Thuo (2012) sought to explore how the Kenyan news print media have framed the twenty-two female parliamentarians in the tenth parliament in their coverage. The objectives of the study were twofold. The first one was to examine the amount of media coverage and level of prominence given to stories on females in politics; and secondly, to identify the dominant gender frames used in news print media content. The study unearthed that the articles about these female parliamentarians were usually hidden in the inside pages of the newspapers and rarely did their names make it to the headlines, thus, making them invisible. The study concluded that hidden influences such as the cultural backgrounds of media professionals (a majority of whom are males), the principles of what makes news and the commercial interests of media houses all contribute to the invisibility and low coverage of females in the print media in Kenya.

Jemaneh (2013) analyzed stories in *Addis Admass* (a privately-owned newspaper) and *Addis Zemen* (a state-owned newsprint). The study discovered that the two

newspapers usually advocate for a change in gender and social relations in both the private and public spheres of life in Ethiopia. However, the newspapers still support gender stereotypes and the status quo regarding gender and gender relations in the wider Ethiopian society.

Simiyu (2013) examined news articles in *People Daily*, *The Standard*, and *Daily Nation* distributed between 21st September, 2011 and 30th September, 2011. The major focus was to determine if the owners of privately held media outlets influenced the information in their newspapers about the ICC case against President Uhuru Kenyatta. The study found that as compared to *The Standard*, and *Daily Nation* newspapers, *People Daily* had a more favourable media content for Uhuru Kenyatta because of an overbearing private ownership.

Mogambi and Nyakeri (2015) examined how the print media in Kenya reported road traffic accidents by identifying the patterns of reporting and issues arising from such reporting in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. It was found that the newspapers play a significant role in passing on road traffic accidents information to the public, although a lot still needs to be done to address an obvious gap. In particular, the print media should improve on the reportage and priming of stories on road traffic accidents. Additionally, more space needs to be allocated to road safety issues even as all stakeholders are encouraged to share information and opinions regarding road safety through the media. Lastly, the information on road traffic accidents and associated issues need to be published in prime pages regularly and not only when reporting on road crashes.

Ileri (2013) investigated the prevalence of five media frames, namely, attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest and international interest in op-ed articles published in Kenya's *Sunday Nation* newspaper. Through the lens of the attribution of responsibility frame, the study examined who, between President Mwai Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga, was blamed for problems facing Kenya following the formation the Grand Coalition Government in 2008. The newspaper also analysed whether both leaders in the Grand Coalition Government were framed negatively or positively. The results show that the conflict frame was the most prevalent, followed by international interest, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences and human interest. In addition, Kibaki was blamed more, and thus framed more negatively, than Odinga.

Lore, *et al.* (2013) dealt with the coverage of GM crops in Kenya with a specific focus on *Daily Nation*, *The Standard*, and *Taiifa Leo*. The study concluded the following: *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* were dominated by agriculture frames while the coverage in *Taiifa Leo* was predominated by safety and regulation frames. However, neutral frames were a minority in the three sampled newspapers. The study recommended that these newspapers should improve the quality of the coverage of their news items and also that journalists should be trained in order to ensure that there is objectivity and balanced reporting.

Randall (2014) conducted a content analysis of the East African Nation Media Group newspapers' framing of the GMO debate from 2010-2013 as well as a literature review on the transatlantic debate on GMOs. The GMO debate has been described as polarized between European and U.S. political approaches and further as influencing the

way that Africans respond to this inherited debate. According to Randall (2014), newspapers in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have unique approaches to reporting on GMO adoption and regulation that do not ignore transnational influences but does not necessarily correspond with characterizations of an “inherited” debate. In journalists’ reporting on GMOs in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, they encounter transnational networks of donors, foundations, governments, researchers, farmers and others spanning from the Global North to East Africa. Each approach is described as benevolent—a panacea for hunger and malnutrition or a preservation of Africa’s biodiversity and traditional indigenous agricultural practices. This misses the skewed power balance in these transnational networks, which privilege experiences in the Global North and outline the socioeconomic conditions that have led to poverty in sub-Saharan Africa in the first place. Therefore, the study described how journalists at the *Daily Nation*, the *Monitor* and the *Citizen* framed this debate and its contribution to understanding how East African journalists deal with transnational forces in their reporting.

Conversely, Abebe (2013) focused on how the Ethiopian print media framed inflation during the period of March 2008 to February 2009. Three newspapers namely, *Addis Zemen*, *Reporter* and *Negadras* were selected for the study and also in-depth interviews were conducted with the few journalists who work for sample newspapers. The findings revealed that the newspapers framed their news stories predominantly by selecting which facts to include or exclude, emphasize or de-emphasize as well as by positioning the information within the news stories. Specifically, *Addis Zemen* defined inflation as a problem caused by various factors and worsened by greedy retailers to unfairly accumulate wealth. Hence, the need for continuous regulation and punitive

measures against retailers has been in order. It also presented the establishment of consumers association to effectively curb the inflation. *Reporter*, on the other hand, defined inflation as a dramatic problem which came about as a result of the gap between supply and demand. . Therefore, this news print recommended effecting sensible economic development programmes. *Negadras*, on its part, defined inflation as a problem mainly caused and aggravated by shortages in agricultural produce. Thus, increasing production and productivity was suggested as a solution. Lack of knowledge on the part of journalists in the area of economics, reluctance of experts to serve as sources and the editorial policy were the grounds for the framing to come out as such in *Addis Zemen*. For *Reporter*, the complexity of the issue, freedom on the part of the journalists to cover issues without interference and strong background in economics and business education were the grounds for the framing to come out the way it did. Lastly, for *Negadras*, it was mainly because of the focus of the newspaper on business and economy which compelled it to side with business firms.

Deb and Charvak (2015) dealt with the media coverage of the migration of Chakma refugees from Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh to Tripura with special reference to two leading newspapers of Tripura. This study deployed both content analysis of newspaper reports on Chakma migration and interviews from a group of respondents selected through non-probability purposive sampling comprising of journalists and students representing the civil society for triangulation. The paper attempted to draw conclusions from framing and priming effects of the local media and related polarization of population on ethnic grounds as an impact of mediatized communication of ethnicity and stereotypes generated in media coverage. The study also

tried to raise arguments on presence or absence of media trial on responsibilities of the State in offering asylum and the responsibility to protect (R2P) and, thus, denial of the human rights aspect to conflict reporting. The study used a critical reading of the 2005 UN doctrine of the responsibility to protect (R2P), Draft National Rehabilitation Policy, 2006 and the Communal Violence (Prevention) Bill, 2005 (amended in 2009, 2011) to argue the role of the media in framing issues of asylum, national security, development and vice versa.

Muzyka, *et al.* (2012) analysed the contents of 34 online media articles published by the *Daily Nation* between January 1, 2008 and December 31, 2010 concerning condom promotion, partial immunity, limitations and complications of the procedure as well as emergent themes. The objectives of this study were to (1) investigate promotion messages in a popular online newspaper in order to determine how the limitations of male circumcision are represented, and whether condom use is still being promoted; and (2) gain insights into popular understandings of the limitations of this new procedure through newspaper reader comments. The results demonstrated an irregular and occasionally misleading presentation of these topics and a perceived lack of objective information about the risks and limitations of voluntary medical male circumcision. Thus, the study concluded that there is a need for governmental and non-governmental public health organizations to engage with the media to improve risk messaging. Kariuki (2013) assessed how Kenyan newspapers framed the coverage of people with disabilities (PWDs). The research analysed the contents of the news coverage in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers by determining the frequency and space allocation to PWDs news from November 01, 2012 to April 30, 2013. The study showed that the *Daily*

Nation had more PWD news placed prominently as compared to *The Standard*. Similarly, there was a significant difference between the spaces allocated to PWD stories in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. It is recommended that the two newspapers must in future increase the coverage of PWD news in Kenya. Soobben (2013) looked at the selection and production of photographs in the *Post*, a national newspaper targeted at the South African Indian population. A select population of the staff at the *Post* was interviewed. Based on the literature and empirical data, the study maintains that there are many challenges facing the media, specifically relating to the visual representation of females. The paper offers recommendations that may assist in improving techniques in the photographic process of composing, selecting and producing photographs in the *Post*.

2.7 Theoretical framework

This study was informed by framing theory as propounded by Goffman (1974) who advocated that whenever individuals in a society recognize a particular event they employ “one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation of a kind that can be called primary”. Goffman (1974:21-22) divided these primary frameworks into two broad classes, namely, natural and social. Specifically, natural frameworks:

Identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, “purely physical.” Such unguided events are ones understood to be due totally, from start to finish, to “natural” determinants...An ordinary example would be the state of the weather as given in a report.

Social frameworks, on the other hand, according to Goffman (1974:22-23):

Provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being. Such an agency is anything but implacable, it can be coaxed, flattered, affronted, and threatened. What it does can be described as “guided doings”. An example of a guided doing would be the newscast reporting of the weather.

Goffman (1974) elaborates that social frameworks conceptualize events and issues as being socially-driven occurrences which are initiated and propelled by the whims, goals and manipulations of social actors. Moreover, individuals can only apprehend events and issues in their lives through their primary social frameworks and without them they will be in a continuous struggle to interpret and make sense of everything around them in this universe. Thus, to comprehend gender-based violence there is a need to focus on the media as the key sources of information and the roles that primary frameworks play in interpreting and understanding this violence (Shen 2004). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) similarly argue that individuals normally utilize interpretive schema in order to efficiently and meaningfully classify, interpret and process new information.

