UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: A CASE OF BATTERED WOMEN IN KENYA

RESEARCH PROJECT

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DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that this project is my original work and has not been presented in part or wholly to any other institution of learning for the award of any degree or examination.

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This research project has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my dad, Mr. Daniel Wamathu who is the source of my inspiration.

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I thank the Almighty God for His grace and faithfulness throughout my study.

I acknowledge the following persons who supported and enabled me to conduct and produce this research project. These are the following; my husband Paul Kahungi, daughters Natasha and Myra who stood and encouraged me throughout my study. My mother Mary Wamathu, nieces; Dr. Wanjiku Mwangi and Mitchell Kang'ethe, brothers Kamau, Jimnah, Kangethe and David Wamathu. Thanks for your support and love. My sisters Martha Wamathu, Lillian Gaceri, and Mary Kang'ethe for always standing and praying for me. My in-laws Mr. and Mrs. David Mwangi, thank you for believing in me. Your prayers, advice, and support kept me strong. May God bless you.

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ABSTRACT

The study sought to investigate media representation of women in domestic violence focusing on cases of battered women in Kenya. The study also looked at media as a platform through which people express their emotions and acquire informed ideas. Two theories, media culture theory and standpoint theory were used to explain how (and why) media represents women in domestic violence. Content analysis of eight video clips from YouTube and information from eleven key informants was analysed to investigate how media frames battered women; how they represent their emotions and narratives and how they represent perpetrators narratives. The study used qualitative approach and the source of information included institutions that fight for women rights, counselors, victims, journalists and doctors. Video clips from 1st January 2018 to 30th June 2018 on battered women were also analysed. In addition, explanatory design was used to identify and explain reasons behind battering of women in Kenya. Purposive sampling technique was used to select key informants while inclusion and exclusion criteria was used to select eight video clips relevant for the study. Interview guides were used to collect data from the key informants. Data was analysed thematically and presented using narratives as expressed by the key informants. Confidentiality, consent and other ethical considerations were observed while collecting data. The findings of this study are that media uses episodic framing to represent domestic violence cases and fails to give in-depth information on effects of domestic violence on victims. Media also attributes blames and responsibility to the victims of domestic violence for staying in abusive relationships. In addition, there is absence of perpetrators in media reporting and their narratives are told by the victims and the conclusion of this study is that media is a powerful tool of representation and is able to manipulate and maintain the status quo of the societal structures. This study recommends that media should practice professional ethics and conduct in-depth research while representing domestic violence issues.

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DEFINATION OF TERMS

Domestic Violence: Abuse by an intimate partner to exert power. The abuse can be psychological physical, or sexual.

Intimate Partner Violence: Violence by a spouse who the victim is presently or formerly sexually or romantically linked to.

Media: These are the various platforms of communication. For instance, radio, television, and newspapers.

Media Framing: This is how media packages a story by selecting the features to give prominence while regarding others as less prominent.

Media representation: This is the way media portrays particular groups, experiences, ideas, or topics through texts.

Representation: The action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone or the state of being so represented

Texts: It is any the original word or form of a printed or any written work.

Textual analysis: It is a data gathering process used by communication researchers who intend to understand, describe and interpret the characteristics of visual or recorded messages.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BWS	Battered Woman Syndrome
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women
DV	Domestic Violence
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Overview

This chapter presents background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, rationale and the scope of the study.

1.1.1: Background

The power of mass media and its effects on audience and society are some of the major concerns communication researchers have tried to study for some time. The way media frames and represents issues of different groups in the society raises questions on whether media effectively plays its macro and micro functions to the society it reflects (Sutherland, 2015). Such issues include domestic violence in the society where women are physically, sexually, emotionally and financially abused.

Domestic violence is an invisible and common problem in today's society which not only violates human rights but also has serious health effects on the victims as it extorts significant economic and social costs on every nation (United Nations, 2010). Hudson argues that women's security is an important factor in every state and its occurrence in conflict and war should not be ignored (Hudson, 2012). Further, VicHealth posits that the main causes of domestic violence in the society are the defined gender roles and the unequal control and distribution of resources between men and women. Thus, this puts the society as the major facilitator of women violence for it condones violence through its construction of rigid gender roles and stereotypes that govern the way people within societies attach meanings to the things around them(VicHealth, 2010). The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) defines violence against women as any act of gender-based violence that results to mental, sexual and physical harm to women and deprives liberty in both private and public life of a victim. It is deeply rooted in socio-cultural construction on gender roles within a society where feminine and masculine roles are defined and practiced (DEVAW, 1993). Domestic violence is a purposive behaviour which includes different tactics that are carried out frequently by a perpetrator. Such tactics cause fear and anxiety on the victim and result to serious psychological effects. It is important to note that, domestic violence is conducted by adolescents and adults against their intimate partners whether heterosexuals or homosexuals. According to WHO and UN Women, at least 35% of women worldwide have experienced domestic violence which is scarcely reported by the media in spite of its social and economic impacts in a society (WHO, 2013; UN, 2015).

1.1.2 Occurrence of domestic violence globally

Study on domestic violence is poorly reported globally (Government of Australia depertment of social services, 2014). This is because in many cultures, women have poor socio-economic conditions which puts them on the reception end within a patriarchal society. Furthermore, in some family environment, domestic violence by intimate spouses is acceptable and women experiencing it feel it is justifiable (Shamsi & Hassan, 2014). Further studies show that in North America, between 40% and 50% of women are either physically abused, raped or have experienced domestic violence. In United States, there have been reports of at least 25% cases of women who are exposed to domestic violence. As such, it is apparent that domestic violence is prevalent in developed countries (Mozhdeh, 2017).

1.1.3 Occurrence of domestic violence in Africa

In Africa, domestic violence is a challenging issue that has its roots in the structural inequalities between men and women (Mbote, 2001). Women's status in many African societies is attached with a general acceptance of interpersonal violence as a means of resolving domestic violence. This puts women in a situation where they become vulnerable to domestic violence within family and society. Such factors support the existence of domestic violence across Africa (UNECA, 2008).

1.1.4: Domestic violence in Kenya

The Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) of 2008–2009 indicated that 39 percent of women and girls (aged 15 and above) have experienced physical violence. Thus, the Kenyan government has enacted laws to regulate domestic violence. Such laws are incorporated in the Kenyan constitution of Kenya (2010). KDHS (2014), explains that the culture of silence surrounding domestic violence as its victims fear of being victimized are key issues that prevent the victims from speaking out on domestic violence ((Kenya Demographic and Health Survey , 2014; National Gender and Equality Commission, 2016).

Domestic violence in Kenya is perceived within historical context. Patriarchal dominance was the norm and men were allowed to dominate their wives. This was expressed through domestic violence (Mbote, 2001). However, rebuking of women was regulated and husbands were not allowed to cause physical harm that would immobilize their wives from performing domestic chores. If it happened, the woman was supposed to report the matter to the organs of the community that would investigate and deal with the issue. Thus, marriage was not just an affair between two individuals but also involved clan ties and the society (Ondicho, 2013). Nonetheless, the colonial government disrupted the state of affairs within the society when they introduced new

social and economic structures. These structures triggered cultural imperialism within the society (Mbote, 2001). As a result, both society and family ties weakened and the society members no longer cared about the well-being of each other. Therefore, women became more vulnerable to male dominance and more exposed to domestic violence (National Crime Research Centre, 2014). The British colonial government further established a legal system that encouraged women subordination within the family set-up. For instance, the husband was the head of the household and the owner of the family property. The husband had more conjugal rights than his wife did and consequently the wife became like part of the husbands property (World Health Organisation, 2009). The law did not recognise cases of domestic violence until the year 1966 when the Kenyan government first addressed the issue of domestic violence by setting up a Commission on Law of Marriage and Divorce that focused on the status of women in the society (Gaafar, 2014). The commission proposed a Bill that prohibited domestic violence, which was rejected by parliament. The male dominated parliament rejected the Bill based on the grounds that marriage was a private domain and wife chastisement was a traditional practice that does not require government intervention. Thus, women depended on criminal law to control domestic violence in the society (Mbote, 2001).

1.1.6 Influence of culture on domestic violence

Cultural dominance is portrayed through dominance of one group over the other based on gender, age or arbitrary sets (Sidanius, 1999). The dominant group becomes the source of authority while subordinate group has to adhere to the ideas set by dominant group. These divisions cause conflict since subordinate groups fight for liberty and limited resources, which is portrayed by the media (Virley, 2013). Thus, cultural practices and norms within a society highly influence the peoples' perception on cases of domestic violence. According to WHO, culture and social norms highly

influence individuals' behaviour and attitudes towards certain issues within a society (World Health Organization, 2009). In addition, World Health Organisation (2009) explains that, social and cultural norms determine the standards that determine how appropriate or inappropriate a behaviour is, how acceptable or unacceptable and often such norms are unspoken. As such, different cultural norms may support different types of violence. This is discussed in this study is experienced in wife battering within the African societies which is seen as a way of expressing love to women. For instance, traditional beliefs explain that, men have a right to discipline and control their wives within the African countries. This makes women vulnerable to domestic violence (World Health Organization, 2009).

1.1.7 Media and representation of domestic violence

Media helps in the establishment of gender roles, shapes behaviour based on the way people perceive and understand information it disseminates. For instance, through the way it represents the different sets in the society (Scharrer, 2013). Gauntlett suggests that there is underrepresentation of women in the media as men continue to dominate the majority roles while women take the minority roles (Gauntett, 2008). Further, Woods (2006) argues that women are not just underrepresented but they are misrepresented through objectification, portrayed as incompetent groups who need male support at all times. This stereotypical representation of women is used to define their roles within the society.

Representation connects language and meaning to culture. To represent an object, event or people, human beings use language that brings meaningful understanding on the world they live in (Hall, 2005). There is use of signs, symbols and images that stand for the referent. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall looks at three different approaches that describe how human beings use language to represent the world. He analyses the reflective, intentional and constructivists approaches. The reflective approach argues that language functions as a mirror as it reflects the true meaning of an event, object or a person as it exists in the world. Further, he explains intentional approach where the speaker/writer of a certain work uses language to derive the meaning he intends. On the constructivist approach, he argues that language is a social character which is not controlled by the object or the users of the language. Hall further argues that human beings construct meaning by the use of concept maps (mind representation) and language (signs, symbols and images). This derives a notion that meaning is not intrinsic but human being through symbolic interaction construct it (Hall, 1997).

Representations in media studies is used to show the way issues within the society are presented to the audience by the media. Media frames texts to represent different demographics and regional identity. The audience uses these texts to construct or deconstruct meaning of the world around them. The texts shape the audiences understanding and enhance their insight on the issues reflected as prominent by the media. Media texts are powerful in influencing the audiences' perceptions. However, media texts may often create dissonance in the audience's mind, as not always does audience agree on the issues media disseminates (Gauntett, 2008).

Media acts as tool through which stories about the world are told, a platform that links societies and where transmission of culture occurs. It disseminates messages to not only educate, inform and entertain its audience but also to tell stories framed to set a certain agenda (McQual, 2011). Such narratives communicate covert and overt messages to media consumers that (re)present social, cultural, and political discourses that affect how audiences understand systems. Media messages most commonly communicate information that align with dominant ideologies, thus resulting to maintenance of the status quo (Cottle, 2006). This persistent dissemination of dominant ideologies becomes a concern among minority groups, whose voices are ignored within mainstream media. Such minority groups include women whose coverage and representation in the media is an area of research.

Griffins (2012) posits that the power of media in setting the public's agenda through priming, gatekeeping and framing of issues. This influences the audience's perceptions on the issues media discusses. In addition, media plays significant roles to the society it serves such as being an agenda setter, voice for the voiceless and transmission of culture among others. The agenda-setting role determines what the audience discusses, how they discuss and even for those who lack direct contact with the media, they still receive this information through the multipliers effect. The way the media frames and primes issues gives them prominence and the audience find themselves discussing such issues (Griffin, 2012). As such, it is crucial to understand how media disseminates information, who determines what to be disseminated and how this affects the audience. It is also important to find out how media represents women given that women are the minority within the society. The perceptions, attitudes, and knowledge acquired from the media help in shaping the way audience understands social problems. Such insights from the media dictate the way people in a society interact and understand each other hence causing conflict where there is dissonance. VicHealth (2010) argues that attitudes inform the perpetration of violence, shape victims' responses to victimisation, and influence community responses to any type of violence (VicHealth, 2010). Such attitudes, victimisation and violence are recorded in the invisible domestic violence within the society which can either be physical, sexual or financial violence.

1.1.7 Wife battering

Of all types of domestic violence, wife battering is among the highest type of violence ranking second in terms of attention it receives globally. Wife battering is violence perpetrated by a man upon a woman who exercises the character of a wife in a domestic scope. It results to psychological

and emotional effects to women as their husbands intend to control their partners through induction of pain and fear (Herbert, 1993)

However, as pertaining to addressing this issue, its attention has been slow and has progressed due to tireless efforts of concerned individuals such as feminists, who assist the battered women in the society. It is a medical, societal and a legal problem in the continent today (Bellack & Hersen, 1987). Akram and Manzoor (2015) argue that, wife battering is common in most developing countries and is an accepted norm that legitimises domination of masculinity in a society. They explain that wife battering can happen in closed doors or in public. It started many years back in both developed and developing societies and it mostly happens in closed door within family as a manifestation of unequal power relations between a husband and his wife and it results into crises (Akram & Manzoor, 2015; Mckie, 2005).

Rotimi (2007) argues that in parts of Africa, wife battering is an accepted culture and it is as an ancient practice that happens in a man's castle thus escaping the community scrutiny. In his study, he notes that, one woman in every three, is battered by his intimate partner globally, which raises concern. In addition, Rotimi explains that it occurs among all social classes and is a worldwide occurrence whose studies have been scarce since the phenomenon is overshadowed by political instability, poverty, religious fanaticism, corruption and high crime rates that are given prominence in developing and developed countries (Rotimi, 2007).

In Kenya, wife battering cases are common and have been there for a long time. They include physical torture, insults, sexual assault and even murder. The case of *Piah Njoki* in 1983 is an example of wife battering. In this case, her husband gouged out her eyes because of bearing only female children (Ngige & Kamau, 2009). Another similar case was *Mary Akinyi* whose head, face and hands were slashed because of dancing a Zairian '*ndombolo*' dancing style in front of a guest

at her home (Ondicho, 2000). These are examples of cases that were brought into public limelight and were evidence of existing domestic violence in Kenya.

Recent cases of domestic violence have been reported. Such cases include the case of *Diana Kamande* in 2013. Diana was looking forward to a brighter future having had ten years of a happy marriage cemented by the birth of two children. However, her fate took a terrible turn when her husband attempted to kill her and their two children (Mawathe, 2016). Another case is of *Benita Bata* who was rescued from a bizarre attack perpetrated by her husband who set her on fire (Sikolia, 2018). The case of *Lucy Njambi Ndung'u*, who died after she was attacked, raped and soaked with acid, is yet another evidence of a recent case of domestic violence in Kenya (Njuguna, 2018).

1.2: Statement of the Problem

In spite of media campaigns such as; '16 *Days of Activism against Gender Violence*', and '*Jitokeze*' and studies conducted by different scholars who include (*Muchemi*, 2015),(*Ondicho*, 2013), (*Ondicho*, 2000) and (*Mbote*, 2001) on domestic violence to promote women dignity, domestic violence has remained rampant and its victims remain silent. Thus, this study seeks to explain the media representation of women in domestic violence in Kenya.

Media reports few cases on domestic violence which are presented in a way that gives eminence to the gender stereotypes (Muchemi, 2015). As such, cases of domestic violence are sexualized and lack proper research in a way that can discover and explain the reasons behind the actions. For instance, a battered woman's story is usually trivialise into a '*A love affair gone sour*' which leads to the audience blaming the woman for her unfaithfulness. Other stories are framed in a way that represents the woman as irresponsible, lazy, nagging and rebellious hence justifying the act of violence (Muchemi, 2015). As such, victims of domestic violence suffer in silence for fear of being ridiculed and the stigma associated with the violence (Ondicho, 2013). Thus, this study seeks to explain what informs media representation and framing of domestic violence and how this affects the audience.

1.3: Research Objectives

Main Objective

To investigate media representation of women in domestic violence in Kenya

The study's specific objectives are:

- 1. To investigate media framing of battered women in Kenya
- 2. To explore how media represents the emotional expressions of battered women in Kenya
- To determine ways in which media represents victims narratives of victimisation of women battering cases in Kenya
- 4. To determine how the media represents the narratives of the perpetrators in Kenya

1.4: Research Questions

- 1. How do media frame battered women in Kenya?
- 2. How do media represent emotional expressions of battered women in Kenya?
- 3. What ways do media use to present victims narratives of victimisation of women battering cases in Kenya?
- 4. How do media represent the perpetrators narratives in Kenya?

1.5: Rationale of the Study

There is a need to establish the representation and framing of battered women by media. This will help the researcher to come up with effective representation and framing approaches to improve the quality of reporting domestic violence. The study will also help generate information on the battered women, characteristics of perpetrators and victims and provide directions for targeting specific groups, which will facilitate targeted reporting.

1.6: Significance of the Study

Domestic violence has socio and economic burden within the society. As such, this study will help in the expansion of the existing knowledge on the major causes of domestic violence as represented by media in Kenya. It will also enhance previous studies not only in how media represents battered women but the power of media in construction of identities within a society. The study will also enlighten media and policy makers on critical issues that affect victims based on how media represents them. In addition, the study will encourage victims of domestic violence to speak and utilise the media channels as platforms for expression.

1.7: Scope and Limitation

The study shall focus on governmental and non-governmental institutions, which include; Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya), hospitals such as Nairobi Women's Hospital and Kenyatta National Hospital, journalists covering cases of battered women, victims, perpetrators, and counselors who counsel battered women. These organisations will provide the researcher with key informants. In addition, video clips from You-Tube will be analysed. However, the fact that domestic violence is represented and understood as a cultural practice which is accepted within the African culture brings a major limitation within this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Overview

This chapter presents a discussion on media representation of women in domestic violence. It also explores some of the factors that contribute to the way women are represented and the role of media in construction of dominant and subordinate groups within a society. An analysis on types of violence, cultural dominance, and media imperialism as the main determinants of women representation are also discussed.

2.1.1. Media Representation

Hall (2005) argues that media shapes its audiences attitudes, insights and believes based on the way it represents its ideologies. It creates images that help the target audience understand the world they live in. However, Hall notes that media images are understood and interpreted differently by different groups in the society. As such, to understand domestic violence, it is essential to understand the work of representation that is important in cultural studies.

Representation connects language and meaning to culture (Hall, 1997). To represent an object, event, or people, human being use language that brings meaningful understanding on the world they live in. There is the use of signs, symbols, and images that stand for the referent (Hall, 2005). Hall (1997) looks at three different approaches that describe how human beings use language to represent the world. He analyses the reflective, intentional and the constructionist approaches. The reflective approach argues that language functions as a mirror that reflects true meaning of an event, object or a person as it exists in the world. Further, he explains intentional approach where the speaker/writer of a certain work uses language to derive the meaning he intends. On the constructivist approach, he argues that language is a social character which is not controlled by the

object or the users of the language but through symbolic interaction. Hall further argues that human beings construct meaning by the use of concept maps (mind representation) and language (signs, symbols and images). This derives a notion that meaning is not intrinsic but human being through symbolic interaction constructs it (Hall, 1997; Hall, 2005).

In societies, representation occurs when people use language to provide meaning and explanation to issues (Griffin, 2012). However, the people must belong to the same culture to be able to communicate effectively using the same language to obtain the desired meaning. When we refer to people of the same culture, we are referring to people who belong to the same group.

Within these cultures, there are variations factors of inclusivity and exclusivity. In inclusivity, meanings are constant but in exclusivity, meanings keep on changing depending on language use, interactivity and interchangeability of images, signs and symbols. This inclusivity and exclusivity factors are the basis of developing the social constructs that form cultural constructions. The social constructs give different meanings depending on the group one belongs (Hall, 1997). For instance, definition of oppression or a taboo in one society is considered a traditional norm in another. Consequently, the cultural constructions that emerge from these social constructs vary from one society (group) to another. This understanding on constructions within a society helps in shedding light on why domestic violence is considered as a society issue that has nothing to do with law (Mbote, 2001).

Representation within the society

In this study, the social constructs within the dominant group differ from those in the subordinate group. While referring to the social dominance theory (SDT), three sets: age, gender, and arbitrary sets provide the social constructs that provide the cultural constructions of the dominance and

subordinate groups. The age frame portrays the older people's dominance over the youth who are in the subordinate group in this case. The views of the youth even though valid are overlooked giving prominence to those of the older ones. Therefore, youths seek for representation in the society they belong to by offering resistance towards the social order of the society and turns to media to gain prominence ((Sidanius, 1999).

The gender frame represents men being in the dominant group and women in the subordinate group. This is due to the existing social constructs that have modelled the cultural construction of the meaning of being female/woman in the society. Based on the social constructs of language and image of a woman in the society, inequalities have come up. This draws us back to the genderlect theory.

The genderlect theory states that there are separate languages based on gender. It explains how different sets of linguistic features used by males and females develop through gender acculturation process and how these gender linked language features function as identity markers for women (or men) in their social contexts (Johnson, 2009). Deborah Tannen stated that male and female conversations are cross-cultural communication. That is, while the men focus on status, the women focus on communication and these differences affect the way they understand each other and thus, 'talking past each other' and not understanding themselves. Though both styles of communication are valid, none is superior over the other (Griffins, 2012).

The discussion here is that because the man and the woman have different goals in mind, they often end up misunderstanding each other. The men are said to be particular about status, they talk and behave in certain ways that ensure they maintain a particular status. For example, it is widely viewed that a man does not show his emotions in the public and thus cannot cry or throw tantrums in public and when he does that, he has being asked to stop acting like a women. The woman on

the other hand is expected to show emotions in public and when she holds back, she will be ridiculed. A woman tries to connect with the man both emotionally and physically but because the man is focused on maintaining his status, he holds back thus breeding a misunderstanding between them (Johnson, 2009).

Therefore, we relate this theory to the case in the gender set in the cultural constructions that emerge in the society that relate to the language and image of the woman in the society. Due to this inequality and being in the subordinate group, the women resist this oppression and seek for assistance from the government and feminist movements. For example, women often seek help from liberal feminists' movements that portrays women's struggles for their socio-economic and socio-political rights. The liberal feminists focus on women liberation, empowerment and inclusion in leadership. They argue that inclusion of women results to the world being more peaceful since there is a likelihood of less conflicts, war and violence. This is supported by feminists as explained in the stand point theory.

Standpoint theorists Julia Wood and Sandra Harding stated that one of the best ways to discover how the world works is to start the inquiry from the standpoint of women and other groups on the margins of society; that woman are born with maternal instincts. Other theorists argue that these instincts are not innate but are developed over time due to the role assigned to women by the society. However, all arguments by standpoint theorists agree that a standpoint arises when an individual recognises and challenges cultural values and power relations that contribute to subordination or oppression of particular groups (Griffins, 2012).

Thus, these feminist theories represent women in the society so that they can overcome this patriarchal dominance. Feminism provides that necessary platform to offer women resistance towards male oppression.

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The arbitrary set combines the age and gender sets. It includes perspectives based on social class, race, religion, education, and so forth. These while internalised, provide most of the social constructs that give us the basis of both cultural constructions on dominance and subordinate groups. For instance, Rosenthal and Levy (2010) argues that, black women will fight dominance from white women in a society. On social class and education perspective, there is a major disparity between the educated women and the uneducated/semi-illiterate women. The educated women are considered wealthy class while the uneducated/semi-illiterate women are usually the poor group. The educated women tend to dominate over the uneducated/semi-illiterate. On the perspective based on religion, it is assumed within the society that the pulpit belongs to men only, and this is especially common in mainstream churches. The women are only supposed to be either dedicated fanatics or persons offering menial services within the church; for example, cleaning, preparing meals for the priests/pastors and church elders –usually men and so forth (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

2.1.2: Representation and Media Culture

In the lens of the media culture, the issue of representation is eminent. Audience use media as a mirror that reflects the society they live in. They attach meaning based on the signs, words, and the images they watch, read, and listen in the media. The reflective approach by Hall (1997) is portrayed by the media culture. For instance, content produced by the platforms uses signs, symbols, and words (language) that the audience can relate. The main aim of these platforms to use these signs is to ensure that it creates a long lasting mental representation in their audience mind. Human beings have a way of remembering the things they see even when physically away from the object. Because of recurrent exposure to certain signs, the audience pay attention, retain and model the concepts (Hall, 1997).

