NEWSPAPER FRAMING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN KENYA

BY
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NOVEMBER, 2016
DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been previously submitted to any other university or faculty for consideration of any certification.

Signature.................................. Date ..................................................

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor on behalf of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, late Sammy Kitaka and Mary Mbatha for giving me the tools to make it in this life. To my husband Stephen Mochama for the support, care and encouragement through my masters program and my children Karim and Avanna.
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I thank the Almighty God for helping me through this project and giving me the strength to study and work. I would not have made it without Him.

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Lastly, to my course mates who ended up becoming close friends, the laughter we shared, group work, the discussions and revisions during course work and sharing materials during research, enabled us sail through. Thank you.
This study sought to find out how newspapers frame sexual violence in Kenya. Gender based violence and more specifically sexual violence is on the rise despite the media constantly highlighting these stories. Newspapers are powerful tools in shaping public opinion and changing mindsets and therefore the study set to find out how newspapers in Kenya frame sexual violence and why. Framing and Agenda Setting theories helped guide the researcher in identifying the frames used and the agenda they set when covering sexual violence. The fundamental goal of the study was to survey the degree and nature of newspaper scope of sexual violence in Kenya and the priority given to the stories. More specifically, the study sought to know the trend of repeated news and follow-ups regarding cases of sexual violence as well as analyze the pattern of coverage. A mixed methods approach was used where content analysis of the Daily Nation, Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation was done to get quantitative data and chief sub-editors and sub-editors interviewed to get qualitative data. In the findings, the study identified frames such as age and privacy and found that newspapers frequently cover sexual violence however; the articles are not given much prominence since most stories are published as short briefs. An editorial policy, personal conviction and social media trends dictated most follow-ups. The study recommends that newspapers vary how they cover sexual violence by doing in depth investigations and do more features to educate the public. Scholars can study how editorial policies influence news coverage.
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

UNICEF- United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

NSVRC- National Sexual Violence Resource Centre

CSI Nairobi- Crime Scene Investigation Nairobi

MTV- Music Television

GBV- Gender based violence

HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus

STDs- Sexually Transmitted Diseases

PTSD- Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

KDHS- Kenya Demographic and Health Survey

UNWomen- United Nations entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter will give a background of the study as well as an introduction to help understand what was studied. The problem that informed the study as well as the significance of carrying out the study is described. The general objective and specific objectives of the study as well as the scope and limitations are discussed.

1.1 Introduction and Background

Sexual violence against kids, women and men on the world has assumed a key part in the history of media (Kitzinger, 2004). Articles on sexual violence have for years made fodder for newspapers especially stories touching on politicians and celebrities which at times tend to be scandalous or stories with gruesome details that lead to a public outcry.

Sexual violence can be described as an unwanted attack which can be either verbal or physical. Verbally means using sexual tones while physically includes use of sexual moves forcefully or not.

New Jersey Coalition against Sexual Assault defines sexual violence as:

Any type of unwanted sexual contact, ranging from personal attitudes and behaviours to sexual assault. (“What is sexual violence,” 2014, October 17)

Preceding advancements in the 1970s, the prevailing media gave careful consideration to rape (Kitzinger, 2004). In fact, journalists avoided the word “rape”; preferring expressions like carnal knowledge.
For instance, there were only 31 reports of sex assault cases in the British newspapers; the Sun, the Daily Monitor and The Times (Soothill and Walby, 1991). However, scope dramatically increased in 1978 and had practically doubled again by 1985 (Soothill and Walby, 1991).

In Kenya, cases of sexual violence that make it to the dailies are either from courts of law or scandalous in nature. Other sexual violence cases that catch the attention of the media are usually championed by human rights lobbies or generate a lot of condemnation on social media platforms. Such are too big and of much public interest for the media to ignore.

According to Crime Scene Investigations Nairobi in a research done between December 30, 2007, and June 30, 2008, most rape cases in Kenya often go unreported. If the cases are not reported, the media do not get an opportunity to cover them. The best source of national incidence data in Kenya is hospitals; this is because extremely few cases make it to the police. (Nairobi CSI, 2008).

The Chicago Taskforce holds that the role of a journalist is key in reporting sexual violence. Through the pen, a correspondent has the ability to induce as well as impact public sentiment and policy notwithstanding changing mentalities. In Kenya, changing mindsets may include shaping ideas deeply rooted in culture planted in the public’s mind.

Despite the fact that news media audiences are not just passive beneficiaries of information, who or what is chosen to show up in the news and how those people and occasions are depicted can affect individuals' beliefs, behaviors and attitudes. (Surge and Pease, 2009).

Newspapers therefore ought to be aware of the articles they place on the pages regarding sexual violence as they are bound to have an impact on readers. Not only should they be conscious of
what they publish in regard to sexual violence, the language used is also of grave concern and importance. This is because:

Language is indispensable to our comprehension of GBV. Words reflect subtle suspicions about duty, fault and the very way of the viciousness itself. Furthermore, the subtlety of dialect has its effect on clients insidious, deliberate decisions to utilize unbiased language are both essential and moral in the push to precisely convey the nature of the violence. (Garcia-Rogers, 2009).

Newspapers have a conscious role to place sexual violence articles on their pages and at the same time structure the language and information (Easteal, Holland and Judd, 2015) in such a way to achieve the desired effect be it shaping public perceptions and opinions, influencing behaviour change or creation of policies.

1.2 Problem Statement

Health Rights Advocacy Forum (HERAF) claims that reports of gender-based violence are in light of the rise in Kenyan urban communities. GBV here spreads both physical and sexual brutality. Specialists say the police must enhance their treatment of instances of rape to build public trust in the justice systems and security.

As indicated by police security information, somewhere in the range of 3,200 instances of GBV were reported to the police countrywide in 2010, compared to 2,800 in 2009.

Sexual violence is a social injustice that needs to be stemmed. The public needs to be educated on the evils of sexual violence and this is where newspapers and how they frame articles on sexual violence come in.
Extensive media attention given to high profile rape investigations or any other instances of sexual brutality concentrates on the culprit, as well as the casualty (Stephen, 1992). The media additionally permits the public to learn intimate insights about the casualty's family and background (Fla., 1994).

How the newspapers cover sexual violence in Kenya often leads to public lobbying in cases where police are seen to be lax. The coverage tends to draw the attention of the Director of Public Prosecutions to give more attention to the case and order the police to take action and conduct investigations. But other cases just fade away and the public never gets to know whether justice was served or whether the victims received medical and psychological help.

On the other hand, instead of creating public sympathy, the way the newspapers frame sexual violence cases, can lead to condemnation of the victim as the perpetrator is celebrated or public judgment of the perpetrator considered not guilty until proven otherwise in a court of law.

This research looked at newspaper coverage of sexual violence in Kenya in 2015 and the priority given to such cases.

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The main objective of this research was to study the newspaper coverage of sexual violence in Kenya and the priority given to the stories.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To find out newspaper framing of victims and culprits of sexual violence.
To identify the trend of repeated news and follow-up news regarding cases of sexual violence.

To analyze the pattern of newspaper coverage on sexual violence.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 Main Research Question

How do newspapers in Kenya cover sexual violence and what priority is given to the stories?

1.4.2 Specific Research Questions

- How do newspapers portray victims and culprits of sexual violence?
- What is the trend of repeated news and follow-up news regarding cases of sexual violence?
- What is the pattern of newspaper coverage on sexual violence?