On their part, Chong and Druckman (2007) affirm that framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of, or orientation about, issues such as gender-based violence. Nelson *et al.* (1997) remark that framing is the process by which the media define and construct issues related to gender-based violence. In particular, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) remark that framing is a product of micro- and macro-level conceptions. As a micro-conception, framing describes how the media

influence the way people read and interpret the information presented to them by the media. Conversely, the macro-level conception signifies how a story is presented by the media in a manner that play to the existing underlying primary frameworks of the audiences (cf. Shoemaker and Reese 1996). Scheufele (1993) suggests that how a story is portrayed in the media and its influence on audiences is greatly determined by resource, space and time constraints (cf. Gans 1979). These constraints compel print media journalists to choose which stories to frame and give prominence to and which ones to totally blackout. In this sense, framing and media frames become invaluable tools in shaping the focus and tone of a story in the newspapers. This helps in the comprehension of a story by readers of newspapers who subsequently utilize the information they gain to form impressions about such issues as gender-based violence (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). This is because the media have the ability to generate a certain emotion and/or impression from the public by the way a story is framed. Indeed, Chong and Druckman (2007) narrate that the feelings of individuals determines to a large extent how those individuals interpret news media contents. For example, if individuals read a news story in the newspapers about the advantages of female genital mutilation/cutting but they have powerful beliefs against it, it is likely that they will not participate in it no matter how the story is framed. Therefore, the way the media frame stories on gender-based violence, for instance, can have an influence on how audiences receive and interpret gender-based violence. This is because the tone of a story is equally salient concerning how audiences construct their opinions and give meanings to the information they receive. This intimates that if gender-based violence is framed only in negative tones in the media, it can help contribute to its elimination in societies where it is a vogue (Sahu and Alam 2003).

In addition, it has been suggested that one of the consequences of framing on audiences is changed attitudes about issues and events in their entire societies (De Vreese 2005). This is applicable to this study in the sense that an exposure to new media frames can lead to socio-cultural changes in attitudes aimed at curbing the perpetuation of gender-based violence (Chong and Druckman 2007). This is the main premise of framing theory which stipulates that how a certain news story is portrayed can positively impact on how audiences classify and understand that particular story (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; De Vreese, 2005). In this study, therefore, frame theory was quite useful in explaining how and why certain aspects of gender-based violence were excluded and/or included in the selected newspapers.

2.7.1 Relevance of the theory to the study

In matters of gender-based violence, Entman (1993) argues that framing plays an important role because a news text is really an imprint of power and because it registers the identity of actors/interests that dominate the text. Frames are also known to be important determinants of public opinion because they explain the way a frame is placed around a painting, for instance, and how it can influence readers' views, opinions, and the interpretations of the painted image. Therefore, framing theory helped this study in understanding the rationale behind how the mainstream print media frame gender-based violence in Kenya. Specifically, this theory was quite useful in helping to explain why the print media in Kenya allows some information on gender-based violence to be published while it discards others.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section provides a description of the research area, the research design, study population, sample population, sampling procedure, methods of data collection as well as data analysis methods. The section ends with a presentation of the ethical considerations that guided the study.

3.2 Research site

This was a cross-sectional and descriptive survey and the study population consisted of all the print media in Kenya including magazines and newspapers. The sample population included four daily English language newspapers, namely, *Daily Nation*, *People Daily*, *The Standard* and *The Star* as well as two weekly newspapers, that is, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation*. These newspapers form the mainstream print media since they are deeply entrenched in the Kenyan society with a printing and circulation history stretching back to the early 1900s. Similarly, they are easily accessible as well as having a wide readership and distribution in Kenya. Finally, these publications are furthermore published in English, which is one of the national languages in Kenya. The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2015) states that 91% of men aged 45-49 years are literate as compared with 78% of women in the same age cohort. However, women are less likely than men to have access to the mass media because 70% of women usually

access newspapers at least weekly as compared with 86% of men (Thuo 2012; Koga 2014; King’oina and Ogola 2015). The stratified sampling technique was used to get the newspaper editions which were published from February 11th, 2016 to August 8th, 2016. Random sampling was subsequently used to select the newspaper editions from each media house. Discourse analysis was used to code the data and which were subdivided into six major parts, namely, news, news analysis, features, editorials, opinions and letters to the editor. The unit of analysis was any individual story in the sampled newspapers which dealt with gender-based violence issues during the period under review (Tankard 2001). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17.0 was utilized to analyze quantitative data while discourse analysis was used to analyze qualitative data.

3.2.1 Sample profile

The Standard Media Group, which prints three English dailies, namely, *The Standard*, *The Saturday Standard* and *The Standard on Sunday*, was established in 1902 by A. M. Jeevanjee. It is, therefore, the oldest media house in Kenya. In February 2015 *The Standard* had an average readership of approximately 2,223,500, which was 20 per cent share of the market. The Standard Media Group also owns KTN television station and *Radio Maisha* and Capital FM. On the other hand, the Nation Media Group, that distributes the *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation*, was founded in 1958 by Michael Curtis and Charles. It started as a Kiswahili language weekly publication called *TAIFA*, or nation in English, with the first English language edition of the *Daily Nation* issued in 1959. Today, *Daily Nation* is the paper with the largest circulation followed by *The Standard*.

3.3 Research design

The research design that was used in the study was cross-sectional and descriptive in nature. This involved a systematic qualitative analysis of the printed texts concerning media framing of gender-based violence in Kenya. Discourse analysis was used as a method of data collection and analysis of the texts in the four daily and two weekly newspapers in order to appreciate all gender-based violence related aspects covered in media framing in Kenya. The findings from the study were analysed and presented both qualitatively and quantitatively.

3.4 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis was the individual article on gender-based violence in the sampled newspapers.

3.5 Study population

The study population consisted of all articles printed by four media houses including the Standard Media Group, Nation Media Group, Media Max and Radio Africa Group Limited. Specifically, Standard Media Group prints *The Standard*, an English language edition, on Monday through Friday in addition to three other English language issues such as *The Saturday Standard*, *The Standard on Sunday* and the *Nairobiian*. On the other hand, the Nation Media Group publishes an English language daily newspaper called the *Daily Nation* and this is put out from Monday to Friday as well as two weekly newspapers, namely, the *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation*. It also has another English language print publication, *Business Daily*, and a Kiswahili language daily newspaper known as *Taifa Leo* (Kiswahili: Nation Today) and a weekly edition known as *Taifa*

Jumapili (Kiswahili: Nation Sunday) on Sunday. On the other hand, Media Max distributes *People Daily* from Monday to Thursday as well as *The People Daily on Friday*. Lastly, Radio Africa Group Limited circulates *The Star* from Monday to Friday and its sister edition *The Star Weekend*.

3.5.1 Sample population and sampling procedure

The sample population comprised all articles that dealt with gender-based violence in six print media publications, namely, *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *The People Daily*, *The Standard* and *The Star*. The stratified sampling technique was used to get the newspapers from February 11, 2016 to August 8, 2016. Random sampling was subsequently employed to select the newspapers once during the week day and once during the weekend day.

3.6 Data collection methods

3.6.1 Discourse analysis

This method was utilized to collect both qualitative and quantitative primary data on gender-based violence from the sampled daily and weekly newspapers in the four media companies. A code sheet was used to assemble data concerning the following variables: The name of the newspaper, the publication date of the story, the pages where the story is placed in the publication, the number of times the story appears in the newspaper and, where mentioned, the name, gender, and specialization of the writer of the story. The study similarly obtained information on the story type (whether news,

news beat, editorials, opinions or commentaries, letters to the editor, news analysis and features, cartoons and photographs), the frequency and size and space allocated to stories on gender-based violence, the placement, tone and prominence of the stories as well as the themes, sources and various types of gendered frames used in the sampled newspapers (Appendix 1).

3.6.2 Documentary sources

In the course of the study various sources were consulted to gather required information for the study. These sources include books, theses, dissertations, projects, government official publications, newspapers, journals, and the Internet.

3.6.3 Data Analysis

Discourse analysis was utilized to analyse both qualitative and quantitative data generated by the study. In particular, qualitative analysis focused on the contents of the sampled newspapers concerning gender-based violence and the results are presented thematically and in a narrative format in accordance with the specific objectives of the study. On the other hand, quantitative data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 17.0 and the results are presented in the form of frequencies, percentages and tables.