Kellner further looks at the media spectacles and media events. To relate this principle with the works of representation, it is evident that through the dramatisation and repeated exposure of events, the media creates permanent conceptual maps in their audience minds; for example, the portrayal of women as others. Through media events, women are used to either attract the dominant group (in advertisements) but are never portrayed as the main actors. In conflict, violence and war, the media represents women as victims of war, a weak and vulnerable group that needs protection from the 'strong' group (men). Such representation has elevated the dominants group power over the inferior group and as a result, it has subdued the crucial roles women can play in conflict resolution processes (Cottle, 2006). Notably, in domestic violence, women are either victims of domestic violence who ought to be sympathised with, vulnerable and weak.

In addition, media culture highlights the uniformity of ideas. Kellner looks at the power of language used in the media platforms. He argues that images, words and sounds used in the media are not mere words as they have certain effects on the audiences' perceptions. Such language brings out the reflective nature where audiences are able to be view the society they live the same way (uniformly) and fix the same meaning through the systems of representation (Cottle, 2006).

2.1.3: Media Framing

The media's power to set a country's agenda is massive and well- acknowledged (Griffin, 2012). Societies are affected by the media's popular agenda and thus media has gained much power that controls its audience thoughts and perception. People believe to acquire factual and timely information about issues that affect their lives directly or indirectly through the media platforms (Griffin, 2012). Further, McCombs (2004) argues that the media has power to set the agenda to its audience. In additions, McCombs explains that the agenda setting power has extensive effect of

mass communication that comes up because of dissemination of certain content in the mass media and as a result, the audience not only keeps on discussing such issues but the media also dictates how they discuss the issues (Mccombs, 2004). Through repetition of the issues the media places importance in; it is able to communicate effectively the importance of such issues (Griffin, 2012). This not only creates a world inside the audience minds but also creates pictures in their minds that are hard to erase. Further, the media influences the audience understanding and their perspective towards certain issues disseminated to them (Hall, 2005).

Media uses an appropriate tone in their messages to ensure that the information it passes has the desired effect on the audience. This helps in providing detailed insight of the pictures the audience have in mind and they develop the attitude the media intended them to have (McCombs, 2014). The issues considered prominent by the media become important in the audience mind and hence become their center of discussion. It is crucial to note that media sets the public's agenda through its functions, which include priming, framing and gate keeping (Griffins, 2012). These functions depend on the dominant people in the media such as the influential journalists, newsmakers and the media owners. They set the audience agenda by focusing on the issues people want to know and frame them in a way that favours them.

Research on framing started in 1968 with the coverage of presidential campaigns in the United States. McCombs and Shaw (1968) argued that, the stories media paid more attention to were considered as prominent by the audience. In addition, McCombs and Shaw suggested that the importance is emphasised by the placement of the story, the time of allocation, and the frequency a story is allocated (Griffins, 2012). Framing is used to show how news media shows bias in reporting news. According to Entman (1993), media selects 'some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communication text' (Entman, 1993, Pg 52). This he explains is

through representing stories in a certain angle, which allows the media to emphasise on certain elements of the narrative to influence the public's reception. Media creates frames that which enables stories with less prominence to provoke support from the audience. Entman further explains that media can chose to certain frames to explain the cause of an issue, the moral judgements and suggest preferred solutions for the issue at hand (Entman, 1993). Thus, media uses either audio or audio visuals to achieve their intention. McQuail (2005) explains that media selects phrases, words and images to stress on important points hence making stories they disseminate worth. Further, he adds that frames give isolated items uniformity interpretation.

De Vreese (2005) also explains two ways of understanding framing. He looks at frame setting and frame building. Fame building refers to the issues that affect the internal constructions of media frames and it applies to how journalists attach importance to certain stories. This is determined by the media organisation policies, time and space availability as well as the question of media ownership (DeVreese, 2005). As per frame setting, media uses episodes to lay emphasis on certain issues. Issues of politics and sports receive more prominence in the media unlike the issues of domestic violence. Sutherland (2015) argues that, domestic violence stories are based between episodic framing and event reporting. For instance, in episodic framing, domestic violence is usually inclined towards breaking news and lacks follow-ups. This type of framing elicits individualism and ignores the societal acknowledgement, which is responsible for such violence (Sutherland, 2015).

Explaining the power of framing, McQuail (2005) adds that sometimes framing does not entirely depend on the media as the sources of information are capable of creating frames audience get from the media. As such, the frames can either be built by the media, the source, or even the audience after they interpret information disseminated by media. This is supported by Katz (1974)

in the uses and gratification theory where the audience is portrayed as active and has the power to selective attention, selective exposure and selective retention based on his gratification (McQual, 2011).

Nevertheless, the power of media to the public agenda cannot be ignored. Media acts as platform where different groups contest when in conflict. It can either escalate or de-escalate any conflict at hand. According to the Media Council of Kenya (2016), media is a powerful tool in conflict as it can act as an interpreter, a facilitator or as a mediator of the conflict (MCK, 2016). Conflicts are about opinions and the meaning people attach to policies, statements and events. Whenever there is incompatibility or disagreement, conflict arises due to the difference between expectations and realities. Such conflicts include domestic violence and specifically wife battering which is highlighted in the media platforms. For instance, Media has highlighted the dilemma of the battered woman in Kenya in varied ways even though not fully exploited. Muchemi (2005) argues that mass media over represents violent crimes thus representing images that are odd with reality. Such images enhance gender stereotypes within the audience who are consumers of media messages. The cases only take the episodic framing where they are individualized and sexualized hence leading to the victims shying off from speaking out when battered. These victims of wife battering are usually left carrying the burden of a certain ailment referred to as the battered women syndrome (BWS).

2.1.4: Media representations of battered women emotions

Media is an important tool which provides figurative resources which assist audience in interpreting messages hence making sense of the world they live ((Couldry, 2012; Silverstone, 2002). As such, the increased consumption of media in everyday life has resulted to social actors becoming dependent of media for insight which they imitate and model (Sutherland, 2015).

According to Leith & Baumester (1998), interpersonal conflict such as domestic violence is an emotional experience and display of the emotions can be exaggerated or trivialise. Such emotions include anger, annoyance, anxiety fear, frustrations, guilt, sadness and surprise among others. According to Walker (2007), domestic violence leads to the Battered Woman Syndrome (BWS) due to stress the victims express the signs differently.

Battered woman syndrome (BWS) is a mental disorder that results from living in a domestic violent family, which is identified with factors such as; high levels of arousal and anxiety, re-experiencing of distress events, avoidance and numbing of emotions, intellectual difficulties and disruption of interpersonal relationships (Walker, 2017). It is a sub-category of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which results from long-term domestic abuse. (Walker, 2017; Wilson, 2017). Villines (2018) further defines BWS as a psychological condition that occurs due to abuse of an intimate partner and it results to the affected people struggling to leave the abusive relationship due to beliefs that they are the cause of the abuse, the power of the abuser and fear of stigmatization (Villines, 2018).

The concept of BWS was developed by Lenore Walker in the 1970s to describe the pattern of emotions and behaviour of the violence victims. According to studies, people in abusive relationships are in endangered when they leave their abusers, as they are likely to be murdered by their former partners. However, women with this syndrome display criminal behaviours and at times, such women kill their abusers as a way of escaping the battering (Walker, 2017). BWS has different stages namely; tension building, battering phase, and honeymoon phase.

The tension phase marks the beginning of a conflict. During this stage, tension builds between a wife and husband. The husbands often feel neglected, uncared for, and unappreciated by the wife and this triggers anger which results to aggression, which the abuser justifies. Failure to address

the tension phase, it escalates into the second stage which is the battering phase. During this stage, the man abuses his wife sexually, physically or emotionally. These episodes of abuse last longer and become severe which leads to the third face- Honeymoon phase. During this phase, some men may feel remorseful and attempt to win their wives affection and trust. They also tend to justify their actions and promise to change (Walker, 2017). In addition, Wilson (2017) argues that, women who develop BWS are faced with denial, as they are unable to accept they are being abused and as a result, they justify the abuse as being just once, experience guilt, and blame themselves for the abuse. However, Walker notes that the denial and guilt stages do not last long as the victim gets to the enlightenment stage where she realises that the partner is abusive, thus, realising that she did not deserve the abuse. This leads to the woman expectation that the husband will take responsibility of his actions and if not, some women leave their husbands. However, as Walker notes, few women make it to the enlightenment and responsibility stages as the violence ends up to be fatal (Walker, 2017).

According to Wilson (2017), battering starts in small doses. It begins with mere insults, then grave insults. Afterwards it develops into a simple slap or even a punch on the wall next to the partner as a way to express his anger. This is followed by guilt and the abuser apologises and becomes romantic swearing never to repeat the action. However, this does not last long as the abuser repeats his actions recurrently. In spite of this recurrent abuse, most women remain trapped in their marriages due to financial dependence, being afraid to leave the relationship, the desire to have a complete family for the sake of her children, denial that their husband is abusive and living in the hope that the husband shall one day stop the abuse (Wilson, 2017).

2.1.5: Media representation of the battered women narratives

Conboy (2007) argues that audiences use reports from the media to examine the belief constructions. As such, the use of language in reporting issues in the media is crucial as it affects the way different groups in the society are represented (Conboy, 2007). Ehrlich (2001) reasons that words used to report issues especially sex crimes carry a meaning of consensual sex rather than that of crime. This makes the act seen as enjoyed by both parties while in actual sense; the act offended one of the parties (Ehrlich, 2001). Thus, Sutherland (2015) suggests that the way media constructs stories can contribute to blaming the victims of the violence, which is referred to as victim blaming. Such blaming represents the victims, as responsible of the offence committed against them thus providing the perpetrators with excuses for their actions and allowing them not to take responsibility. This way of framing news acts as a barrier to any social change as the media creates an impression that women are the major cause of their abuse and only women can help in preventing the abuse by changing their behaviour (Taylor, 2009). For instance, findings on a study carried out by ANROW (2015), reported that, media represents women as partially responsible for violence as they either they were drinking and abusing drugs, had other lovers and used to argue with the perpetrator. This according to the report is a major cause of prompting wife battering. Other news reports argue that women can prevent the battering by ending the abusive relationship but instead they choose to stay in abusive relationships, which end up being tragic (Sutherland, 2015). Media in this study is accused of not giving the reasons as per why the women choose to stay in an abusive relationship. Such reasons could be the desire to have a complete family, lack of financial stability and the fear of being excommunicated in the society for failing to guard in your marriage ((Sutherland, 2015; Wilson, 2017)).

2.1.6: Media representation of the perpetrators narrative

Media is blamed for providing excuses for the perpetrators behaviour. For instance, media reports the reasons of the perpetrators as not being psychologically fit, he could have been under the influence of alcohol and drugs hence losing control. Such excuses trivialises the magnitude of the crime at hand and the audience fail to see its prominence and shift the responsibility of the crime from the perpetrator. Media also uses frames to explain the perpetrators actions. Frame such as frustration, financial challenges, stress due to loss of job among others, which justifies the abuse by the perpetrator (Sutherland, 2015; Walker, 2017). In addition, media is always quick to report the positive behaviour and the achievements of the perpetrator, which represent him as both a hardworking and a good person (Sutherland, 2015).

The other frame that represents the perpetrator is his absence. In most media stories, the perpetrators are usually invisible and this creates a frame of otherness, which the man is often represented as 'others' (Sutherland, 2015; Bullock & Cubert, 2002).

2.1.7: Domestic violence

Domestic violence(DV) is defined as any violence against women that causes mental, sexual, and physical harm to women and deprives liberty in both private and public life of a victim (WHO, 2013). According to DEVAW (1993), DV is deeply rooted in socio-cultural construction on gender roles within a society (DEVAW, 1993). It is an intentional and frequent behaviour that is carried out by a perpetrator to cause anxiety and fear on the victim (Ondicho, 2000). According to WHO, domestic violence has serious psychological effects, economic, emotional, and physical effects (World Health Organization, 2009). Statistics from UNWomen, indicate that, at least 35% of women worldwide have experienced domestic violence which is scarcely reported by the media in spite of its social and economic impacts (UN, 2015). Further, United Nation (2010) explains that

domestic violence is an invisible problem that not only violates human rights but has serious affects the economy within the society due to its health complications on the victims hence reducing the cognitive levels of the victims (United Nations, 2010).

VicHealth posits that, defined gender roles and unequal distribution of resources between men and women are the key causes of domestic violence in the society (VicHealth, 2010). As such, the society is regarded as the major contributor and facilitator of domestic violence due to its rigid gender roles constructions (WHO, 2013; UN, 2015). For example, in most of African countries, man is considered as the head of the family while the woman takes the second position. Thus, any decisions within the family are required to come from the husband and not the opposite. Whenever the opposite happens, where the women tries to control the husband, the society opposes this harshly thus requiring the man to take his position forcefully.

A report by the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (2014) indicates that, domestic violence has been an increased area of focus since 1990 in developed and developing countries. This is based on the socio-economic burden associated with it. Further, KDHS indicates that, domestic violence happens in all population sub-classes. However, the victims are blamed for tolerating most of the domestic violence within their families' especially physical violence by their husbands. More findings show that, battered women keep silent when it occurs (Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, 2014).

As such, several laws, policies, and regulations have been enacted by the Government of Kenya to control different types of violence against women and children. This includes the Kenyan Constitution (2010), the Children's Act (2001), the Sexual Offences Act (2006) the Penal Code

(2009), the National Gender and Equality Commission Act (2011), the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act.

The study also found out that, among the most reported perpetrators of physical violence were the intimate partners or husband followed by former partners/ husbands. Victims suffer from eye injuries, dislocations, sprains and burns among others. Wife battering was attributed to abuse of alcohol on both parties and economic constraints.

2.1.8: Types of Domestic Violence

Benedictis, Jaelline, & Jeanne (2016) explain different types of domestic violence namely; physical abuse, sexual abuse, financial abuse and psychological abuse.

Physical Abuse

It is any action that hurts another person's body or that puts a person at a danger of being injured, which ranges from physical control and can result to murder (Benedictis, Jaelline, & Jeanne, 2016). This type of abuse includes pushing, kicking, slapping, punching, chocking, burning, breaking bones omong others. Walker (1994) argues that, physical abuse includes pulling hair, using hot objects as weapons on the victims, head banging, chaining a victictim in the house and locking in the victim in the house.

Psychological/Emotional/Mental Abuse

This is a verbal or non-verbal type of abuse that consists subtle actions compared to physical abuse. It causes deep scars in a victim's life. Moe (1999) defines psychological abuse as anything that hurts another person's feelings and aims at controlling the victim's behaviour and thinking capacity. These verbal and non-verbal abuse include intimidation, name-calling, yelling or screaming, embarrassment, criticizing, blaming, and making the victim feel unworthy (Benedictis, Jaelline, & Jeanne, 2016; Moe, 1998).

Sexual abuse

Sexual abuse includes sexual assaults such as forcing a person to participate in unwanted, degrading, and unsafe sex, sexual harassment such as reducing a victim based on their sexuality, and sexual exploitation which includes forcing someone to watch or participate in pornographic materials (Benedictis, Jaelline, & Jeanne, 2016). This type of violence is often linked to physical abuse as they are likely to happen together. It makes the victim uncomfortable as it happens against ones will. According to Ondicho (2013), most battered women give in to such sexual demands thinking that this will eventually calm their partners and protect them from future abuse.

2.1.9: Wife battering

Herbert (1993) posits that of all types of domestic violence, wife battering is the second highest type of domestic violence based on the attention it receives from the media. Wife battering is defined as violence perpetrated by a man upon a woman who exercises the character of a wife in a domestic scope. It results to psychological and emotional effects to women as their husbands intend to control their partners through induction of pain and fear (Herbert, 1993)

It is a medical, societal and a legal problem in the continent today (Bellack & Hersen, 1987). Akram and Manzoor (2015) argue that, wife battering is a common phenomenon in most developing countries, and is acknowledged within the society. In addition, Mbote (2001) argues that wife battering is a norm that legitimises domination of masculinity in a society, which happens in a man's castle or in public. Mckie (2005) argues that, wife battering started many years back in developed and developing countries and happens within family set up. This represents the unequal power between a husband and wife. According to Rotimi (2007) wife battering is an accepted culture in parts of African countries. He notes that, one woman in every three, is battered by his intimate partner globally which occurs all demographics.

2.1.10: Domestic violence and cultural dominance

Human dominations, discrimination, and cruelty are persistent in the modern society. This is because of the social structures in the societies, which place groups and few individuals at the top of the social systems while other individuals or groups struggle to survive at the bottom. Unfairness and stereotyping among such individuals and groups, gender, race and class are evident and extensive (Sidanius, 1999). A dominant culture occurs when social groups hostilely interact thus creating a ranking system and the said groups compete to access limited resources. Such cultural practices can be within economic, social, or political entities. It may be represented by religion, language, social customs, or social values within a society, which deliberately suppresses the minority culture. Such issues explain the issues of domestic violence within the society (Virley, 2013).

Muchemi (2015) argues that domestic violence is largely influenced by cultural inferences. Studies show that women globally are routinely subjected to sexual and physical violence as a traditional practice by men within whom they are supposed to spend time together in their homes. This is based on the fact that men are considered as the dominat group in the society who enjoy the roles constructed for them within the society (Ondicho, 2000).

To understand cultural dominance, it is crucial to discuss the social dominance theory (SDT). SDT explains that the social hierarchies of authoritarian gives rise into dominant and the sub- dominant

groups where the dominant groups are considered strong and the sub-dominant groups are weak (Sidanius, 1999). According to the theory, the dominant groups tend to receive the superior power, goods, and services while the weaker groups receive undesirable services or none at all (Virley, 2013).

Further, SDT explains the key areas of dominance namely: the age set, the gender set and the arbitrary sets. Sidinius and Pratto (1999) explain that the gender and age sets are self-explanatory in that middle-aged people and adults have more power compared to the youth and the younger children in a society. In terms of gender, historically, men have always had various socio-economic and socio-political controls over women. For instance, Garcia, Posthuma, and Roehling (2009) linked SDT and relational models theory while assessing how national culture manipulates preferences for males in work places and while making employment-based decisions. In support of this notion, feminists have justified the status quo. They expose the challenges in the work places that include preference to hire more males than females when making an employee-related decision. Women who find themselves in subordinate positions within society find it difficult to overcome societal barriers, and remain in their lowly positions. (Garcia, Posthuma & Roehling, 2009)

2.1.11: Social inequalities

Feminist movements focus on inequalities a society. They look at the causes of such inequalities among men and women and how they can be overcome. Radical feminists believe that the existence of prejudice on women is within the society. They argue that women are supposed to work inside (be in the house) while men work outside (to provide for their families) and this only aims at empowering men economically and as a result suppress the women. Contrary, cultural feminism states that by encouraging this masculine behaviour, this hurts the modern society. Any given society, would gain more if it encouraged feminine behaviour. The liberal feminists' portray women struggles for their rights. As pertaining to the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political inequalities, liberal feminists argue that women liberation, empowerment, and inclusion in leadership, results to the world being more peaceful since there is likelihood of less war and violence (McElroy, 2002).

The third notion pertaining to the arbitrary set as explained in the theory brings the understanding on these three systems in the world today. The frame portrays the socially constructed dominant groups, which fill the systems. Social classes, race, religion, clan and ethnicity determine such prominent groups. For instance, Rosenthal and Levy (2010) elaborated gender subordination by using SDT in explaining how the issue of race determines the likelihood of women contracting HIV. They concluded that black women are more likely to contract HIV compared to the white women (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

2.1.12: Cultural inequalities

Patriarchal dominance in this study relates to the social dominance theory that portrays a society divided into three sets, which are age, gender and the arbitrary sets. In these sets, there occurs, dominant and subordinate groups. This is in relation to what the feminist standpoint focuses on. Therefore, the feminist standpoint and the social dominance theory focus on similar issues about the disparities in the society. Further, they look at media and society as the arena where two cultures emerge, the superior culture and the inferior culture, and they contest. The dominant culture is the superior culture that oppresses the inferior culture. In this oppression, there erupts complaints and consequently, resistance (Walby, 1990).

Walby (1990) defines patriarchy as social structures and practices in which women's suppression and exploitation by men is present. He adds that every woman has a notion that she is subordinate while men know they are the dominant groups in the society. As a result, six structures of patriarchy emerge namely: the patriarchy relations in paid work, patriarchy mode of production, patriarchy relations in the state, male violence, patriarchy relations in sexuality and patriarchy relations in cultural relations (Walby, 1990).

The patriarchal mode of production shows the unappreciated work of women who are the producing class and their husbands are the commandeering class. Secondly, the patriarchal relations in work paid refers to how in the past, the worse jobs were given to women. The third structure on the relations in the state represents the state as patriarchal where capitalism tribalism, racism, and bias thrive. Male violence brings the fourth structure, which shows how the endurance and acceptance of men's violence against women by the society they belong. The relation on sexuality, the patriarchy has embraced heterosexuality as a norm that every individual should follow. The last structure looks at the relations in the cultural institutions and it describes the male scrutiny within cultural institutions such as media and the representation of women in the mass media platforms (Walby, 1990).

This study will concentrate more on the fourth and the sixth structure; male violence and the patriarchal relations in cultural institutions that explain the way the media portrays women. The reason being that media creates the lens through which people see and interpret information while the society constructs the roles every individual adheres to.

2.1.13: Domestic violence and cultural imperialism in the media

Is there a connection between domestic violence and cultural imperialism?

Cabral (1976) defines cultural imperialism as a process in which a foreign culture dominates a local culture. He explains how the three entities; socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic powers penetrate the peripheral cultures from the core cultures hence resulting to suppression of

subordinate cultures. The suppressed group struggles to attain power and to express themselves in the cultural sphere (Cabral, 1976). Further, Hopper (2007) describes how dominant cultures penetrate to the modern world systems and how their dominating values, divisions and attitude spread to external cultures resulting to the creation of uneven relationships between the cultures. This favours the dominant cultures ideologies and ignores the ideas of subordinate cultures.

To understand Cultural imperialism, it is fundamental to look at the cultural imperialism theory as proposed by Herbert Schiller in 1973. The theory postulates that western nations dominate media around the world, which has powerful effect on Third World cultures. The west imposes their western values hence destroying the Third World innate cultures. Such cultures include the family setting. Mbote (2001) explains that, before colonialisation, family was a societal construction where a woman belonged and was protected by the society. However, this setting changed after the colonisers introduced the patriarchal mode of production shows that shows the unappreciated work of women who are the producing class and their husbands are the commandeering class (Walby, 1990). This distinction between men and women based on their mode of production has been the main cause of women cases within the society which are reported by media.

The cultural imperialism theory looks at the power of media as a platform that is able to frame and communicate its messages to the people and affect their attitudes and beliefs. It assumes that, human beings pay attention, retain, model and react to what they see, hear or read from the media platforms (Schiller, 1973). This is based on the assumption that, humans lack exposure to other things to compare with any information they learn from the media, apart from their real life experiences. It ignores that humans are active audiences who select what to pay attention to, be exposed to and what to retain (Anaeto, 2008; McQual, 2011).