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.5.1 Limitation

Given time constraints and scope of research to study framing of sexual violence affecting men, women and children, the researcher focused on three newspapers from one media house namely: Daily Nation, Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation. The study was limited to a period of one year only, which is 365 days. To enrich the study and get a different view and perspective on framing of sexual violence articles, the researcher also interviewed chief sub-editors and sub-editors of the three newspapers mentioned.
1.5.2 Scope of the Study

The study analysed the Daily Nation, Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation for articles on sexual violence for the period of one year. The study also collected views from chief-subeditors and subeditors of the three papers. The time period chosen was 1st January 2015 to 31st December 2015. The time frame was chosen because of the currency and a number of sexual violence cases that created an uproar nationwide, with the public demanding prosecution of the alleged perpetrators. The newspapers were chosen because of their wide geographical distribution across Kenya and their wide readership.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study adds value to the existing body of knowledge and literature and will be useful to scholars and researchers. More specifically, it adds literature on sexual violence in Kenya and how the media report it. The study is also of value to advocacy and human rights groups in their work to stem down sexual violence cases and create awareness in the public.

The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Services, the Interior and Co-ordination of National Government Ministry and the Ministry of Information Communication and Technology will also benefit from this study. The research has given recommendations that can be incorporated into various policies, especially concerning how newspapers report on sexual violence. This study is also expected to help newspapers realize the power of framing sexual violence in order to create the desired response and behavioural change in the public. This study also identified research gaps and suggests areas to conduct further research.
1.7 Operational Terms

Sexual violence- A sexual act committed against someone without that person's freely given consent.

Sexual assault- Sexual contact or behavior that occurs without the explicit consent of the recipient.

Sexual abuse- Forcing undesired sexual behavior by one person upon another.

Sexual exploitation- The sexual abuse of children and youth through the exchange of sex or sexual acts for drugs, food, shelter, protection, other basics of life, and/or money.

Rape- A type of sexual assault usually involving sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual penetration perpetrated against a person without that person's consent.

Framing- social construction of a social phenomenon – by mass media sources, political or social movements, political leaders, or other actors and or
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

Literature review is a scrutiny of other research information on a given topic (Fry, 2010). In this chapter, the researcher reviewed scholarly work in books, journals and online publications with information on already done research on sexual violence which is a form of gender-based violence. The researcher also looked at theories that support the study and support the study problem. This was done under the theoretical framework which gave a lens through which to examine how media in Kenya frame cases of sexual violence.

2.1 Gender-based Violence

Initially, gender-based violence was seen as violence against women based on women’s subordinate status in society (Morris, 2009). But this is not the case anymore. GBV is the violence against either men or women by their opposite gender. Therefore it can be violence against men by women or violence against women by men (Hanmer and Maynard, 1987). GBV hence incorporates any threat or act by men or ladies or institutions by either gender that incur physical, sexual, or mental harm on a girl or woman, or boy or man because of their gender.

According to Commins (2010):

GBV is an issue with a mind boggling web of causes; societal, social, lawful, financial and historical. Any effort to completely address GBV thus requires several platforms for action.
Commins’ description means that GBV is deeper than the violation seen on the outside. It has roots found deep in the offender and the victim.

The Human Rights Library in the University of Minnesota says: “GBV incorporates physical, sexual and mental violence like abusive behavior at home; sexual abuse, including sexual abuse and rape of children by relatives; forced pregnancy; conventional practices destructive to ladies like female genital mutilation, honor killings, violence in armed conflict and psychological abuse such as abusive language and coercion. Trafficking of girls and women for prostitution, sexual harassment, forced marriage and terrorizing at work are extra cases of brutality against forced.

2.1.1 Consequences and Cost of Gender-based Violence

According to UN Women there are multiple consequences of violence on both men and women. These effects also have cost implications. GBV may lead to physical or psychological harm to the victim and in turn the cost of seeking therapy is high and is also transferred to the government. Victims’ health can also be harmed whereby if sex is involved they risk contracting HIV (Dunkle et al, 2004). The consequences not only harm the victim, but also the society. Violence in the family affects the children such that they either become victims in the future or perpetrators.

2.2 Understanding Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is a violation of victim’s right to choose. This is because sexual activity occurs without consent.

Sexual violence happens when a person is constrained or manipulated into undesirable sexual action without his or her consent. By definition, consent implies authorization for something to happen or consent to accomplish something. Reasons why a person might not assent incorporate fear, age, ailment, handicap as well as impact of alcohol or other medications.
Anybody can encounter sexual violence, including teens, children, grown-ups, and elders. The individuals who sexually abuse can be family, acquaintances, trusted people or strangers; of these, the initial three classes are generally regular (NSVRC, 2012).

To understand sexual violence, (UNICEF 2010) defined sexual intercourse as follows:

"Sexual Intercourse" or "Sex" refers to anytime a male's penis enters another person's vagina or anus, however slight.

For females, sexual intercourse, as used when portraying demonstrations of acts sexual violence, would incorporate somebody penetrating a female's vagina or anus with their penis, fingers, hands, mouth, or other objects, or entering her mouth with their penis. In males, sexual intercourse when used to portraying acts of sexual brutality would incorporate somebody infiltrating a male's anus with their hands, penis, fingers, mouth, or other objects, or entering his mouth with their penis. Sex can likewise incorporate somebody compelling the male's penis into their mouth, anus, or vagina.

2.2.1 Types of sexual violence

According to UNICEF 2010, these are the types of sexual violence:

- Physically forced sex/rape
- Unwanted sexual touching: This includes being grabbed, pinched, fondled, or touched inappropriately.
- Attempted unwanted sex: Trying to coerce someone into sex even if they do not succeed in making the person have sex.
- Pressured sex

As per NSVRC (2012) incorporates incest, rape, child sexual mishandle intimate partner violence, human trafficking, sexual exploitation, undesirable sexual contact, exposure, sexual harassment and voyeurism.

UNICEF (2010) goes further to list forms of sexual exploitations which include
• Receiving money for sexual intercourse.
• Receiving goods for sexual intercourse.
• Unwanted completed sex: A combination of physically forced and pressured sex.
• Unwilling first sex: First sexual intercourse was pressured, lured, tricked, or physically forced.

Sexual violence can incorporate other types of assault including a sexual organ, including pressured contact between the mouth and penis, anus or vulva.

NSRVC (2012, 2013, 2015) says sexual brutality happens when a person is manipulated or forced into undesirable sexual movement without their consent.

2.2.2 Media coverage of gender-based violence

The media, newspapers to be precise, paid little attention to all forms of gender violence. However, Kitzinger (2004) notes that during the 1970s and 1980s sexual violence began to make “good copy.” Initially, sexual violence was a hidden crime but according to Kitzinger (2004) attention to all forms of violence, which include assault, against women and children increased during the said period. Soothill and Walby (1991) say that coverage of rape cases doubled in 1978 and doubled again in 1985. From that period, there was no letting up on the coverage as Byerly (1999) records that consideration regarding sexual assault turned out to be entirely obvious in the American press with a 250% increment in coverage noticed in the New York Times in the period somewhere around 1972 and 1974.
The media now has become a major source of information about gender violence and more specifically sexual violence (Benedict 1992; Best 1993). It is no wonder then that newspapers specifically are used to shape opinion on sexual abuse (Stinson 2010) by exposing audiences to cultural scripts of gender and sexuality.

Since the media does play a role in the formation of public opinion, messages are selected and published with the aim of shaping and molding an opinion (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). This means that any article that appears on a newspaper page on GBV is placed there for a reason. Media coverage is not simply presenting certain news to audiences, a media toolkit by Chicago Taskforce on Violence Against girls and Young Women says journalist play an important role in reporting. This is because they help raise the profile on GBV and steer the discussion towards prevention.

Thuo (2012) found that a media house in Kenya had an editorial policy that was keen on ensuring gender balance in coverage of politicians. But this was not always the case. Payne (2005) also found that journalists fell into certain frames while covering male and female political candidates, which could lead to imbalanced coverage along the lines of gender. This also spills over to gender violence where a difference is noted in the number of articles published touching on sexual abuse against men and women.