3.7 Ethical considerations

This study did not anticipate any ethical problems because it utilized discourse analysis to peruse and gather information from the six sampled newspapers in a bid to

understand how the mainstream print media frames gender-based violence in Kenya. To avoid any ethical issues in the process of data analysis, the information was not manipulated or sought from other sources for the purposes of satisfying predetermined goals. Finally, the information collected for this study was confidential and for academic purposes only.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FRAMING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN THE MAINSTREAM

PRINT MEDIA

4.0 Introduction

The chapter presents research findings, data analysis, and discussion of the findings in accordance with the research objectives in order to determine the framing of gender-based violence in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

4.1 The characteristics of the sampled stories

This study analysed a total of 25 stories which dealt with gender-based violence. These stories were published between February 11th, 2016 and August 8th, 2016 in four Kenyan daily English language newspapers, namely, *Daily Nation*, *The People Daily*, *The Standard* and *The Star* as well as two weekly English language newspapers, that is, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: The names of the sampled newspapers, 11th. February 2016-8th. August 2016.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<i>Daily Nation</i>	3	12.0	12.0	12.0
<i>Saturday Nation</i>	2	8.0	8.0	20.0
<i>Sunday Nation</i>	1	4.0	4.0	24.0
<i>People Daily</i>	9	36.0	36.0	60.0
<i>The Standard</i>	5	20.0	20.0	80.0
<i>The Star</i>	5	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	25	100.0	100.0	

The months during which stories about gender-based violence were reported were deemed important to this study. Thus, an analysis was undertaken and the data show that the articles were published in February, June and August while no cases of such violence made it into the sampled news prints in March, April, May and July. Similarly, a majority of the stories were covered during the month of June (Figure 4.1). On the other hand, there were a total of 8 female (32.0%) and 10 male (40.0%) reporters who collected the stories covered in this study. In particular, the *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Star* had 12.5% (N=1) female reporters while *The People Daily* had 50% (N=4). On the other hand, *The Standard* had 50.0% (N=5), *The People Daily* and *Daily Nation* had 20.0% (N=2) while *Sunday Nation* and *The Star* had 0.0% (N=0) male

correspondents. Twelve per cent (N=3) of the stories were provided by the Kenya News Agency and which were carried only by *The People Daily* while 16.0% (N=4) of the briefs or round-ups were contained only in *The Star*. The briefs in *The Star* did not have the names and sexes of the journalists. The data show that 24.0% (N=6) of the articles were carried once in a weekend day and 76.0% (N=19) once in a week day in all the selected publications. Specifically, *Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Standard* had 0% (N=0) of articles once in a weekend day while *The People Daily* had 1% (N=16.7%), *Saturday Nation* had 33.3% (N=2) and *The Star* had 100% (N=6) of the stories once in a weekend day. Conversely, *Daily Nation* covered 15.8% (N=3), *The People Daily* 42.1% (N=8), *Sunday Nation* 5.3% (N=1), *The Standard* 26.3% (N=5), *The Star* 100% (N=19) and *Saturday Nation* 0% (N=0) of articles once in a week day.

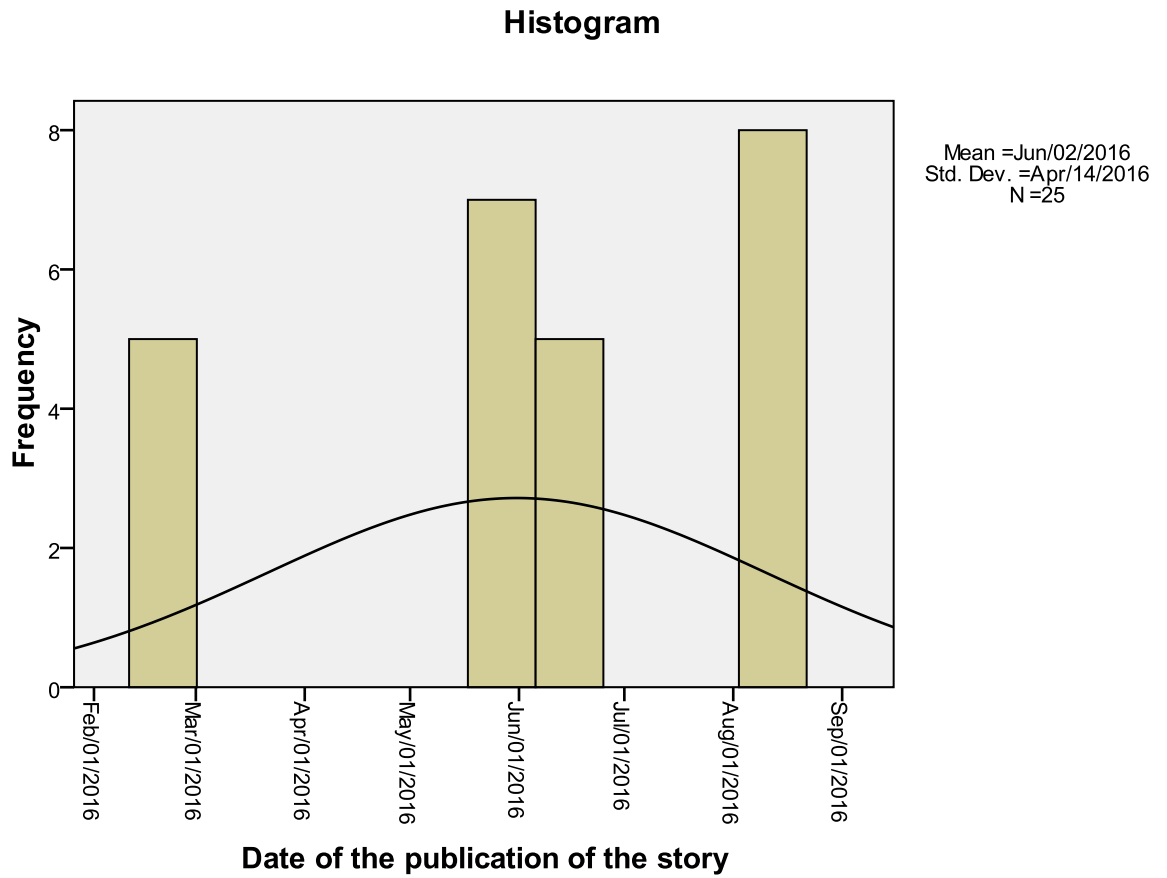


Figure 4.1: The dates when the stories were published.

Table 4.2 below shows the distribution of the titles of the stories on gender-based violence as featured by the selected newspapers during the period under review.

Table 4.2: Title of the story in the sampled publications

Title of the story	Name of publication						Total
	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>Saturday Nation</i>	<i>Sunday Nation</i>	<i>The People Daily</i>	<i>The Standard</i>	<i>The Star</i>	
"He drunk our blood"	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
"My husband ran over me twice with matatu after hurling me out"	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
"Naivasha Vampire" narrates attack ordeal	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
25: The years a former KDF officer is serving in jail for wife's killing	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Baringo grannies abandon "profession"	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Battered woman remained in abusive marriage to protect vows	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

Careen told me her dad wanted to kill her, says Louis Otieno	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Diaspora can't resist beckon of the cut	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Diaspora women fly home to be cut	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Love turned sour	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Man charged with chopping his wife's hands a "good guy"	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Middle-aged man in court for defiling a child, denies charges before magistrate	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
MP facing rape charge takes fight to stop case at top court	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
My work "revered", says Boran genital mutilator	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Police still holding man over death of love rival	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

PS calls for backing in bid to end child abuse	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ridding Kajiado of ancient tradition still a herculean task	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Sex pest teacher gets 90 years behind bars	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Shock as man chops off butcher's genitals in suspected love triangle	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Villagers' dilemma as three mothers jailed for being circumcised	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Woman arrested for squeezing lover's private parts	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Woman blind and paralyzed due to beatings	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Woman denies burning co-wife with hot water, damaging her clothes	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Woman thrown out of home for siring girls	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	3	2	1	9	5	5	25

4.2 Type of stories

The type of story published by the selected print media was analysed by splitting the stories into the following groups: news, news analysis, features, editorials, opinions and letters to the editor. The results indicate that a majority of 72.0% (N=18) were drawn in the news category while news analysis constituted 28.0% (N=7) only. The results indicate that both *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* did not contain any stories in the news category. *The People Daily* carried 36.0% (N=9) of the articles in the news category, *The Star* had 20.0% (N=5) while *Saturday Nation* and *The Standard* carried 8.0% (N=2) of the stories in the news category. In the news analysis category, both *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* assigned 12.0% (N=3) whilst *Sunday Nation* had 4.0% (N=1) and *The People Daily*, *Saturday Nation* and *The Star* had each 0.0% (N=0).

However, only the editorial in *Sunday Nation* covered female genital mutilation/cutting but the editorials, opinions, features and letters to the editor in the rest of the sampled newspapers did not cover any stories on gender-based violence. In addition, the information shows that *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* published 0% (N=0%) type of stories in the news category while *Saturday Nation* and *The Standard* had 8.0% (N=2) each in the news category. *The People Daily* had 36.0% (N=9) and *The Star* published 20.0% (N=5) of such stories in the news category. Under the news

analysis grouping, *Daily Nation* contained 12.0% (N=3) of the stories, *Sunday Nation* 0.0% (N=0) and *The Standard* 12.0% (N=3). Conversely, *Saturday Nation*, *The People Daily* and *The Star* lacked any items in the news analysis category.

