

**MASS MEDIA FRAMING OF HOMOSEXUALITY: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF  
THE NATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA.**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

This is my original work and has not been presented to any other university for a degree award or anywhere else for academic purposes.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my wife Dianah Ngina and my sons; Cedric Njoroge and Edric Mwai for their support and encouragement during my studies. I owe successful completion of this programme to their understanding and perseverance.

I also wish to dedicate this work to my father in law (Peter Ndung'u Kinyua) who succumbed to Cancer in October 9, 2009.

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However, all errors and omissions, views and interpretations remain mine and should not be attributed to any one of the above mentioned persons.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AIDS</b>	<b>Acquired-immune deficiency syndrome</b>
<b>CCK</b>	<b>Communications Commission of Kenya</b>
<b>CMC</b>	<b>Computer Mediated Communication</b>
<b>BBC</b>	<b>British Broadcasting Corporation</b>
<b>GALCK</b>	<b>Gay and Lesbian Community in Kenya</b>
<b>GoK</b>	<b>Government of Kenya</b>
<b>HIV</b>	<b>Human Immune Virus</b>
<b>KANU</b>	<b>Kenya African National Union</b>
<b>ICT</b>	<b>Information and Communications Technology</b>
<b>DRC</b>	<b>Democratic Republic of Congo</b>
<b>ISP</b>	<b>Internet Service Provider</b>
<b>MSM</b>	<b>Men who have Sex with Men</b>
<b>IT</b>	<b>Information Technology</b>
<b>IP</b>	<b>Internet Protocol</b>
<b>LGBTI</b>	<b>Lesbian, Gay, Beastian, Transex and Intersex</b>
<b>KBC</b>	<b>Kenya Broadcasting Corporation</b>
<b>MCK</b>	<b>Media Council of Kenya</b>
<b>OSN</b>	<b>Online Social Networks</b>
<b>NMG</b>	<b>Nation Media Group</b>
<b>SNS</b>	<b>Social Networking Sites</b>

<b>SPSS</b>	<b>Statistical Package for Social Science</b>
<b>TAM</b>	<b>Technology Acceptance Model</b>
<b>TRA</b>	<b>Theory of Reasoned Action</b>

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## ABSTRACT

Kenya has been undergoing substantial transformations in the socio-economic, political and cultural realms. These changes have been influenced by several factors both internal and external, including Western Education and its attendant values, individual freedoms, human rights and women empowerment among others. These have seen the gradual breakup of the traditional values, norms and cultural prohibitions in most African communities. As a result, the role of elders and other significant persons like aunties and uncles in guidance and counseling of the young have been replaced by other institutions including Schools, old and new media, religion and the peer group.

The majority of the people rely on the media especially the press on what is happening around them which later help form public opinion on issues. The media therefore sets the public agenda on pertinent issues. In the news making process, an event is deemed important or worthy of discourse, if it merits a mention in the news media. The media achieves this by framing an event or events in such a manner that it will hold public interest thus attaining its agenda. By reproducing dominant ideology recurrent in society, the media through its agenda setting role makes sense of the world.

The Kenyan press media has not adequately covered homosexuality and issues related to it. Since the media practitioners are part of a society that condemns homosexuality as a sin, unnatural, ungodly, homosexuality has received negative coverage for a long time. The strong belief that homosexuality is unafrikan, not part of the African culture is the main driving factor of the media's negative coverage of homosexuality in Kenya.

There is relatively little research in this area of study in Kenya, as such this study provides an insight into the representation of homosexuality in print media namely the national dailies including *the Daily Nation* and *the Standard* for a five year period. This study analyzes how the media portrayed homosexuality and homosexuals to its readers. News reflects what is really important to a society; minority coverage in mainstream news reporting provides insight into the (social) status of minorities.

This research employed content analysis of the daily national English newspapers in Kenya. Content analysis is a research design for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the content of communication. Content analysis research method can be categorized into a number of steps. This research applied a number of steps undertaken while carrying out a content analysis. These steps include: selecting the research topic, deciding on the sample, define units of analysis, constructing categories, creating coding forms, training coders, collecting data, measuring inter-coder reliability, and analyzing data.

The media coverage of the homosexuality issues has been explored through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the newspaper content. The quantitative method was used to measure the duration and frequency of the news reported and qualitative analysis to interpret the viewpoints presented by the news articles. This supports what Smith, 1975 (cited in Yan 2006, p. 2), suggests that the same blend of both quantitative and qualitative analysis should be used-because qualitative analysis deals with forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form.

## CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background

There is a general belief that same sex marriages existed in African societies even before the colonial periods (Murray, 2001). Murray explains that traces of *Boy-Wives* and *Female Husbands* and *Homosexuality* existed as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> Century in the Horn of Africa, Sudan region, Southern Africa and the greater East African Coast. This is a clear pointer to the existence of homosexuality and homosexuals in African societies. The society condemns homosexuality, either directly or indirectly by accepting the idea that homosexuality (its existence) but prohibits its expressions (Kan-lum, 2005).

Homosexuality is still practiced today in Kenya. For example, cases of sodomy and lesbianism in boarding schools emerged but because of the consequences, most school administration deny and suppresses the issue (Maxwell Agwanda, 2005).

With the exception of South Africa, most African states outlaw same sex marriages. In Kenya, same sex marriage is a criminal offense in section 162 of the Penal Code of Kenya (1963). Most communities regard it unafrican, ungodly, sin and people who practice it are seen as unnatural.

It is important to note that the mass media has taken up the issue of homosexuality as a matter of public debate. Homosexuality refers to sexual behavior or attraction between people of the same sex, or to a sexual orientation. As a sexual orientation, homosexuality refers to "having sexual and romantic attraction primarily or exclusively to members of one's own sex"; "it also refers to an individual's sense of personal and social identity based on those attractions, behaviors expressing them, and membership in a community of others who share them." (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality>). The media thrives on controversial issues such as homosexuality and the media reflects and reproduces the dominant ideology in society (Tan, 1999). The media agenda affects the publics' agenda as stated by Tan (1999), the media had played a crucial role in communicating and foregrounding homosexuality which, forced and provoked unparalleled discussions on sex and sexuality which are considered taboo subjects in this

society. In 2009, the *Daily Nation*, a daily national newspaper in Kenya, reported claims on how one prominent clergy people sodomized young boys in exchange for financial gains namely school fees and scholarships (Njuguna, 2009).

In March 2010, news reports (Samora Mwaura, *Daily Nation*, 2010) of gay marriage of two Kenyans in London caused an uproar which made the public, the religious leaders (both Christians and the Muslim) to intervene and disrupt the planned marriage of two young men in the coastal town of Mtwapa. The religious leaders added their voice in condemning same sex marriages as it is against the religious teaching doctrines. The print media set the agenda for homosexuality and prioritized them thus setting the public agenda. In the words of Sei-Hill Kim et al, (2001), the media decides on what news should comprise, what is important or what the public should know and in this case, homosexuality formed the public debate because the media prioritized it.

The media plays a major role in framing events in society. The print media has framed homosexuality negatively, portraying it as unnatural, ungodly, unafican, evil, and anti-Christ among other negative descriptions. The findings of Conrad and Markers (2001) also indicate that the media construction can influence the publics' image of homosexuality, how they think homosexuality orientation, and how we think about people who are gay. This is due to the role by the media by constructing identities and social realities. It is the arena where changing cultures and values of society are being displayed, constructed and communicated (Gideon, 2003). Media framing in news coverage and reporting is the ultimate message; a message constructed and meant to be recalled for a long time by the audiences (Kellner, et al, 1990). Printed publications such as newspapers frame issues through placement for instance headlines at the front pages, by use of coloured photographs, space, editorials, opinions among others.

Homosexuality is a sexual orientation. The media therefore need to frame it in a positive light since this is a topic where many have divergent views. The media should be in the fore front in communicating how important it is for society to accept people with this sexual orientation and to accommodate them in society. The media's role in communicating homosexuality has been critical as far demystifying homosexuality is concerned. In view of this, the proposed study seeks to examine how the Kenyan daily national newspapers have framed homosexuality and

homosexuals. This research analyzed two daily English newspaper published in Kenya in the period of 2005-March 2010. The papers that were covered included the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. The selected papers have a wider circulation, huge readership and have been consistent in publication in the period under study. The selected time frame has seen more liberal space open up in political, freedom of expression and movement, economic development and religion. Consequently, the minority groups such as homosexuals gained ground and are able to express their feelings and views over the media (GALCK report, 2009).

This proposed research utilized the theoretical framework of Agenda Setting. The selected newspapers were tested to see the extent of the dominant role played by the Agenda Setting theory in deciding the articles that were published on homosexuality over the stated period of study.

#### **1.1.0. Global perspectives on homosexuality**

Homosexuality is universal. The kind of identity and sexuality embraced by contemporary lesbian/gay Europeans and North Americans, for example, in which both partners are members of the same sex relationship despite of class, race and age seem to be the most historically and wide spread pattern (Murray, 1995). Gender based homosexuality is a widespread feature of Mediterranean and Latin America countries. In this pattern, the “active” male in intercourse is not marked or regarded as (especially by himself) as “homosexual”, while penetrated male acquires a distinct identity (Roscoe, 1997).