Koga (2014) holds that proximity of the gender violence case or severity of the incident influences media coverage. Severity has to do with how scandalous the issue is or how bizzare and shocking the sexual assault case is. Koga (2014) also notes prominence of the issue at the time of the occurrence such that GBV cases occurring when the media is abuzz covering the
GBV awareness month will push any incidents to the limelight. Sometimes the impact or ‘severity’ of the incident as covered is more on the locality, geographical area such as a village, than the victim (O’Hara, 2012). This is in a way that the spot light is on how people react and less attention on the victim.

According to Blundell (2015), most media coverage of sexual assault places the victim at the centre of the violation and often leans on apportioning blame on the victim. Further, Blundell holds that unbiased media coverage, based on nothing but facts, has the ability to both change public perception and influence public policy.

A change of perception in the way the public looks at victims and perpetrators will go a long way in addressing GBV and more specifically sexual violence. Public policies may be changed or formulated to protect victims, punish offenders and deter future occurrence. But portraying victims as innocent or complicit and offenders as ‘evil’ or wrongly accused, decreases the understanding of the public of realities of sexual violence and abuse (Tenore, 2013; Rye, Geatrix & Enright, 2006; O’Hara, 2012).

Muita and Khamisi (2005) found that cases of sexual violence were covered greatly by Kenyan daily newspapers while the weekly publications gave the issue minimal coverage whereas magazines rarely featured anything on sexual abuse. In their study, Muita and Khamisi classified sexual violence under six sub-headings according to the way the print media covered the issue.

- Coverage of rape, defilement and sodomy rates in Kenya.
- Coverage of comparable incidences internationally and in the African region
- Sexual harassment coverage.
Sex for product and service exchange.

Media reports of cases of child mothers and schoolgirl pregnancies.

Coverage of sexual brutality in statistical form

Since newspapers cover cases of violation sexually, we could assume that they are a priority. However, the study by Muita and Khamisi found that other issues could overtake GBV and lower the frequency of coverage. The research was done in July to December 2005 and during this period Kenyans were getting ready for a referendum vote for a draft constitution. Muita and Khamisi found that events surrounding the referendum took centre stage in certain months especially near the vote date and after voting. The referendum was held on November 25, 2005. In July that year, two daily newspapers had 84 stories on sexual violence while in October and December; the same newspapers had only 15 and 36 stories respectively.

2.2.3 Gendered Media

Wood (1994) strongly believes that the media shapes how we see men and women. She believes that the images perpetuated by the media convey pictures of the genders, a large portion of which sustain implausible, limiting, and stereotypical perceptions. Wood further demonstrates that there are three intrinsic topics that portray how the media characterizes gender. To begin with, ladies are underrepresented suggesting that men are the social standard and ladies are immaterial or undetectable. Second, men and ladies are represented in a way that implements stereotypical perspectives of sex. Third, portrayal of how men and ladies relate to each other emphasizes on traditional roles and makes violence against women seem like a normal occurrence.
In her investigations, Wood noted that the media positively portrayed male aggression and passivity in females. This led her to ask whether communication through the various forms of mass media have a hand in the violation and abuse of women or lead to it in a certain way.

According to Thompson (2005);

The media are additionally destinations, or spaces, where gender and its issues can be talked about and wrangled about, both in news and in fiction, and they can assume a critical part in figuring out if or not sexual orientation issues will broadly be viewed as imperative and legitimate cultural, political and social issues in a given society. By giving both such assets and spaces, the media can assume a part in molding how we contemplate sexual orientation and gender issues.

That said, Thompson argues that media spaces promote limited and biased conceptualizations of women. He says women are seen as birthers, objectified as items of beauty and victims. He says that media hardly gives space for discussion of issues affecting women such as sexuality, violence, balancing careers and motherhood etc.

According to Espinosa (2010) gender stereotypes in the media coincide with expectations of the society. As far as GBV is concerned then, men are not expected to become victims and no wonder when they are beaten or abused they get mocked with sexual violence victim more often than not choosing to keep quiet. On the other hand GBV against women appears to be normal or expected since women are viewed and presented as weak.

Jacobson (2005) says that children are underrepresented in the media (at 6% in 36 media outlets in South Africa). As such, there are few articles that touch on children. But in the under
representation, Jacobson found that girls were less represented as compared to boys. She put the percentage of portrayal of boys at 56% and 44% for girls. Jacobson further noted that boys appeared more on sports-related stories while the girls appeared as victims of abuse.

Apart from covering cases of sexual violence, Dieter (1989) observed that the media was also a contributor to the vice. He found a solid relationship between females' seeing of sexually savage MTV and their acknowledgment of sexual violence as a feature of "typical" relationships. The more they watched positive depictions of sexual violence, the more probable women are to see this as natural in relationships with their male counterparts and the more outlandish they were to question brutality or to shield themselves from it.

The European Commission (2010) says that as much as the media is responsible for gender stereotypes, it has the power and can change public opinion on GBV against both men and women. Therefore men and women can deliberately be given almost equal coverage on all issues that affect them and not just the issues that feed stereotypes.

2.2.4 Literature on sexual violence

Wood also points out that evidence proposes that assault is an anticipated result of perspectives of men, ladies, and relationships between the genders that the society has instilled in its members. In societies that esteem feminine qualities and that have philosophies that advance amicable reliance among people and amongst them and the regular world Wood watches that rape is to a great degree uncommon (1994: 39).
Wood (1994) noted that in spite of the fact that rape includes sex, it is not inspired by sexual craving. She emphasized on that rape is a forceful act used to command and show control over someone else, be it a man over a lady or one man over another. In her study, Wood set up that the main contrast between men who are sexually vicious and men who are not is that the previous have "hyper masculine " self-concepts and attitudes their endorsement of male predominance and sexual rights is considerably more grounded than that of non-rapists. This means that men who commit sexual violent acts are not psychologically different from men who don’t.

UNICEF (2010) established that there were some risk factors that exposed children to sexual violence. The survey found out that men and women aged 18 to 24 who had fallen victim to rape will probably have several sex partners in the earlier 12 months when contrasted with the individuals who never experienced sexual brutality as minors.

2.2.5 Effects of sexual violence on victims and the community

A study of Wood’s work shows that a third of the women who survive rape become suicidal. She adds that the trauma of rape goes beyond the time of its actual occurrence. Victims are left with feelings of fear, a sense of degradation and shame, anger, powerlessness, and depression. Some have to deal with these feelings for the rest of their lives.

NSVRC (2012) also listed these as effects of sexual violence:

- Depression, bad dreams as well as flashbacks
- Difficulty concentrating, uneasiness or potentially fears
- Eating disorders
- Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)
- Substance utilize and additionally abuse

According to NSVRC (2012) sexual violence also has a range of effects on the community; schools, neighborhoods, workplaces, universities, the military and social/religious communities are left with fear, disbelief or anger. The community likewise needs to fight with monetary setbacks from this bad habit which incorporate expenses of medical administrations, criminal justice costs, health administration charges and the lost contributions of people influenced.

Kaluyu (2007) in a study on GBV done in Kitui Central, Kenya, found consequences of GBV to include:

Mental stress, poor education for children, low income for families, feelings of insecurity, poor health, physical disability, divorce and unplanned pregnancies.
Mental stress and poor family health were the most occurring effects with 100% and 75% prevalence respectively.

Masinjila (2013) adds mental and physical health to the list of effects. Physical health in that some victims get injuries that may affect them for life and they may even never be compensated or even grave injuries leading to death. Masinjila also looks at mental health from the angle of lacking money to seek medical help in addition to mental anguish caused by GBV.

Ejakait (2014) says that sexual violence affects university students to the extent that victims skip lectures and some choose to defer their studies depending on the severity of the abuse and how it has affected them psychologically.

On how victims coped after violence, Kaluyu found that victims responded through:
Perseverance, contacting doctors, leaving spouses, discussing with a friend, contacting parents, visiting a counsellor, visiting pastor/priest, contacting community elders and contacting witchdoctors. Results have shown perseverance as the most preferred response with 31.25% while visiting a counsellor and a witchdoctor the least preferred responses with 3.7 and 2.5% respectively.