4.3 Placement of the stories

To assist in analysing the placement of the stories, the following four subheadings were derived: Lead story, pages 2 and 3, inside pages and back pages. A content analysis of these areas demonstrates that 8.0% (N=2) of the items were lead stories, 12.0% (N=3) were placed on pages 2 and 3 while a majority of 76.0% (N=19) were put inside the pages. However, 4.0% (N=1) of the stories were placed on the first page as a second story (Table 4.3). In particular, only *The People Daily* had 8.0% (N=2) lead stories but the other four sampled newspapers had 0% (N=0) as top stories. Conversely, *Daily Nation* was the only publication which carried 12.0% (N=3) of the articles on gender-based violence on pages 2 and 3 of its editions during the months under study. Similarly, the five sampled publications did not consign any stories to the back pages. Nevertheless, it should also be pointed out that the back pages in *The Standard* and *The People Daily* are usually reserved for sports news. Further analysis portrays that the only newspaper which did not have any articles on gender-based violence in the inside pages was *Daily Nation*. However, *The People Daily* had 24.0% (N=6) of such stories in the inside pages, *The Standard* and *The Star* had 20.0% (N=5) each, *Saturday Nation* had 8.0% (N=2) compared to *Sunday Nation* which contained 4.0% (N=1) of the news items in the inside pages.

Table 4.3: The sections in the newspapers where the stories were placed

Name of publication	The placement of the story in the newspaper					Total
	Lead or Top story	Pages 2 and 3	Inside Pages	Second story on page 1		
Daily Nation	Count 0	3	0	0	3	
	% of 0.00%	12.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.00%	
	Total					
The People Daily	Count 2	0	6	1	9	
	% of 8.00%	0.00%	24.00%	4.00%	36.00%	
	Total					
Saturday Nation	Count 0	0	2	0	2	
	% of 0.00%	0.00%	8.00%	0.00%	8.00%	
	Total					
Sunday Nation	Count 0	0	1	0	1	
	% of 0.00%	0.00%	4.00%	0.00%	4.00%	
	Total					
The Standard	Count 0	0	5	0	5	
	% of 0.00%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	20.00%	
	Total					
The Star	Count 0	0	5	0	5	
	% of 0.00%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	20.00%	
	Total					
Total	Count 2	3	19	1	25	
	% of 8.00%	12.00	76.00%	4.00%	100.00%	

4.4 Size and space of the stories

The results indicate that the size and space allocated to the stories on gender-based violence were relatively very small. Specifically, the analysis indicates that in terms of size only 16.0% (N=4) of the articles on such violence covered three-quarters of a page, 8.0% (N=2) half a page and another 8.0% (N=2) a quarter of a page, 36.0% (N=9) less than a quarter of a page, 24.0% (N=6) one paragraph and 8.0% (N=2) in two paragraphs. Specifically, *Daily Nation* and *The People Daily* had each 4.0% (N=1) in three-quarters of a page, *The Standard* 8.0% (N=2) while *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Star* did not have any of the stories in three-quarters of a page. Also, only *The People Daily* and *Sunday Nation* carried 4.0% (N=1) of such articles in one half of a page. Similarly, only *The People Daily* and *The Star* had each 4.0% (N=1) of the stories in a quarter of a page while 12% (N=3) was assigned by *The People Daily* and *The Standard* to less than a quarter of a page. On the other hand, *Daily Nation* allocated 8.0% (N=2), *Saturday Nation* 4.0% (N=1) and *The Star* 0.0% (N=0) to less than a quarter of a page to the stories. Lastly, *Daily Nation* assigned 0.0% (N=0), *The People Daily* and *Saturday Nation* 4.0% (N=1) and *The Star* 16.0% (N=4) to one paragraph of a page to the stories. The results moreover indicate that in two paragraphs of a page only the *People Daily* allocated 8.0% (N=2), however, the rest of the sampled dailies did not (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Size of the stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Three quarters of the page	4	16.0	16.0	16.0
Half a page	2	8.0	8.0	24.0
A quarter of a page	2	8.0	8.0	32.0
Less than a quarter of a page	9	36.0	36.0	68.0
A paragraph	6	24.0	24.0	92.0
Two paragraphs	2	8.0	8.0	100.0
Total	25	100.0	100.0	

As regards space, 36.0% (N=9) of the stories occupied a space measuring less than a quarter of a page, 24.0% (N=6) one paragraph, 8.0% (N=2) two paragraphs, 12.0% (N=3) a quarter of a page, 12.0% (N=3) half of a page and 8.0% (N=2) three-quarters of a page (Table 4.5). It was discerned that *Daily Nation* and *The People Daily* assigned 25.0% each to three-quarters of their stories to gender-based violence while *The Standard* had 50.0% and *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Standard* apportioned 0.0% each.

Table 4.5: Space of the stories in the newspaper

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
One paragraph	6	24.0	24.0	24.0
Two paragraphs	2	8.0	8.0	32.0
Quarter of a page	3	12.0	12.0	44.0
One half of a page	3	12.0	12.0	56.0
Three quarters of a page	2	8.0	8.0	64.0
Less than a quarter of a page	9	36.0	36.0	100.0
Total	25	100.0	100.0	

4.5 Prominence of the stories

The stories were put into five categories, namely, edition lead, page lead, second story, third story and brief or round-up. The analysis indicates that 36.0% (N=9) of the stories constituted page leads and briefs or round-ups were 28.0% (N=7) while only 4.0% (N=1) made it to the edition lead of the newspapers. In particular, only *The People Daily* had 4.0% (N=1) edition lead stories. On the other hand, the stories covered as page leads were the following: *Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Star* 4.0% (N=1), *The People Daily* 12.0% (N=3), *The Standard* 12.0% (N=3) and *Saturday Nation* 0.0% (N=0). As a second story in their editions, *Daily Nation* had 4% (N=1), *The People Daily* 12.0%

(N=3), *The Standard* 8.0% (N=2) while *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Star* had each 0.0% (N=0). Moreover, the analysis indicates that a majority of the stories in the briefs were carried by *The Star* 16.0% (N=4), followed by *Saturday Nation* 8.0% (N=2) and *The People Daily* 4.0% (N=1). *Daily Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *The Standard* had each 0.0% (N=0) of the stories in the briefs (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: The prominence of the story in the newspapers

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Edition lead	1	4.0	4.0	4.0
Page lead	9	36.0	36.0	40.0
Second story	6	24.0	24.0	64.0
Third story	2	8.0	8.0	72.0
Brief or Round-up	7	28.0	28.0	100.0
Total	25	100.0	100.0	

In addition, the results portray that 52.0% of the articles were accompanied by black and white photographs while 48.0% were stand-alone stories. Specifically, *Daily Nation* had 12.0% (N=3) of photo captions accompanying the articles while *The People Daily* had 24.0% (N=6), *Saturday Nation* 0.0% (N=0), *Sunday Nation* 1.0% (N=4), *The Standard* 12.0% (N=3) and *The Star* 0.0% (N=0). Conversely, stand-alone stories included: *Daily Nation* 12.0% (N=3), *The People Daily* 36.0% (N=9), *Saturday Nation*

8.0% (N=2), *Sunday Nation* 0.0% (N=0), *The Standard* 12.0% (N=3) and *The Star* 0.0% (N=0).

4.6 Themes and sources of the stories

The articles selected for this study dealt with various themes and types of gender-based violence (Table 4.7) as well as the sources of the stories (Figure 4.2).

Table 4.7: Source of the information for the stories

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Correspondents of the sampled newspaper	6	24.0	24.0	24.0
Principal Secretary, Social Protection	1	4.0	4.0	28.0
The courts	4	16.0	16.0	44.0
FGM Surgeon	4	16.0	16.0	60.0
Friend of perpetrator	1	4.0	4.0	64.0
Victim of the violence	5	20.0	20.0	84.0
Perpetrator of the violence	1	4.0	4.0	88.0

Relatives of the victim	1	4.0	4.0	92.0
Police sources	2	8.0	8.0	100.0
Total	25	100.0	100.0	