Best and Kombol (2009) see cultural imperialism as a course that brings communities into modern systems where the dominant culture exerts force on another culture perceived to be inferior even by the people who belong to it. Ritzer (2011) associates cultural imperialism with globalisation where the issues of internationalization, universalisation, and transnationalism emerge. According to Morasawska (2007), transnationalism is the term that relates closely to globalisation as it connects social groups and individuals across geo-political borders. This interconnection brings rise of new societies, new social individualities, and associations whose understanding is not based on traditional standpoints (Ritzer, 2011). Globalisation is the process of interaction among people, companies and governments of different nations, and is facilitated by information communication technology. It affects cultural practices, politics, and economic development. Levin (2016) defines globalisation as westernisation, liberalization, universalisation, and internalization (Levin, 2016). The westernisation concept is seen as capitalism where the west destroys the indigenous culture thus resulting to colonialization. Westernisation has therefore brought cultural and media imperialism.

It is crucial to note that cultural imperialism triggers conflict between the dominant and the subordinate cultures. The conflict emerges due to suppression of the subordinate culture by the dominant culture. Resistance from the subordinate culture and increased suppression characterises this conflict by the dominant culture. Therefore, a contest emerges and the platform which the contest takes place is the media (Gramsci, 1973).

Nevertheless, the idea of cultural imperialism cannot ignore the great works of Antonio Gramsci. In his cultural hegemony theory, Gramsci describes the dominance of one group over the other. Unlike Karl Marx his mentor who believed that the workers of the world would one day unite and overthrow the elite who hold capitalism, Gramsci posited that culture and media exert powerful influence on the society; hence, they influence the workers to buy into the system that does not favour them. Gramsci's notion about media influencing culture and politics is demonstrated by the notion of the American Dream (Gramsci, 1973). According to Gramsci, there is a philosophical link between culture and media. Media provides the platform and/or arena where the dominant and subordinate cultures meet and contest. It provides the dominant culture the opportunity to suppress the subordinate culture. Media favours the ideologies of the dominant culture and is careful not to antagonize their interests. Their ideologies set the agenda of the day as they are given prominence compared to those of the subordinate cultures.

2.1.14: Media Imperialism

Media imperialism is associated with the western media and technology. The western media dominates the less developed nations and their cultures. For instance, media in the Third World countries disseminate movies and programs that are pure western and give less time to their local programs. As such, western media has dominated our everyday life. Media is a powerful agent of imperialism as it conducts, executes, promotes and disseminates its messages in ways that suppresses the power of media in the Third World countries. The inclusiveness and diversity of expression and creative voices of certain groups especially in the poor countries is diminished (Boyd-Barrett, 2015). Boyd-Barrett (2015) further explains that the political economies maintain and control the media through the process of framing, creating of meanings and dissemination of information. Such economies create strong empires that control how the media operates hence creating the lens through which societies see and assign meanings to the symbols they get from the media (Boyd-Barrett, 2015).

Media is a powerful channel for cultural transmission. Both the dominant and subordinate cultures consume the same media but interpret information differently. The western media transmits western values that suppress subordinate groups and their cultures. The subordinate culture filters into the dominate culture and they merge in a process referred to as acculturalisation. After this process, the subordinate culture is flexible such that those in this group can choose to either adopt the western values or remain with those of their own (Ritzer, 2010). As a result, a need for cultural hybridization becomes inevitable to ensure that there is fusion of the two cultures. The world has become a small place where the interaction between the nations has become inevitable. This has resulted to the creation of hybrid cultures that are neither local nor global (Hopper, 2007). Hybridisation produces distinct results such as essentialisation where the two cultures suppress and express their encounters and the two cultures remain important. In addition, the two cultures can exist side by side and be used alternatively as they are stored in the mind of a person and are retrieved when necessary. Occasionally, the subordinate culture is accumulated, assimilated and the people convert and replace their native culture with the dominant culture (Shome & Hedge, 2002).

Media gives real time information on any happenings in the world whether social, economic or political events. Print, broadcast, and the new media disseminate information guided by the west media, whose ideologies dominate the local media. Most of the information consumed by audiences in developing countries is highly westernised. Such information includes cultural practices that the audience consumes every day. This has resulted into blurring of cultural practices around the globe (Hopper, 2007).

2.1.15: The Role of Media

Media plays different fundamental roles in the society. Among one of the most powerful roles is the representation of women and men in the day-to-day activities in the society. Most of the forms of media communicate images of the sexes that manipulate consciousness that carry messages, which are prejudiced, illusionary and have limiting perceptions. Woods (1994) posits three themes that describe how media represents men and women. One, women are underrepresented; two, men's authority versus women's incompetence; and third, women are caregivers while men are providers (Woods, 2006).

The underrepresentation of women is based on the fact that, men are the cultural standard while women are invisible and/or unimportant. This results to the domination of male figures during prime time news and their number exceeds that of women during newscasts (Woods, 2006). As pertaining to the second theme, Basow posits that media portrays males as authorities especially in television commercials while women are people whose struggles and distresses are solved by men. This is regardless of whether a commercial aims at reaching women as its target audience. Commercial adverts targeting women always incorporate a man's voice to market the product while commodification of a woman as a sex object is the role women mostly play in advertisements (Woods, 1994). In case the woman becomes professional, her work is given little or no attention even if it is perfectly carried out. The society and media have constructed the role of women as caregivers who stay in the house looking after the family while men are supposed to be sole breadwinners entitled to make a living outside the home. This makes the men's professional work recognized and appreciated in the society (Woods, 2006).

2.2: Theoretical Framework

2.2.1: Media culture Theory

Media has become an important part in our everyday life as well as for the world at large. It has a tendency to deal with the parts outside the formal life of education and work. It defines what human beings do during their free time, how they do it, and when they do it through its agenda setting function. It processes news events and information in such a way that it constructs images that are out of the usual and customary issues that become special issues for the audience to discuss. It aims at legitimising a society's dominant values, beliefs, and cultural practices. Through such events, it acts as a mirror to the society it serves. As such, media has today become the popular culture that controls our everyday life and identities. The rise of the multimedia, which integrates television, film, radio and the cyberspace, has increased form of media culture in today's society as it has changed the media from being a public sphere to a public screen (Peeples, 2002).

Kellner (2003) argues that, media culture dictates the way audience see and interpret their everyday life as it has dominated leisure time, political opinions, and social behaviour. Media provides information through the provision of socio-economic and socio-political structures that help the audience to interpret who they are. For instance, it helps its audience to understand their gender, race, class, ethnicity and more specifically the question of self-versus-otherness. Kellner argues that media culture helps in shaping the worldviews and the values the audience attach to certain issues based on whether they are right or wrong, good or evil and either positive or negative as dictated by the media. In addition, he argues that it is through the media that different groups compete and struggle for dominance and as a result, these groups struggle through the images created in their minds through the media spectacles so as to retain their positions (Cottle, 2006).

According to Kellner, media spectacles shape social and political conflicts through the repetitive display of images on the screens and through placement of prominent issues on the first pages in print media. Spectacles such as gender violence, sex scandals, terrorism, assassinations and celebrities have taken more space and time in the media platforms. As a result, the target audience has ample time to fantasise, expose and model such identities and behaviour. Issues of mediatised conflict (de)escalation are highly represented in the media platforms and the media has given them prominence through their placement in these platforms (Cottle, 2006).

However, Kellner speculates the role of media in a democratic society, which brings major questions on whether he objectively captures the key connections among democracy of the media, which advocates for liberal media practices, culture and cultural practices and media platforms that disseminate information to the masses. The reason being that different issues are treated differently in the media platform. There is hyped dramatisation and infotainment of serious issues and as a result, information has become a commodity for sale where the audience becomes the consumers of the media information (McQual, 2011). Currently, there is more focus on the image over the content based on the prominence value and the media ownership factor. In addition, issues that create major spectacles happen outside the media sphere and the media only gets this information from the society it reflects, it filters and it frames the same information and disseminates it to the audience (Cottle, 2006).

Further, Kellner's theory focuses closely on the electronic and print media but fails to highlight the relationship between media and technology. He emphasises more on the principles of media culture theory namely: the hegemony, ideology uniformity and the media spectacles as the main characteristics underlying the relationship between media and democracy. As such, it is crucial to analyse the application of Kellner's theory in relation with the key principles highlighted. On the principle of ideology, he sees culture as a participatory activity that is highly explored by media's popular culture to colonisation of a society's culture. Kellner ignores the fact that audiences are highly active as described by Katz et al. (1974) in the uses and gratification theory. Audience consumes the media to gratify their needs. As such, the ideologies presented by the media could fail to be of essence if they do not meet the needs of the said target audience. Additionally, the uses and gratification theory emphasises on the selective attention, exposure and retention of the information they attain from the media. Based on such knowledge, the principle of ideology can further be criticized by the fact that audience use media to get more insight based on what they feel adds value into their lives (McQual, 2011).

The second principle by Kellner is that media spectacles and media events. Media spectacles imply that the media is able to construct issues that are out of the ordinary and make them lens through which the audience perceive information. Today, media covers not only politics as a sport but also the issues of conflict such as terrorism, interpersonal or even organisational conflicts like a sport where reporters skip fundamental information on crucial matters and focus on trivial issues that attract masses. Different scholars have different views on the consequences of media spectacles, which Kellner did not highlight in his theory. For instance, Harbermans (1987) in his book *Between Facts and Norms*, looks at the civil society and the political public sphere where audience meet and express their ideas, pass information and share opinions. He argues that media is an important platform in the public sphere and when it trivialises issues that affect the public, it shuts off the avenues through which important issues are expressed and disseminated to the masses. As a result, the media is reduced not only to a stage where people can act and dramatise their issues but also into a stadium where audience get entertained. The spectacles have resulted to the audience feeling powerless, helpless, and less significant in issues that affect their lives. The construction

of self and otherness where the portrayal of 'self' is dominant and is a key issue in the media spectacle (Cottle, 2006).

The media ownership/corporate media culture is yet another key principle in the Kellner's theory. Few individuals (the elites) own most of the media platforms in the world. Such ownership makes media a commercial entity where the audience are treated as a set of consumers rather than as a group. The element of social relationship is undermined as the media owners aim at extorting financial gains from the audience (McQual, 2011). In spite of Kellner looking at the issues of corporate media and his credits of the commercial culture of media owners, he fails to highlight on the influence of the media ownership culture, how it affects the media cultural practices and its democracy. Such issues as discussed by Noam Chomsky in his manufacturing consent theory are fundamental in understanding the media culture. Chomsky looks at the effects of capitalistic media where he highlights on the corporate media giants such as Sony and Walt Disney and their effects based on their production and distribution powers. Based on the five filters Chomsky analysis namely; the government, advertisers, flak, anti-communism and the size, it's evident that media lacks a sense of independence and objectiveness in the dissemination of information to its target audience (Cottle, 2006). Any theory that aims at explaining the roles of media in a democratic society must always consider the important factors that determine the way the media serves its audiences. Failure to highlight on the Marxist tradition ideologies of unequal control and ownership of the media based on capitalism leaves gaps in the media culture theory.

The uniformity of perspective is highly emphasised in Kellner's theory. Words, images and sounds presented to the audience by the media are not just mere words. They are perceived in a uniform perspective that affects and influences the way people perceive issues, what they see and describe

as reality, and what they see as knowledge. Adorno and Horkheimer identified this type of uniformity as the ever-changing sameness (Adorno, 1972).

Kellner ignores the idea that media may have limited effects on people as people use the media to satisfy their needs. For instance, audience consumes media for entertainment, for filling their knowledge gap, as a source of information among many other needs. In addition, he ignores the fact that media information is not disseminated in a one-way step but it is a multi-step flow of information. His theory portrays the power of media (which is active) to passive audience who are acted upon by media information.

2.2.2: Standpoint Theory

Feminist theory is not about being male or female, as it looks deeper into the social world through the lens of gender inequality in the society. It focuses on both females and males power in doing whatever they want regardless of their gender. The theory addresses the roles of women in a society and the challenges they face based on their socio-economic and socio-political constructions. It emphasises on the rights of women in political, economic and social issues. As a result, the gender issues are crucial in all societies as they are based on the social constructions assigned by their societies. Issues such as power, gender, violence, religion, politics, economic empowerment and division of labor are highly pegged on the social constructions (Griffins, 2012).

Based on the critical tradition, the standpoint theory sheds more insight on the concepts revolving around the feminism. Standpoint is a collective achievement of our consciousness and identity. Individuals get a worldview from this point. In this theory, Sandra Hardings and Julia Woods argue that social groups established by people, shape their understanding and experiences, how they communicate within self, with others and the rest of the world. The theorists also argue that through understanding our standpoints, individuals are to understand the inequalities around them. In addition, the theorists see the fundamental distinctions between men and women in a society (West & Turner, 2010).

Feminist standpoint theory also argues that knowledge can only be achieved when standpoints emerge. This becomes possible when the marginalised and the invisibly muted groups become conscious of their positions in a society and begin to fight for liberty and gain understanding on structures of power based entirely on the groups' knowledge on their culture. As such, people are situated in defined platforms in social locations based on the social hierarchy such as class, gender race, and gender. The theory further acknowledges that people are active consumers on their realities and their perceptions are fundamental sources of information (Griffin, 2012). Nevertheless, the standpoint theory has significant challenges such as false universalism, epistemic relativism, and bias paradox.

Besides that, the theory has limitations. One, it generalises all women regardless of their status and portrays all women as essentially the same (essentialism); similarly, men are also the same but they however differ from women. The distinction between men and women is constructed through the lens of the patriarchal society they belong to. Hardings and Woods explain that, such constructions and understandings bring the constraints in communication styles and define the dominant and the sub-dominant groups in the society. As such, the two argue that to understand how the world functions, individuals ought to understand it in the woman's standpoint (Harding, 1991). They ignore the fact that women have different traits, experiences, interests, as well as social status.

In response to this limitation, standpoint theorists predict dynamism of feminist standpoints that shall take into account ways in which women's different experiences at the intersections of various oppressive social structures will engender different standpoints. For example, Collins (2000)

developed black feminist standpoint theories that take into account the role of women of colour in slavery, devalued menial and caring labour and the way in which this oppression is experienced at the hands of other women, mostly whites (Collins, 2000).

In another response, Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, in response to charges of false universalisation, they stated that there are many examples of women's activism in pursuit of environmental causes. These causes demonstrate the reality of women overcoming differences and developing a shared sense of solidarity through which they begin to gain an understanding of the oppressive relations in which their lives are enmeshed (Harding, 2004).

Two; the theory emphasises that although knowledge acquired is socially situated and depends on an individual's standpoint, some social values enhance the process of acquisition of knowledge. In response to this, Harding (2004) argues that standpoint theory enforces a strong demand for continuous self-reflection and self-critique from within an individual's standpoint; thus enabling the justification of socially situated knowledge claims.

Three, this is the bias paradox limitation that challenges the above two claims by stating that they contradict each other. The first limitation claims that knowledge is universally acquired hence is general among women groups and the second limitation claims that there are marginalised standpoints that depend on the individual's standpoint position as pertaining to self-reflection and self-critique. Therefore, this implies that social groups are not the only source of knowledge as there are other sources of knowledge. Such sources are subject to self-critique. These claims posed as limitations can be merged. We should give equal chances to both the marginalised and non-marginalised when self-reflection and self-critique occurs (Hardings, 2004).

The two theories, media culture and standpoint theories bear some similarities. First, the two theories borrow heavily on other theories. Media culture theory borrows from other media theories such as technological determinism theory and agenda setting theory; while the standpoint theory borrows from the conflict theory, the genderlect theory, as well as the gender role theory.

Secondly, in each theory there is the parameter of universalisation. The media culture explains the uniformity of ideas in form of content across the varied media platforms, which includes uniformity of perceptions of the audiences. The standpoint theory assumes women groups have persons with the same demographic background; thus are the same. Thirdly, the two theories relate to the critical theory that discusses the issue about dominance and classism. The media culture theory portrays the dominance of media over its target audience by setting the agenda and emphasising and deciding what the audience should consume. The standpoint theory focuses on particular social constructions, usually the elite (majority who are men – the non-marginalised), thus overlooks the marginalised groups, usually women. Finally, the two theories demonstrate the power on social constructions based on 'self-versus-otherness.' Media culture theory develops the issue of self by repeating images of individuals in crisis thus emphasising the need for a solution to this crisis. The standpoint theory emphasises on the self. For example, it emphasises on the male roles in a social group; male chauvinistic roles that favour the male and overlook the female roles, which are demeaned by our patriarchal, based society.

However, the two theories have some differences. Media culture emphasises on spectacles it creates and sets the agenda in order to keep its audience and gratify their varied needs. These spectacles are usually based on politics, war, terrorism, sports, culture and religion. Standpoint theory emphasises on the patriarchal dominance in the cultural set-up whereby males are the dominant entity. On the other hand, media culture theory portrays women as the weaker gender while standpoint theory portrays all males being equal to all females. Therefore, media culture theory places the woman as an endangered person, a victim of circumstances and as one who needs help and assistance to be delivered out of bondage during certain conflict(s). The standpoint theory engages the woman in conflict by portraying the woman as a necessary tool for bringing conflict resolution. Finally, the media culture theory engages technological advancements as tools for communication unlike standpoint theory that engages intrapersonal and interpersonal communication as tools for communication. Therefore, media culture theory is basically using equipment while standpoint theory uses personal engagement.

2.2.3 Application of the theories

The two theories media culture and standpoint are in line with the study as the two portray the construction of identities within a society. In representation, texts and images create mental pictures in the audiences mind thus influencing values, beliefs and behaviours of the audiences. Media culture theory will support the study because it focuses and relates to how media is an arena where individuals and/or groups identities are constructed and deconstructed. Standpoint theory relates to this study because it focuses on the feminist argument that issues should be represented based on the perspectives of the vulnerable persons within the society. This study looks at the media representation of women in domestic violence. It will look at how media frames women, how it represents their narratives hence affecting of perception of women within a society in domestic violence cases.

2.3.4 Research gap

Media culture explains the power of media in construction and deconstruction of identities based on the dissemination of information by the media. The key principles of this theory namely; ideology, media spectacles and events, monopoly and media ownership are the key determinants of how media represents different groups within a society and how media fills the audiences knowledge gap. Further, media repetitive representation of issues within the society leads to the audience paying attention, retaining, imitating, and modeling behaviour's learnt from the media. The standpoint theory helps in explaining how societal roles are constructed which creates the element of the powerful and less powerful groups in the society.

Media professionals source information from the society, primes, and frames and through the gate keeping process it determines the placement, mode and the duration news stories will take. Thus, as analysed in the literature review the issue of domestic violence has its roots in both media and society. As such this study on media representation of women in domestic violence will help the researcher understand how media represents women thus, explain the effects of such representations which hinder the eradication of domestic violence.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1: Overview

This chapter presents the methods that were employed by this study. They include; the research design, research methods, sample and the sampling techniques, validity of the research instruments, reliability of the instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis and ethical considerations.

3.2: Research Design

Kothari (2004) defines research design as a plan that shows how a research will be conducted. This study employed explanatory research design. This design was conducted in order to identify and explain reasons behind a phenomenon and its impacts within a society such as values, beliefs, relationships and practices (Kothari, 2004). It was conducted to assess impacts of specific changes on existing norms and various processes. The focus is usually on analysis of a situation or a specific problem (Dudovskiy, 2018). In this study, the researcher sought to find out how media represents women in domestic violence by analysing video clips and conducting in-depth interviews

3.3: Research Approach

This study utilised qualitative approach. Qualitative research involved collection of data that aims at interpreting meaning from these data which was crucial as the researcher aimed at studying individuals in their uniqueness. This enabled the researcher to understand social life through the study of targeted populations or places. Qualitative researchers investigate meanings, interpretations, symbols, processes and relations of social life. Qualitative research methods include; interviews, observation, focus groups, open-ended surveys, content analysis of visual and

textual materials, and narratives (Crossman, 2018). This study utilized content analysis of visual materials collected from YouTube and in-depth interviews from key informants.

3.4: Population and sampling technique

3.4:1: Target Population

A population is the entire set of objects or subjects that a researcher intends to study and their findings can be generalised (Chambliss & Schutt, 2010). Target population is defined as the unit that makes up the survey data whose data collected can be generalised to represent a larger population. It consists of individuals, events, documents organisations or entire society (Kothari, 2004)). This study used content analysis and the target population included videos sourced from YouTube from 1st January 2018 to 30th June 2018 on battered women. Fairclough (1992) recommends a data selection strategy that emphases on what he calls "moments of crisis" because of their potential to show up features of routine practices that at times might go unnoticed (Fairclough, 1992, p.230). Borrowing from Fairclough (1992), this period of study comes immediately after the 16 days of activism that campaigns against domestic violence globally. Thus, the media holds interviews with the victims of domestic violence, experts, and human right activists. The videos included clips from the YouTube on wife battering and interviews from victims of domestic violence, experts in different organisations such as doctors, human right activists among others. This provided the researcher with information beyond the six months of study as the videos use archival cases on battered women.

The study also included key informants drawn from governmental and non-governmental organisations who deal with women issues. A total of 11 key informants were selected purposively who included, Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya), counselors, doctors and

psychologists, journalists covering cases of battered women, victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. The key informants were selected on the basis that victims and perpetrators of domestic violence often seek help and consolation from them.

3.4.2: Sampling technique

The researcher used inclusion and exclusion sampling technique to select the YouTube videos for analysis from 1st January2018 to 30th June 2018. This technique allowed the researcher to select relevant and rich cases for the study (Patton, 2001). The number of cases under review reported by the media was 115,000. This number was arrived at by typing the phrase 'domestic violence' cases in Kenya.' However, not all the cases retrieved contained the information required by the researcher as some of the videos had other news apart from domestic violence. As such the researcher used a criteria whereby key words and phrases derived from the study were used to select the videos to analyse. Such phrases include; 'women in domestic violence in Kenya as reported by Kenyan media. This reduced the video clips to 82,200, which were still too many for analysis. The researcher used the term 'battered women 'which reduced the video clips to 29,800. Other filters were added to reduce the number based on their relevance, duration of the video clips and the number of views until the researcher reached to a point of saturation where no new information was retrieved. To reach data saturation point, the researcher ensured there was enough information to replicate the study (O'Reilly & Parker, 2012; Walker, 2012) Thus, the researcher purposively selected eight video clips that provided detailed data important for the study.

However, video analysis could not have provided the researcher with sufficient data. As such, the study will employed key informants for in- depth interviews. The Key informants were be selected purposively. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to study respondents who have the information required in respect to the study's objectives (Mugenda, 2003).

3.4.3: Textual and visual analysis

Fairclough (2013) explains the different roles texts play within the target audience. Texts represent the world's different features as interpreted by the audience based on their psychographic factors such as beliefs, motivations, attitudes, opinions and interests (Fairclough, 2003). These factors connect texts and social context where they are formed. As such, texts have different effects on the audience based on their background. They may be used to enhance knowledge or alter individuals' identities thus creating the sense of self and otherness within a society (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, the researcher sought to understand the text in its context, to explain the representation value to the audience. This involved understanding the texts production, composition, priming, framing and dissemination. In addition, the researcher analysed the consumption and distribution of the texts to the audience to understand dominance within media and society and the intention of the production department which includes the journalists and the media owners.

The use of audio-visual data enhanced credibility. The researcher was able to analyse content independently based on the study's objectives. In addition, the researcher was able to study both the victims, perpetrators and other key actors in their natural context.

Fairclough (2003) further explains the two forms of textual analysis; linguistic and intertextual forms. The researcher used intertextual analysis to look at the interviews and genre of domestic violence. Linguistic analysis was used to look at language use which is English, *Kiswahili* and vernacular. These two forms of textual analysis guided the researcher during the study. Main variables such as framing, emotional expressions, language use, were used by the researcher for video analysis. The table below guided the researcher to attain relevant data for the study.