In addition to coping methods, Masinjila (2013) notes that most victims keep quiet and cites campaigns titled “Break the Silence” to be fuelled by the need to encourage victims to speak out and seek help which includes legal redress. Ejakait notes that one of the major reason victims keep quiet is fear. This could be fear of the perpetrator or fear of what other people will think and treat the victim.

2.2.6 Recent trends and statistics

According to the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) in 2014, 14 % of women somewhere around 15 and 49 have been victims of sexual violence and 8 per cent experienced sexual violence 12 months preceding the survey.

The same survey indicates that 6 percent of men in the same age blanket have fallen victim of sexual violence with 2 percent having experienced it 12 months preceding the survey.

For both genders, KDHS (2014) reported that older sexual violence victims were more likely to report sexual abuse than younger ones. Women aged 15 to 19 years old had a reporting rate of 7 percent and 3 percent as compared to 30 to 49 year olds whose reporting rate stood at between 17 to 18 percent. The same was observed of men age 25 to 40 more likely than younger or older man to report sexual abuse.
Of those that indicated sexual abuse in the survey experience of sexual violence was highest among formerly married women at 28 percent, women earning through employment at 17 percent, women from Western, Nyanza and Nairobi at 20 to 22 percent and women with three or more living children at 19 percent.

Low incidences of sexual violence were reported in the 2014 KDHS survey among Muslim, North Eastern, and never married women at 6 percent or less. It was also reported lower among women with a secondary or higher education at 10 percent and those in the highest wealth quintile at 11 percent.

Fifty five percent of women and 37 percent of men who had experienced sexual violence reported the perpetrators as their current intimate partners while 28 percent of women and 25 percent of men reported their former intimate partners as having abused them sexually.

For never married women KDHS (2014) reported that the most common perpetrators of sexual violence are strangers at 22 percent followed by friends at 14 percent while 12 percent of the perpetrators fell in the ‘other’ category. For men however, most common perpetrators fell in the other category at 42 percent, followed by friends at 19 percent with strangers and relatives perpetrating the crime at 12 and 11 percent respectively (KDHS, 2014).

KDHS (2014) also reported occurrence of sexual violence among children below 18. In this group, 4 percent of girls and 2 percent boys experienced sexual violence before their eighteenth birthday. Half of all sexual violence cases reported by the survey first happened before the individual attained the age of 22.
Of all reported cases of violence, 12 per cent of women had experienced both sexual and physical violence with a reported increase in the sexual and/or physical violence as women grew older from 35 percent among those 15-19 to 54 per cent among those aged 40-49. 4 per cent of men reported having experienced sexual and physical violence with no clear relationships between ages (KDHS, 2014).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 News Framing Theory.

Frames are persistent trends of interpretation, cognition, and presentation, of choice, emphasis and avoidance by which symbol handlers routinely compose discourse (Gitlin, 1992). Cissel (2012) characterizes a frame in two ways. In social hypothesis, she characterizes a frame as comprising of a pattern of interpretation, gathering of anecdotes and generalizations that people depend on to comprehend and react to events. In communication terms, Cissel characterizes confining as how news media coverage can shape mass sentiment by utilizing these particular structures to control their reader to comprehension.

In addition, Cissel asserts that framing is a tool needed by politicians and media to make notable focuses that would guide their readers to a preferred frame of mind.

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993)
De Vreese (2005) states that one compelling way that the media shapes assessment is by framing occasions and issues a certain way. He expresses that framing includes a correspondence source defining and presenting an issue.

De Vreese defines framing as a process that includes production, content and media use. He further argues that correspondence is not static, but instead a process procedure including frame building and setting (2005).

Frame building looks at how frames emerge including the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), internal factors that influence journalism determine how issues are framed. De Vreese however argues that external factors play a role in framing as well. Interactions between journalists and elites, for example, are an external influencer of frame building.

Frame setting refers to the interplay between media edges and audience predisposition and knowledge. De Vreese states that frames in news may influence learning, interpretation and assessment of issues and occasions. In contributing results of framing, De Vreese states that the outcomes can be imagined at the individual or societal level. On an individual level, he articulates that exposure to frames can change states of mind about an issue while on societal levels, frames may shape social level processes such as decision making, political socialization and collective actions.
2.3.1.1 Identifying frames

There is no set way of identifying frames inherent in news. Entman (1993) suggests identifying frames using the absence or presence of certain catchphrases, stock expressions, stereotyped images, sentences and sources of information, containing thematically strengthening clusters of judgments or facts. On the other hand, Tankard (2001) recommends eleven framing mechanisms for recognizing and measuring news frames:

1. Headlines
2. Subheads
3. Leads
4. Photos
5. Photo captions
6. Quotes selection
7. Source selection
8. Pull quotes
9. Statistics and charts
10. Logos, and
11. Concluding statements and paragraph

Two types of frames exist: generic news and issue-specific frames. Issue particular frames are applicable just to particular subjects or occasions according to De Vreese. He stresses that the issue specific approach takes into consideration a 'significant level of specificity and details relevant to the occasion or issue under scrutiny. This approach however has its weaknesses, the frames are hard to compare, generalize, and use as experimental proof for theory building.
Generic news frames rise above thematic constraints and can be distinguished in relations to various subjects, some even after some time and in various social settings (De Vreese, 2005).

Cissel’s (2012) research showed that there was a critical relationship between length of the news article and its apparent significance. She investigated article length and could comprehend and make inferences about how imperative the media source felt the covered theme was or ought to be respected by its reader. Her reason was that the greatness of a news article can be connoted by the location of the story and its length. For instance, a news story on the front page and 900 words in length can be seen as more imperative to its reader than one covered amidst the distribution and composed with just 200 words.

2.3.2 Agenda setting theory

The force of the news media to set a country’s motivation, to emphasize public consideration on a couple public issues, is a colossal and well-documented impact. Not just do individuals gain factual information concerning public issues from the news media, readers and viewers additionally learn how much importance to connect to a theme on the premise of the emphasis set on it in the news (McCombs, 2002).

Zhu and Blood (1997) characterize agenda setting as the process whereby the news media lead the public in assigning significance to various public affairs. Furthermore, they express that the media does not achieve this by telling the audience specifically what issue is more vital but rather by giving this issues particular treatment, for example, more frequent coverage and more unmistakable positions. Newspapers offer salience to the subjects in the daily news in such a way that the leading story is on page one, large headlines, other front page display and so on
Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw have been most referred to by studies on agenda setting as having tested this hypothesis. In their article in the Public Opinion Quarterly, McCombs and Shaw observed that issue salience or what the general public thought was most important was being shaped by the media. Lippman (1922) stressed that the media should be very responsible because they are purveyors and interpreters of events in society and because they have the power to create images of events in people’s minds.

Repetitions in coverage of these issues day after day communicate their importance. The media therefore has the power to center peoples’ attention to a few issues.

McCombs (2002) further claim that the agenda of a news firm is found in its trend of scope on public issues over some timeframe, a week, a month or a whole year. Over this timeframe, a couple issues are underscored, some get light scope, and numerous are never mentioned or seldom.

Agenda setting is a process and is not restricted to this underlying stride of focusing public consideration for a specific theme. The media likewise impact the step that follows in the communication process, the public’s perspective and understanding of the subjects in the news (McCombs, 2002). Zhu and Blood (1997) go further to describe this hypothesis as having two concepts, the media agenda and the public agenda. The two agendas have a causal relationship between them. Media Agenda is the list of issues or events that receive news coverage. According to Zhu and Blood (1997) media agenda is regularly measured by how prominently and frequently an issue is secured in the news, weighting variables such as section inches for press stories, or position in daily paper.
Public Agenda refers to the number of concerns or things in the minds of the people. To establish public agenda a study of people’s reactions to the open ended question, 'What is the most vital issue confronting our country today?' (Zhu and blood, 1997). According to McLeod, Becker and Byrnes (1971), public agenda is then divided into three; intrapersonal agenda, how imperative an issue is to the individual him/herself; interpersonal, how critical an issue is to others; and a community agenda, how essential an issue is to the community or country.