The theme of the story

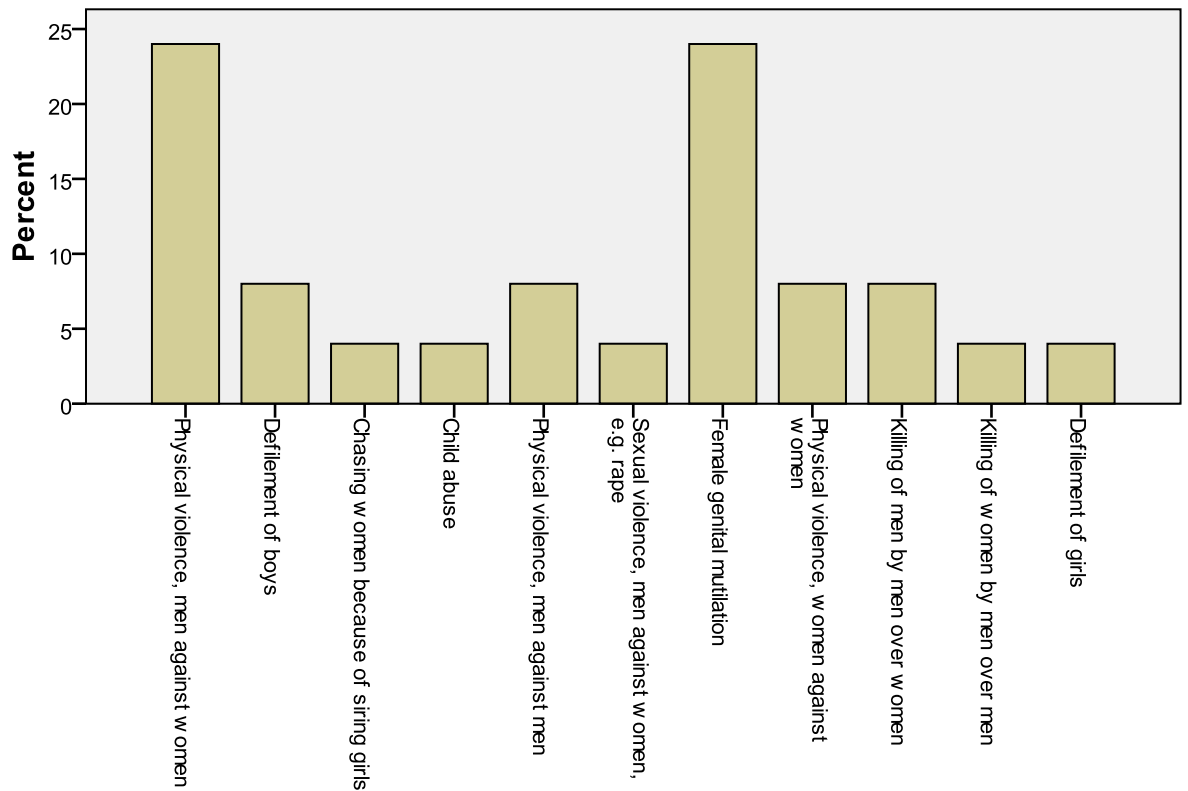


Figure 4.2: The themes covered by the newspapers

The study found that physical violence by men against women was the most dominant theme in five out of the six stories in the reviewed newspapers. For example, both *Daily Nation* (August 3, 2016, p. 4) and *The Standard* (August 3, 2016, p. 3)

reported the same bizarre case of gender-based violence in Kenya in which a husband using a machete chopped off the hands of his wife above the wrists allegedly because she could not conceive. During this atrocious attack the wife also lost three teeth and the hearing in her left ear as well as sustaining serious back, head and neck injuries. The sources of this article were the victim herself, the mother and father of the victim, religious leaders as well as a friend of the perpetrator of the violence. The victim stated that never in her wildest dreams had she contemplated her seven-year old marriage would break, and if it did not in such a tragic manner. This is because “he came home, knocked on the door and told me that it was my last day to speak as he unleashed his wrath on me” (*The Standard* August 3, 2016, pp. 7). The mother of the victim narrated that her daughter’s marriage changed some years after the wedding and now wished she had forced her daughter out of the marriage. In particular, the victim and her husband stopped visiting her parents after he started drinking and coming home late. At some point the husband even moved out to live on his own, however, the victim refused to go back to her parents maintaining that she was going to fight to see her marriage succeed. This is because after the church wedding she wanted to stay and keep her vows. On his part, the father of the victim described her daughter as a hard working person who operated a kiosk not far from her maternal home, however, after the atrocious attack she cannot even tuck in her clothes. A friend of the perpetrator of this physical violence stated that “it was a delight when he had a church wedding as he is an exemplary hardworking man as a tailor and even bought land, where he built a house for his family...He is like a brother, and hearing what he has done is beyond shock. It is unimaginable” (*Daily Nation* August 3, 2016, pp. 2). Finally, a Pastor, who is a family friend, stated that “I am asking men and

women that if you are too tired of your spouse, let them go instead of maiming or killing them...The Government needs to come up with punitive measures that will stop people with such ill motives from executing them” (*The Standard* August 3, 2016).

Also cited in the story as a source, was the Bangladeshi High Commission in Kenya which pledged to provide the victim with medication for at least three months. This source added “we will also give her a loan to start a business as well as a job when she gets better” (*Daily Nation* August 3, 2016, pp. 2). Similarly, LG Electronics East Africa promised to support the victim with prosthetic hands, transport from her home to the hospital, admission and in addition to treatment at the PCEA Kikuyu Hospital. Finally, an anonymous *Daily Nation* reader stated that as part of his company’s corporate social responsibility in 2016, they will give the victim prosthetic hands and financial support.

The Standard (August 8, 2016, p. 4) carried a story of spousal violence in which a husband ran over the legs of his wife twice with a van after accusing her of infidelity. The woman had been detained at Nairobi Women’s Hospital for four months because of failing to settle a bill of Kshs. 700,000.00 after treatment resulting from fractured legs. The sources of the information were the victim, the mother of the victim, a politician accused of having an illicit affair with the victim, an individual who witnessed the incident and a police officer. The victim stated that the husband accused her of having an affair with a local politician, however, when interviewed the politician said the infidelity allegation was being used by his rivals to finish to finish him politically. Nonetheless, the victim narrated that her husband warned her that he would not share her with other men while he was still alive before throwing her out of the moving vehicle. She continued “he

opened the passenger door and violently pushed me. I was not expecting this and clung desperately to the door which was swinging. Then I fell” (*The Standard* August 8, 2016). A witness to the incident remarked that “I was coming from the highway and had just branched into a feeder road. Then I saw a speeding matatu. The driver pulled over and started reversing as if he was looking for a way out as my vehicle was blocking the exit. I saw a woman clinging to the door of the matatu but then she fell. The driver reversed and ran over the woman’s leg” (*The Standard* August 8, 2016). On her part, the victim’s mother reported that she received the news the next day about her daughter’s ordeal and that she was admitted at Kikuyu Mission Hospital. However, according to the victim’s mother, the police have never recorded the incident in the Occurrence Book but they have instead issued an “irrelevant” P3 form not captured in their records. This is because the police claim the injury was as a result of a domestic violence, and not an accident. Similarly, when the mother of the victim went to the police station a few days later she found that the matatu had already been released to the perpetrator the violence and who has never been arrested for the incident. The victim was admitted for two months at the Kikuyu Mission Hospital and later transferred to Nairobi Women’s Hospital after the legs developed complications (*The Standard* August 8, 2016).

This same edition of *The Standard* also reported marital violence about a woman who is now blind and paralysed after allegedly being beaten by her husband of six years. The medical doctor’s report showed that the woman had suffered trauma and head injuries that left half of her brain badly damaged, which in turn tampered with her eyesight and led to paralysis. Moreover, her speech is impaired and reduced to that of a toddler. The information sources for the story were the victim, an uncle of the victim,

neighbours and the perpetrator of the violence. The victim of this spousal violence informed reporters that she was now living in fear after her husband issued death threats if she disclosed his whereabouts. Also, the victim disclosed that it was not the first time her husband had beat her up so ruthlessly because “he once beat me up and he realised it was bad, he gave me money to go to the hospital” (*The Standard* August 8, 2016). On that fateful day, her husband came back home from his usual errands and beat her up in the presence of their 11-year old daughter. According to the account of the perpetrator, however, his wife came home that fateful day drunk and that she was probably beaten up by her drinking mates.

Physical violence by men against fellow men was another form of gender-based violence reported by the sampled newspapers. For instance, *The Standard* (August 3, 2016, 3) carried a story of a butcher in Gatundu North Sub-county, central Kenya, who was nursing serious injuries after his genitals were chopped off and he was also stabbed several times by his neighbour. He narrated that the enraged neighbour attacked him with a machete, knife and stick. He remarked “He attacked me using a panga and a knife, saying I would learn my lesson for having an affair with the girlfriend. Since I was drunk, he overpowered me and wrestled me to the ground before stabbing me several times in the legs, hands, and head. He then cut off my genitals using the knife. It was very painful” (August 3, 2016).

Apart from the victim, the other sources of this story was a Police Officer who was cited saying they were pursuing the suspect and once arrested will be arraigned in court and charged with assault and a manhunt had been launched to apprehend him. This is because the executor of the violence had since gone underground after the vicious

attack. The wife of the perpetrator of the violence was mentioned saying that the perpetrator had left a note saying he had gone to commit suicide by jumping into a nearby Chania River to evade arrest. On the other hand, family members of the victim and villagers demanded justice by urging the police to ensure the suspect faced the full wrath of the law.

This same issue of *The Standard* had an article about a woman who had been arrested after she allegedly squeezed the private parts of her boyfriend in Narok County after a domestic quarrel. The two had been cohabiting for the last few weeks and “on the fateful day the two were in bed when they argued over their past relationships when the man is said to have pushed the woman...After the man pushed her off the bed, the woman grabbed the man by his manhood and squeezed it hard,” according to a Police Officer. The victim suffered serious injuries; therefore, the woman will face charges of causing grievous harm on someone’s private parts.

The Star (June 4/5, 2016) reported a form of gender-based violence of a woman who had been charged with maliciously damaging the clothes of her co-wife worth Kshs. 30,000.00. She allegedly found her husband and co-wife locked in the house and became angry. She was also accused of pouring boiling water on the co-wife leaving her with serious burns on her breasts, face and arms. The perpetrator and the Chief Magistrate were cited as sources of the information. The two women share the same plot and they are constantly quarrelling. However, like most round-ups in this edition of *The Star* the article fails to specify in which part of Kenya this incident took place.

Conversely, *The Star* (June 2, 2016) and *People Daily* (June 3, 2016, p. 4) published the same news brief concerning a man who allegedly shot to death another man

in a love triangle. The sources of the news item were a senior police officer and the woman at the centre of the homicide incident. On the other hand, *The Star* (June 4/5, 2016) printed a page lead story about a former TV anchor appearing in court as a murder suspect after the death of his girlfriend. The suspect instead informed the court that his slain friend had told him that her father used to molest and beat and wanted to kill her. The father, on his part, narrated to inquest that his daughter used to borrow money in order to fund the lifestyle of the accused.