Frames	1. Cultural frames e.g. gender roles, stereotyping and
	sexualising
	2. legal frames
	3. Medical frames
	4. Social economic status frame
	5. Responsibility and blame frame
	6. Human interest etc.
Emotional expression	1. Guilt
_	2. Tears
	3. Tone
	4. Gestures
Victims narratives and perpetrators	1. Raped
	2. Beaten
narratives	3. Burnt
	4. Absent/presence
	5. Otherness
Language	1. Similes
	2. Grammar e.g. Tenses, adverbs, adjectives
	3. Semantics
	4. Turn taking
	5. Use of formal and informal language

Table 1: Video Analysis Guide

Source: Researcher, 2018

3.4.4: Purposive Sampling technique

According to Mugenda (2003), purposive sampling enables the researcher to study respondents who have the information required in respect to the study's objectives. As such, the researcher selected informants who provided the study with rich information on domestic violence, more specifically on cases of battered women. The key informants included participants who were from governmental and non-governmental institutions, journalists covering cases of battered women, counselors, victims, and perpetrators of domestic violence. The selection was based on the knowledge, skills and the interactivity of the key informants with the victims of domestic violence.

3.5: Data Collection Procedure and Tools

The data collection method borrowed from explanatory works of Norman Fairclough (2003) who argues that for a researcher to understand any text, a researcher ought to consider three themes namely, the 'unsaid, turn-taking and dominance of ideologies.

To explain how women are represented in the media, the researcher analysed different video clips using qualitative content analysis technique as a method of collecting data. The video clips were retrieved from YouTube. Content analysis helped in studying the verbal and non-verbal cues of the victims and the presenters. Information from key informants was guided by use of an interview guide. While collecting data, phrases such as frames, emotions, and wife battering were utilized. This helped the researcher to obtain a manageable sample thus achieving the study's objectives.

The researcher analysed the language use and grammar. In language, the researcher looked at the use of formal and informal language, repetitions, communication banters, and use of semantics/jargons. Texts were analysed to understand the meaning of every spoken and written language in the video clips. The researcher also analysed the different shots used in the video clips. This helped the researcher to collect detailed information for the study.

3.5:1 Interview guide

An interview guide was used to collect qualitative data required for the study. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews to the selected key informants who included the victims, perpetrators, doctors lawyers and counselors. These informants were selected purposively based on their experiences and skills in the area of study. The interview guides were filled by the researcher based on the response of each key informant on every question. The researcher recorded information attained in the language the key informants used for authenticity purposes. This helped in explaining their attitudes and perceptions on how media represents women in domestic violence.

3.5:2 Inclusion and exclusion technique

This technique was used to collect qualitative data from the selected video clips, which was restricted to the representation of battered women. The researcher used the inclusion and exclusion technique which helped selecting the video clips to be analysed based on their appropriateness.in addition, video analysis helped in analysing the verbal and non-verbal cues of the victims and the presenters. The technique helped in the compression of the raw data into themes that allows the researcher to make suggestions and explanations.

3.6: Research Time Frame

The study utilised primary data which was collected from key informants and video clips as retrieved from YouTube and as reported between1stJanuary 2018 and 30thJune 2018.

3.7: Data Analysis and Presentation

This is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the data collected from the study location. It involves examining what has been collected and making interpretations. The researcher made a code sheet when assessing the YouTube videos to ensure that all the participants involved were captured and important information is noted and coded while watching the video clips. The researcher took notes guided by the objectives of the study.

Transcription, interpretation, editing, coding, classification and organisation of qualitative data was employed as well to organize the data acquired from the key informants. The editing process involves analysing the collected raw data from all the subjects with a key objective of ensuring the data is accurately, uniformly and fully entered.

Coding is a process of sorting and organising data which allows the researcher to summarise and synthesise the data. It helps the researcher to identify key issues, discover the differences and similarities between the videos and key informants information that were derived from their narratives, and non-verbal cues such as gestures, images and body movements. This allowed the researcher to interpret data. Coding helps the researcher to understand the world from each participant's viewpoint (Sutton & Austin, 2015).

The researcher brought together the different codes to present information in a rational manner hence making it easy for the researcher to present data using the victim's quotations. Key themes were identified through the objectives of the study and the use of the key words.

While analysing data, the researcher looked into the process of production, which answered questions like; who was the source of information and how this information was placed. This helped in explaining the intention approach of the speaker (Hall, 1997). This helped in answering the question of dominance based on gender, age or social cultural frames. The researcher also looked at the way the audience receives and interprets texts disseminated by the media. Fairclough (2013) explains that, to understand messages from the source and the way the audience interprets, it is crucial to look at the overt meaning of the message as well the covert meanings. As such, the researcher analysed data based on who said it, to whom and what has been said. This data was interpreted and a report was written. Data was merged, summarised and presented thematically in narrative form based on the different phrases and words used.

3.7: Validity and Reliability of the Research Instruments

Validity: To ensure validity, the researcher conducted a pre-test of the tools that were used. Validity of a research instrument is the extent to which such an instrument is able to measure what

it is supposed to measure (Thatcher, 2010). This is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results. This implies the degree in which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study. Validity was ensured through the use of accurate data collection method.

Reliability: This demonstrates how consistent the measurements of a research are. It refers the stability and consistency of research tool to provide the same results in same situations but in different surroundings (Twycross & Shields, 2004). As such, the researcher ensured that there was credibility of the data collected from different sources. A pilot survey was conducted so as to test the validity and reliability of the research study tools.

3.8: Ethical Considerations

Wife battering as discussed in chapter two of this study is a sensitive issue within African countries. This is because it is considered as an African culture which should not be discussed in public as it happens in a man's castle (Rotimi, 2007; Mbote, 2001). As such, research on battered women requires caution in order for the researcher to protect the participants from experiencing further abuse from the perpetrators. Thus, research on battered women requires ethical considerations to protect the victims and the researcher from the attack of the abusive partners.

In this study, the researcher first sought a letter of identification from the University of Nairobi. This letter is referred to as the Certificate of Fieldwork (See appendix ii). This letter helped in building trust between the researcher and the key informants as they realised the study was for academic purposes. Trust is crucial while dealing in sensitive issues within the society. Battered women fear reoccurrence of battering episodes which end up interfering with their peace and stability as most of these episodes leave them hurt and can be fatal. Thus, the researcher had to build trust and ensure the participants that their information would not be shared within media platforms or other organisations.

Secondly, the researcher ensured there was anonymity for all the key informants. None of the key informant was identified by name and no overabundance of information was given that would expose the victims or the other informants to the perpetrators. Thirdly, confidentiality and credibility were observed. The researcher ensured that no information shared was exposed without the consent from the informants and whatever information was shared was as shared by the informants. This was done by using direct narratives as shared and in the language shared for originality purpose.

The researcher also ensured attribution of all sources of information used in this study. This was confirmed by the plagiarism test run by the University of Nairobi as shown in the Originality report (see Appendix iii). The researcher also conformed to the University's requirements by working on the corrections as advised by the lecturers during the defenses hence acquiring a certificate of Corrections (see Appendix iv).

Finally, the researcher ensured the information gathered was impartial. This was done by giving both the victims and the perpetrators an opportunity to respond to the questions in the interview guide (see Appendix i).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1: Overview

This chapter presents an in depth account of the videos analysed and key informants' information. The main objective of the study was to establish media representation of women in domestic violence in Kenya. The researcher started by analysing video clips from YouTube to determine how media represents battered women, laying emphasis on the news sources, language use, actors and the frames used by media while reporting wife battering cases.

Each key informant's interview was presented in their language and translated into English for easy understanding. However, caution was taken to ensure that the researcher did not present over abundance of information that could lead to compromising the privacy of the victim. This is considering the fact that the some of the key informant's still live with their partners and were still traumatized. The researcher presented the emerging themes and frames in a table format for efficient data presentation and analysis.

4.2: Presentation

The researcher was guided by the four specific objectives in order to present and document the findings of the study. Search terms such as '*women in domestic violence*' and '*battered women*' were used to search information in the YouTube videos. The videos collected using these terms were relevant for this study. However, not all videos were analysed. The researcher used the inclusion and exclusion criteria to select data that was relevant to the study. The appropriateness criteria helped in specifying how to include or exclude data based on thorough evaluation of data

collected. This helped the researcher to remove any video that repeated the information that had been gathered.

The analysis in this study borrowed on Fairclough (2003) insight on discourse analysis. Fairclough explains how to conduct text analysis by laying emphasis on lexis and intertextuality. In lexis, Fairclough explains how to analyse language in terms of grammar such as tense, parts of speech, metaphors, similes, phrases, as well as use of formal and informal, language. He also explains how to conduct intertextual analysis of texts in the context they are produced and disseminated (Fairclough, 2003).

Eight videos were selected for analysis as retrieved from YouTube. The findings derived from the selected videos revealed different titles as pertaining to domestic violence in Kenya and more specifically on wife battering cases between 1st January and 30th June 2018. The findings showed that the month of March had the highest number of domestic violence cases as retrieved from YouTube. The media reported just a few cases of domestic violence compared to the number of women who had reported or sought help from human rights organisations. This was reported by the Star digital newspaper on January 2018 where 357 gender violence cases were reported .Out of these cases, the researcher found only one video clip in January 2018 (Muhindi, 2018).

4.2.1: Video Titles Table 2: Video Titles

Period	Code	Title
6 th January 2018	001	Estranged husband allegedly sets wife on fire over domestic squabbles; 'Evil' Husband
22 nd January 2018	002	Man chops off wife's hand for overstaying at a funeral
4 th March 2018	003	Abuse in silence: Disturbing stories of domestic violence
5 th , March 2018	004	Former MCA accused his slain wife of infidelity: 'Sour Love'
5 th April 2018	005	Diana Kamande: A victim of Domestic Violence
10 th May 2018	006	How to deal with the loss of loved ones as cases of domestic violence rises
24 th May 2018	007	Husband of the woman who was shot dead at city park reveals wife has an affair with her nephew
June 2018	008	Kenyan celebrities who have survived domestic violence

Researcher (2018)

4:2.2: Video descriptions

In this section, the researcher presents the description of the eight videos that were analysed in this

study. This will provide overall information contained in these videos.

(i) Estranged Husband Allegedly Sets Wife on Fire over Domestic Squabbles 'Evil' Husband

(Code 001)

Evil husband is a 4.37 minutes video clip that presents the story of a 29 year old woman, *Salome Mukuhi Kanini* who was set on fire by the love of her life and suffered 61% burns. According to her family, *Salome* and her husband had been at longer heads for quite some time. However, any

time *Salome* threatened to leave her husband, he would threaten to kill her, claiming that he could not live without her. *Salome's* aunt explains that the husband had threatened to kill her niece and their children. Salome later left her matrimonial home and went back to her home together with the children.

The couple had separated for more than two months. On this particular day, Salome in the company of her brother had gone to her husband's place to pick their first child's school uniform. The brother narrates; "*Akachukua petrol, akamwagilia, akachukua kiberiti, aka washa, akaanza kuungua. Nikapiga nduru, jirani akanipatia taribo nikavunja dirisha.*"(He took petrol and poured on her, then took a matchbox and lit her and my sister started burning, I started screaming and a neighbour came to my rescue and gave me a claw bar. I then broke the window pane and tried to help my sister). The brother had helplessly tried to save his sister but all in vain and was also injured in the process by the window pane and got deep cuts in his hands (KTNNews, 2018).

(ii)Man Chops off Wife's Hand for Overstaying in a Funeral (*Code 002*)

This is a 3.04 minutes video clip which presents Mary Mwita, a 50 year old woman in a hospital bed whose hands were chopped off by her husband following a domestic quarrel and left her to die. Mwita speaking Kiswahili language narrates; *"Nilikuwa nimeenda matanga na vile nilirudi bwana yangu akaniuliza, hizo siku zote, ulikaa kwa nani na ulikuwa unafikiria nani atanipikia?"*(I had attended a funeral meeting and upon coming back he asked me; whom had you been staying with and whom do you think was cooking for me?). *Mwita* reminded her husband that she had left her children who were supposed to cook for him but the husband took a *panga* and started chopping her. Upon witnessing this, some of the children took off for fear of being chopped by their father.

The video also introduces *Mwita's* daughter – *Catherine* who explains how the father has always battered their mother despite her being the bread winner. She explained her mother's role where she says "*Mama ndiye kila kitu kwetu,ndiye alikuwa kama baba, na baba ndiye alikuwa kama mama*". (My mother is very precious to us. She took all our fathers roles as a provider while our father took our mothers role). Catherine expresses their struggle to achieve justice as her father's family acts as a barrier. She says in her narration; *Familia 'yao'inatwambia tufiche hii mambo ili mama asaidike. Wanatwambia tuseme mama alipata ajali ya barabara*" (My father's family has cautioned us to remain silent if we want our mother to get assistance. They tell us to tell people that our mother was involved in a road accident). The journalist reporting the story explains that the man had escaped and the police are still looking for him. However the journalist does not tell the audience the name of the man but refers to him as a culprit.

To emphasise on wife battering cases, the journalist revisits similar past incidences, for example, the case of *Jackline Mwende* whose hands were chopped off by her husband after failing to conceive in 2016, but up to date, no justice has been served to *Mwende* because her husband denied the claim. In addition, the story of *Salome Kanini* who was burnt by her husband is also highlighted (Standard Media, 2018).

(iii)Abuse in silence (Code 003)

Abuse in silence, a 11.05 minutes, video presents three different stories of women battered in January 2018 in Makueni County. The video starts with a narration by the journalist, followed by blurred images of a couple dramatising wife battering. Later, a long shot is used to present the community's socio-economic activities followed by a close-up shot of a lady (*Benita Bata*) in tears with wounds in her hands after an attack from her husband. She groans as she narrates her story

on how her husband set her ablaze when she questioned the amount of money her husband placed on the table. She recounts on how she had been providing for the family expenses. But this particular day she did not have money and decided to ask for help from her husband.

In Kiswahili, *Benita* narrates her ordeal;

"Akachukua mia tano na kumi, akawekelea kwa meza, nikamuliza, hii ni ya bus fare au ni ya nini? Lakini akanyamaza. Ni kamuuliza tena, Hii nyumba italipwa na nini? Hata hujui inalipwa pesa ngapi..., kuna stima..., mia tano na kumi ni ya nini?" (He took Ksh 510 and placed it on the table, I then asked him whether it was for bus fare or what it was meant for, but he did not respond. I then asked him what we were supposed to pay the house rent and electricity with).

This conversation between *Benita* and her husband acted as an onset of battering which led to *Benita* being set ablaze after she lit a stove to prepare porridge for her child. She narrates how her child called upon realising the father wanted to burn her. She states the husbands narrative in Kiswahili when she asked him to help her; "*Yako imeisha*", (You are finished). At that point, *Benita* called for help, asked her husband to hold the baby but he declined. Fortunately, she was helped by a stranger who took her to hospital (Nation, 2018).

Later, the journalist presents *Adelina Mwau*, the Deputy Governor of Makueni, who felt the need to devolve FIDA so as to protect battered women. This is followed by the presentation of the second battered woman, *Marion Mwende*, who narrates in Kiswahili;

"Alikuwa anatembea kwa kijiji akimtafuta mwanammne mwenye anafanana na mtoto wangu. Yeye hunichapa na nikisema nitarudi kwetu ananiambia nikienda ataniua" (My husband walks in the village looking for a man who resembles my daughter. Whenever I tell him I will end the marriage and go back to our home, he threatens to kill me). This brings out the covert reason why *Mwende's* husband batters her based of the infidelity allegations. In addition, her husband's narrative as expressed by *Mwende* explains the fear instilled in her that makes her stick in the abusive marriage (Nation, 2018).

Lastly the video presents the 3rd victim-*Maria Kyule*, who decided to end her abusive marriage after enduring insults and beatings from the man she loved. She narrates her experience in the hands of her husband in Kiswahili;"*Akachukua nguo yangu ya ndani akaweka pilipili. Kuivaa, nikaanza kuwashwa, nikatoa nguo hiyo, nikaenda bila nguo ya ndani*." (He took my inner wear and put pepper, upon wearing, I experienced a burning sensation, and so I removed it and walked without the pant). The act of adding pepper on *Maria's* inner wear had a hidden meaning that represented allegations of *Maria's* infidelity (Nation, 2018).

(iv) Former MCA accused his slain wife of infidelity: Sour Love (Code 004)

In this video clip, a 24 year old woman-*Lucy Njambi Ndungu* is presented in a 1.42 minute video where *Njambis* relatives explain how her husband had threatened to kill the man he suspected to have an affair with his wife. The incidence had been reported to *Gatundu* police station in Kiambu, where *Ndungu* was summoned. *Njambi*'s mother explained that, *Njambi* had terminated her marriage for fear of her husband killing her. Thereafter *Njambi* was kidnapped then raped, murdered and burnt with acid.

The perpetrator who was *Ndungu*, the former MCA of *Riruta* Satellite ward, was taken to court and charged with murdering his ex-wife. Some of his witnesses in court testified that he was innocent. This according to the family was at least a step to ensuring that justice for their daughter was served (Nation , 2018),

(v) Diana Kamande: A victim of Domestic Violence (Code 005)

It is a 6.36 video clip that presents *Diana Kamande*, a domestic violence survivor who had an interview with *KTN*. *Diana* recounts the incidence that occurred in 2013. She explains her relationship with her husband which was good. Her husband used to drop her to work and pick her in the evening. On this fateful day, *Diana* called her husband and told her she would go home early to prepare their daughters as they were flower girls in a friend's wedding. During the interview, *Diana* explains a form of violence her husband used to suffer from. She explains;

"My husband had a form of violence that I never knew. I learnt about it after undergoing training. It is called social violence. My husband could not leave me to go even to the butchery or work alone and he could not go home alone. He had a rule that I could always inform him of my every destination"

According to *Diana*, she interpreted this as a sigh of love. She never thought the husband was insecure.

Diana further narrates about this incident, relating to how her husband called her to enquire what she was preparing for dinner. She told him she was preparing rice and beans but he said he wanted to eat meat and *ugali* which *Diana* prepared. The husband came home but *Diana* noticed that the husband was very angry to a point whereby he dismissed his daughters who had dashed to welcome him home. He told them in Kiswahili *"Kwendeni kwa mama yenu!"* (Go to your mother!). *Diana* explains how she later on went to invite her husband for dinner but he declined. She never suspected the husband was planning to harm her even when the house girl alerted her that her husband was collecting all the house keys. *Diana* told the house girl that it was his house and he could take all the keys. She explains how her husband left the house and when she tried to call him, he did not pick her calls. So she wrote a text message telling him they had gone to sleep but still he did not respond. While asleep, *Diana* was abruptly woken up by a warm feeling and sharp pain. She thought they had been attacked by thieves and she tried to look for her phone to call her husband. She searched for the bed switch, put on the light, but was shocked to see her husband holding a sword. The husband told her that they would all die that night. He said he would kill even the children. He called her family, employer, and *Diana's* father and delegated duties for their funeral. Thereafter, he left and headed towards the children's bedroom but the daughter pleaded with him not to kill them. *Diana* struggled and went to the children's bedroom because she opted to die instead of her children. *Diana* says that she was to learn latter while in hospital that the husband stabbed himself with a knife and died (Standard Media, 2018).

(vi) How to deal with the loss of loved ones as cases of domestic violence rises (Code 006)

This is a 20.18 minutes video that reports among many other reports, a case of a woman who was murdered with her three children in *Marurui*, Kiambu County. The perpetrator was unknown to the neighbours and was described as a man who never took his responsibilities. A neighbour described the victim whom they referred to as *Mama Mary* as an orphan, a hardworking person who worked in a pub so as to provide for her family.

In this video, *Betty Kyalo* interviewed Doctor *Mumbi Chege* as pertaining to domestic violence while other journalist in Meru gathered views from various members of the related to domestic violence. This includes *Osman's* view, which brought up the issue of cultural practices within African marriages. He stated in Kiswahili;

"Kuchapa bibi ni kama utamaduni wetu Wafrica kwa sababu ya maisha tunayoishi ya ufukara. Pia, maisha tunayoishi yafaa tuwe na heshima lakini hiki kizazi heshima haipo. Kwa hivyo inabidi watu wapigane sababu ya hasira" (wife battering is our African culture due to poverty. We lead a life where respect is important but the current generation lacks respect. As such, we have to fight due to anger). This statement is analysed by Doctor *Mumbi* who explains that lack of self-control is a mental problem and people suffering from this disease ought to seek medical attention (KTN News, 2018).

Other views include that of a woman referred to as *Gacheri* who blames men for their behaviour. She states in Kiswahili,

"Hawa wazee wakienda kulewa, hawatambui bibi zao. Huko wanakutana na wananwake wengine warembo kuliko bibi zao. Wakifika nyumbani, hata bibi akijaribu kumfurahisha, bwana hamtambui."(When these men go out drinking, they neglect their wives. They view other beautiful women and when they get home, they do not appreciate their wives efforts to excite and appreciate them). As such this demoralizes the women (KTN News, 2018).

(vii) Husband of the woman who was shot dead at City Park reveals wife had an affair with his nephew (*Code 007*)

It is a 10.28 minute humorous video clip that presents varied captivating stories. Among the stories include *Janet Waiyaki's* city park shooting. *Janet*, a 41year old woman, was shot dead by the police while in the company of her 26 year old nephew named *Benard Chege. Bernard* was allegedly supposed to be having a love affair with *Janet*. The report stated that *Janet's* husband had tried in vain to warn his wife and nephew about the illicit affair.

The video also explains how the police, who visited the scene of crime, discovered that Janet and her nephew were having sex inside the car at the public park. According to the police, they found Janet's underpants on the floor of the car and recalled that she had occupied the passenger's seat which had traces of semen. They were ordered to lower the window panes by the police but *Chege* hurriedly jumped to the driver's seat and tried to drive off. The two were shot under unclear circumstances and Janet latter died in hospital where she was undergoing treatment (KTN News, 2018).

(viii) Kenyan celebrities who have survived domestic violence (code 008)

This is a 3.05 minute video that provides a twist in domestic violence. Point to note is that six out of the eight video clips analysed have presented women who have been battered for either infidelity or socio-economic dependency. However, this video clip presents women of high status, 'celebrities', who are victims of domestic violence but have survived. The three opted to quit their abusive relationships irrespective of what they would supposedly have lost.

The video includes the story of a one *Anne Kiguta* who narrates how her boyfriend physically abused her just before she went to work. She suffered facial injuries but this did not stop her from going to work. She boldly anchored the news bulletin in spite of her injuries. She explained this with a quote; "*I felt if I didn't go on with my plans, I would be letting the violence win. So I decided to move on for me and my baby.*" She explained that financial dependency is one of the key issues that keep women trapped in abusive relationships.

The second celebrity is *Tina Koroso*. In an interview with *Sofia, Tina* explains what she went through in front of her children. She was in denial that her husband had beaten her. She explained her feelings; "*I got paralyzed, i felt helpless, I couldn't believe it. I took a long time to realise and know what was happening.*" She explained that she realised after a long period of continuous beating which used to happen in front of her children that she was undergoing a form of domestic violence. What made her decide to quit her marriage was seeing the struggle her children could go through, trying to help her out and the youngest crying while crawling. She felt that the husband was not only abusing her but the children psychologically as well. She felt by her staying in that abusive marriage, she was teaching her son it is okay to beat a woman while teaching her daughter it is okay for a woman to be beaten. She decided to quit the marriage for her and her children.

Finally, the clip presented *Janet Wanja*, who revealed how hard it was for her to fall in love again after she was abused by her partner. She is quoted saying; "I have suffered at the hands of a man who was my first love. Simple arguments turned into physical confrontations, which always ended with me bleeding." As a result *Janet* turned into an alcoholic and a drug addict in an attempt to numb the pain. She even reached to a point where she contemplated suicide. She further explains how she became the laughing stock in her village as the people around her knew how she used to be mistreated. This lead her into sadness and she just wanted to be alone (Standard Media, 2018).

4.3: Emerging Themes

The researcher identified key themes which include: sensationalism, social context, power, shifting blame, relying on other voices than those of battered women, and fear themes. These themes are discussed below.