Zhu and Blood 1997 say that although these distinctive public agendas collaborate with each other to a specific degree, studies have demonstrated that the media agenda setting impact is most discernible in molding community agenda.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) noticed that media agenda setting matches what the media wrote about specific issues and what people in general thought about these issues. Furthermore, they expressed that media are capable for making an agenda for the entire community, despite the fact that people in that group have their own agenda that could be not quite the same as that of the community.

The media may not be effective much of the time in commanding individuals on what to think, but it is stunningly effective in telling its readers what to think. What's more, it follows from this that the world does not looks the same to different individuals, depending on their own advantages, as well as on the guide that is drawn for them by the scholars, editors and publishers of the articles they read(Cohen, 1963).

Regardless of how solid the agenda setting role of the media is, it alone doesn't decide people in public agenda. McCombs feels that the media set the agenda just when citizens see their news stories as pertinent (2002).
Dispositions and conduct are normally administered by comprehensions – what a man knows, considers, and accepts. Subsequently, the motivation setting capacity of the broad communications infers a conceivably huge impact whose full measurements and results have yet to be examined and acknowledged (Shaw, 1979).

The salience of certain issues in the media is linked to opinion formation by the audience. McCombs gives an example of the increased salience of public figures that has directly contributed to more people moving away from neutral positions to form an opinion about these figures.

By pointing out a few matters while overlooking others, TV news [as well as alternate news media] impacts the measures by which governments, presidents, arrangements, and possibility for open office are judged (McCombs, 2002).
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

Research methodology is the process the researcher used to collect information and data for the purpose of this study. This chapter looks at how the researcher studied newspaper framing of sexual violence in Kenya. The process includes the design the researcher employed including how the researcher came up with the sample to study.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed method). In this study, to get quantitative data, the researcher collected news articles from the newspapers to understand framing of sexual violence. The researcher looked for certain elements in the newspaper articles and described the inherent frames. The researcher was particularly keen on the following frames:

- Choice of page e.g. Front page, back page, early pages, mid-pages and county pages.
- Use of photographs.
- Use of mugshots
- Utility box/fact box
- Quotes
- Figures
- Letters and Opinions

Content analysis (media content analysis) was employed for the news articles and the researcher interpreted the data.
Content analysis is a survey procedure used to make replicable and substantial inferences by coding and interpreting literary material (Terry, 2012). By methodically evaluating texts, e.g. graphics, oral communication, and documents, qualitative data can be transformed into quantitative information. Data was gathered and grouped according to the coding units which for this study were the identified frames in addition to other aspects such as: Follow up articles and age of the victim and offender.

The results of content analysis are numbers and percentages, attained through frequencies. These are presented using tables drawn using Word processor and graphs created using Excel.

To get qualitative data, chief-subeditors and subeditors for the three newspapers were interviewed. The researcher used structured questions which were different for the chief subeditors and the sub-editors. Answers from the interviews were then be transcribed and interpreted then presented as a narrative in the report.

3.2 Research Approach

The study employed both qualitative research approach and quantitative research approach. In quantitative research approach newspaper articles were analysed using a code and data presented according to various frames. Frequencies, numbers and percentages were obtained hence giving quantitative data.

In the qualitative research approach, the study made use of an interview guide which had a series of questions that guided the researcher when interviewing chief sub-editors and sub-editors. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed.
3.3 Target population

The target population was the newspapers under study: The Daily Nation, Sunday Nation and Saturday Nation and in addition the subeditors and chief-subeditors at Nation Media Group. The Daily Nation, Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation newspapers and other papers under the media group as well as their respective chief sub-editors and sub-editors were the researcher’s target population.

3.4 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is the specific sexual violence stories that run between 1st January, 2015, to 31st December, 2015, as well as chief-subeditors and subeditors of Daily, Saturday and Sunday Nation. The researcher chose the Nation newspapers because of their national reach and the possibility for generalization. The newspapers were also selected because they have featured stories on sexual violence. The other unit

The chief sub-editors were interviewed because they copy-taste articles and choose which ones to appear on the newspaper. Sub-editors were also interviewed because they edit the stories and choose words/language to effectively communicate with the public as well as write headlines for which they are responsible for using words and terms that pass across the intended message. The sub-editors are in charge of helping articles bring out the intended impact.

3.4.1 Daily Nation, Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation

The three newspapers belong to the Nation Media Group. The Daily Nation was founded in 1958 as a weekly Swahili week paper called Taifa by Charles Hayes. It was purchased by the Aga Khan in 1959 and became a daily newspaper, Taifa Leo, in January 1960. An English language
edition, Daily Nation, came to be on 3rd October 1960. Saturday and Sunday Nation are a variation of the Daily Nation published during the weekends.

Their mother company, Nation Media Group (NMG) was founded in 1959 by Aga Khan IV. It has offices in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania. NMG runs various media products in the four countries which include newspapers: The Daily Nation, Saturday and Sunday Nation, Business daily, Taifa Leo, Daily Monitor, Mwananchi, The Citizen and the East African and TV stations: NTV and NTV Uganda.

Recently, the media house folded its two radio stations: Nafion FM (English broadcast) and QFM (Swahili broadcast) but increased online presence after converging its desks according to global trends in many newsrooms.

3.5 Sampling
The researcher reviewed all the newspaper articles about sexual violence in the period indicated so as to clearly establish the frames. Looking at all articles running throughout the year 2015 helped come up with frequencies for the frames which are the coding units in this study. The newspaper articles were sourced from the NMG library which keeps all the publications by the media house. For the chief-subeditors, purposive sampling was used since each of the three identified papers had only one chief-subeditor each and the aim was to get views from all of them. Therefore all three were interviewed.

For the sub-editors, convenience sampling was used. This is because the subeditors were not easily available due to time constraints. There were 18 subeditors in total. Nine for each of the papers. The sub-editors were clustered according to the newspaper they edit, that is Daily Nation
cluster, Saturday Nation cluster and Sunday Nation cluster. From the pool of nine subeditors per cluster, three were interviewed from each cluster. Three subeditors were a good representative number. The three subeditors from each paper were picked based on convenience. This is because most of the time the sub-editors are very busy and the researcher had to request them to set aside time for the interview, hence only those available were interviewed.

3.6 Research Method
The researcher carried out a content analysis on the newspaper articles covering sexual violence in the period indicated to establish the frames used. In addition, the researcher interviewed chief sub-editors and sub-editors to find out the frames they use and why they use them and how they use them when covering articles on sexual violence.

3.7 Data Collection
In this study primary data was used. Primary data is information collected specifically for the purposes of a research project. In this study there were two primary sources of data namely; newspaper articles and the chief-subeditors and their subeditors.

After acquisition of the newspaper articles, the researcher counted the number of times, during the period of study, that sexual violence was covered in all its different terms such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual assault, etc. The researcher also looked at the page an article appeared and the space allocated. The researcher looked at the identified frames and counted the number of articles with the frames. In addition, the identified coding units were utilised and articles they appeared in were counted.
Separate structured interviews were used for the chief-sub-editors and subeditors whereby the audio recording of their answers was transcribed.

3.8 Data Analysis

The researcher, whilst using research objectives, looked into what the newspaper articles represented and established the inherent frames. The researcher analyzed the meaning of the articles and what they represented. The articles were used to understand how sexual violence is framed by the newspaper. Excel was used to analyze data collected from the newspapers. Data collected from chief-subeditors and sub-editors was transcribed and presented in a narrative format.