People Daily (June 17, 2016, pages 1 and 9) carried an edition lead about a 23-year-old paedophile in Murang'a County who had been handed a prison term of 90 years after a court found him guilty of sexually assaulting nine boys. The perpetrator was a Science Teacher and Boarding Master in a primary school. In their testimonies, the nine victims said the teacher stretched the scope of his duties to touching their private parts, when they were in bed. He would also narrate to them raunchy stories with the intention of enticing them to give in to his sexual advances. The perpetrator nonetheless claimed the boys did not like him because of his strictness and, thus, conspired with some of his colleagues to frame him. He furthermore claimed there was bad blood between him and three teachers after he was entrusted with the responsibility of heading the Science Department. Finally, the perpetrator asserted that he was "a staunch Christian and could not engage in the kind of acts he had been accused of" and in mitigation pleaded for leniency saying he was responsible for his brothers upkeep and that he was still pursuing his studies. However, in his ruling the Resident Magistrate said that sexual molestation is shameful and humiliating in nature and that no responsible person would lie about it. In addition, the offence he had committed was serious, according to the Sexual Offences

Act (Republic of Kenya 2014). This is considering the fact that the accused was a teacher to whom parents had entrusted the welfare and safety of their young children.

On the other hand, *The Star* (June, 11/12, 2016) reported that a man who allegedly defiled a 13-year-old girl was released by a Senior Resident Magistrate at the Ndhiwa Law Court on a bond of Kshs. 100,000.00 pending the hearing of his case. The prosecution informed the court that on October 12, 2015, in Nyam Sub-location, Ndhiwa Sub-county, the accused waylaid the girl and dragged her into a nearby bush adjacent to her home and committed the offence. The minor reported the ordeal to her parents before she was rushed to a local hospital and treated. The local chief was then notified about the incident and immediately reported to the police who arrested the accused.

Saturday Nation (June 11, 2016, p. 8) carried a round-up about a Member of Parliament who had moved to the Supreme Court in a bid to stop the trial of a rape case against him. He was challenging a decision of three judges of the Appeal Court who dismissed with costs his application to suspend the case before the Chief Magistrate's Court. The lawyers of the politician asked the Supreme Court to interpret Article 50 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 on fair hearing, which includes a right to be informed in advance all of the evidence the prosecution intended to rely on, and to have reasonable access to that evidence as well as to interrogate all witnesses (cf. National Council for Law Reporting, 2010).

A brief carried by *People Daily* (June 2, 2016, p. 8) reports that well-wishers at the Kericho bus terminus held an impromptu harambee to raise fare for a woman who had been chased away from her matrimonial home by her husband. This is because the 35-year old woman given birth to girls only which is apparently against the cultural

dictates of the Kalenjin community. The victim told reporters that the husband also constantly beat her and their five children. In fact, he had already gone ahead and married another woman to bear boys for him. The victim concluded that “This has become a song and I can’t stand it anymore. All I want is go back to my father and mother in Bomet County where I can live peacefully with my children.”

During the launch of the Day of the African Child celebrations in Molo Township, the Labour Principal Secretary (Social Protection) asked the Judiciary and the local administration to support efforts aimed at ending child abuse in the country. This is because most victims of child abuse did not get justice due to lack of strong evidence, which could be achieved if all parties involved worked together (*Saturday Nation* June 11, 2016, p. 8).

The findings furthermore illustrate that *People Daily* and *Sunday Nation* are the only newspapers which dealt with female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), a form of gender-based violence. Five out of six of such articles were written by female journalists during the period under review. Specifically, a lead story on page 5 of *People Daily* (August 11, 2016) was an interview with a fifty-year-old active FGM/C surgeon from the Borana community, Isiolo County, Kenya. She charges a fee of Kshs. 1,500.00 per girl and operates surreptitiously from the homes of the initiates during the holidays. She also offers her services to girls and women from other Kenyan ethnic groups such as the Sakuye, Samburu, Gabbra and Somali. This is because there is a shortage of surgeons in Kenya as a result of the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, 2011(National Council for Law Reporting 2019).

This surgeon ardently believes that her circumcision activities and skills are “revered” both inside and outside her Borana community. According to her, the *qaban gab* (a Borana word for the cut) is a sure way of ridding girls of the “heat” in their bodies especially in their teenage years. She stated: “Any girl who goes through it becomes docile and will remain faithful to her husband once she is married...We just cut a small part and some girls’ parents even insist on just pricking it to get the blood out because the bad blood is not there anymore. In the body there is good blood and bad blood. After a girl is cut the bad blood is gone.” In fact, people in the Borana community believe that females who are uncut are dirty and they will be despised in the homes that they are married into.

This traditional surgeon described the female mutilation/cutting ceremony with these words: “Three women and I pin the girl down, cover her mouth and eyes to stop her from getting scared and screaming, which would raise the alarm.” After the cut, a traditional herb known as *kumbi* is mixed with charcoal and applied to the cut so as to make the blood clot. Other herbs are placed in a hole in the ground and lit and the girl made to squat on top of it. This smoke concoction is locally known as *qalkach* and it ensures that a girl heals quickly. The area of the cut is moreover washed regularly with hot water until it is completely healed. She added that: “The Somali community does a completely different kind of FGM where the girls is cut thrice and the parts sewn together. The healing process requires the girl’s legs be tied together from the knees down to prevent the wounds falling open.”

This surgeon believes the facts and messages of the anti-FGM/C campaigners do not hold water and simply serve as an excuse to do away with the rite. She stated thus:

“They say the cut interferes with education yet we do it on holiday and they go back to class. They also say that it has adverse effects during child birth and I insist that they show me a woman who had easy labour.”

The second story on page 5 of *People Daily* (February 11, 2016), concerns the plight of the girl child in Kajiado County, Kenya. In particular, the article states that a Class Seven pupil had fled her home in order to escape the FGM/C which her father insists she must undergo in order to be still considered as one of his daughters. The mother of the girl, who is a reformed serial FGM/C surgeon and a co-conspirator of the girl, has refused to inform the father the whereabouts of their daughter. However, the mother cannot bring the daughter back home and it has become hard to convince her husband to continue sponsoring a child that has “disobeyed” him. She narrated thus: “He has disowned her. My husband has vowed not buy her new uniform or settle any fees arrears unless she comes back home and heeds his orders.” Quoting a source from a rescue centre, the article reports that approximately Kshs. 8,000.00 is needed to support a girl’s education including fee, electricity and personal care for a school term in Kajiado County.

This particular former FGM/C surgeon informed the journalist that she had circumcised so many girls that she could barely remember the exact number before she let go of the trappings of prestige that came with her “traditional surgeon” job. However, a government-sponsored training on Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) two decades ago convinced her to drop the knife but over the period, two of her three daughters still faced the tradition-backed torture. This is because the belief in female excision remains strong among the Maasai in Kajiado County. Therefore, despite many women dropping

the vice, it is still an arduous if not a herculean task eradicating the ancient tradition from the Maasai community. Therefore, the Secretary of Iloodokilani Women Network (IWN), a local NGO that fights for the rights of girls and women in Kajiado County, Kenya, lamented that: “There is total lack of political will and commitment from the leadership. Only two out of 10 chiefs have lend us support in form of security.”

The correspondents from *People Daily* also interviewed reformed FGM/C surgeons, and now anti-FGM/C campaigners, in Baringo County, Kenya. For instance, a second story on page 4 of *People Daily* was an interview carried out in Mukutani Township, Baringo County. This was during an event marking the International Day of Zero Tolerance to Female Genital Mutilation under the theme “Mobilisation and Involvement of Health Personnel to Accelerate Zero Tolerance to Female Genital Mutilation.” One of the sources of the article was a sixty-five-old former FGM/C surgeon and nowadays a member of the Ngangito Community-Based Organisation (CBO). This organization is composed of grandmothers, known as gogo in the local Tugen language. These grandmothers are “bound by a common newfound cause---to help end female genital mutilation (FGM) and other retrogressive cultures that negatively affect the girl-child in the area.”

The sixty-five year old ex-surgeon told the reporter that all the women in the NGO once earned their livelihood as circumciser of girls, but have since been converted through intense sensitisation campaigns to discard the practice. Nevertheless, many of the reformed female excisers in Baringo County were saddened by the lack of an alternative livelihood after she ditched a “skill” she had known since their middle ages. This female ex-surgeon source stated thus: “I’m no longer in a position to raise money for survival. I

face a lot of challenges. But I have to carry on the fight against the backward practice.” However, the satisfaction of knowing that young girls now have a chance to grow up free from the harmful effects of the FGM/C culture is worth missing out on her former income. Another source of the article was the Chairperson of the Ngangito Community-Based Organisation (CBO). She stated that all the *gogos* are taught alternative skills such as making sisal ropes, which earn them incomes for their families. Also, the Governor of Baringo County, who was another source, reported that the county government had put in place a programme to empower and support all former FGM/C surgeons in the county. Specifically, the governor explained that: “Education is key in the fight against the cut. Cases of school drop-outs have reduced dramatically. We have therefore established a department to teach health workers the dangers of the practice as part of our plan.”