According to Winkler 1995, homosexuality was common and widespread especially among Europeans (Greeks, Italians and Portuguese). Similarly, Leupp, (1975) showed that homosexuality was tolerated among the Tokugawa of Japan. In native North America, alternative gender roles have been widely documented and indicate some men taking female roles thus indentifying them as inferior men. Comparably, incidences of homosexuality have been evidenced throughout in Latin and North America, Europe, Oceania, Siberia, South Asia and Africa (Murray and Roscoe, 1997).

With exception of European and the Americas, homosexuality is regarded as unnatural and a crime punishable by severe sentence (Murray, 2001). This is true in states where Christianity and Islam have a strong influence among its followers. South Africa and European countries and North America have recognized homosexuality as a human right unlike in other African and Asian states where it is a norm according to the 'traditions'.

Stephen Murray, (2001) in *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands* says that in the United States of America the media had for a long time framed homosexuality and homosexuals as against the America family values and ungodly. However, it took the efforts of human rights activists, civil organisations and other groups to have homosexuality legalized by the state. Europe especially Greece and ancient Rome is believed to be the origin of homosexuality in Europe (Will Roscoe, 2003). With exception of few religious countries like Poland, most Western European countries have legalized homosexuality. The media see homosexuality as a human right and thus those who practicing it have a right to access to medical care, employment, and education and to any social place (Murray, 2001). The rights enjoyed by homosexuals in the US, European countries and some Latin American countries like Brazil owe it to the role played by the media. The media (both print and electronic) highlighted homosexuality as unstoppable movement that the government gave in from pressure from human rights activists and civic right leaders.

### **1.1.1. Homosexuality in African societies**

To most Africa communities, homosexuality is 'un-African' and this is true to almost in any text that one reads about same-sex sexuality in the continent. African leaders from across section of the continent talk about it in similar terms, whether it is Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, former President Daniel Moi of Kenya, or indeed Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (Kuria, 2005).

However, according to Murray and Roscoe (2001), homosexuality existed and still exists in all African communities. In the Horn of Africa, age-based homosexuality existed between Eretrian men and sodomy was not foreign in the Ethiopian city of Harari (Murray and Roscoe, 2001). Cases of sodomy, same sex marriages, lesbianism or gayism have also been reported and documented in various regions of Africa including the Sudan (Sudan, Mali, Chad and DRC),

Angola, Zimbabwe, Egypt, Botswana, South Africa and Namibia (Murray, 2001). Similarly, same sex relationships or marriages have been reported in the coastal towns of East Africa including Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, Dar es Salam and Zanzibar (Murray, 2001).

Interestingly, when homosexuality is acknowledged, it's meaning and cultural significance are discounted and minimized. By claiming that homosexual relations are solely due to a lack of women, for example, or are part of a short-lived adolescence phase, the possibility of homosexual desire-that an individual may actually want and find pleasure in another same sex-is effectively denied (Will Roscoe, 2001: xiii).

According to Jude Lugya (2010), the media in Uganda has continued to portray homosexuals and homosexuality negatively. This, he says has been made worse by the Ugandan parliament recently passing a bill that seeks to hang all homosexuals in the country. Reports by Benjamin Boll (2008) indicate that homosexuality has received negative coverage in Sudan. Sudan is a Muslim country and homosexuality is outlawed. In Malawi, the verdict by a law court that two married gay couples were guilty of sodomy and indecency made matters worse as the media condemned the couple (Rex Chikoko, 2010). With the exception of the Republic of South Africa, the media in other African countries continue to frame homosexuality negatively partly because the society does not condone homosexuality (Foucault, 1990). Because the media highlights, discusses and makes homosexuality an issue of public debate thus gaining more publicity, homosexuality has remained to be portrayed negatively in most African societies.

### **1.1.2. Homosexuality in Kenya**

Most Kenyan communities believe that Homosexuality is not part of the African culture. Homosexual activities have been around for a long time in Kenya as evident by the European reports of homosexuality in the Coastal city of Mombasa which dates back to the ninety century (Murray, 1975). For instance, the first Swahili-English dictionary, published in 1882, included the term *mumemke* (*mume-man, mke-woman*) (Krapf, 1882). It is however unfortunate that homosexuality was not discussed in the open.