Table 3: Themes

Theme	Sample quotes/narratives	
Social context	-It is the African culture for a man to beat his wife. This generation lacks respect and men are left with no choice than to beat their wives when they disrespect them	
Power	-My father's family has cautioned us not to press charges if we want our mother to get help. They have told us to say our mother was involved in a road accident	
Blame	-We blame these men for their drinking habits. When they go drinking, they meet with more beautiful women who satisfy them, hence ignoring their wives	
	-Women in this generation have become disrespectable.	
Fear	-He has threatened to kill me if I ended our marriage. This has made me stay in this abusive marriage.	
Sensationalism	-The two were shot after the police found garments lying on the floor which suggested that there was an 'activity' going on.	
	-The husband considers this as the 'Lords' doings	
Isolation /Depression	- I sank into sadness and just wanted to be alone	
	-My husband made sure I had no friends. He used to beat me every time he found me out of the house or when a friend or even my relatives visited me. So I chose to be alone	

Source: Researcher, 2018

(i) Social context theme

Media reports issues of crime based on the societal context (Sutherland, 2015). As such, cases of wife battering are reported based on the cultural believes and practices within the society. For instance, in most of the video clips analysed, women are presented as the main cause of why they experience the physical beatings from their husbands. *Benita Bata* in the video clip *code 003* is represented by media as the main cause of why her husband battered her. However, media has not directly indicated that but through the in-depth analysis of the confrontation between *Benita* and

her husband, it shows that *Benita* provoked her husband and this lead he to being physically abused when she questioned the amount of money she had been given.

(ii) Power theme

Power brings inequalities within a society as it creates the dominant and subordinate groups. The dominant groups are considered to be superior while the subordinate group is inferior. In the videos analysed, there is the element of power dominance based on the social constructions (Sidinuis, 1999). For instance, *Osman* in the video clip *code 006* explains that women ought to respect their husbands. He says, "*Lakini hiki kizazi hakina heshima*. *Hii inabidi wanawake wachapwe*" (But this generation lacks respect. This leaves men with no option than to batter their wives). The video clip *code 004* begins with another different story by indicating the prominence of the perpetrator when it indicates that he was a former *Member of County Assembly in Nairobi*. This news value indicates power thus shifts emphasis of the domestic violence contained in the story, thus the story is perceived differently based on the audience standpoints.

(iii) Blame theme

In the videos analysed, the element of blame is rampant. For instance, *Gacheri* in the video clip *code 006* stated that "*Sisi tunawalaumu hawa wazee wetu kwa hii tabia yao ya kulewa*" (We blame our husbands for their drinking habits). However, this blame is mutual for even men blamed their wives for being immoral and neglecting their responsibilities. For instance, in the video clip *code 002, Mary Mwita's* husband blamed his wife. *Mary* recounts "*Akaniuliza kwa hizo siku zote nilikuwa nakaa na nani na nilifikiria nani alikuwa anampikia?*" (He asked me whom I have been staying with and whom I thought would take care of him). As realised here in these cases, blame

is mutual, where both men and women in domestic violence shift blames to justify or defend themselves.

(iv) Fear theme

The victims in these videos made comments that indicated the degree of fear within them. For instance, *Mwende* in the *Abuse in silence video (Code 003)* explains how her husband used to walk around in the village looking for the man who resembles her daughter. She further added that whenever she told the husband she would leave their matrimonial home; the husband could threaten to kill her. This instilled fear in her thus she opted to stay. Another victim is *Maria Mwita* whose daughter *Catherine in Video clip code 002* explained how their father's family threatened not to assist them if they reported or talked of the incidence. The family threatened not to assist their mother if they talked about it. The fear of their mother to be abandoned kept them silent.

(v) Sensationalism theme

Sensationalism is the way the media presents issues with a motive of provoking attention and thus arousing emotional responses in audiences. Videos clips in this study have been presented in a way that the audiences either blame or pity the victims of violence. For instance, *the video clip code 003* provoked a lot of attention from the public and it made the Makueni deputy Governor to respond. This facilitated help for *Benita* who was taken to hospital for treatment. Another *video clip code clip code 007* provoked a lot of public outrage and media mockery after the police presented a distorted

4.4 Frames of battered women reporting

Media selects aspects of a perceived reality and make them more prominent in a communication text. it represents stories in certain angles which influence publics perception. Media foregrounds stories and through repitition, it gives such stories prominance(Entman, 1993). Boystrun et al. (2013) discusses the different frames inherent in news videos. Such frames include economic frames, morality frames, fairness and equality frames, constitutionality, and jurisprudence frames among others.

Table 4: Frames

Fairness and equity	Infidelity frame	Human interest frame
Medical frame	Economic Frame	Responsibility Frame

(i)Infidelity frame

This frame is under the morality frame which looks at any perspective that is compiled by ethical considerations such as religion, duty, honor, righteousness and any other issues based on social responsibility (Boydstun, 2013). Findings in this study indicate that, wife battering cases are pegged on immoral behaviour of women. 4 out of the 7 videos selected for this study indicated that women had extra- marital affairs which were the main cause of beating. Such videos include *Slain woman accused of infidelity* which reports on why *Janet Kanini* was murdered after the husband discovered she had an affair with a nephew. Further findings in the video clip on *How to deal with the loss of loved ones as cases of domestic violence rises* echoes the sentiments of Osman, from Meru county argues that "*Maisha yenye tunaishi yafaa tuwe na heshima. Lakini siku hizi, Wanawake wetu hawana heshima.*"(The life we live today demands respect. But currently, our wives lack respect). Other findings from the perpetrators interviewed indicated that most women

are battered due to immorality as they have neglected and denied their husbands their conjugal rights and instead they have sponsors and young men who satisfy their sexual desires.

(ii) Economic Frame

According to Boydstun (2013), economic frame looks at the costs, fiscal effects of issues and benefits to family, individual and community at large. Findings on this frame show that, most of the women in the society are battered due to socio-economic factors. For instance, *Benita Bata* in the video clip *Abused in silence* narrates how her husband started physically abusing her after she was unable to settle her expenses as she always did. *Benita* recounts;

"Akachukua shiringi mia tano na kumi (Kshs. 510) akawekelea kwa meza. Nikamuuliza kama hiyo ni bus fare Lakini akanyamaza. Ndio nikamuuliza, hii nyumba italipwa na nini? stima italipwa na nini?" (He took Ksh.510 and placed on the table. I asked him whether it was bus fare but he did not respond. So I asked him how the rent and electricity would be paid).

According to the psychologist interviewed, the researcher found out that, such conversation acts as an onset of violence as most men hate confrontation. Further findings from the perpetrators interviewed shows that, men hate to be reminded of their responsibilities. One perpetrator argued that, his wife was so nagging especially when asking for money. In addition, the perpetrator felt that his wife could also do manual jobs to get money and assist in paying bills. *"hata yeye anaweza fanya kazi za kuosha nguo kama Wanawake wengine awache kushinda akiitisha pesa"* (she also work like other women...wash clothes ...instead of demanding for money all the time). Financial issues within the family are common.

(iii) Human Interest Frame

The human interest frame is a crucial news value as it helps in bringing the element of humanity. It brings issues that affect the audience and thus enhancing the element of emotions to narratives disseminated (Andrus, 2012).

The study found out that this frame is used by the media to represent battered women. A news editor explained that media aims at not only giving people what they need but what they want. For instance, *Abuse in silence* video present stories of battered women that the audience want to hear. It also presents the battered women, their pain, and regret which is based on the victim's angle. The combination of three women; *Benita Bata, Marion Mwende* and *Maria Kyule* brings out the effects of wife battering.

(iv) Responsibility frame

This frame falls under law and order, crime and justice frame that looks into policies set specifically to impose and interpret law. It includes stories that determine how certain laws are enforced and interpreted by individuals, penalties of breaking such laws, loopholes punishments, fines sentencing that aims at the reductions of crime (Boydstun et al. 2013).

The findings of the study showed that, some of the perpetrators had been taken to court. However for most of the videos, there was lack of follow up to investigate whether the perpetrators were taken to court, charged or released. According to the psychologist interviewed, most of her clients complain that that in spite of reporting this cases to the police, the police hardly take actions to punish their husbands. They trivialise the act as an act between man and wife that should be solved within the family ties. One victim reported that, *"hawa wazee wako connected…tukiwapeleka kwa police wanaachiliwa tu…hata tukienda kwa chief, chief husema turudi kwa boma"* (these men are

well connected. we report them to the police or the chief but they are set free. and the chief advices us to resolve our issues at home). This is evidence of an irresponsible authority within the society.

According to Palazzolo and Roberto (2011), inclusion or exclusion of information on perpetrators and victims determines the emotional response which is helps in the translation of accountability and punishment decision making. This is especially inclusion of anger and sympathy as represented by the media. Thus, media is blamed for lack of responsibility to follow up the stories they highlight.

More findings from victims interviewed stated that it is the responsibility of the government and especially the police force to ensure that law and order, crime and justice laws are enforced. The same suggestion was supported by a lawyer interviewed, who represents battered women. This has prompted suggestion that non-governmental (NGO) organisations such as Federation of Kenyan Lawyers to take full responsibility. For instance, *Adelina Mwau*, the deputy governor of Makueni, in her interview with *Enock Sikolia* suggests that the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) needs to be devolved to ensure that they support women in the grassroots facing battering cases.

(v) Fairness and Equity Frames

Boydstun (2013) explains that this frame is applicable when there is lack or balance of equalities and inequalities between different sets of groups and individuals within a society. This frame brings on board the issues of dominance and sexism within a society where the society plays a major role of construction different roles based on gender.

The findings in this study show that this frame has contributed to the rise of women battering cases. Sidanius (1999) discusses the effects of such social structures in the society that place some groups on top of others hence resulting into struggle and conflicts among the groups. The information derived from the data indicates that, men feel they are more superior and their wives ought to respect them. This is supported by one of the perpetrators interviewed who batters his wife He believes that him being the sole bread winner, his wife should obey and respect his decisions.

More findings show that, the society believes that women are the weaker sex while men are the strong sex. As such, women should remain under the authority of their husbands. For instance, one of the key informants based the gender inequalities on religious beliefs where the bible places the man under dominion.

(vi) Medical frame

This frame is under health and safety frame. This frame looks at healthcare access, mental health effects prevision of violence among others (Boydstun, 2013).

Findings in this study show that the perpetrators suffer from mental illness. Doctor *Mumbi Chege* a psychiatrist based in Nairobi explains a narrative from *Osman "wakati mwingine hatuna choice, inabidi watu wapigane wakikasirika"* (at times we do not have a choice, we are forced to fight when we get annoyed) in the video *How to deal with the loss of a loved one as cases of domestic violence rises,* shows a clear indication that this perpetrators have mental problems. She adds that if a person is in good health, then the mentality where people feel it is either A or B, can be avoided. *"In good mental health, you can work on your emotion"* says doctor *Mumbi.*

Other findings show that, the victims are not in a position to seek proper medical attention due to lack of finances, yet the government has promised to ensure there is access to good health for everyone. For instance, in the video, *Abuse in silence*, *Benita's* father while asked how they have been treating their daughter responds *"kwa sasa tunamtibu kienyeji tu, tunamweka kwa gunia tu"* (For now we are treating her traditionally. We are just putting her in the sack). Findings indicated

that *Benita* had been taken to a nearby hospital where she was referred to Kenyatta National Hospital. However, she did not report to the hospital to seek medical help (Nation, 2018).

4.5: Key Informants

In this section, the researcher presents information acquired during this study; from eleven key informants of this study. The key informants include one journalists, one lawyer, two victims, three perpetrators, two doctors and two counselors.

4.5.1: Journalists

In his studies, Stuart Hall discusses how media shapes perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs based on the way it represents its concepts. He explains how media creates mental pictures that assist their target audience to understand the world around them (Hall, 2005). Thus, to understand how media represents women in domestic violence, it is fundamental to consider journalists as the main actors in the representation of battered women within the society. This is because journalists not only select the stories to disseminate but also use language to frame such stories. In this study, Hall's framework has been borrowed to examine the journalist's response of media framing.

Journalists selected the frames based on bizarre incidences within the society. Key Informant 1 interviewed noted that odd stories sell and are worth being given much prominence and space in airtime. For instance, the Key Informant explained that women who suffer fatal physical injuries attract journalists as they know such stories attract more viewership from media channels.

The researcher found out that news values are crucial in determining the stories to be disseminated and even to identify what stories require follow up. These include; human interest, oddity, impact and conflict issues. However Key Informant 1 responding to the question on follow up stories stated that;

"I am a crusader of equity in the society. We are born equal, the same way one is born short and another tall, which is the same way one is born a man and the other a woman. So, these are just qualities that distinguish one from the other but at least, both of us are human".

This is an indication that the personal traits of a journalist determine if he/she will do a follow up story or not which trivialises the importance of news values as a determinant of stories to be disseminated. As such, beliefs journalist hold will affect the framing of a story.

The researcher also found out that religion is a key factor that determines if a journalist considers a story's worthiness. Key Informant 1 also stated that women stories pertaining to domestic violence are perceived as inferior in certain religious sects; thus this affects their worldview on women stories. This notion is explained in the standpoint theory where Woods and Hardings look at women as the minority and vulnerable gender whose voice is hardly heard within the society. Thus, Woods and Hardings argue that issues within a society should be discussed based on the vulnerable groups perspective (Griffins, 2012).

The researcher also found out that journalists in this beat are guided by ethics such as, human rights, right of reply, intrusion to privacy and tone in reporting. However, as the Key Informant 1 interviewed explained, ethics do not inform coverage, community morality does. Morality is about what is right and wrong in the angle of the probed society. Thus, media representation highly depends on the societal constructions of different groups as journalists source stories from the society, they filter and frame the same stories and report to the same society.

4.5.2: Lawyers

Lawyers were also key actors in this study who were interviewed. The researcher interviewed a lawyer who represent battered women. These gave the study the legal understanding of domestic violence. Chapter four of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 discusses the bill of rights for every individual. In this chapter four, section *29d* it states that 'every person has the right to freedom and security which includes the right not to be subjected to torture in any manner, whether physical or psychological (Kenya Law Reports, 2010).

The researcher presented The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 that entails issues about to protect human rights. The Key Informant 2 interviewed concurred with the notion that laws adhering various types of domestic violence are not clearly defined. The researcher also found out that legal advisors are faced with challenges while presenting the victims. This is due to lack of sufficient evidence and distortion of information, lack of witnesses, delayed justice, and late reporting as most women fear to speak out immediately they are abused.

The legal advisor perception on media stories pertaining to domestic violence indicate that, media's presentation of such stories has attracted the government's attention and as a result, domestic violence has been considered a crime in Kenya. Nonetheless, Key Informant 2 felt that media way of reporting has represented battered women as victims of their own making and only they can stop the abuse by either leaving the abusive relationships.

The researcher found out that lawyers blame media for inclining more on the commercial value of the story than the interest of the story. This was explained by the way media just highlights such stories and it fails to give the stories sufficient airtime and mostly those stories are aired once and abandoned with no follow up. Thus, media is usually blamed for failing to bring out the plight of battered women, their families, and the impact of wife battering on children and close members of the family.

4.5.3: Counselors

Counselors were key informants in this study. Victims of violence often seek advice and consolation from the counselors. These counselors could be religion based or professionals who offer services to the victims. In this study, the researcher interviewed a professional as well as a religious counselor. Findings showed that, religious counselor provided more time to the victims than the professional ones and victims often sought their guidance.

Key Informant 7 and 8 stated that wife battering has many causes. Apart from the common discussed causes, which are gender inequality and economic dependency, the informants explained that family, friends, projections, inferiority complex, and religious beliefs are other causes of battering among intimate partners. Other causes highlighted are infidelity which is witnessed between married couples. However, the informants explained that infidelity was witnessed on both parties. Based on the cases they had handled, they had experienced scenarios whereby a man is blamed for having an extra-marital relationship and thereafter neglecting his family and being more abusive. They noted that men also blame their wives for having intimate relationships and denying them their conjugal rights.

The findings regarding how media cover domestic violence indicated that Key Informants 7 and 8 felt that counsellors and media are in conflict given that media exposes the victims; which leads the victim to retrogression due to the neighbouring societies negative attitude. This affects the immediate family and the extended families.

4.5.4: Doctors and Psychologists

As explained in chapter two of this study, wife battering has health effects on the victims .Walker (2017) posits that the Battered Woman Syndrome (BWS) is a mental disorder which arises as a result of living in a domestic violent family. Among the effects are distress, numbing of emotions, strained interpersonal relationships, and intellectual difficulties. Thus, doctors and psychologists were important in this study for they provided more insight on the effects of battering to the victims. The researcher was able to realise the post-traumatic effects which most of these professionals highlighted. For instance, Key informants 5 and 6 interviewed, expressed the challenges they go through with the battered victims every time there is a highlight on battering cases. They explained that their victims experience fear that they could be the next victim of such abuse.

Key Informant 5 interviewed gave the battering act a new twist. The informant explained that the perpetrators have a mental disorder and thus they are unable to control their anger. As such, there is need for media not only to highlight such issues but to offer help for both the victims and the perpetrators.

The informants also explained that battering is not just for women but also men are battered as well and undergo psychological stress given that the society expects them to be in control of their families. This often leads to depression on the victims and they tend to isolate themselves.

Responding on how media represents victims of domestic violence, the key informants explained the media's main objective in reporting domestic violence was for financial gain and marketing gymnastics.

4:5.5: Victims

As discussed in this study, domestic violence happens in public as well as in closed doors within family set up as a demonstration of unequal power relations between a husband and a wife (Akram & Manzoor, 2015; Mckie, 2005). However, as Rotimi (2007) explains, domestic violence is an accepted practice in the African culture and this makes its victims to suffer in silence as the society overlooks it hence considering the act as part of the African culture which happens in the man's castle.

As such, the researcher in this study saw the necessity of interviewing the victims despite knowing that it was a very sensitive task to interview victims of domestic violence. This was based on the fact that interviewing the victims was more credible and they would provide authentic information. The researcher managed to interview two victims.

The main victims of the study were women. The researcher's findings indicate that women undergo battering silently. Key informants 3 and 4 interviewed who sought anonymity explained that, their husbands were brutal during their courtship which escalated upon getting married. They explained that it has been ongoing during their marriage in the presence of their children. However, these informants have been unable to leave their abusive marriages for fear of being excommunicated within the society, they have resolved to lead a lonely life as their husbands threatened to always beat them if they found them in the company of other women and even their relatives. Walker (2017) explains this finding while discussing the Battered Woman Syndrome. He explains that, domestic violence victims tend to have poor interpersonal relationships hence they withdraw from the society for the fear of recurrent abuse.

The key informants interviewed explained that they had tried to seek help from their family members especially their parents and siblings. Key informant 3 explained;

"Mara ya kwanza aliponichapa, niliambia wazazi wangu. Mama Akaniita kando na kuniambia nivumilie, akisema ndoa huwa hivo. Pia akasema hata yeye alivumilia ndio ndoa yake iwe venye iko." (The first time he battered me I reported to my parents. My mother called me aside and advised me to be patient. She added that she underwent the same abuse but she had to be patient for her marriage to be).

In addition, the informant expressed her anger towards the family who had shifted the blame to

her accusing her for being spoilt. She explained;

"Unajua mzee huwasaidia kifedha. So kila wakati nikiteta ananichapa wao husema shida iko kwangu. wanasema niko spoilt. Hii imenifanya nikasirike na wao hata siwambiii nikichapwa" (My husband helps them financially. Every time i complain to that that my husband batters me, they say I am spoilt. I am so annoyed with them and have decided not to inform them when I am beaten)

This shows that, perpetrators are protected within the family set up given that they offer financial

support. The economic inequalities are discussed in chapter two of this study. For instance, Mbote

(2001) explains that financial inequalities and dependency of women on their husbands is a major

cause of domestic violence within the society.

More findings show that women have not reported to the authorities such as to the area chief and

the police. For instance, Key Informant 4 explained that;

"Sioni haja ya kureport kwa chief au police. Hawa watu wanajuana. Wamama wengi washaenda kwa chief na wanaambiwa waende home wakasort shida zao huko. Alafu hawa wazee wakisikia umeenda kureopt watakuua" (I don't see why I should report to the chief or the police. These people know each other. Many women have tried but every time they do so, they are told to go and solve their issues at home. In addition, these men threaten to kill us if we dare them).

This explanation presents four elements, threat from the husbands which in return instills fear in the women, misuse of power by the authorities, and general naivety from the culprits.

Walker (2017) explains that, domestic violence victims undergo through different stages such as denial, blame, and guilt. For instance, domestic violence victims often blame themselves for either provoking the perpetrators to abuse them, blame their husbands for neglecting their responsibilities and being brutal. However, the society blames the women for failing to take responsibility such as leaving an abusive relationship and choosing to stay in spite of being abused often (Wilson, 2017). The researcher also found out that women not only blame their husbands for abusing them but also blame the society at large and the authorities for failing to protect them. For instance, Key Informant 3 expressed her disappointment on the way the society looks at wife battering cases. She stated that women within the society have only God to protect them as there is no one else who perceives them as humans.

"Mwanamke ni wa Mungu tu. Ni yeye tu anaelewa shida zetu. Kwa hivyo mimi nilionelea ninyamaze, siongeangi na watu sana. Mara mingi mimi hunjifungia kwa nyumba na nalilia Mungu wangu anisaidie. Ni yeye tu anaweza" (A woman belongs to God. Only He understands what we go through. Thus, I have chosen to be silent, hardly communicating with people. Often I stay in my house seeking God to help me out for He is able).

Based on this explanation, the researcher found out that battered women prefer to live a life of isolation as the people around them do not understand what they go through.

Eventually, Key Informants 3 and 4 said that, media has been trying to inform the society of some of the issues they go through. However, Key Informant 3 felt that, media information on wife battering has complicated her marriage life. She explained that;

"Kila wakati hizi stories zikiletwa, sijui zinakuanga na shetani mgani, lazina mzee wangu anichape huku akinikumbusha ...nikijaribu kuongea anaweza niua pamoja na watoto wangu... sana sana nikiongea na hawa watu wa media" (Every time these stories are aired, I do not know what kind of a demon they have, my husband has to beat me up. He reminds me if I try talking about it like those women in the media he will kill my children and I). Such threats become a hindrance to most of the women and they choose to suffer in silence which results to psychological effects. Walker (2017) explains these post traumatic effects in the BWS. He explains that battered women suffer interpersonal relationships and this results into depression and isolation. Mbote (2001) and (Rotimi, 2007) as explained in the African culture, battered women are expected to embrace battering as a sign of love from their husbands.

4.5.6: Perpetrators

Sutherland (2015) explains that often the perpetrators of domestic violence are usually invisible in media stories. The perpetrator is usually reported as having disappereared after committing the crime. Further, Sutherland (2015) and Walker(2017) explain that media is often quick to justify and report positive stories on the perpetrators. For instance, media reports on the perpetrators will be based on the hard moments they face such as stress due to financial struggles.

In this study, the perpetrators were men. Based on the perpetrators interviewed who sought anonymity, media reports domestic violence cases though it is biased. All the perpetrators stated that media mainly focuses on women as far as battering issues are concerned. Thus, women are referred as the only victims in domestic violence. Consequently, media fails to investigate the indepth causes of wife battering.

Key Informant 9 interviewed depicts women as bearing responsibility and blame for domestic violence that befalls on them. The informant explained that men are responsible people who never act on emotions. *"Ukiona mwanammne akichapa bibi, jua ameumizwa.*" (If you find a man battering his wife, he has been wronged). The informant narrated this using his own experience where he battered his own wife after she used all their family's savings without his consent.

More so, Key Informant 10 narrated why he often beats his wife. He explained;

"Hata kama ingekuwa wewe, ungefanya nini? "Bibi yako wa miaka kumi ametangatanga kijiji mzima nahata unaambia watoto wenu si wewe umewazaa? (If it were you, what could you have done if you learnt that your wife has been sleeping with other men in the village and you are not the biological father to your children?).