People Daily (February 11, 2016) also used an expose from the *Daily Mail* newspaper in England, UK, to collect data about clandestine FGM activities in Kenya. Specifically, *Daily Mail* had revealed that Kenyan girls and women who are residents in Britain usually sneak back into the country on what was termed as FGM/C “holidays” in the months of August and December in order to undergo FGM/C rituals. This is because FGM/C activities are outlawed in both Kenya and the UK. In fact, in the UK there is a prison sentence of 14 years for anyone found culpable of carrying out FGM/C operations within its borders. On the other hand, in Kenya, the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, No 32 of 2011 states that “a person who commits an offence under this Act is liable, on conviction, to imprisonment for a term of not less than three years, or to a fine of not less than two hundred thousand shillings, or both” (National Council for Law Reporting 2012:12). Therefore, to authenticate the veracity of the story in the *Daily*

Mail, a team of journalists from *People Daily* interviewed a medical nurse who also dubs as a traditional female surgeon in Eastleigh, Nairobi City County. According to the journalists: “As it turned out, it is an open secret, that many parents who have settled in Europe travel back home with their girl children to have them undergo the cut.” Specifically, either forced by their families or just the urge to conform to culture, most of the girls and women from the Somali community residing in the UK come back to Kenya on FGM/C “holidays.” Once in Nairobi, some travel to their rural homes in the North-Eastern regions of Isiolo, Garissa, Wajir and Mandera to undergo already arranged FGM/C rituals, while others go to secret clinics in Eastleigh where trained clinicians or traditional cut operators perform the ritual. A medical nurse at one of the clinics in Eastleigh elaborated that: “many men who have grown up in Kenya and later migrated abroad carry the demands of culture with them, they will not marry a woman who has not undergone FGM.” Moreover, the medical nurse revealed that due to the risks involved in carrying out the traditional FGM, where the genitals are mutilated before being sealed, she only conducts a light operation that involves nipping a small part of the female organ under local anaesthesia. According to this source: “traditionally, the Somali do the old Egyptian type of FGM known as *raun* (from Pharaonic). It is the worst form of FGM and the female organ is badly mutilated, leaving the birth canal and the urethra almost exposed...We no longer do that because it has been known to be dangerous and unnecessary. We do now recommend just a symbolic nip to fulfil cultural demands.” Finally, the story revealed that the FGM/C operation in Eastleigh costs between Kshs. 4,000.00 and Kshs. 10,000.00 and the cut is also performed in the homes of the initiates apart from well-established western medical facilities (cf. Kenya National Bureaus of

Statistics 2015). The article adds that globally more than 140 million girls and women alive have undergone some form of FGM/C and if current trends continue about 86 million additional girls will be subjected to FGM/C by 2030. Also mentioned in the story are the negative implications of FGM/C including severe bleeding, cysts, infections, infertility as well as complications in childbirth, thereby, increasing risks of new-born morbidities and mortalities (cf. WHO 2016; UNICEF 2016c, 2010, 2013).

Sunday Nation (June 19, 201) had a page lead story on page 8 concerning the dilemma of three mothers in Trans Mara East, Kilgoris County, who were handed a fine of Kshs. 200,000.00 or three years in jail because of being circumcised, according to the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, No 32 of 2011 (National Council for Law Reporting 2012:12). The Resident Magistrate in Kilgoris Town stated that there was a need to issue a deterrent sentence as warning to others that the circumcision of girls and women is a banned tradition in Kenya. The Chief of Ololmasai Location, on the other hand, reported that FGM/C was rampant among the Kipsigis in the area who believed that those fighting the practice were cursed because they were considered as traitors to the sacrosanct traditions and values of the Kalenjin community. Similarly, a women rights activist in Kilgoris County explained that despite many women knowing that female circumcision is outlawed a majority partake in it due to socio-cultural pressures of the Kipsigis ethnic group.

Daily Nation (August 3, 2016) published a story of physical violence about the so called the “Naivasha Vampire.” He had been attacked by unknown assailants two days after he was released from Naivasha Maximum Prison. The victim had made international newspaper headlines in 2008 after two women he had allegedly kidnapped

were rescued from Naivasha's Kihoto slums. The two victims informed the police that they had been kidnapped, raped and drugged by the suspect, who drained and drunk their blood as they watched. Before his arrest, he confessed to detectives that he was similarly a serial killer and after which the police exhumed the body of a woman with some parts missing from a shallow grave in the mud house where the perpetrator was residing. In 2011, a Naivasha court jailed him for four years for the charges of kidnapping after the police failed to adduce evidence to prove rape.

The victim, as a source of the story, laid all the blame for the attack on police officers. His uncle also stated that: "We hear it was two police officers and some villagers, assertions that we are yet to verify." The alleged vampire but added that he has since changed and embraced Christianity since he was put behind bars more than four years ago. He stated thus: "I am now a born again Christian and those vampire-like tendencies are a thing of the past." He insisted that he had committed the evil acts after he was instructed by a local Bishop but he has since repented.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses as well as provides conclusions of the study.

5.1 Discussion and conclusion

This study examined the framing of gender-based violence in the mainstream print media in Kenya. The results of the analysis show the types of gender-based violence that were reported during the period under review included defilement of young girls and boys, child abuse, femicide or feminicide over men, male homicides by men against other men over women, physical violence by women against other women, physical violence by men against men, physical violence by men against women, sexual violence, preference for boys and female genital mutilation/cutting. The most common form of gender-based violence encountered in the reviewed newspapers was female genital mutilation/cutting. The 2008/2009 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) reports that about 45% of women aged 15-49 have experienced either physical or sexual violence. In particular, 25% have experienced physical violence while 14% have suffered both physical and sexual violence (Kenya National Bureaus of Statistics 2015).

According to UNICEF (2016a), the exact number of girls and women world-wide who have undergone female genital mutilation/cutting rites still remains unknown but at least 200 million of them in 30 countries have been subjected to the practice. Of this

figure, more than 100 million of them live in just three countries, namely, Egypt, Ethiopia and Indonesia while 44 million are girls below age 15. Conversely, UNICEF (2016b) reports that in the 29 countries in Africa and the Middle East where the practice is concentrated more than 125 million girls and women alive today have been subjected to female genital mutilation/cutting. In fact, it is now estimated that between 100 million and 140 million girls and women worldwide have been subjected three types of female genital mutilation/cutting, namely, clitoridectomy (clitoridectomy), excision and infibulation (cf. WHO 2010, 2008). In Kenya, about 21.0% of girls and women aged 15-49 years have undergone female genital mutilation/cutting while 3.0% of girls aged 0-14 years have also been subjected to these female initiation rites. Globally, in Somalia 98.0% of girls and women aged 15-49 years have gone through female genital mutilation/cutting followed by 97.0% in Guinea, 93.0% in Djibouti with a low of 1.0% in Uganda. Within the age group 0-14 years, 56.0% of girls in Gambia have been subjected to female genital mutilation/cutting in contrast with 54.0% in Mauretania, 24.0% in Ethiopia and 1.0% in both Central African Republic and Uganda (WHO 2010, 2008). However, UNICEF (2016c) contends that around the world in the last three decades there has been a dramatic and fast decline in the prevalence of female genital mutilation/cutting among girls and women aged 15-49 years. For instance, in Kenya the prevalence was 41.0% in 1984 which had fallen to 11.0% in 2014. In Egypt, on the other hand, the female genital mutilation/cutting prevalence was 97.0% in 1985 which had declined to 70.0% in 2015 while in Togo the prevalence of 10.0% in 1984 had reduced to 2.0% in 2013-2014. Therefore, there is a dire need for the print media to continuously and

prominently frame female genital mutilation/cutting so that people can seriously feel, think and worry about its consequences especially to the bodies of girls and women.

WHO (2016) states that there are many factors which are specifically associated with gender-based violence including the past history of violence, marital discord and dissatisfaction as well as difficulties in communicating between spouses. Also, this violence can result into unintended pregnancies, induced abortions, increases in the likelihood of miscarriages, stillbirths, pre-term delivery and low birth weight babies. The negative impacts consist of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, sleep difficulties, eating disorders, and emotional distress and suicide attempts. The other health effects can comprise headaches, backpain, abdominal pain, fibromyalgia, gastrointestinal disorders, limited mobility and poor overall health (UNAIDS 2016).

The other form of gender-based violence reported by the newspapers under review was physical violence against both females and males. Similarly, the perpetrators and victims were both females and males although studies elsewhere intimate that a majority of the victims of female gender-based violence are usually females and the perpetrators males (WHO 2016a; Garcia-Moreno 2005; Morgan and Politoff 2012). Specifically, UNAIDS (2016) states that globally almost one-third (35%) of women who have been in a relationship report they have experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner or non-partner in their lifetime. Therefore, physical and sexual violence against women in particular can negatively affect their emotional, mental, psychological and reproductive health and may increase vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (WHO 2016c; UNAIDS 2016). Therefore, there is a need for the print media in Kenya to prominently frame these two types of gender-based violence in a bid

to avert its negative repercussions to the bodies of girls and women in the county (Lang and Lang 1966; Cohen 1963; Wimmer and Dominick 2009).