3.9 Data Presentation

Information gathered was organized and communicated using a variety of tools. After collection of data, which after interpretation became information, the researcher documented it in a report using graphs, charts and tables as tools for data presentation.

The tools present the data in accordance with the objectives of the study hence answering the questions in this research work. Under each objective there are categories of the content analysis code used such as mug-shots, photos, utility boxes etc., as well as categories based on interview questions. The interview questions were tailored to answer the research objectives. These were presented in a narrative.
3.10 Identifying frames

The researcher analyzed transcribed interviews to identify other frames in the newspaper articles. The researcher looked for specific words, phrases, stereotypes displayed in text and sources of information given. This was in addition to frames such as photographs, mug-shots, article size, page number, utility boxes etc., that were used to form coding units.

3.11 Ethical considerations

In fulfillment of University of Nairobi requirements for the award of a Masters of Arts Degree in communication studies the student carried out a study. The student came up with a research topic based on course work covered and this was presented in a concept paper which was submitted to the University for Approval.

The topic was approved and the student wrote a research proposal under the guidance of a supervisor. The student submitted the research proposal and faced a panel to defend the proposal. The panel made corrections, suggestions and additions which the student incorporated in the research proposal. The student obtained a Certificate of Fieldwork (Appendix V) which was duly signed and proceeded to collect data.

The researcher obtained permission to analyse newspaper articles from the Nation Media Group’s library. Since the library is open to the public, the researcher was allowed to collect data without paying after explaining that it was in fulfillment of a masters study and explaining what the research was about.
The researcher obtained permission from the chief sub-editor and sub-editors to interview them. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and allowed the interviewees to ask questions. The interviewees were also free to decline to answer the interview questions. Interviewees were also assured that the interview was in confidence and that after transcribing the recorded interview, it would be erased.

After completing the study, the researcher appeared before a panel and defended the project. Corrections obtained from the defense were made and the student obtained a duly signed Certificate of corrections (Appendix VI).

The researcher submitted the project for plagiarism check and up on being cleared after passing, signed a Declaration of Originality form (Appendix IV) that was approved by the university.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

The researcher mined 333 articles from Nation Media Group’s newspapers namely: Daily Nation, Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation for the year 2015-from January 1st to December 31st. The newspaper articles examined were categorized into various sections according to the way they were published for example; national news, foreign news and back page, among other sections. Terms used to describe sexual violence were also used among the variables considered during analysis; these were rape, sexual abuse, sexual assault and sexual violence. Other variables of importance considered were age of victims and offenders, follow-up on stories, use of utilities among others. A code sheet containing 24 variables was used to gather data. Interviews with chief-subeditors and subeditors of the newspapers in the research were recorded and later transcribed.

4.1 Newspaper Article Analysis

Articles on sexual violence found during the study were analysed and placed in categories. They are presented as follows.

4.1.1 Newspaper section

Figure 4.1 indicates where the story or article on sexual violence was placed in the newspaper. The findings show that most reporting on sexual violence was done under county round-up pages. This was at 35% followed closely by national news pages at 34%. Features gave minimal attention to articles and stories on sexual violence with the findings indicating that these came at 6%. Business and sports pages hardly covered any stories on sexual violence with results
indicating 0.6% and 0.3% respectively. The back page, which is a prime page, did not carry many stories of sexual violence and findings showed this was at 0.6%. On the contrary, page one had more stories on sexual violence compared to the back page. Page one, according to the findings, carried 2% of all the stories on sexual violence in 2015. However, stories starting on page one continued in other national pages. Foreign news covered stories and articles on sexual violence at 16.5% which is close to half of the coverage on national pages. County pages gave minimal coverage to stories on sexual violence with findings indicating that these were at 6% but then again most of the articles went to the round-up section found in the county edition’s part.

Figure 4.1: Section of the newspaper articles on sexual violence were placed

![Figure 4.1: Section of the newspaper articles on sexual violence were placed](image)

4.1.2 Term used to describe sexual offence in the article

This part is on the term that was mostly used to describe the sexual offence. Table 4.1 shows that they were four key terms used to describe the offence, namely; Sexual violence, sexual abuse, sexual assault and rape. Findings indicate that, out of the 333 articles on sexual violence mined
from the newspaper in 2015, 234 mostly described the offence as rape. Sexual abuse was the second mostly used term, which however was way lower compared to rape. Articles describing the offence as sexual abuse were 50. The least favorite terms used to describe sexual offences in the newspaper were sexual violence and assault. The findings show that 37 articles used the term sexual assault predominantly followed closely by sexual violence with 36 articles.

**Table 4.1: Term used to describe offence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual assault</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rape</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.2: Pie chart on term used to describe offence**
4.1.3 Frequency of articles on sexual violence per month

Figure 4.3 is on frequency of articles and stories on sexual violence as covered across the 12 months in 2015. The findings indicate that most articles and stories on sexual violence appeared in the month of April at 13% which was a total of 43 articles. April was followed by September and June, with the findings indicating that these two months carried 11.1% and 11% of the articles respectively.

Articles and stories on sexual violence declined steadily, from September as the year came to an end with December having the least articles at 3.9%. December is a festive season and either cases of sexual violence were low or other stories were given more priority. October and November had 9.6% and 5.7% of the total articles respectively. This translates into 32 articles in October, 19 articles in November and 13 articles in December.

The pattern was however different at the beginning of the year. January had 30 articles which translated to 9%, but this dropped in February which had 24 articles and translated to 7% and a further drop in March with 22 articles which was 6.6%. This was however followed by a sharp increase in the month of April which had 43 articles on sexual violence but another drop in May with 23 articles translating to 6.9%. July and August had 8.7% and 7.5% of the articles respectively which was 29 and 25 articles for July and August respectively.
4.1.4 Format of news article

Format of articles on sexual violence was analysed according to the most prominent term used to describe the violation. In this study the terms were; sexual violence, sexual abuse, sexual assault and rape. Figure 4.4 indicates that most articles were news stories. Meaning that most were happenings being reported. Table 4.2 gives the number of news stories under rape as 209 for the whole year, 2015, while sexual assault had 29 articles featured as news. Sexual abuse and sexual violence had 40 and 29 articles respectively featured under news.

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.4 further indicate that the public did not air concerns about sexual violence as seen by the few letters written or the newspaper did not give its readers the space to comment on the violation. There was no letter under sexual abuse while rape had only 6 letters. Sexual violence and sexual assault had 1 letter and 3 letters respectively.

As far as the newspaper is concerned, it did not do many features to exploit sexual violence as seen by the few articles across the terms used to describe the offence. Rape had only 8 features
which are under DN2 same as sexual violence which also had 8 articles. Sexual abuse only had 6 feature articles while sexual abuse had 6 DN2 features.

Opinion from the newspaper and the public was also on the lower side; however rape had more opinion articles as compared to feature articles. For the remaining three terms, opinion articles were less than feature articles. Sexual violence had 3 opinion articles, sexual abuse had 4 and sexual assault had the least with only 2 opinion articles.

**Table 4.2: Newspaper article format**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Format</th>
<th>Sexual violence</th>
<th>Sexual abuse</th>
<th>Sexual assault</th>
<th>Rape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to the editor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.5 Prominence given to news article

Prominence of an article goes together with newsworthiness and importance attached to the article as well as impact intended to be made. Figure 4.5 shows that most articles on sexual violence were not given much prominence as seen in the number of briefs which were the majority at 210 articles under rape. Sexual violence had 9 briefs, sexual abuse had 20 while sexual assault had 10 briefs.

Page leads, which have the most space on a page, were few across the four terms used to describe sexual violation. Under rape, these were only 32 articles.

Articles and stories occupying an entire page with no adverts or appearing with an advert but with no other article were even fewer than the page leads. Rape had 12 articles, sexual violence had 11 and sexual abuse had 7 while assault had only 3 articles.
Secondary articles, which are smaller than page leads but bigger than briefs, were more than page leads. There were 59 secondary stories under rape, 8 under sexual violence; sexual abuse had 9 while sexual assault had 17 secondary stories.