As such, perpetrators provided the researcher with a different angle of the study. As discussed in the ethical considerations of this study, the only way the researcher would get fulfilling information was through acquiring different perspectives from the perpetrators and the victims. For instance, Key Informant 11 argued that, women push their husbands to batter them. He explained his wives 'unwanting' behaviour, rudeness and disrespect to his friends and family especially his mother. He explained in Kiswahili; "*Sasa… kama bibi hana heshima utafanya nini? huyu hata haheshimu mama yangu mzazi na marafiki.*" (Now... if your wife lacks respect what do you do? My wife does not respect my mother and friends). This statement supports the explanation given by the counselors on the other causes of wife battering other than infidelity and economic dependency.

4.6: Discussions on themes and frames

In this section, the researcher presents the discussion on findings from the You Tube videos and key informants. It will include the themes and the frames and the sample quotes.

Table 5: Themes and Frames

Theme	Sample quotes/narratives	Frames	Sample Quote
Social context	-It is the African culture for a man to beat his wife. This generation lacks respect and men are left with no choice than to beat their wives when they disrespect them.	Infidelity	 -He has been going around the village looking for the man who resembles our daughter. - He has been insulting me calling me a bar maid and accused me of sleeping with other men.
			- He put my inner wear pepper which gave me a burning sensation.
	-My father's family has cautioned us not to press charges if we want our mother to get help. They have told us to say our mother was involved in a road accident.	Economic	-I had been shouldering all the house expenses until that day when he gave me Ksh.510.
			-My mother has been the sole bread winner. She takes our father's responsibilities.
			- Women depend on men for financial report hence they choose to stay in abusive relationships.
Blame	-We blame these men for their drinking habits. When they go drinking, they meet with more beautiful women who satisfy them, hence ignoring their wives.	Responsibility	-FIDA should be devolved to present these women on the grassroots.
			-There is no help we get from the police.
	-Women in this generation have become disrespectable.		The government ought to put clear laws on domestic violence.
Fear	-He has threatened to kill me if I ended our marriage. This has made me stay in this abusive marriage.	Fairness and equity	-Ndungu was arraigned in court. - He used to threaten to kill me whenever I told him I could go back home.
Sensationalism	-The two were shot after the police found garment lying on the floor which suggested that there was an activity going on.		
	-the husband considers this as the 'Lords' doings.		
Isolation /Depression	- I sank into sadness and just wanted to be alone.	Medical Frame	-The perpetrators have a mental disorder which prevents them from controlling their emotions.
	-My husband made sure I had no friends. He used to beat me every time he found me out of the house or when a friend or even my relatives visited me. So I chose to be alone.		
			- I had to seek help from the hospital and undergo a training. It was after the training I learnt my husband suffered from a condition called Social violence.
	-He took petrol and poured on my sister.		
	-FIDA needs to come down. It needs to be devolved.		
	-This is a mental illness and the perpetrators need to seek medical.		

Source: Researcher, (2018)

4.6.1: Social Context Theme

The social context theme emerges to answer the question projected by the first research objective related to the media culture theory. According to Kellner (2003), media processes news events and information in such a way that it constructs images that are out of the usual and customary issues that become special issues for the audience to discuss. It aims at legitimising a society's dominant values, beliefs, and cultural practices. Through such events, it acts as a mirror to the society it serves. Thus, media has currently become the popular culture that controls our everyday life and identities. Cottle (2006) posits that it is through media different groups compete and struggle for dominance and as a result, these groups struggle through the images created in their minds through the media spectacles so as to retain their positions Therefore, media provides information through the provision of socio-economic and socio-political structures that help the audience to interpret who they are.

Social context refers to the way societal issues of crimes are reported by the media (Sutherland, 2015). For instance, the findings in this study showed that, media reports on wife battering as gender-based and rooted in the gender inequalities within the society. A psychologist interviewed explained that, wife battering has different causes that include mental disorders.

The way media frames stories determine the way the audience assign meanings and develop concern. The social context indicators and findings of this study showed that, media highly utilizes the episodic framing- where issues of wife battering are tilted towards an individual hence trivialising the seriousness of the crime which is indeed a societal problem (Entman, 1993). Key Informant 2 expressed his frustrations while presenting domestic violence cases in courts. The informant explained that, the Kenyan law has not defined domestic violence laws adhering to the various types of violence. He further added that media ought to be more aggressive to push for

such laws by laying emphasis on domestic violence cases, giving the stories prominence instead of highlighting such stories.

Other findings showed that, media hardly documents history of the violence. Key Informant 7 explained that, media only tells its audience how the victim was battered but ignores the fact that audience also need to know why the victim was battered in details. In addition, Key informant 6 stated that, media highlights; do not inform audiences in any way. She said that whether this stories are highlighted or not, women still continue to be battered. This is attributed to the kind of framing the media utilizes which is either episodic framing especially in the cases happening in the private sphere or thematic framing in cases happening in the public sphere (Entman, 1993).

4.6.2. Power Theme

Samp (2016), explains that power is an element used to define human relationships as it determines the degree of interpersonal encounters. Samp also adds that, conflict in intimate relationships brings power to the front and this determines if individuals communicate or not on sensitive issues such as a partner's change of behaviour. She explains that, whenever a partner pocesses more power, victims often fear expressing their disatisfactions as this may result to negative effects such as verbal or physical violence (Samp, 2016).

The power theme emerges in this research study to answer the question projected by the third research objective. Power in this study is portrayed based on the social constructions within the society. Mbote (2001) explains that, inequalities within the society are the major causes of domestic violence in African countries. Most of the Key Informants interviewed indicated that the society has assigned different roles for both men and women. As such, men enjoy the superior power while women are the subordinate group. They explained that dominance is evident even in

religion where most of her clients come from; they refer to the bible that defines man as the head of the family.

Key Informant 1 interviewed on what determines the angle they choose on a news story on wife battering stated that;

"We live in a male dominated world and media acts as a mirror through which we see our lives; that media is a reflection of the values and practices within the society and this is referred to as patriarchal dominance".

During this study, the researcher found out various structures of patriarchal dominance that lead to domestic violence. For instance, Sidanius (1999) as discussed in chapter two of this study explains the six structures of patriarchy that emerge within a society. The structures include; the patriarchy relations in paid work which is explained by inequality within the working class where men are placed in better paying positions than women (Woods, 2006). The second structure is the patriarchy mode of production where men are considered to be more productive than women hence making them the bread winners while women stay in the house to take care of the family (Mbote, 2001). Thirdly, patriarchy relations in the state whereby the laws set by the government are considered to favour the men who are the majority in parliament (Mbote, 2001). The fourth structure discusses male violence, this structure is in line with this study where the researcher discovered the brutality of men towards their wives based on dominance. Finally the patriarchy relations in sexuality and patriarchy relations in cultural relations. The cultural relations structure guided this study as the researcher discovered that issues of dominance and roles are constructed within the society. Just like media, the society is able to construct its peoples' identities hence placing some people on power while the other people are represented as subordinate (Cottle, 2006; Sidanius, 1999).

Discussing on the same, Walby (1990) defines patriarchy as social structures and practices in which women's suppression and exploitation by men is present. He adds that every woman has a notion that she is subordinate while men know they are the dominant groups in the society. The researcher found out that power is eminent in the video clips and interviews conducted. For instance, in the video *Slain Woman Accused of Infidelity*, the use of term 'Former MCA' brings in the aspect of prominence which is related with power (Nation , 2018).

4.6.3. Blame Theme

The blame theme emerges in this study to answer the question projected by objective number two. The researcher's findings indicate that media constructs stories that directly or indirectly assign blame to the victims of domestic violence. They often blame the women for their 'bad' behaviour as the main cause of the battering. For instance, in the *Janet Waiyaki's* story, the media reported that *Janet* had an affair with her nephew (Nation , 2018). This is discussed in most of the video clips analysed where the woman is blamed of being immoral for having practiced incest and infidelity. The standpoint theory notion emerges which explains how different people will see and interpret issues based on their views (Griffin, 2012).

Standpoint is a collective achievement of our consciousness and identity. Individuals get a worldview from this point. In this theory, Sandra Hardings and Julia Woods argue that social groups constituted by people, shape their understanding and experiences, how they communicate within self, with others and the rest of the world. The standpoint theory posits that knowledge can only be achieved when standpoints emerge. This becomes possible when the marginalised and the invisibly muted groups become conscious of their own positions in a society and begin to fight for liberty and gain understanding on structures of power based entirely on the groups' knowledge on their culture (Griffin, 2012).

Other interviews and videos analysed indicated the abuse of alcohol and drugs by victims and there was evident 'blame game'. Both the victims and perpetrators were blamed of domestic violence and the main cause was alcohol abuse. For instance, one of the Key Informants 3 interviewed explained that whenever the husband beats her, he is usually drunk and gets out of control. The same was observed by Key Informants 5 and 6 who said that most of victims blame alcohol for their husbands' actions. In addition, in the *video code 006, How to deal with the loss of a loved one; as cases of domestic violence rises,* a woman identified as *Gaceri* blames men for their drinking habits. She argues that when men go on drinking sprees, they seduce other women thus neglecting their wives (KTN News, 2018).

Media is also blamed by most of the informants for being biased. Key Informant 4 indicated that media shifts blame from the perpetrators to the women whose behaviour positioned them at risk. This is also realised in most of the video clips analysed. For instance, media in *Janet Waiyaki's* case indicated that *Janet's* affair with her nephew was the main cause of her shooting. Key Informants 5 and 6 interviewed said that, media could be doing this consciously or unconsciously to shift blame.

More findings showed that, media includes information about arguments that caused the violence and talks of mutual responsibility. Sutherland (2015) explains that, media will often place mutual responsibility on domestic violence cases. This explanation was witnessed from most of the informants interviewed who stated that media shows blame on both the woman and the man even when they verify that the man is on the wrong. The researcher also discovered the choice of words that indicated mutual responsibility. For instance, when reporting on arguments between intimate partners, media uses words such as 'disputes' and 'marital challenges' which portrays that both the victim and the perpetrator are involved. This choice of words brings the aspect of mutuality which shows that both parties are to blame for the violence hence trivialising the magnitude of the violence.

The researcher further found out that the element of provocation was present in most of the information collected. Key Informants 9, 10 and 11 blamed women for provoking them to battering them. For instance, Key Informant 9 indicated that, whenever he batters his wife, she is usually the main cause. This was seconded by a Key Informants 7 and 8 who noted that, most of these women have 'loose tongues'. However most of the informants noted that media just gives one side of the story which favours the man and places him as the one offended. For instance, Key informants 7 and 8 explained how media brings stories that represent a woman as immoral, threatening to end a relationship and even being nagging yet men also provoke their wives. This as explained by the informants shows the bias of the media platforms. Kellner in the media culture theory explains the principle of ideology. He explains that media disseminates the ideologies of the dominant group within the society while undermining the subordinate groups ideologies (Cottle, 2006).

More findings show that women are often blamed for failing to prevent the violence. Walker (2017) explains some of the stages in domestic violence where the issue of blame is present. Women not only blame themselves for having provoked their husband to beating them but they also blame their husbands for brutality (Walker, 2017). Most of the informants interviewed explained that women have the ability of preventing their husbands from battering them. For instance Key Informant 10 in his mother tongue, explained "*Mutuma nioi haria muruthi wake uhutagio wararama*" (A woman knows how to calm her lion when it roars). This was realised

from most key informants who argued that women have the ability avoid being battered if they understood their husbands and learnt how to treat them when they are annoyed. Blaming as the researcher found out is not only a victims' or perpetrators' way of dealing with domestic violence but it emerges within the society.

4.6.4: Fear theme

The fear theme emerges in this study and is linked to objective two that is supported by the standpoint theory in this study. Standpoint is a collective achievement of our consciousness and identity; the society has constructed women as inferior thus, a woman is expected always to be submissive to the husband in order to fit within the society. Therefore, most women live in fear and/or naivety that is induced by cultural imperialism that encompasses inferiority complex from the subordinate group due to patriarchal dominance (Mbote, 2001).

Cultural imperialism in this study is evident in the some of the video clips, for instance, video clip *codes 003, 004, 005,* and *007.* Cabral (1976) defines cultural imperialism as a process in which a foreign culture dominates a local culture. He explains how the three entities; socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic powers penetrate the peripheral cultures from the core cultures hence resulting to suppression of subordinate cultures. Mbote (2001) explains that, before colonisation, family was a societal construction where a woman belonged and was protected by the society. However, this setting changed after the colonisers introduced the patriarchal mode of production which shows the unappreciated work of women who are the producing class and while their husbands are the commandeering class (Walby, 1990).

The findings in this study indicate that the fear theme was evident and was related to cultural imperialism. Due to patriarchal dominance, the women are relegated to the subordinate group, this

is the inferior group. Thus, they become victims of domestic violence since they are supposedly the inferior-weaker group. Nonetheless, the women, due to the societal structures set-up, also believe they are inferior. This is explained in the standpoint theory where women are represented as marginalised. This as Woods and Hardings explain in the theory is the main reason why issues within a society ought to be looked into in the marginalised groups within a society perspective (Griffin, 2012).

Other findings based on the recent cases of domestic violence indicate that, fear is not only portrayed by the victims but also the society at large. For instance, the latest case is the murder of *Sharon Otieno*, a second year university student at *Rongo* University, who was murdered amid mysterious circumstances (Nation, 2018). According to one counselor interviewed, such incidences negative effects especially on parents who have young girls in universities. There is also the case of *Winfred Mwende* who was battered by her husband *David Nzomo* on 1st August 2018. *Nzomo* pleaded guilty as charged and was sentenced to go to serve a jail term of 12 years (Daily Nation , 2018). According to Key Informant 8 who used *Mwende*'s case as an example explained that the 12 years sentence of the perpetrator made him realise in deed there are laws that protect victims of violence. In Kiswahili language the Key Informant explained; "*Siku hizi simchapi sana. Nimeona wawezwa kula ugali ya cell*" (Of late I do not beat her a lot. I have realised you can be jailed). Thus, the researcher found out that some of the perpetrators fear being taken to a court of law.

4.6.5: Sensationalism

The sensationalism theme emerges to answer the third and fourth objective that relates to the how media represents narratives of victims and perpetrators in domestic violence. It is backed by the media culture theory applied in this study. Kellner (2001) explains how media can affect our

behaviour, attitudes, and perceptions. He argues that audience are able to consume and model the behaviour they learn from the media platforms (Kellner, 2001). In his further studies on media, Kellner explains media effects on audience. This he gives an example of the *Rambo* movie which led to young people copying the wearing of small bands (*Bandanas*) around their heads (Kellner, 2015).

Sensationalism is the news ability to attract attention or provoke certain emotional responses in the audience (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001). The findings of this study show that, wife battering stories in the media are more provocative than representative. Key Informant 3 explained that, every time there is highlight on wife battering, her husband becomes violent, and any small argument results into a fight. In addition, Key Informant 7 explained that most of her clients blame the media for highlighting such issues which cause their husbands to be irritable.

Other findings of the study showed that, both victims and perpetrators are represented as 'others'. For instance the 'otherness' of the perpetrators is shown by their absence. In the video clip, '*How to deal with the loss of loved ones as cases of domestic cases rises*' the journalist reporting the case says that the man is unknown to the neighbours (KTN News, 2018). A witness in the video clip suggests that the media ought to have looked for the man to give the reasons behind the killings other than asking 'them' things they do not know. This statement was comical as it made the people around her laugh. Most of the informants argued that in cases where there is the presence of the perpetrator; media represents the perpetrators as either sick, disturbed or stressed up which trivialises the seriousness of the violence thus helping perpetrators evade from any responsibility of their action. The element of 'otherness' in women is realised in the way media describes the victims. In the video clips analysed, the media describes female victims as immoral, dependent,

and provocative. This is emphasised most of the Key Informants who felt that media creates a perception whereby victims are seen as people who deviate from their societal norms.

Kellner in media theory discusses the media spectacle and media events principle. In this principle, he explains how the media spectacles shape the political and social conflicts through repeated displays of images (Cottle, 2006). As such, the target audience is able to not only fantasize but also model what the media disseminates. McQual (2011) argues that media hypes issues it reports hence reducing their magnitude. In this study, findings of such dramatisation have been recorded. In addition, Key informant 9 noted that often he has battered his wife based on a highlight he watched in the media. He added that this makes him consider himself to be a 'better' husband given that he does not beat his wife in a way that he has seen other men do. He added that his beatings are based on 'love' as he wants his wife to be a better person. "Mimi humchapa kwa sababu nampenda na nataka awe mtu mzuri. Sifanyi kama 'hao' wazee mnaona kwa TV". (I beat my wife because I love her and I want her to be a good person. I don't beat her like what I see on TV). This statement shows that the perpetrator is happy with his actions for he does not batter his wife to a point that can disable her.

4.6.6: Isolation /Depression theme

The theme of isolation/depression also emerges in this study and is related to objective one and two that relate to the standpoint theory. Isolation is a key strategy used by the perpetrators and the victims of domestic violence (Sutherland, 2015). The researcher found out that perpetrators often use isolation to convince the victims that they are the best people to spend time with. This happened in the case of *Diana Kamande* where the husband used to drop and pick her wherever she went or visited. A victim interviewed also explained how her husband had restricted her from visiting or

been seen with friends and relatives (KTN News, 2018). In video clip *code 008*, *Janet Wanja* also explained how she chose to leave in isolation and indulged herself into alcoholism and drug abuse.

Guerra (2018) states that isolation creates the opportunity whereby the abusive partner tends to increase his harmful behaviour. This expressed by *Diana Kamande* in video clip *code 005* when she narrated how her husband latter cut her with a sword, attempted to kill their children and latter stabbed himself. It was also expressed by one of the perpetrator who explained that he had contemplated suicide upon realising his wife had intimate relationship with another man, and he was not the biological father to their children.

This theme is also explained in the literature review where the researcher discusses the Battered Woman Syndrome (BWS). Walker (2007) explains that, victims of domestic violence suffer from several issues such as blame, guilt, interpersonal relationship difficulties, and low cognitive levels among others.

4.6.7: Relying on Other Voices theme

Journalists have different roles among them to keep their audiences informed, educated and entertained. To do so, they have to gather, produce, and disseminate information objectively. Thus the researcher in this study considered the source of information media represents regarding wife battering. Findings showed that media often involve other people to tell their stories.

This theme emerges in this study and answers objective two and three. The findings of this study show that ideologies discussed in media culture determine media framing of domestic violence stories (Kellner, 2001; Entman,1993). For instance, in the videos analysed, most of the victim's stories are told by other people but not the battered women. Journalists presenting such stories do narrations; they interview community and family members for more information. For instance in

the video *Abuse in Silence, Sikolia* spends most of his time interviewing *Benita's* parents and narrating *Benita*'s stories (Nation, 2018). This shifts attention from the victim and perpetrator and focuses on the other voices.

More findings showed that media uses voices of authority and opinion such as police, lawyers, human right activists and medical doctors. However, findings indicated that, these voices are scantly used as wife battering stories are often presented as highlights. Two out of the videos analysed include a doctor's voice who discussed some of the reasons why husbands batter their wives, a police officer who stated on the commitment of the police force to ensure the perpetrators *of Janet Waiyaki's* murder were prosecuted and the voice of Makueni Deputy Governor *Adelina Mwau* who urged FIDA to be devolved (Sikolia, 2018).

However, media is accused of not involving specialists often who can give detailed information to inform the society on the serious effects on wife battering. *Doctor Mumbi* and other psychologists felt that media does not give wife battering cases ample time.

4.7: Frames on Battered Women

Media selects aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more prominent in a communication text. It represents stories in certain angles which influence publics perception. Media foregrounds stories and through repitition, it gives such stories prominance (Entman, 1993). Boydstun et al. (2013) discusses the different frames inherent in news videos. Such frames include economic frames, morality frames, fairness and equality frames, constitutionality, and jurisprudence frames among others.

4.7.1: Infidelity frame

The infidelity frame emerged in this study and is related to the standpoint theory of this study and the second objective. This lies in line with the morality frame which looks at any perspective that encompasses ethical considerations such as religion, duty, honour, righteousness and any other issues based on social responsibility (Boydstun, 2013). The findings in this study indicate that, wife battering cases are associated on immoral behaviour of women within the society. Four of the eight videos selected in this study indicated that women had been accused of extra- marital affairs which became the main cause of domestic violence. This includes the video clip *code 007* whereby *Janet Kanini* was murdered after the husband discovered she had an affair with a nephew (Nation , 2018).

More findings in the video clip on *How to deal with the loss of loved ones as cases of domestic violence rises* echoes the sentiments of *Osman*, a man in Meru who states in Kiswahili that *"Maisha yenye tunaishi yafaa tuwe na heshima. Lakini siku hizi, Wanawake wetu hawana heshima."*(The life we live today demands respect. But currently, our wives lack respect). Osman's statement represents two types of immoralities; that women are disrespectful and have been unfaithful to their husbands, thus they require to be disciplined (KTN News, 2018).

Other findings from most key informants interviewed indicated that most women are battered due to immorality as they have neglected and denied their husbands their conjugal rights and instead they have 'sponsors' and/or young men who satisfy their sexual desires which is considered immoral within the African culture. However, most of the key informants interviewed explained that men are also unfaithful to their wives as they have mistresses but whenever their wives question them, they become violent and threaten to leave their wives and children. Thus, immorality is experienced on both the victims and perpetrators as discovered in this study. However, in most of the media reporting, which takes the social context theme, media blames women on infidelity through the use covert language. Fairclough (1992) explains the importance of analysing lexis and intertextuality as this helps the researcher to understand the use of language and understand issues in their natural context. In addition, Hall (2005) explains how media uses symbols to stand for the refferent. These symbols include the texts, images and signs. As such, analysing texts is crucial as media will use text to represent victims in domestic violence. This is done in a hidden manner that can only be understood through critical analysis of such texts. For insatnce. In the *Abuse in silence*, media brings the story of *Maria Kyule* who explains how her husband put pepper in her inner wear. This represented the immoral behaviour of the victim though not in an overt manner (Sikolia, 2018).

4.7.2. Economic Frame

The economic frame emerged in this study and is related to the standpoint theory and objective number two, three, and four. According to Boydstun et al (2013), the economic frame looks at the costs, fiscal effects of issues and benefits to family, individual, and community at large. The findings related to this frame indicate that, most of the women in the society are battered due to socio-economic reason. For instance, *Benita Bata* in the video clip *Abuse in silence* narrates how her husband started physically abusing her after she was unable to settle her expenses as she always did. *Benita* asserts;

"Akachukua shilingi mia tano na kumi (Kshs. 510) akawekelea kwa meza. Nikamuuliza kama hiyo ni bus fare Lakini akanyamaza. Ndio nikamuuliza, hii nyumba italipwa na nini? Stima italipwa na nini?" (He took Ksh.510 and placed it on the table. I asked him whether it was bus fare but he did not respond. So I asked him how the rent and electricity bill would be paid).

Benita further explains that the next thing that followed was what resulted into her burns (Sikolia, 2018). In this study's literature review, issues of dominance and imperialism have been discussed. The dominant groups within a society oppress the subordinate groups which result to conflict as the subordinate groups strive for equality (Sidanius, 1999). In addition, the standpoint theory explains that issues within a society ought to be understood based on the minorities perspectives where women are grouped. Thus, when this does not happen, there arises tension and conflict arises between the subordinate and dominant groups as the subordinate groups fight for freedom (Griffin, 2012; Sidanius, 1999).