Section 162 of the Kenya Penal Code outlaws same sex marriages hence making homosexuality illegal. Christians and Muslims form the largest percent of the Kenyan population and both religions do not condone homosexuality. The Anglican Church in Kenya for example, has been battling with Gay marriages within its clergy members which is threatening to cut its tie with the mother church in England. The clergy in the Anglican Church describe homosexuality as sin worse than sacrilege. The Church and the State condemns homosexuality and depict it as shameless people, immoral, criminals, sick and ungodly.

The uniformity with which same-sex sexuality is perceived negatively in Kenya and around the continent cannot be merely condemned because of religion or because of the law that criminalizes it in these countries. Most people are unaware of the Biblical passages or even sections of the law that condemn homosexuality - they would only vaguely know that such laws exist. As such, then it is unreasonable to imagine that the sweeping negation of same-sex sexuality is on the basis of these factors. There is a general feeling of “just-not-right,” about same-sex sexuality and it may not be because of cultural or religious conditioning (Samora Mwaura, 2009).

Over the last five years, media reports on homosexuality have been indicating that homosexuality is wide spread in schools, colleges, churches, at work places and marriages (Samora Mwaura, 2009). Although homosexuality is not acceptable in most Kenyan communities, it’s happening though it is a norm in the community to pretend that it doesn’t exist and there is no man-to-man thing (Murray, 2001). The media has taken a center stage and role to condemn and highlight same sex marriage. The media has come out negatively sensationalizing same sex marriages. For instance media news reports that two Kenyan men were planning to wed secretly in a hotel in the Coastal town of Mtwapa near Mombasa caused a heated media and public debate

### **1.1.3. The newspaper scene in Kenya**

The Kenyan newspaper scene, relative to the population, is still small and urban based. About 2.2 million townfolk read newspapers daily compared to 2.6 million rural folk (Steadman Group 2008). Newspaper readership stands at 23 percent of the total population.

The dominant publishing houses are The Nation Media Group (NMG) which publishes the *Daily Nation*, *Taiifa Leo*, *The EAST African*-a weekly regional paper. The *Daily Nation* newspaper has various editions: *The Daily Nation*, *Sunday* and *Saturday Nation*. All these editions are simply referred to as *Daily Nation* (Peter Mbeke Oriare, 2010). NMG also owns a television station- NTV in Kenya and Uganda. It also owns a number of media houses in Tanzania and Uganda.

The Standard newspaper is the oldest newspapers founded in 1902 by an emigrant called Jeevanjee (Peter Oriare Mbeke, 2010). Oriare says that the Standard was established specifically to serve the civil servants and the business community. Two years after its establishment, Jeevanjee sold it to Mayer and Anderson who gave it to the name of *The East African Standard*. It again changed hands and Lonrho, a company of tiny Rowland acquired it in 1976. When Rowland died in mid 1990s, it is reported to have been bought by a Kenyan politician (Ochichi, 2009). The Standard has weekday and weekend editions. Whereas the weekday editions are known as *The Standard*, the weekend editions are known as *The Saturday* and *Sunday Standard*. Whether a weekly or weekend edition, generally, this newspaper is known as The Standard.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Kenya has been undergoing substantial transformations in the socio-economic, political and cultural realms. These changes have been influenced by several factors both internal and external, including Western Education and its attendant values, individual freedoms, human rights and women empowerment among others (African Research on Sexuality Resource Centre, 2006). These have seen the gradual breakup of the traditional values, norms and cultural prohibitions in most African communities. As a result, the role of elders and other significant persons like aunties and uncles in guidance and counseling of the young have been replaced by other institutions including School, old and new media, religion and the peer group.

The majority of the people rely on the media especially the press on what is happening around them which later help form public opinion on issues. The media therefore sets the public agenda on pertinent issues. In the news making process, an event is deemed important or worthy of discourse, if it merits a mention in the news media. The media achieves this by framing on event

or events in such a manner that it will hold public interest thus attaining its agenda. (David et al 2003). By reproducing dominant ideology recurrent in society, the media through its agenda setting role makes sense of the world.

The Kenyan press media has not adequately covered homosexuality and issues related to it. Since the media practitioners are part of a society that condemns homosexuality as a sin, unnatural, ungodly, homosexuality has received negative coverage for a long time. The strong belief that homosexuality is unafican, not part of the African culture is the main driving factor of the media's negative coverage of homosexuality in Kenya (BBC Focus on Africa Magazine, 2010).

With harsh criticism and condemnation from the state, religious groups and a certain sections of the civil society and the ever growing raging controversies surrounding the way homosexuality is portrayed in the media homosexuality would not receive positive coverage soon. This is especially true with regards to the way the media tends to reinforce stereotypes.