Supporting stories, which add value to the main story in the page lead, or give another angle to the same story on the page lead, were the least. These were only 3 under rape and sexual violence while sexual assault and sexual abuse had zero each.

In summary, briefs were the most, followed by secondary stories, then page leads, next was one story on page and finally supporting stories as the least.

**Figure 4.5: Prominence given to article**

![Prominence given to article](image)

**4.1.6 Frequency of follow up stories on rape**

Figure 4.6 indicates that the newspapers were not keen on following up stories on sexual violence to know how they progressed and eventually ended. This is seen from 14.2% of articles on rape that were updates on continuing stories i.e. follow ups while new stories or non-follow up stories were at 85.8%.
4.1.7 Articles with a photograph

Articles that added value to the story or gave a visual impact on the reader through photographs were at 12.3% according to Figure 4.7. The newspaper was not keen on a visual aid for rape stories as seen by 87.7% of the articles having no photograph.
4.1.8 Articles with a mug-shot

Figure 4.8 indicates that mug-shots were rarely used to add value to a story. Articles on rape that used mug-shots were only at 9.8% which translated to 23 articles. The rest of the articles, 211, did not have a mug-shot.

Figure 4.8: Articles with a mug-shot

4.1.9 Articles with a pull-quote

To give prominence to statements made in stories on rape, the newspaper utilized pull-quotes at 7.6% as seen on Figure 4.9. This translated to 18 articles under rape, with 216 articles having not utilized a pull-quote.
4.1.10 Articles with a figure/number box

Figures or numbers help give extra details on the story and help present statistics which add depth to the article. Figure 4.10 shows that 6.8% of the articles on rape had a figure or number box to enhance the story. This translated to 16 articles under rape while the bigger percentage, 93.2%, which was 218 articles. The newspaper therefore did not use figures mostly to add value to articles.

Figure 4.10: Articles with a figure/number box
4.1.1.11 Articles with a fact/utility box

Figure 4.11 indicates that most articles under rape did not make use of a fact/utility box to add value to stories. This is seen by 91.5% of the articles which did not have a fact/utility box. Only 20 articles under rape utilized a fact/utility box which was 20 articles only. This means that there was no extra information to add depth to the articles.

Figure 4.11: Articles with a fact/utility box

4.1.1.12 Articles with ages of offender and age of victim

Figure 4.12 shows that for the articles that indicated age, most gave the age of the victim. Rape had a total of 234 articles, out of this, 98 gave the age of the victim while 44 articles had the age of the offender. Under sexual violence, 8 articles gave the age of the victim while only 2 articles had the age of the offender. Sexual abuse had 6 articles showing the age of victims and 4 articles gave the age of the offenders. Under sexual assault, 5 articles gave age of victims while only 4 gave age of offenders.
4.2 Answering questions in the study

Articles on sexual violence and interviews were used as the basis for the study to determine how newspapers frame sexual violence in Kenya. This section will present the sub-editors’ answers to the interviews that helped answer objectives of the study.

4.2.1 Questions to sub-editors

4.2.1.1 How victims of sexual violence and suspected rapists are portrayed

The researcher found that victims of sexual violence are given as much privacy as they deserve and as for minors, their names are not revealed at all to protect them. For adults, their names are only revealed if only the matter is in court unless they request privacy. This is also done in line with legal requirements like hiding the identity of children.

The researcher also found that some victims were portrayed in a sympathetic way and they were not exposed to harm.
On the other hand however, victims are just mentioned and an in depth analysis of the crime is rare with an example being an ongoing case in court involving a Member of Parliament. Offenders are portrayed like all other suspects and that is innocent until proven guilty. But when they are convicted words like ‘beastly,’ ‘inhuman,’ and ‘cruel’ are used to describe the crime while words like villain are used on the offender. Their names are only revealed when the case goes to court. Words such as alleged, accused and ‘said to have’ are used so as not to appear to pass judgment to the offender.

4.2.1.2 Influence of media law on sexual violence stories

The interviewer found that the media relies on court cases where both the perpetrator and victim are given a chance to defend themselves. As such, the newspaper is keen to report only what has been said in court and innuendos are avoided. The Children’s Act also comes into play so as to hide the identity of minors. In answering this question, some respondents pointed to the fact that the media also calls the attention of law enforcers on some issues for example if a certain area is reporting an increase in cases of sexual violence. Respondents agreed that the media law influences the stories and added that explicit words cannot be used to describe the crime.

4.2.1.3 Determining the term to use to describe sexual violence

The researcher found that the media house has an editorial policy to guide on such issues. If a story from a reporter violates the policy, the sub-editors tone it down and use the appropriate terms or remove the offensive words. The law in general was cited a guiding factor on what terms to use to describe sexual violence. Sensitivities to culture, religion, age, gender and circumstances of the crime equally determined how sexual violence was portrayed. The media
style book was also cited as key in choosing the term to use. The word ‘sodomy’ is highly discouraged while the word ‘rape’ is the most preferred to a word such as ‘defilement.’

4.2.1.4 Effect of beliefs and opinions in the angle taken on sexual violence stories

The researcher got a resounding no to this question. The subeditors said they were keen to publish the stories from a no-partisan observer’s point of view. However two said their opinion influences they angle they take because they believe that “sexual violence is wrong and should be punished.” These also felt that the public frowns up on prostitutes to the extent that the media cannot take a prostitute seriously if they say they were raped.

4.2.1.5 Choosing the headline to use on a sexual violence story

The researcher found that the gravity of the violence guided in writing the headline. Fairness and truth also played a great part. Emotion of the story depending on intensity of the violence, vulnerability of the victim as well as the response by the authorities and the community also guided the headline written. Ages of both the offender and victim are considered because in the case where a minor against an adult is involved, more sympathy will go to the minor.

4.2.2 Questions to chief-subeditor

For a story to appear on a newspaper page, the chief sub-editor must copy test it before allowing the story to appear on a newspaper page. Answers to the questions directed to chief sub-editors further helped to answer questions from the objectives.
4.2.2.1 Choosing where to place of sexual violence stories

The researcher found that the news value of the story e.g. the impact, prominence of people involved, any unusual occurrence and public interest help in picking out the story. Also the traction created by the story is considered e.g. if it is trending on social media or it has gone viral on social media. Discussions during the editors’ news conference also influences placement of the stories. Personal judgment also plays a role regarding the story e.g. the age of the people involved may determine space and prominence the story gets. Content that invades on privacy is avoided.

4.2.2.2 Decision to follow-up on stories

The researcher found that this depends on the public interest generated by the story. Stories that have attracted attention on social media or the authorities are usually followed up. Editors can also decide to follow up on a story if necessary and if a case is in court there may be need to follow it.

4.2.2.3 Influence of beliefs and in angling sexual violence stories

Respondents said they try as much as possible to remain objective and balanced however some stories evoke emotions e.g. those touching on children and elderly persons. The editorial policy and news value also guide on the angle to take.

4.2.2.4 Influence of media law on sexual violence stories

The researcher found that the media law influences issues touching on privacy and defamation and the need to protect minors. Names of minors are concealed to protect them.
4.2.2.5 Number of sexual violence stories placed on the newspaper

There were no rules or formula for this, but if they are too many, only the ones with more news value make it to the newspaper pages. However, the researcher found that the newspaper cannot be flooded with too many of the same stories on one issue.

4.2.2.6 The newspaper’s role in reporting sexual violence

Opinion was divided in that the newspaper does enough already while on the hand there was a feeling that more can be done. To do more, a pull-out on sexual violence was suggested because many times, the stories fight for space in the main pages. In addition how the stories are reported could be varied so that they don’t always have to appear like routine crime stories.