Nonetheless, the video clip *code 008*, on *Kenyan celebrities who have survived domestic violence*, gave the study a shift on women being dependent on their husbands. The three ladies, *Anne Kiguta*, *Tina Koroso* and *Janet Wanja* are celebrities but experienced domestic violence. The fact that the three were financially stable did not prevent them from battering. It took time before they made the bold step to quit their abusive relationships. However, with time the three decided to quit their relationships, withstand the societal critics and stigmatization and move on with their lives. For instance, *Anne Kiguta* explains that; *"I decided to move on since I discovered if I did not, then I would be letting domestic violence win"* Thus *Anne* decided to leave her partner and move on with her life (KTN News, 2018). Walker (2017) explains why most women in domestic violence choose to stay in abusive marrieges and explains that, most women lack economic empowerment as the depend fully on their husbands. In addition, other women stay for the desire of having a complete family and the fear of being excommunicated within the society (Wilson, 2017; Walker , 2017).

4.7.3: Human Interest Frame

This frame emerged and answered objective three and four, also connected to the standpoint theory. The human interest frame is a crucial news value as it helps in bringing the element of humanity. It brings issues that affect the audience and thus enhancing the element of emotions to narratives disseminated (Andrus, 2012). Media uses this frame to set its agenda which not only determines what the audience discuss but how they discuss it (Griffin, 2012).

The study found out that this frame is used by the media to represent battered women. Key Informant 1 posits that media aims at not only giving people what they need but what they want. For instance, *Abuse in silence* video clip presented bizarre stories of battered women that attracted the audience hence setting the agenda of media. It also presented the battered women, their pain, and regret which were based on the victim's angle. The combination of three women; *Benita Bata, Marion Mwende* and *Maria Kyule* brought out the effects of wife battering which provoked human right activist activities. The *Makueni* deputy governor and the doctors also intervened on *Benita's* health condition (Nation, 2018). Cottle (2006) discussing Kellner's media culture theory explains the principle on ideologies. He argues that media often disemminate information in regard to the dominant groups ideologies. Thus as the researcher discovered, the human interest frame depended on the dominant groups within the society. Such is the voice of the Makueni deputy Govoner *Adelina Mwau* which triggered the action to be taken on *Benita's* case where she was able to access proper medication (Sikolia, 2018).

4.7.4: Responsibility frame

This frame emerged in this study and is related to all the objectives and covered by the media culture theory. It is relegated towards the legal section of law and order, crime and justice that

looks into policies set specifically to impose and interpret the law. It includes stories that determine how certain laws are enforced and interpreted by individuals, penalties of breaking such laws, loopholes, punishments, fines, and sentencing that aims at the reductions of crime (Boydstun, 2013).

The researcher found out that there were laws broken by the perpetrators. Brutality was witnessed in all the videos and interviews conducted. Laws were broken and perpetrators had to be taken to court. In most of the videos, there was lack of follow up to investigate whether the perpetrators were taken to court, charged, or released. According most key informants, victims complain that that in spite of reporting this cases to the police, the police hardly take actions to punish their husbands. They trivialise the act as an act between man and wife that should be solved within the family ties. One of the key informant explained that, most of the perpetrators were well connected with the authorities who protected them. She explained; *"Hawa wazee wako connected. Tukiwapeleka kwa police wanaachiliwa tu. Hata tukienda kwa chief, chief husema turudi kwa boma"* (This men are well connected. we report them to the police, chief but they are set free. The chief directs us to go and solve our issues at home). This explained the reasons why most victims are abused in silence since no action is taken on the perpetrator.

Media is blamed for lack of responsibility to follow up the cases and stories they highlight. According to Palazzolo and Roberto (2011), inclusion or exclusion of information on perpetrators and victims determines the emotional response which is helps in the translation of accountability and punishment decision making. Thus, when media fails to follow up on the stories they highlight on wife battering, it is accused of failing to adhere to its social responsibility role to the society it serves. However, as explained by Key Informant 1, follow up of domestic violence stories depends on the journalist beliefs and the oddity of the case.

More findings most of the Key Informants interviewed showed that it is the responsibility of the government and the police force to ensure that law and order, crime, and justice laws are enforced. The same suggestion is supported by most of the Key Informant 2 who has handled domestic violence cases in courts of law. This has prompted suggestion that non-governmental (NGO) bodies such as Federation of Kenyan Lawyers to take full responsibility. This suggestion is supported by *Adelina Mwau*, the Makueni deputy governor, in her interview with *Enock Sikolia* where she suggests that the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) ought to be devolved to ensure that they support women in the grassroots facing battering cases (Sikolia, 2018).

4.7.5: Fairness and Equity Frames

The media frame of fairness and equity also emerges in this study and is related to all the research objectives and the media culture theory applied in this study. Boydstun (2013) explains that this frame is applicable when there is lack or balance of equalities and inequalities between different sets of groups and individuals within a society. This frame brings on board the issues of dominance and sexism within a society where the society plays a major role of construction of different roles based on gender.

The findings in this study show that this frame has led to the escalation of wife battering and/or domestic violence cases. Sidanius (1999) discusses the effects of such social structures in the society that place some groups on top of others hence resulting into a struggle with conflicts among the groups. In addition, Woods (2006) explains these inequalities within the society derived from the society which defines gender roles. The information derived from this data indicates that, men

feel they are more superior and their wives ought to respect them. This is supported by one of the perpetrators interviewed who battered his wife. He believes being the sole bread winner; his wife should obey and respect his decisions.

Other findings show that, the society believes that women are the weaker sex while men are the strong. As such, women should remain in under the authority of their husband. For instance Key Informants 7 and 8 explained that most of battering cases they handled revolve around the beliefs people hold. They explained that wife battering is based the gender inequalities on religious beliefs where the bible places the man under dominion. Therefore, whenever a couple goes for counseling sessions, the men feel that they have dominion over their wives.

4.7.6: Medical frame

This frame emerged in this study and is related to objective three and four where narratives and other voices portray evidence of domestic violence and the standpoint theory connotations. The frame relates to the health and safety frame and looks at healthcare access and mental health effects (Boydstun, 2013). Walker (2017) and Wilson (2017) while discussing the effects of wife battering explain that, victims of wife battering are faced with health issues that lead them to self-blame, depression and can eventually result to death. However, in this study the researcher found out that both the victims and the perpetrators suffer from different health conditions.

The findings in this study showed that the perpetrators suffer from mental illness. Doctor *Mumbi Chege* a psychiatrist based in Nairobi stated that the narrative conversed by *Osman "wakati mwingine hatuna choice, inabidi watu wapigane wakikasirika"* (At times we don't have a choice, we are forced to fight when we get annoyed). This is in the video *How to deal with the loss of a loved one as cases of domestic violence rises,* which indicates that perpetrators have mental

problems. The doctor added that if a person has good health, then the mentality where people feel it is either A or B, can be avoided. "In good mental health, you can work on your emotions" says doctor *Mumbi* (KTN News, 2018). Thus, understanding the perpetrators state of traits is therefore important as it helps the audience understand why perpetrators abuse their partners.

More findings show that, victims are not in a position to seek proper medical attention due to lack of finances, yet the government has promised to ensure there is access to good health for everyone. For instance, in the video, *Abused in silence*, *Benita's* father while asked how they have been treating his daughter responds this way; "*kwa sasa tunamtibu kienyeji tu, tunamweka kwa gunia tu*" (For now we are treating her traditionally. We are just putting her in the sack). Yet, according to the Kenyan constitution (2010), every person is entitled to access good health care (Kenya Law Reports, 2010; Sikolia, 2018). Thus, media should emphasise on such human rights while presenting domestic violence cases.

4.8: Media representation of Women

Media coverage plays a crucial role in the way the audience perceive wife battering as either an individual or societal problem. Media acts as a popular tour guide which audiences are able to explain what they know and how they know it. This is based on texts, images, or audio visuals they consume daily (Berns, 1999; Hall, 2005).

Representation is a key defination in this study. Halls (1997) explains that, representation uses language to say something meaningful about an event or a person. He adds that to represent is to stand for, or to be a sign of. As such, representation is a sign, an image or an account of an event or a person and it is a process through which meaning is constructed and exchanged between

different cultures in a society. In addition, representation uses language, symbols and images as a tool for its transportation (Hall, 2005).

Findings in this study show that, media represents women in an ideological manner which is determined by the media owners. An interview with Key informant 1 indicates that, the key determinant of the inclusion or exclusion of a new item depends on the people who own the representation channels. This is explained in the media culture theory where Kenller looks at ideology as a fundamental principle. He discusses whose ideiologies determine the placement of a news story in the media platforms (Cottle, 2006). In addition, Entman (1993) while discussing media framing explains that journalists ad the media owners determine what type of frame to be utilised during a news coverage. He explains that media owners and journalists are crucial in frame building as they determine the inclusion and exclusion of a news and even its placement.

More findings show that, women are represented as weak, irrational, emotional, home makers and dependent of men. Woods (2006) and Hardings (1991) explain such stereotypical roles of women within the society. For instance, Woods (2006) explains that, women are not only underrepresented but also misrepresented within the media and society. According to Key Informant 5, these stereotypical representation are subjective in nature. The informant explained that, media represents women in uniformity yet women are different. Out of the seven videos analysed, only one video presentend empowered women in battering cases. The video clip *code 008 Tina Koroso* explains that she realised she was in an abusive relationship and felt she needed to quite the relationship (KTN News, 2018). This as explained by the Key Informant 6 is one of the rare cases where women are able to make a decision to leave their partners.

This finding on unversalisation principle based on stereotypes is explained in the stand point theory as discussed in chapter two.Scholars have questioned this principle as they feel women differ based

on certain demographic factors sets such as religion, race, literacy levels among others(Collins, 2000 ; Harding, 2004). However, Woods(2006), discusses major themes in media representation of women . She argues that, women are underepresented, objectified, seen as primary caregivers and are dependent on men for support. This is seen in the videos analyszed which leads to the woman being victimized as the media fails to look at the issues causing battering but rather blames the victims as the key contributers of the violence

4.8.1.: Language use

Language is used to shift blame from the perpetrator to the victim. Hall (1997) explains the importance of language in representation. Language not only transports culture but it represents the object. As such, the language used in domestic violence blames women protects the perpetraors. Kozol (1995) discusses that strategies used in media representations protects the male from threats that may arise due to exposure of crimes. For instance, in the video, *How to deal with the loss of a loved one as cases of domestic violence rises* and the '*Evil' Husband*, the voice of the perpetrators is missing. This passive language trivialises the story to episodic framing where it is seen in an indivualistic lens rather than a society issue (Entman, 1993).

More findings show that media reports are based on gender. Gender is the social constructions of roles assigned to men and women within a society. Key informants in this study have blamed the media for being a platform where gender stereotypes thrive. For instance, most of the Key Informants in this study indicated that, media represents man as a powerful being who ought to be listened to, understood and respected while a women are judged against men. Woods (2006) explains that the society has defined different roles for both men and women which the society believes they should be followed. Such roles are also portrayed by the media in their reportings.

4.8.2: Women as victims of battering

Media represents women as victims of domestic violence, more specifically wife battering. This is based on the notion that the societal construction of women indicates that women should be motherly, loving and should take care of household chores (Woods, 2006). However, media also blames women for being contributors of violence against them. For instance *Benita Bata* in the video, *Abuse in silence* is represented as a nagging wife who contributed to the beatings he got from the husband (Sikolia, 2018). According to the doctor interviewed on the battered women emotions, women are more likely to get psychological issues that could lead them to the thought of committing suicide. In addition, Key Informant 3 confessed that she has had thoughts of committing suicide after every beating. She explains that the thought of being beaten by the man she loves is unbearable. Wilson (2017), while discussing the Battered Women Sydromme (BWS), explains that victims of domestic violence undergo various stages such as denial, guilt and blame. Such emotions while expressed in the media represent women as vulnarable and as a people who require pity from the audience.

A recent example that represents women as victims is the video clip on *Valarie Masibo*, a newly wedded and pregnant woman who was battered by her husband who arrived home only to find supper was not ready. This provoked him and assaulted his wife causing her ear, facial, and dental injuries (K24 Tv, 2018). Images of *Masibo's* disfigured face lead to the audience uproar hence the authorities had to take responsibility and start the path to justice for the victim.

4.8.3: Women as perpetrators of battering

Traditionally, a mention of battering created mental pictures of a scenario where the man is the only perpetrator while the woman is the victim. However, the researcher found out that there has been reported shift of this concept. Media stories and studies of women battering their husbands and killing them were encountered during data collection. These studies/media stories have presented women as perpetrators of domestic violence especially husband battering. For instance the story of *Ruth Kamande*, a prison beauty who has been sentenced to death shows that, there is shift on women as victims to perpetrators. *Ruth*, a 24 year lady was found guilty of stabbing her boyfriend 25 times on September 2015 (KTN News, 2018). Other cases of women as perpetrators were reported in Nyeri County in the period between 2012 and 2015. For instance the video clip; *'Wife Cuts off her Husband's Private Parts over Argument'*, shows the brutality of women toward their husbands (KTN, 2015). Such videos brought the element of reversed roles in the study in that, most of the videos media disseminates focuses on women as victims and not as perpetrator. Thus, the limitation on the standpoint theory emerged where Woods and Hardings universalise all women as the minorities and most vulnerable within the society (Griffins, 2012).

Such actions indicate that there has been a shift in gender stereotypes which most of the informants viewed as the main cause of wife battering. Women have become as aggressive as men and are acting the same way men have been known to act. The notion that men bring violence in their families has been challenged within the society. Woods and Hardings in the standpoint theory explain the principle on universal epistemology where they portray all women as the same (Griffin, 2012). However, the media stories on women as perpetrators raised several questions such as whether all women share a common world view regardless of their social classes and race.

4.9: Media Representation of Battered Women Emotions.

Media uses texts to create and represent emotions to its audience. Through language, the audience are able to sympathise with characters, enjoy and engage with relate with media stories (Frome, 2006; Hall, 1997).

Walker (2017) states the emotions that manifest after any form of violence occur. He discusses factors such as anxiety, distress, avoidance, cognitive issues and interpersonal relations difficulties. He argues that, most domestic violence victims will tend to avoid contact with people around them for fear of being ridiculed. This emotions are expressed by women mostly through verbal and non-verbal cues such as tears, empty gaze, anger, and even tone as they express the issues they go through in the hands of the perpetrators.

The researcher in this study found out that, media uses texts to express battered women emotions. Such emotions include anger, bitterness, guilt, 'blame-game', and brutality among others. Key informants from the medical profession posit that the expression of emotions is the key and one way victims are able to communicate. A psychologist who dealt with battered wives stated that, there is a high degree of hopelessness, low self-esteem, hostility, low confidence and high dependence as illustrated by the table below;

Table 6: Emotions from victims of domestic violence

Hopelessness -Look worn out and tired	Interpersonal communication -Avoiding interacting with people -They are withdrawn
Self –esteem -They have low self- esteem, always not sure of the decisions they make	Dependence -They depend on other people for protection
Cognitive levels -Have low cognitive levels, they can take long durations before they figure out simple issues	Hostility -They become hostile toward other people especially men. This acts as a way of self-defense
Anger/annoyed	Guilt
-Full of range, furious and easily get irritated. Often there is tonal variation. They may shout or be rude.	They feel ashamed for having destroyed their families, thus resolving to be silent, have increased heart rate and irregular breathing patterns

Source; Researcher, 2018

Other findings showed that media uses different shots to show the prominence of the issue. For instance, close-up shots that show *Benita Bata* after she was set on fire have been used where the videographer zooms in her hand such that the scars are visible. There is also presentation of non-verbal cues such as nodding, eye contact, and empty gaze. Key Informant 1 interviewed in this study explained that media uses these techniques to attract more viewership and to evoke feelings on the audience. The informant added that use of language helps the victim to express her anger which the media uses to set its agenda. For instance, in the *Abuse in silence video*, *Sikolia* asks the victim if she is willing to forgive her husband. *Benita* responds in Kiswahili in a tone that expresses anger and bitterness; "*Nimsamehe kivipi*?" (How can I forgive him?) (Nation, 2018). Anger is a negative emotion which can hurt a relationship when victims in anger seek for revenge (Wilson, 2017).

Responding on media representation of battered women emotions, most of the informants felt that media should maintain the victim's confidentiality. This concern is supported by key informant 7 and 8 who offer counseling to the battered women in one of the hospitals in Nairobi. According to informants, exposing these battered women has serious side effects on the women. They noted that the way media reports and presents battered women should in a way encourage and assist then enhance their self-esteem. As discussed in this study, media is guided by a code of ethics and the key responsibilities for media is objectivity, confidentiality, independence and minimizing harm among others (Media Council of Kenya, 2007). However, most of the key informants expressed their dissatisfaction on how media covers and presents domestic violence cases. For instance, key informant 5 indicated that media should not only highlight battered women stories and the psychological problems they face but it should send counseling messages to the women as this is part of its roles. Other key informants explained that media should do a thorough research before airing such stories and exposing these women as this will help them remain objective and balanced in domestic violence stories. In addition, the informants felt that media should encourage psychosocial support for the victims if its aim is to help the victims and reduce domestic violence within the society.

About the findings from key informants on whether the emotions of battered women are fully represented by the media, most of the key informants felt that media does not fully represent the emotions since they never conduct proper research on the psychological issues facing women. Thus, media should focus on the emotional status of the victims and account for the psychological needs of the victim and that she needs to be protected against harsh views, gossip, and rumours of the public and the spouse.

4.9.1: Media representation of Victims Narratives of Victimisation

Narratives are essential in our everyday life. They are the basic forms of communication and a lens through which human experiences are understood (Nanasi, 2017). According to Lloyd and Ramon (2016) media is able to project certain standpoints on domestic violence while sidling others. The findings in this study show that, media can change and construct people's 'standpoints'; such as attitudes and behaviour; through the way it represents issues. Media mostly focuses on the victim who is either celebrated for leaving or blamed for staying in an abusive marriage while (McManus & Dofman, 2003).

Majority of the key informants interviewed stated that, people tend to pay attention to the messages disseminated by the media, retain what does not create dissonance, and put into practice what they see. For instance, Key Informant 6 explained her observation on wife battering cases disseminated by the media acts as an onset of several new incidences and as platform where stereotypes are constructed. This finding represents the power of media in affecting the audiences' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour. Bandura (1971) in the social learning theory explains the effects of media on the audience. He argued that, the audience pay attention to media messages, retain, and model what they see in the media (Bandura, 1971). This explanation supports Kellner's media culture theory on the power of media in construction of identities. However as discovered in this study, the media representation of victims' narratives are interpreted and understood differently by different groups within the society based on their standpoints. As such the universal epistemology as suggested in the standpoint theory is challenged based on the fact that, within the society, we have women of different social status (Griffin, 2012).

More findings of this study showed that narratives of victimisation can either encourage a woman to end or maintain her abusive relationship. For instance, most of the key informants explained why some women choose to stay in an abusive marriage. Media and society have constructed an ideal victim whose role represents women as inferior and men as superior. Such narratives of victimisation include;

(i)Blame and responsibility

According to Morgan and Politiff (2012), media may not necessarily engage in direct victim blaming but rather it highlights statements that lead to the audience believing that the victim had played a role in the battering. Most researchers blame the woman for victimisation and maintain the myth that the woman is responsible for the battering act. These highlights in this study are observed in the video on *Man Chops off Wife's hand for overstaying at a funeral*, where *Mary Mwita* is blamed for overstaying at a funeral. The way the media presents the title of the video corrupts the audiences mind such the issue that arises is that the wife is to blame for the assault she went through due to her bad behaviour (KTN News, 2018).

Most of the key informants interviewed stated that women ought to be careful whenever their husband becomes violent. They suggested that staying in abusive marriages or relationships results to fatal consequences. Consequently, the society blames the women for the distressing ordeal she goes through. In addition, some of the key informants explained that when media shifts the blame from the perpetrator to the victim; it creates bias in media reporting.

(ii)Victims Dependency

The victim's narrations are considered weak and that they depend on men for financial, emotional, and social support (Mbote, 2001). For instance, most of the key informants interviewed stated that one of the key causes of wife battering within the society is the level of dependence among most

women she has dealt with. *Benita Bata* in the *Abused in silence* video narrates how the husband battered her after questioning the amount of money she was given (Sikolia, 2018). Key informant 1 who shared her story also had the same views. She narrated how every time she asks for money her husband beats her. She explains; *"Kama simwitishi pesa, hanichapangi, Lakini nikiitisha, ananiambianga niende nifanye vibarua kama Wanawake wengine. Hapo ndio vita huanza nikimjibu"* (If I do not ask him for money, he does not beat me. However if I dare ask him for money he tells me to go and do manual jobs like the other women. If I respond, then the fight starts).

However, not all victims are dependent on their partners as the researcher found out. There were several cases of reversed roles. For instance the video clips on *Mary Mbita*, her daughter *Catherine* explained how her mother had been the bread winner while their father took her mother's roles (KTN News, 2018). Other cases as explained by the counselors showed that not all women depend on their husbands for financial support because most of them are financially stable.

(iii) Name calling

Name calling has been realised in this study. Often, battered women are represented as victims of domestic violence and abusive language and described as prostitutes as evident in the videos and interviews analysed. For instance, in the *Abused in silence Video*, *Benita* says "*Alikuwa ananiita Malaya, mtu wa club alafu ananichapa na akanikulisha maji ya karai iliyokuwa na mavi*" (He used to call me a prostitute, a barmaid, then he could beat me and force me to drink water from a basin that had feces). This as explained in the video clip explains the hidden meaning of a barmaid (Nation, 2018). Key Informants 7 and 8 added that, such name callings are common among the victims. They added that their partners refer to them as 'loose' people who go sleeping around

with men within the society. A victim whose name is withheld recalled that, whenever her husband beats her, he refers to her as a prostitute and accuses her of being impregnated by her boss. She added that her husband even accused her of sleeping with his mother when she got pregnant with their last son. According to the victim, the husband had now reduced her not only to a prostitute but a lesbian too.

(iv) Stereotypes

Stereotypes are basic ideas or images of specific groups of people within a society. They are prejudiced ideas or expectations attached to a certain group of people which is socially constructed. Such stereotypes in wife battering are used to trivialise and justify the act of wife battering within a society (Muchemi, 2015).

The findings of the study show that victims are viewed as primary caregivers who should always be there to serve their husbands under all circumstances. This is expressed in the video; *Man chops off Wife's hand for overstaying at a funeral. Mary Mwita* narrates how she had gone for burial meetings and upon coming back, the husband asked her; "*Hizo siku zote umekuwa ukikaa na nani na unafikiria ni nani alikuwa anapika?*"(For all those days you were away, whom were you with and whom did you think was cooking for me?). An analysis of this statement indicates that there are certain roles that can only be done by a woman and cannot be delegated to any other person. Woods (2006) explains this statement where women are considered as the primary care givers while men are the providers for their family. The same is explained by Mbote (2001) where she explains the men dominance which attributed to cultural imperialism practices within the society.

The other stereotype in this study is objectification aspect of women within a society. *Mary Mwita* explains how her husband, before chopping off her hands, asked her whom she had been staying

with. In addition, the same kind of narrative is expressed by *Marion Mwende* in the video- *Abused in silence*. She narrated how her husband used to walk around the village looking for the man who resembles her daughter. She says; "*Alikuwa anatembea kwa kijiji akiangalia mwanaume anayefanana na mschana wangu*" (Sikolia, 2018). These narratives have a hidden meaning which indicated the element of infidelity.

The researcher also found out that women are represented as dependent on their husbands. According the counselors interviewed media reports cases of domestic violence in the same form. They assert how most of the stories on domestic violence represent women as always seeking protection and financial support from men. However, Key informants 7 and 8 noted that, there are men who also depend on their wives for financial support. In addition, Most of the key informants felt that, these stories lack in-depth information and thus media uses the society ideas of wife battering.