There is relatively little research in this area of study in Kenya, as such this study provides an insight into the representation of homosexuality in print media namely the national dailies including *the Daily Nation* and the *Standard* for a five year period. This study analyzed how the media portrayed homosexuality and homosexuals to its readers. News reflects what is really important to a society; minority coverage in mainstream news reporting provides insight into the (social) status of minorities (Ban and Adams, 1997).

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

The overall objective of this research is to examine how the Kenyan daily English national newspapers have framed homosexuality and homosexuals in Kenya. The specific objective of this study includes:

- i) Determine the framing/ representation of homosexuality in the newspapers analyzed.
- ii) Examine how Kenyan newspapers define the importance of homosexuality issue.
- iii) Investigate the agenda set by the Kenyan daily newspapers with regard to homosexuality

#### **1.4. Research questions**

This study sought to address the following research questions.

RQ1: How was homosexuality framed in the newspapers?

RQ1.1. What types of news stories on homosexuality and homosexuals were given importance in the newspapers?

RQ1.2. Which themes were recurring in the newspapers and how was the frequency of their recurrence?

RQ2: How did the media define the significance/importance of homosexuality issue in terms of:-

- i. number of articles
- ii. standpoint/treatment of articles
- iii. type of reporting, that is the homosexuality issue was dominant or just mentioned
- iv. placement of articles
- v. size of the articles
- vi. types of headlines used that is informative or interpretive headline

RQ3: What agenda was set on homosexuality and homosexuals in the newspapers analyzed?

#### **1.5. Significance of the study**

The findings of this research will contribute to the already existing body of knowledge on the trends of media coverage of homosexuality and homosexuals. The beneficiaries of the results of research are varied. Editorial managers of the newspapers analyzed are expected to gain from the research findings as the research will empower the media editorial managers to better respond to sexual orientation news filed by reports in terms sensitive reporting so as to avoid stereotyping, sectionalisation and setting other groups of individuals against being discriminated by the community. The Government is set to benefit from the research finding as it will help its agencies and institutions to formulate relevant and valuable policies that enhance protection of minority groups' human rights and other freedoms.

The findings will help practicing and aspiring journalists as it will help them stem or avoid gross inefficiencies and mistakes of the past and thus contribute to efforts being made balanced and objective reporting of minority groups such as homosexuals and possible media's intervention in situations of dire stereotyping of minority groups in Kenya. The research will aid Media training institutions in coming up with proper training curriculum that pays attention to issues affecting minority groups such as homosexuality and homosexuals. This will help groom aspiring journalists in controversial issues and topics such as homosexuality.

This research will be vital in helping lecturers, researchers and students interested in the area under study as the findings will be a vital reference point for information on media framing of homosexuality and homosexuals in the country.

#### **1.6. Scope and limitations of the study**

The scope of the study was limited to content analysis of framing of homosexuality by the national English newspapers in Kenya. Homosexuality is and will be a controversial topic and the media thrives in such issues. There is a lot of stereotype and misinformation of homosexuality in Kenya and any news about it attracts the media's attention and the public. The choice of homosexuality as a topic under study is hoped to break the misconception and portrayal of the media of homosexuals and homosexuality. The study covered two major daily newspapers in Kenya, namely; *Daily Nation and the Standard*. The time period covered was from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2005 to 28<sup>th</sup> February, 2010. The research analyzed all newspapers articles ranging from local to international ones contained in the local newspapers.

These national papers were selected because they are mostly read compared to the Kiswahili Dailies and the Weeklies (Synovate Media Survey report, 2008). The language of English was selected because of the readily available literature on homosexuality in English compared to Kiswahili or any other local language. In addition, the English newspapers contain more detailed analysis, reviews, commentaries and opinions on homosexuality and homosexual issues.

The selected time frame has seen more liberal space open up in political, freedom of expression and movement, economic development and religion. Consequently, the minority groups such as homosexuals have gained ground and are able to express their feelings and views over the media

(GALCK report, 2009). Within this time period, many homosexual groups such as Gay Kenya, Gay and Lesbian Community in Kenya (GALCK) and others were formalised into registered organisations and started conducting various advocacy campaigns in areas such as HIV/ AIDS, Gay rights among other issues affecting homosexuals (GALCK report, 2007). This has resulted in high coverage of homosexuality within the stated time span.

### **1.7. Theoretical orientation**

This research utilized the theoretical framework of Agenda Setting. The selected national newspapers were tested to see the extent of the dominant role played by the Agenda Setting theory in deciding the articles that were published on homosexuality over the stated period under study. The question is; how had homosexuality been framed by national newspapers?