4.3 Emerging Frames in Sexual Violence Reporting

The newspaper used several frames when covering articles on sexual violence.

4.3.1 Age

Age of the victim against the offender determined the prominence given to the story in terms of space and dictated the headline written. Age also played a key role in naming the victim whereby minors were protected by concealing their identities. Age off offenders especially if the difference with the victim is too big was exploited when reporting. Elderly victims also drew a lot of attention and influenced coverage.
4.3.2 Privacy

Privacy is another frame that the researcher identified. The need to protect victims against the public withheld some details on the offence. Victims who requested their names not to be mentioned had their wishes respected. Minors were also granted privacy by withholding their names. Before a case on sexual violence is presented in court, names of the offenders cannot be revealed until they go to court which is a public domain.

4.3.3 Law

Under this frame several laws took center stage. Media laws were applied such as defamation where stories were tailored in such a way not to defame any mentioned person. The Children’s Act which seeks protection of minors was effected and the minors’ photographs could not be published. Obscene and offensive language could also not be used in the newspaper. The law also helped guide on how victims are portrayed which is innocent until declared guilty.

4.3.4 Editorial policy

The editorial policy played a great role in avoiding personal opinions and bias. The policy dictated terms and words used to describe sexual violence and helped maintain dignity of the victims. Through the policy, graphic details cannot be published and victims cannot be portrayed in an unfavorable way.

4.3.5 News value

News value dictated whether a story could be published or not and what prominence it deserved to be given in the newspaper. Stories of great value got more space on national pages while those deemed to have less value or less impact were placed as briefs in county round-up pages.
4.3.6 Language
Great care was taken in the use of language to avoid being vulgar and offend the readers. Language was selected to avoid appearing biased and as if passing judgment on the offender or make the victim look bad. Language was also used in writing headlines to bring out the necessary shock in readers or help create the desired impact.

4.3.7 Public interest and human interest
This frame emerged especially on follow-up stories and helping determine the prominence to be given to a story. Stories that the public was keen on were followed up. This included stories going viral on social media. Human interest stories also attracted enough attention to be covered by the newspaper.

4.3.8 Gender
Other than most articles on sexual violence appearing to cover women and girls mostly, the subeditors admitted that they were sensitive not to portray women and girls in bad light. This meant being careful on describing events surrounding the violation and words used to describe the offence while eliminating details likely to vilify the victim or cause them to be stigmatized.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter presents a summary of the findings in the study, recommended areas for further research and conclusion.

The newspaper is a powerful tool that can play a great role in influencing the public and help shape opinions. To fight against sexual violence and help lower the cases which have been on the rise, the newspaper can be of great help in discouraging the vice and help change mindsets.

5.1 Summary

The study found that most articles on sexual violence got space in the county round up pages which are not the prominent pages in a newspaper. Unless a story was of public interested or considered to be of great value it was not given space in the national news pages. Stories that made it to page one were few and had created a lot of buzz on social media since they touched on a politician while the other involved a fake doctor who was accused of drugging and raping patients. Foreign news pagers had considerable articles but this was because in 2015, the Bill Cosby sexual scandal accusation broke out, sexual violence in war-torn African countries such as South Sudan were covered and the sex scandals in the Catholic Church as given attention by the pope.

From September to December, articles on sexual violence became fewer with December having the least articles. This was highly attributed to the fact that stories touching on festivities, road
safety and winding down the year were given more priority. Less news value was thus attached to articles on sexual violence hence their notable absence from the pages.

Most articles on sexual violence were in the form of news most of which were crime cases as covered in courts of law. Features were few meaning that the issue was not covered in depth. The public was either not given space or they did not comment on sexual violence because the articles under letters to the editor were few.

Articles on sexual violence were not given much prominence apart from those touching on the politician, the fake doctor and those that shocked the country. Page leads and full page stories were few and they were hardly any supporting stories presenting another side of the story or even a different angle for the same story. Most stories were briefs which are highly summarized.

Follow up stories were done only on stories that were of public interest having first generated a lot of heat on social media or having drawn the attention of authorities such as the police and the public prosecutor.

Most stories on sexual violence did not have photographs, mug-shots, pull quotes and numbers which are usually used to add depth and prominence to a story. But this could be due to the fact that most stories were short briefs which usually do not have room for extra details.

It was found that the newspaper tried as much as possible to cover articles on sexual violence were the researcher found that there were no rules dictating on the number of articles. However,
other issues given more value could push out articles on sexual violence leading to less coverage like in the case of December.

The law was found to play a great role in the way victims and offenders were portrayed with the newspaper trying as much as possible to contravene the law. And as much as there was an editorial policy to guide against bias and personal opinions, these came up once in a while depending on the nature of the offence and its perceived gravity.

There was a feeling that the newspaper was giving sexual violence enough coverage which was countered by another view that the stories should be covered in depth and given more variation since most stories were centered on cases in court.

Various frames such as age, the law, editorial policy and news value were identified as coming out strongly in the coverage of sexual violence.

The newspapers set the agenda on sexual violence based on discussions during the editors’ daily conference or based on prevailing circumstances such as high profile rape cases. These led to decisions to do feature articles or opinion pieces tackling the issue of sexual violence.

5.2 Conclusion

The findings indicate that newspapers can do more to help fight sexual violence in the society. The newspapers have done a great deal, however more can be done and tactics changed so as to help create change and influence certain mindsets. More feature articles should be employed to give an in depth analysis of the issue of sexual violence. Reporters can be encouraged to dig
deeper into the stories and help unearth more occurrences of sexual violence other than cases that are in court or have been taken to court.

The government has even a bigger role to play in fighting sexual violence by changing strategies.

5.3 Recommendations

From the analysis the following is recommended:

Other stakeholders, activists and support groups etc., should come in and help educate the public on the negative effects of sexual violence.

The public should be empowered and educated on the need to report cases of sexual violation since most go unreported.

Journalists should find other ways of reporting on sexual violence and find ways of digging for unknown details while going out of the courts to fish out other stories on sexual violence.

Newspapers should change how they approach stories on sexual violence and give them more prominence while also making editorial opinions and allowing opinion from the public.

Policy makers should make it a rule to teach pupils on how to avoid falling victim or becoming a perpetrator.

Recommended areas for further research:

A study on editorial policies and how they influence news coverage.

A study on newspapers and the role they play to deter vices in the society.

Further research on impact of media framing of sexual violence covering a longer period of time e.g. three to five years.

The place of social media in influencing print media news coverage.
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NC: Wadsworth Publishing

University of New York Press.
## Appendix I

### Code sheet

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APPENDIX II

Interview guide for chief sub-editors

1. What determines placement (on pages) of sexual violence stories?

2. What makes you decide to do follow up stories?

3. Do your beliefs and opinions affect the angle you take on sexual violence stories?

4. Does the media law influence stories on sexual violence?

5. What determines the number of sexual violence stories you place on the newspaper?

6. Should the newspaper do more to report on sexual violence?
Appendix III

Interview guide for sub-editors

1. How do you portray victims of sexual violence?

2. How do you portray suspected rapists?

3. Does the media law influence stories on sexual violence?

4. What determines the terms you use to describe sexual violence?

5. Do your beliefs and opinions affect the angle you take on sexual violence stories?

6. What determines the headline you use on a sexual violence story?
APPENDIX IV

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

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Faculty/School/Institute: JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION
Department: _______________________
Course Name: MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES
Title of the work

DECLARATION

1. I understand what Plagiarism is and I am aware of the University’s policy in this regard
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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners’ meeting held on 18/8/2016 in respect of M.A/Ph.D final Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the student can be allowed to proceed for field work.

Reg. No: K50/688/2014
Name: CATHARINE MBULA KITABA
Title: NEWSPAPER FRAMING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN KENYA

[Signatures and dates]

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APPENDIX VI

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Title: NEWSPAPER FRAMING OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN KENYA

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