(iv) Use of language

Language is crucial as it acts as a tool that transports culture (Hall ,1997). Findings in this study indicate that, perpetrators are represented by the use of passive language. In the case *How to deal with the loss of loved ones as cases of domestic violence rises, Betty Kyalo* starts with a delayed lead where she says "A man is still on run after he kills a wife and 3 children in Marurui, Kiambu *County.*" This is also expressed in the video on *Abused in silence*, where neither *Benita, Mwende* nor *Maria* mention their husbands' names. *Benita* in her narration says," *Akachukua Ksh.510, akawekelea kwa T.V*" (He took Kshs 510 and placed it on the T.V), *Mwende* quips, "*Akanirushia Mtungi ukiwa na maji*" (He threw to me a Jeri can of water) while *Maria Kyule* adds "*akachukua nguo zangu za ndani akaweka pilipili*" (He took my inner wear and put pepper). In these

statements, the perpetrator remains unknown to the audience and this reduces the magnitude of the case (KTN News, 2018; Sikolia, 2018).

Other findings show that media uses descriptive language to represent perpetrators. For instance, men are likely to be described in terms of power and employment. The video clip on *Lucy Njambi Ndungu*, the story of a woman supposedly killed by her husband and recorded in the video, *Slain Woman Accused of Infidelity*, media describes *Ndungu* as the former Member of County assembly (MCA) which brings out the power/prominence aspect. Media uses words such as 'Evil' to describe the perpetrators acts. For instance, analysing the video on *Salome Mukuhi Kanini* in '*Evil Husband; Wife's brother stabbed by Suspect'*, media excludes the perpetrators name but focuses on the descriptive word 'evil' which normalizes the report by the media hence resulting to the story loosing prominence (KTN News, 2018).

More findings indicate the use of metaphors to represent the victims. *Benita Bata* while explaining the way she is battered by the husband said that her husband had turned her to a punching bag. This is explained by *Sikolia* as he narrates *Benita's* story (Sikolia, 2018).

There was use of informal language in both the videos analysed and the key informants interviewed. The diverse use of Kiswahili and Kikuyu languages was noted all along the study. The victims in both the video clips and the interviews (key informants) had heavy influence of their mother tongue which made the narrations somehow humorous.

4.9.2 Media Representation of Perpetrators Narratives

The findings of the study project the absence of men in wife battering cases. According to a perpetrator interviewed, he said that media concentrates more on the victim's narration but they

hardly look for the husbands to interview them. Thus, media stories lack balance. However, according most key informants, media omits the perpetrator on purpose. The informants argued that this omission in a way protects men against taking responsibility. Kellner in the media culture theory explains the role of media in construction of identities. As explained in Cottle (2006), media through media spectacles and media events explains that media has the power to define self and otherness. Thus, the absence of the perpetrators represents the perpetrators as others hence trivialising the magnitude of domestic violence cases.

A statement in the video clip on *How to deal with the loss of a loved one as cases of domestic violence rises* explains that the perpetrator is unknown to the neighbors and he took off after killing the wife and some of her children. A victim interviewed stated that media stories hardly hold men accountable for their actions. In the same video, *Gaceri* from Meru County explained that she blamed men's drinking habits which leads them to disrespecting women. She stated that when men go out drinking, they see other women who they think are better than their wives and efforts by the wives to bring men closer to them become violent (KTN News, 2018). The study showed that more often, the perpetrators narratives are reported by other people who were either victims or witnesses.

More findings from one of the video -*Husband of the woman who was shot dead at City Park had* an affair with his nephew justifies the perpetrators act. The panelists explain that the police shot the victims because they found garments lying in the vehicle which meant that there was an ongoing 'activity'. *Michael Gitonga* and the television panelists associated and referred to an article in the Daily Nation newspaper where it was reported that *Janet Waiyaki's* husband was aware of the relationship and had warned her. The husband felt that it was the 'Lords' doings and justice had been served. This led the panelists in the television channel to burst into laughter hence reducing the seriousness of the killing. The panelists later discussed the 'Nairobian' newspaper where *Janet's* husband stated that he had notified the in-laws about the issue but the panelists laughed about the whole story (KTN News, 2018).

Observations by key informant 7 and 8 indicate that perpetrators narratives are attributed to stress, heavy drinking, and financial challenges upon losing their jobs and thus they are not able to perform their roles which lead them to feeling inferior. Doctor *Mumbi Chege* during an interview with *Betty Kyalo* narrates that perpetrators suffer from a mental ailment and thus they fail to control their emotions (KTN News, 2018). This is described through narratives from the victims, relatives, and witnesses. Such narratives include threats as realised by the researcher.

Although reported by the victims, videos analysed indicate that perpetrators use threats to ensure that the victims stay in their respective abusive relationships. *Mwende* in the *Abused in silence* says "*Popote utakapoenda, mimi ndio nitachukua uhai wako*" (wherever you go, I am the one who will kill you". In addition, *Benita Bata* reports the statement her husband told her upon enquiring what Ksh.510 was for. She says the husband at that moment told her; "*Yako imeisha*." (You are finished). Such threats were also expressed by the researcher from the victims interviewed. However, Key informant 10 explained that his wife had been threatening to end the marriage every time he accused her of having other relationships with different people within their community (Sikolia, 2018).

While discussing the perpetrators threats, Key informant 6 argued that, often, men will not appear on record but rather their statements can be expressed from a third party such as the experts in the media. The informant explained that men hardly discuss issues that represent them negatively but embrace any issue that portrays them positively. This as explained in chapter two of this study indicates the male dominance as constructed by the society and represented in the media (Sidanius, 1999). In addition, Kellner in his culture theory explains the principle of whose ideas the media disseminates and notes that, media disseminates the dominant groups' ideas which in this case the dominant group in this study are the men as constructed by the society (Cottle, 2006; Sidanius, 1999).

CHAPTER FIVE:

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1: Overview

This chapter provides a summary of the findings, the recommendations and conclusions in relation to the study's objectives.

5.2: Summary of the Findings

5.2.1: Media Frames

Several frames were identified in this study. The frames include infidelity, economic, human interest, responsibility, fairness and equity and medical frame (Boydstun, 2013). The video clips analysed and key informant information demonstrated infidelity among intimate partners. Both the perpetrators and victims blamed each other for being unfaithful. Information gathered also showed brutality caused by the perpetrators. Victims sustained fatal injuries where some had to be hospitalised and later succumbed to the injuries. For instance, the case of *Benita Bata* and *Salome kanini*, who were set ablaze by their husbands, resulting Salome attaining 61% degree burns and later died. This led to the audience outcry for the government to take responsibility and ensure laws on domestic violence are acted.

Regarding the medical frame, medical professionals highlighted the medical negative effects on domestic violence such as isolation, depression and trauma victims' experience, the interpersonal relationship challenges and low cognitive levels among others. Thus, they gave domestic violence a different lens where both the victims and perpetrators experience mental illness. In addition, Wilson (2017) explains that women who undergo battering experience psychological and physical health issues that require medical intervention.

Videos analysed also presented statements from the authorities such as the police and other government officials who gave statements that indicated justice for the victims was in the process. According to the Kenyan Constitution, domestic violence is a breach of law and perpetrators ought to be punished (Kenya Law Reports, 2010). Thus, including the authorities in domestic violence analysis within the media platforms is fundamental. Few cases that were followed up by the journalists based on the demand of the audience showed that the perpetrators have been either jailed or acquitted for lack of substantial evidence. This was made possible since the cases were in the public domain and the audience needed to know whether the victims could get justice.

Concerning economic frame, most of the video clips analysed showed that, wife battering is attributed to dependency of women on their husbands. Cases analysed showed that the main cause of the victim's abuse was as a result of either demanding for money or questioning the amount of money given. As discussed in chapter two of this study, domestic violence is considered as a societal practice that results from inequalities between men and women within the society (Mbote, 2001). However, some of the videos showed the reverse of what the society has defined as the roles of men and women. The case of *Mary Mwita* showed that *Mary* was the bread winner of the family. As such, her absence was felt by the husband thus triggering him to chop off her hands (KTN News, 2018).

5.2.2: Emotional presentation

As discussed in chapter two of this study, media uses symbols to communicate to its audience. These symbols can be in for of texts, words, or images (Hall, 1997). Emotions in this study were represented differently. In the video clips analysed, the journalists utilised different camera shots to emphasise a certain emotion they felt it was important. For instance, in the video clip code 002, the journalist used a close-up shot to show *Benita's* burns and tears as she narrated her ordeal. Other emotions in this study were anger, bitterness, anxiety, frustrations, guilt, happiness, and bitterness. For instance, when *Benita* was asked if she could forgive her husband for setting her ablaze, the tone in her response represented anger and bitterness (Nation, 2018). Happiness is also portrayed in some of the video clips analysed. Such clips include, video clips *code 004* and *code 007* where the relatives of the victims indicate that justice has finally prevailed since the perpetrators have been aligned in court.

Similar emotions were also recorded on the victims and perpetrators who were key informants of the study. Such emotions included; frustrations, anger, anxiety and fear. For instance one perpetrator explained how he even contemplated suicide when he discovered he was not the biological father of their children.

These emotions were discussed by the medical professionals and counselors interviewed in this study as a way of the victims and perpetrators form of communication. A counselor explained that, most of her clients use non-verbal cues often especially during the first two sessions of personal therapy.

5.2.3: Narratives of Victimisation

Media constructs ideas that determine the lens through which we perceive and interpret information in our everyday life (Hall, 1997). As such, it selects what to include or exclude based on its agenda. As explained in this study, the process of inclusion and exclusion is done either

intentionally or unintentionally by the key media actors to communicate a certain agenda to the audience (Entman, 1993).

Narratives of victimisation in this study include; blame and responsibility, victims dependency, name calling, stereotypes and use of language (Sutherland, 2015). Often, reports from the media blame the victims for allowing themselves to be assaulted by their partners. They include other voices who explain that victims ought to have left the abusive relationship when they discovered a negative behaviour change on their partner. Media also represents conversations between the victims and perpetrator before the abuse. Most of the conversations have hidden meanings that only when analysed critically can they be understood. Fairclough (2003) explains that, for an individual to interpret and understand media texts, then one has to understand the gramma and the social context which the event occurred. As such, watching the video clips helped the researcher to understand and interpret cases on battered women. For instance, in video clip *Abuse in silence* where the journalist presents *Benita* questioning the amount of money her husband had given her. This presents the victim as a nagging wife and media blames women and feels they are responsible for the abuse (Nation, 2018).

Concerning the victim's dependency, victims are represented as people who depend on the perpetrators for economic and social support. Most of the cases analysed place the victims as people who depended on their partners for financial support. However, there are several cases where the victim is dependent but still has experienced battering. Mbote (2001) explains that, most of the domestic violence cases within the society are based on economic inequalities where the perpetrators dominate the relationship since they are the providers within the family set up.

Name calling is present in this study's findings. Victims explained how they are termed as prostitutes, how the media uses the words such as victims despite the fact that they have survived and moved on. Such narratives were expressed by different victims in this study. Other narratives realised were based on stereotypes. Woods (2006) explains the stereotypical misrepresentation of women within the society and media. Information gathered in this study indicated that most of the battering cases have their origin of defiling the societal defined roles whereby the women either failed to give primary care to her husband like in the case of *Mary Mwita*; or the woman was taking the providing role of the husband but at the time of abuse, she expected the husband to intervene. Such incident is seen in Video clip *code 001* and 002.

5.2.4: Perpetrators Narratives

Findings of this study showed the absence of the perpetrators on media coverage. Perpetrators are often are reported as missing having taken off after the abuse and are people whom the police are chasing after. Their narratives are expressed by other voices such as the victims, witnesses or the family. Sutherland (2015) explains that this absence of the perpetrators trivialise domestic violence cases within the society. In this study, the main narrative as expressed by the victims is threat. For instance, *Mwende* in video clip *Abuse in silence* explained how her husband used to threaten her whenever she informed him she would end their marriage. Such threats were also recorded on the victims of this study. For instance the key informant who expressed her opinion of wife battering cases in the media said that her husband always threatened to beat her if she ever tried to take him to the media. However, as one of the counselor explained, 'journalists are key representatives of the perpetrator'. Explaining the statement, key informant 7 said that journalists use terms such as 'evil', 'depressed' or 'stressed' husband to represent the perpetrators. Such adjectives are used by media to construct the perpetrators identity as a person who ought to be feared or sympathised

with. This is also explained in Kellner's media culture theory that explains the power of media in identity construction which provides distinctions between the dominant and subordinate groups within the society (Cottle, 2006).

5.3: Conclusion

Media has the ability to construct, change, or retain the attitudes, perceptions, and behaviour of its audience (Cottle, 2006). Such capacity includes the role to represent domestic violence as an individual or societal problem. The way media represents domestic violence determines the seriousness or/lack of seriousness of the violence. Qualitative analysis of this study has shown that media often uses the episodic framing to present domestic violence in the private sphere. Such framing trivialises the magnitude of wife battering; thus making it look as just an ordinary personal issue. However, as discovered during the study, cases on domestic violence happening in the public sphere are given a thematic framing whereby the media allocates sufficient time for such stories and gives a wide lens on different reasons that could have triggered the violence. For instance the case of *Sharon Otieno* which happened in the public sphere has been gone on air every day in the media platforms unlike many of the fatal cases analysed in this study.

Surette (2007) suggests that media may have a lot of influence in promoting misguided concepts about wife battering and other forms of domestic violence but it is also a powerful tool for social change. This is based on the fact that, media has the ability to disseminate information faster and to a large group of people within a short time hence shaping the audiences attitudes and understanding (Surette, 2007). As such, when media disseminates cases of wife battering as a private issue since it happens in the private sphere, audience perceives this as an individual problem which should be solved within the family ties.

Wilcox (2007) argues that, domestic violence is a complicated and multi- faceted concept which often involves abusive behaviours' within intimate relationship. As such, the ways in which domestic violence stories are told can determine the interpretation and understanding on cases of domestic violence such as wife battering. Analysis in this study showed that domestic violence stories are framed in a manner that fails to show the socio-economic effects domestic violence has to the society at large. They are often sensationalized in the media platforms which reduce domestic violence as a sport where there is the presence of players and the spectators which is done through the use of language by media.

The choice of language is crucial while reporting cases on domestic violence. Analysis showed that every word used to narrate stories on wife battering has an overt and covert meaning to the recipient. Thus, language used in media reports determines how the victims and perpetrators of domestic violence are perceived by the audience. Duffy and Henderson (2018) posit the importance of taking caution on language use while reporting on social issues such as domestic violence as language use can increase or decrease cases of domestic violence and compromise with the accuracy of cases reported within the society. As pertaining to this explanation, it is therefore important for journalists covering domestic violence to consider language use while describing both the victims and the perpetrators (Duffy & Henderson, 2018). For instance, the media where possible ought to refrain from narratives that describe the victims of domestic violence as the core people to blame for their victimisation. In addition, media could work towards including the perpetrator in their stories who often are absent in the media stories. This will help in showing the perpetrators active roles in domestic violence. As such, language use is critical as it can represent or misrepresent the victims and the perpetrators of domestic violence. The way the media uses texts while representing domestic violence cases can be misinterpreted by the audience. For

instance, when media describes the perpetrators as having abused their wives' due to psychological or mental disorder; this leads the audience to sympathise with the perpetrators and thus trivialising the abuse while the victims feel they are either under-represented or misrepresented.

Media representation of women as discovered in this study is mostly based on the societal context. Sutherland (2015) argues that, social context reduces the seriousness of domestic violence cases.This is attributed to the fact that, jjournalists gather information from the society and do the, framing, priming and gate-keeping functions before disseminating the same information to the audience. Thus media communicates the ideologies of the dominant group within the society, for instance some of the key informants interviewed in this study expressed their dissatisfaction with media representation of domestic violence which according to them takes a masculine perspective. Kellner in media culture theory explains the principle of ideology whereby the dominant group ideologies are given prominence in media platforms (Cottle, 2006). More so Kellner explains the issue of uniformity of ideas within the media platforms thus making the audience to perceive domestic violence as a common occurrence within the society.

The standpoint theory establishes the notion of women being the vulnerable group within the society, that any ideologies that emerge should be based on their opinion which is what this study sought to find out (Griffin, 2012). Information from key informants and video clips analysed showed that media representation of domestic violence shifts the blame of the violence from the perpetrator to the victim as evident in the narratives. However, media can be credited for representation of women's emotions such as fear, anger, tearful, frustrations, anxiety, cheerful, and so forth. This is similar to what cultural theories like the standpoint theory posit.

Media representation of narratives shows that both the perpetrators and victims are involved in name calling which to the audience sometimes evokes humour as in the case of video clip *code* 004. Other narratives that emerge are fear, blame, guilt, naivety, and so forth.

However, as discovered in this study, media highlights cases of men battering women more than it does on cases of women battering men. Therefore, this indicates reversed roles whereby women become aggressive and thus are the perpetrators while men become the victims of domestic violence. One of the perpetrators interviewed in this study explained that the reason why he started battering his wife was frustrations from his wife that included vulgar insults in public stating his unknown impotence. He stated that men do not report abuse from women because of the social constructs within the society where the men are supposed to be the dominant group that is being superior over the women.

As discovered in this study, media is a powerful tool for social change within a society. This is mainly because media is able to affect the audience perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour. Further, being a platform that provides the different groups a platform for expression, it not only acts as the voice for the dominant groups but also as the voice for the voiceless. Based on this, it is evident that the perceptions of women as represented by the media informs how the audience understand, view and interpret domestic violence. As such, media ought to adhere to the code of ethics while reporting on domestic violence cases.

5.4: Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the researcher came up with various recommendations to help in dealing with domestic violence cases especially wife battering.

5.4.1: Media

Media should adhere to the ethical guidelines such as confidentiality impartiality and protection of domestic violence victims as this has negative effects on the victims and their immediate families especially the children

Media should ensure they do follow up stories on every story on domestic violence they cover as this will inform the society on the consequences of domestic violence hence judging if justice for the victim was served

Media should indulge in in-depth research of domestic violence cases they present in order to realise all the underlying causes of domestic violence

Media should involve experts fully for credible and in-depth insight on domestic violence

Media should treat all cases of domestic violence seriously despite the context; both private and public sphere cases should be allocated enough time.

5.4.2: The Government

The government should enhance strict laws such as human rights laws on all forms of domestic violence as a result of frequent cases pertaining to domestic violence.

Government officials should use the media exhaustively to communicate and educate the society on domestic violence, the laws and the penalty involved when such laws are broken.

5.4.3: The Victims

The victims should seek medical and legal help whenever they are abused by their partners. They should also speak out by seeking help from the counselors, authority or human rights groups.

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5.5: Further Studies on domestic violence victims

The researcher identified research gaps thus there was need for further research on domestic violence. These gaps include:

- Media representation of domestic violence: A case of recent cases of battered men in Kenya.
- 2. Media representation of other forms of domestic violence such as financial and psychological violence
- 3. Media representation on families of domestic violence victims
- 4. Media representation of families of domestic violence perpetrators

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Lawyers interview guide

- 1. What is your understanding on wife battering?
- 2. From your experience dealing with battered women, what are the main causes of wife battering?
- 3. What are some of the reasons why battered women choose your organisation?
- 4. What are some of the laws that guide you as you represent battered women?
- 5. What are some of the challenges you face when presenting these women?
- 6. Media covers stories on battered women. In your opinion, how do these stories inform you?
- 7. How do these stories represent battered women?
- 8. In your opinion, what is the best way to de-escalate wife battering?
- 9. What would you recommend the media to improve on wife battering cases they disseminate?

Perpetrators Interview Guide

- 1. What is your understanding on wife battering?
- 2. When was the first time you physically abused your wife?
- 3. Why did you beat her?
- 4. How did you feel after beating her?
- 5. How did your wife react?
- 6. How often to you beat your wife?
- 7. Media highlights stories on wife battering. What is your opinion on this?
- 8. What are some of the terms media uses while disseminating wife battering cases?
- 9. Do these terms affect you as a man?

Doctors and Psychologists Interview Guide

- **1.** How do you define Battered Women Syndrome in your practice?
- 2. How do women with battered syndrome present?
- 3. In your opinion as a medical practitioner what are your views on how these battered women are represented by the media?
- 4. Do you think the emotions of battered women are fully represented by the media? Please explain
- 5. What should the media focus on when representing battered women? Kindly explain

Journalists Interview Guide

- 1. What is your understanding of battered women?
- 2. How do you select the story angle for battered women?
- 3. How do these angles inform the battered women?
- 4. What determines the placement of battered women stories in your newscast?
- 5. What determines the presence and absence of the perpetrators in your stories?
- 6. What effect(s) do such stories have on the perception of women within society?

- 7. Do you know if such stories create stereotypes on women within a society? Kindly explain your answer.
- 8. What makes you decide to do follow up stories?
- 9. What directs you on the choice of experts you use on battered women stories?
- 10. In your opinion do journalists' beliefs and opinions affect the angle of the story? How and why?
- 11. Are there any policy guidelines on representation/reportage of battered women in your stories?
- 12. What ethical concerns do you deal with in your representation of battered in your stories?
- 13. How do these ethics inform the representation of battered women in your stories?

Counsellors/ Lawyers/Activists

- 1. What is your understanding on the term wife battering?
- 2. Based on your experience, what factors cause wife battering?
- 3. Why do these women choose come to you?
- 4. How do you evaluate your clients based on the following attributes?

Hopelessness	
Self -esteem	
Cognitive levels	
Hostility	
Confidence	
Interpersonal communication	
Dependency	

- 5. What are the narratives your clients use to describe the wife battering?
- 6. Do you think these narratives affect them in any way and how?
- 7. What are their plans regarding their marriage?
- 8. Approximately how many cases have dealt with for the past 4 months?
- 9. Media has been reporting cases of wife battering. What is your observation?
- 10. What is your advice to the battered women?

Appendix ii: Certificate of Fieldwork



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061 Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line) Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566 Email: <u>director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke</u> P.O. Box 30197-00100 Nairobi, GPO Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 200718 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

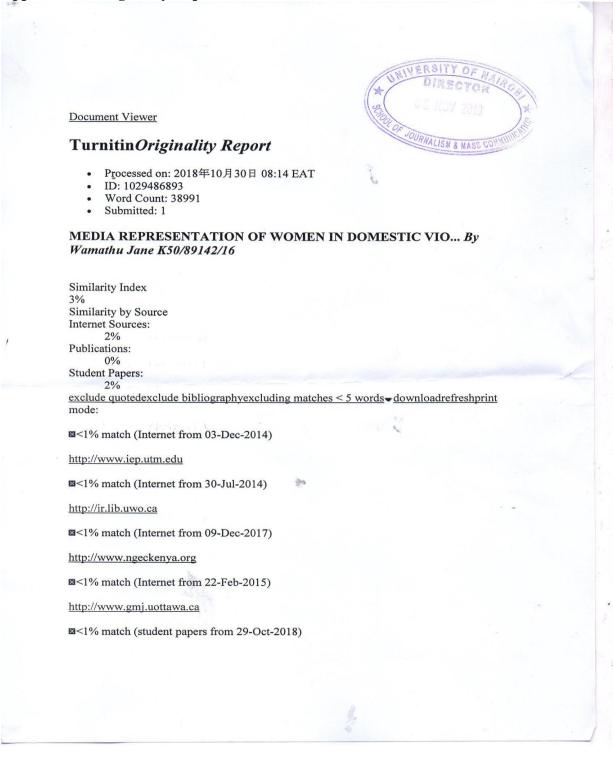
Reg. No: KGD/89142 2016 Name: MAMATHY JANE MIERI

Title: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF LOMEN IN (DOMESTIC

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Appendix iii: Originality Report



Appendix IV: Certificate of Corrections

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION		
Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061 Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line) Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566 Email: <u>director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke</u>	P.O. Box 30197-00100 Nairobi, GPO Kenya	
on 28 09 2018 in respect of M.A/P.	posed at the Board of Examiners meeting held PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected esis can be allowed to proceed for binding.	
Title: MEBIA REPRESENTATIO	ON OF LOMEN IN DOMESTIC BATTERE WOMEN IN KENTA.	
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Dr Samuel Siringi ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR	BIGNATURE DATE DATE DATE DATE DATE DATE DATE DATE DATE	