McCombs and Shaw (1972) were the first researchers to coin the term-Agenda Setting. The term was coined to refer the power to structure issues in the media in such a way that people think about what they are told, but at no level do they think what they are. As Conrad and Markers (2001) asserted, that through everyday news work, selecting what to report, locating and quoting experts commentary, and organizing and presenting the news, media houses provide an important piece for the public discourse. Their view is also supported by Yuksel, (2003) that the media over time, by featuring some issues more prominently and some issues less prominently and still other issues not at all, gives us a sense of what issues are important or salient of the issues, namely the degree of political importance a particular issue possesses. The media achieves this by framing on an event or events in such a manner that it will hold public interest.

What the media finds important will eventually be mirrored in what people think is important. The agenda setting role of the news media is a form of hegemony that is evident the world over (David and Pavlik, 2003).

## **1.8. Definition of key terms**

The following terms are restricted to the definitions and explanations given in this research:

### **Content analysis**

This is a research method used to monitor the subject matter of a newspaper, radio station, television station and a website.

### **Daily newspaper**

This is a newspaper which is published everyday and which carries current affairs for instance politics, crime, business, art and sports. For the for purpose of this study the Saturday and Sunday editions of the newspapers analyzed were considered in the category of newspapers.

### **Gay**

This term was used as synonym for homosexuality.

### **Homosexual**

This refers to male and female whose sexual desires and attraction are towards same sex.

### **Frame**

This is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what use is at hand.

### **Homosexuality**

This refers to sexual behavior or attraction between people of the same sex, or to a sexual orientation. As a sexual orientation, homosexuality refers to "having sexual and romantic attraction primarily or exclusively to members of one's own sex"; "it also refers to an individual's sense of personal and social identity based on those attractions, behaviors expressing them, and membership in a community of others who share them." (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality>).

### **Lesbian**

Female with homosexuality as sexual orientation.

### **Mass media**

Mass media generally refers to both electronic and print media. In the context of this research, it also refers to online media.

### **Media framing**

Media framing in news coverage and reporting is the ultimate message (Kellner, et al, 1990). Framing theory states that media do not present an objective view of the world. News frames exist at two levels as mentally stored principles for information processing and as a characteristic of news text. This shows how the media resulting in a completely different outcome can manipulate similar incidents (Kellner et al, 1990).

### **Print media**

Refers to the traditional press which includes newspapers, magazines, and newsletters. For the purpose of this research, print media was limited to the newspapers.

### **National newspapers**

These are newspapers which reach all the parts of a country, say, Kenya for example, *Daily Nation*, the *Standard*, the *People*, and *Kenya Times*.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0. Introduction

The function of literature review is to examine in detail the available literature and studies already conducted and which are directly related to the topic under study. Indeed, Oliver M. Mugenda and Abel G. Mugenda (1999) acknowledged that the purpose of literature review is to establish what has already been done with reference to the area the researcher is working on. The researcher, in literature review, reviews thoroughly what other scholars have done on the topic. Mutai (2000), on the other hand, states that "Literature review helps to sharpen and define understanding of the existing knowledge in the problem area, provides a background for a research project and makes a reader aware of the current status of the issue."

This chapter reviews literature under the following heading agenda Introduction, background of mass media in Kenya, homosexuality and homosexuals groups, challenges facing homosexuality in Kenya, position on rights related to homosexuality, homosexuality and law in Kenya, the role of mass media in the framing of homosexuality, content analysis and some categories covered by the newspapers analyzed in the study, theoretical framework and conclusion and research gaps.

#### 2.1. Mass Media in Kenya.

Kenya has sophisticated, diverse and lively mass media sector characterized by television, radio, print and a thriving new media such as internet and mobile telephones. The types of media can be classified broadly as private/independent media; the public state broadcaster; the private local language radio<sup>10</sup>; community radio<sup>11</sup>; the independent religious stations; the alternative press; international media and new media. Peter Oriare (2010) notes that the mass media serve various and diverse information, education, religious, advertising and entertainment needs of various segments of the audiences. However, media is concentrated along the equator and to the south of the country where the majority of the population live. The northern part of the country is media scarce because of the low population. Most media are operating in Nairobi although large media houses have news bureaus in various regions in the country.

The media has been thriving due to good economic performance over the past five years. The advertising expenditures on radio, TV, newspapers and cinema has been growing since 2003 when sponsors spent Sh6.6 billion, Sh8.4 billion in 2004, 9.3 billion in 2005, Sh13.6 billion in 2006 and 17.4 billion in 2007 (Peter Oriare, 2010).