Furthermore, the data indicate that many stories on gender-based violence in the sampled publications were news items which is an indication of the relative significance of this type of violence to the respective media houses. However, these stories should also be framed in opinion pieces, feature articles and investigative journalism (Media Council of Kenya 2015; Mogambi and Nyakeri 2015; Anini 2014). Paradoxically, a majority of the stories were placed in the inside pages with a minority on the front and back pages as well as on pages 2 and 3. Conversely, very few of the articles became lead stories and/or editorials. This intimates that gender-based violence was actually not accorded severity and, thus, newsworthiness it justly deserves. However, Nzuma (2015) observes that the severity of gender-based violence as a crime and, therefore, newsworthy can only be appreciated when the print media gives it prominence in specific and salient sections of the newspapers. Buckler and Travis (2003) acquiesce by pointing out that the newsworthiness of a story to media houses, and by extension to the public, can be judged by the sections of a newspaper where it is located. The most significant sections include the lead page, pages 2 and 3 as well as the back page.

On their part, McLeod *et al.* (1974) concur by remarking that the front page, the editorial and back page basically constitute an entire newspaper. Also, Mogambi and Nyakeri (2015) state that stories placed on the front page and back page are considered important because they immediately attract and catch the eye and attention of readers. This facilitates prompt reading as well as helping readers get a glimpse of what they want to know. Thus, the information in the articles which are placed in the inside pages of the

newspapers do not carry much weight because it is suppressed by other articles on the front and back pages. In analysing the print media framing of women Members of Parliament in Kenya, Thuo (2012), for example, discovered that their stories were usually placed in the inside pages and rarely did their names make it to the headlines, thus, making them invisible. The study concluded that hidden influences such as the socio-cultural backgrounds of media professionals, principles of what makes news and commercial interests contribute to the invisibility and low coverage of women in the print media in Kenya.

Likewise, Mogambi *et al.* (2013) surmise that the information deposited in the inside pages of the newspapers does not serve the core functions and purposes of journalism which are educating and informing the public about issues related to gender-based violence. Correspondingly, Mogambi and Nyakeri (2015) rightfully state that editorials, in particular, are one of the most salient sections of any publication since they convey the significance of an event or issue by highlighting, detailing and bringing it out to the attention of audiences and policy-makers. Also, editorials and lead stories are used effectively to play the role of setting the agenda by newspapers (cf. Anini 2014; Kiai 2015). According to Sutherland *et al.* (2015), highlighting an issue is, indeed, one of the most important roles of the media because it stresses the saliency of challenging socio-cultural norms which condone, tolerate or excuse gender-based violence in societies.

Buckler and Travis (2003) besides contend that edition lead stories constitute the agenda setting role of any newspaper. Thus, if a story about gender-based violence is deemed newsworthy editors will recurrently cover that story, frame it favourably and allocate it generous amounts of size and space (Wimmer and Dominick 2009). This

creates an open platform for discussions and debates from the public and appropriate actions from policy-makers (Kiai 2006). However, the results of this study unmistakably reveal that only a few articles in the sampled newspapers were edition leads while many of them were either page leads or fillers of spaces in the newspapers. In fact, a bizarre story which should have been an edition lead for some time in all the sampled publications was about a husband who chopped off the hands of his wife above the wrists because she allegedly could not conceive. This story has all the hallmarks of breaking news and developing news as well as being sensational enough to capture public attention for sometimes. Similarly, the article warranted considerable amount of space and time for a longer duration (Wozniak and McCloskey 2010; Sims 2008). Nonetheless, this uncanny article was only reported by *Daily Nation* on page 2 and *The Standard* on page 7 during the reviewed period yet it had only occurred a week earlier. In fact, Sims (2008) contends that the imperative to fill the daily news with stories that capture public attention is one the reasons why such a bizarre story should continue to be serialized in order for it to receive its due attention from the public. Ironically, the perpetrator in this story in *Daily Nation*, in particular, was described as a “very good guy...so cool and an excellent youth choir singer...who was brought up in the church and was a youth group member.” According to Sutherland *et al.* (2015), the tone of this story can only result in an erroneous conjecture and a picture in the minds of people (Lippmann 1922) that such gender-based violence against women is justified. This is because the preference of the prose and its nuances have a great impressions on audiences in the community since the media play a key role in shaping public opinion (King’ori and Bitrus-Ojiambo 2016; Carlyle *et al.* 2008; Ejigu 2008).

This study also discovered that in terms of size and space allocation the sampled newspapers failed to give a high priority to gender-based violence. This is because the largest size and space occupied by any of the stories was three-quarters of a page and many of them were merely briefs or round-ups. These briefs similarly focused entirely on individual incidents of gender-based violence and court cases without much of the underlying socio-cultural contexts of the offenses (cf. Ejigu 2008; Morgan and Politoff 2012; Omari 2008; Thuo 2012).

Mogambi and Nyakeri (2015) expresses that photos in print journalism inform, educate and enlighten readers about current issues, enhance the credibility of the stories, and depict reality apart from furnishing evidence to show the authenticity of a news story or give proof an event that occurred. Buckler and Travis (2005, cited in Mogambi and Nyakeri 2015) add that snapshots and other visual devices also have aesthetic values that enable them to serve as tools that attract the attention of the readers into a newspaper as well as assist to beat the monotony of news content. Indeed, in this study most of the stories were accompanied by photos and two of them concerned the woman whose hands were chopped off by her husband for not conceiving. These photos immediately catch the attention of the readers to the barbarous act and at the same time they evoke feelings of empathy for the victim and revulsion at the perpetrator and his acts of physical violence. Finally, this study discovered that the information sources for the articles in the reviewed newspapers consisted of perpetrators, victims and eyewitnesses of each incident of gender-based violence. These are primary sources and, thus, they give authenticity, credibility and evidence to the stories represented in the newspapers.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Newspaper discourse analysis of the efforts displayed by the print media in framing gender issues in Kenya.

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

Serial number: -----.

Name of coder (Optional) -----

Name of publication/Newspaper----- (Pick appropriate one)

1. Daily Nation
2. Saturday Nation
3. Sunday Nation
4. People Daily
5. The Standard
6. The Star

Title of the story-----

Date of publication of story (Day/Month/Year) -----

Number of times story placed in the newspaper -----

Name of the writer of story -----

Gender of the writer of story

1. Female
2. Male

SECTION B: ARTICLE DESCRIPTION

I) The type of story (Choose one)

1. News
2. News analysis
3. Features
4. Editorials
5. Opinions
6. Letters to the editor
7. Photographs

SECTION C: AMOUNT AND PROMINENCE OF COVERAGE

1. The placement of the story in the newspaper (Pick the applicable one).
 - 1.1 Front page/Lead or top story
 - 1.2 Pages 2 and 3/
 - 1.3 Inside Pages.
 - 1.4 Back page.
2. The size of the story.
 - 2.1 Full page.
 - 2.2 Three quarters of the page.
 - 2.3 Half page.
 - 2.4 A quarter page.
 - 2.5 Less than a quarter page.
 - 2.6 A paragraph
 - 2.7 Two paragraphs
3. The frequency of the story.
 1. Very frequently on week days

2. Very infrequently on week days
3. Very infrequently on weekend days
4. Very infrequently on weekend days
4. The space the article occupies in a newspaper.
 - 4.1 One paragraph.
 - 4.2 Two paragraphs.
 - 4.3 Quarter of a page.
 - 4.4 One half of a page.
 - 4.5 Three quarters of a page.
 - 4.6 Less than a quarter of a page.
5. The prominence of the story.
 - 5.1 Edition lead
 - 5.2 Page lead
 - 5.3 Second story
 - 5.4 Third story
 - 5.5 Brief or Round-up.
6. The number of photographs placed with the story
 1. Black and white photographs
 2. Photographs.
 3. None.
7. The slant/tone of the story (Pick one)
 - 7.1 Positive/favourable
 - 7.2 Negative/unfavourable

7.3 Neutral/ambivalent

8. The theme of the article.

8.1 Themes

- 8.1.1 Defilement of girls
- 8.1.2 Defilement of boys.
- 8.1.3 Child abuse.
- 8.1.4 Chasing females because of siring girls only
- 8.1.5 Killing of males by males over females.
- 8.1.6 Killing of females by males over males.
- 8.1.7 Physical violence, males against females.
- 8.1.8 Physical violence, females against females.
- 8.1.9 Physical violence, males against males.
- 8.1.10 Sexual violence, males raping females.
- 8.1.11 Female genital mutilation/cutting.

9. Sources of the article.

- 1. Correspondents of the sampled newspaper.
- 2. Principal Secretary, Social Protection.
- 3. The courts.
- 4. Active traditional Female genital mutilation/cutting surgeon.
- 5. Reformed traditional Female genital mutilation/cutting surgeon
- 6. Friend of the perpetrator of the violence.
- 7. Perpetrator of the violence.
- 8. Victim of the violence.

9. Mother of the victim of the violence.
 10. Father of the victim of the violence.
 11. Witnesses of the violence.
 12. Uncle of the victim.
 13. Wife of the perpetrator.
 14. Other family member.
 15. Neighbours
 16. Chief Magistrate.
 17. Resident Magistrate.
 18. Lawyers.
 19. Police officer.
 20. Medical nurse.
 21. Religious leaders.
 22. Local Administrative Chief.
 23. Bangladeshi High Commission.
 24. Politician
 25. Secretary of NGO.
10. The frames in the story (Pick one).
- 10.1 Consequence frames
 - 10.2 Morality frames
 - 10.3 Responsibility frames
 - 10.4 Conflict frames
 - 10.5 Human-interest/Empathy frames

- 10.6 Diagnostic frames
- 10.7 Prognostic frames
- 10.8 Solution frames
- 10.9 Other frames (specify).