The Kenyan newspaper scene, relative to the population, is still small and urban based. About 2.2 million people read newspapers daily compared to 2.6 million rural folk (Steadman Group 2008). Newspaper readership stands at 23 percent of the total population. The dominant publishing houses are the Nation Media Group (NMG) which publishes the *Daily Nation*, *Taifa Leo*, *The EAST African*- a weekly regional paper. The *Daily Nation* newspaper has various editions: *The Daily Nation*, *Sunday* and *Saturday Nation*. All these editions are simply referred to as *Daily Nation* (Peter Oriare, 2010). NMG also owns a television station-NTV in Kenya and Uganda. It also owns a number of media houses in Tanzania and Uganda.

*The Standard* newspaper is the oldest newspapers founded in 1902 by an emigrant called Jeevanjee (Peter Oriare, 2010). *The Standard* was established specifically to serve the civil servants and the business community in Kenya. Two years after its establishment, Jeevanjee sold it to Mayer and Anderson who gave it the name of *The East African Standard*. It again changed hands and Lonrho, a company of tiny Rowland acquired it in 1976. When Rowland died in mid 1990s, it is reported to have been bought by a Kenyan politician (Ochichi, 2009). The Standard has weekday and weekend editions. Whereas the weekday editions are known as *The Standard*, the weekend editions are known as *The Saturday* and *Sunday Standard*. Whether a weekly or weekend edition, generally, this newspaper is known as The Standard.

*The people* and *Kenya Times* are not as old and as established as *The Standard* and *Daily Nation*. The People Daily which is owned by Kenneth Matiba, a renown Kenyan politician was established as weekly and voiced the views of the opposition but became a daily newspaper in 1998 (Peter Oriare Mbeke, 2010). *Kenya Times* got its name when the ruling government KANU bought an evening paper called the *Nairobi Times*, which had been owned by Hillary Ng'weno. The party renamed it *Kenya Times* in 1988 and KANU still retains majority of the shares while Robert Maxwell bought 45 % of the shares of the paper. *Kenya Times* became the first newspaper the first full-colour newspaper in Kenya under the leadership of Philip Ochieng

(Ochichi, 2009). Kenya Times became one of the most popular newspapers in the country; however, it lost the readership as KANU did after the re-introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya which ushered in multi-party general elections in 1992 (Ochichi, 2009). Today, *Kenya Times*, like KANU is a shadow of its former self.

The other newspapers which hit the streets are *Nairobi Star* and *Daily Metro*. *Nairobi Star* which was established in July 3, 2007 is owned by Patrick Quako, a businessman from Ghana. He also owns a series of Radio stations in Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa (ET Magazine, 2008). *Nairobi star* is published daily except on Sundays by Africa media Publishers while *Daily metro* folded.

## **2.2. Homosexuality groups and activism in Kenya.**

Kenya like most other African countries homosexuality is regarded as an affront to African culture and yet there are a few individuals out there working for sexual minorities (David Kuria, 2005). They are vilified, castigated and often work under constant danger to their lives. Up to until now they have been perceived as social-villains, the cretins. In American for instance, homosexual movement, is often pointed out that the stonewall event where police raid of 28th June 1969, catapulted the erstwhile individual and often uncoordinated lesbian, gay bisexual, transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) movement into a united, focused movement with a clear social change agenda (Cynthia Daniels, 2006).

It is no different in Kenya, in fact, while one would have to assume that there were always individuals or perhaps even groups that organized for LGBTI emancipation since independence of this country in 1963, and there indeed must have been LGBTI individuals involved in the process of creating the nation that is Kenya, evidence of organized movement only begins to show in 1997 with the founding of ISHTAR MSM, one of the founder members of the Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK). GALCK is one of the groups that advocate the rights of the sexual minorities in Kenya.

David Kuria (2005) argues that Ishtar first came in the fore front in 1997 where they staged the play named "Cleopatra" at the Kenya National theatre in Nairobi. W. Onyango-Ouma (2006)

says this was an entry point that helped to develop an atmosphere of trust and openness where discussion and reflection on what it means to be a same-sex attracted person began to take place. He further explains that Brother Daino, a Marianist missionary, was seeking a way in which “the Roman Catholic church could respond to pastoral needs of Homosexual and homosexuality in the community he was carrying out his pastoral work. Ishtar was later registered as a self help group in 1999 not explicitly mentioning that it was dealing with MSM issues. Whereas Ishtar’s initial membership was Male Commercial sex workers, the organization has since developed to deal with MSM holistically where all MSM concerns are addressed.

### **2.2.1. Gay Kenya Trust.**

This group was founded in 2004 and came hot in the heels of the dramatic 2002 elections which ushered in a new democratic government (Oka Obono, 2010). The previous regime was perceived by same-sex practicing people as totalitarian and tolerated no dissent of any shape or form. So when the former President Daniel Moi, in 1999 said that “Homosexuality is against African norms and traditions, and even in religion it is considered a great sin, I shall not shy away from warning Kenyans against the dangers of the scourge homosexuality,” the message was unequivocal (W. Onyango-Ouma, 2006). The Gay Kenya Trust founders realized that even when there was need to engage in activism particularly related to health matters, it was easier to do so underground than through challenging the system.

But the December 2002 elections brought in yesteryears political reformers and there was indeed a visible expansion of the democratic space. It was possible for the first time to speak in public about the president in less than flattering terms without having to look over ones back. Many erstwhile oppressed groups began to organize and coalesce around issues of concern. Small marginalized ethnic communities like the Dorobo, began to claim their grabbed forests, pastoralist communities in Baringo, Turkana and Tana River even sued and won the case against the government for planted “mathenge plant” on their grazing land. Very soon every oppressed community began to awaken and claim its right - it was a new dawn for Kenya.

As luck would have it, new technology began to be more accessible; the Internet in particular expanded the way people communicated in Africa. Indeed for the LGBTI people in Kenya, it

expanded the anonymity that very often attracts them to large cities (Oka Bono, 2010). It was only rational then that the Internet would be the first port of call to “test the waters” of this expanded democratic space - just how far would it go? How accommodating was the new regime? These were the kind of questions that *www.gaykenya.com* website hoped to have answered through their activism. Moreover the Internet through emails, discussion forums and chats offered opportunities to reach out to many more people than anyone would have otherwise have had chance to reach out. In an interview to the Drum Magazine in October 2004 issue, one of the founders says that by launching the website “the battle for homosexual rights in Kenya will be half won.” The idea of the website was to “mobilise homosexuals to stand up for their rights.” Yet while the internet does offer significant networking advantages in a closed homosexuality culture like Kenya’s it also comes with substantial pitfalls. Thus even though people were willing to chat online, real change could not begin to happen until people engaged in person. Moreover there was no guarantee that the person on the other end of the chat line or email, was genuine or even worse - not a state agent. So while the website provided an opportunity for LGBTI Kenyans to meet online, many were still weary of physical meetings, much less engaging politically.

The internet did however provide an opportunity for a few committed activists to meet and begin serious discussions on political and Human rights engagement. This was further supported by a progressive international NGO particularly in supporting a workshop at a Thika hotel that brought together 25 activists, a first of its kind, held in 26th - 29th August 2005. The purpose of the workshop was to find exiting gaps in provision of health services for the MSM and establish strategies for the way forward. The effect however went beyond the stated goals of the workshop (David Kuria, 2005).

Under the Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK) umbrella, Gay Kenya works on Human rights for the same-sex practicing people. They focus on decriminalization, and the enactment of anti-discrimination laws in the constitution. Yet at a time when HIV infections are sky rocketing, they cannot afford to only focus on Rights. That is why they have partnered with a leading Voluntary Counseling and Testing service provider to have a health page on their website - *www.gaykenya.com*. Gay Kenya members are also aware that attaining human rights

for the LGBTI and even legal reform is only half the story. LGBTI people also face other social-economic concerns besides the law. They realize for example that many same-sex practicing people are unlikely to have children, whose role in the African social security in old age is of great importance. That is why they also focus on the “ageing needs” for them, including the establishment of a friendly infrastructure in which LGBTI people can age with dignity.

### **2.2.2. Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya - GALCK.**

GALCK is a coalition of LGBTI organizations in Kenya. Unlike the individual groups GALCK does not carry out any programmatic activities but rather facilitates the groups in attaining their stated goals and objectives. GALCK was born at a consultative conference in June 2006. The conference had brought together individuals and organizations that had participated in the 2005 fact finding study entitled “LGBTI organizing in East Africa.” The purpose of the conference was for participants to chart out a strategy to deal with the problems that had been identified in the study, mainly; conflict and power struggles within the existing organizations, blackmailing, exclusion of women, transgender and intersex, and substance abuse. The groups some of whom were meeting for the first time realized that the only way forward was through a coordinated approach, hence the need for a coalition to function as a secretariat. The exact form and shape of this coalition continued to be discussed and is still in the process of refining even today. Yet once the coalition was formed, activism began moving forward in leaps and bounds.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2006 GALCK participated in the World Aids Day. This was the first ever public event that the LGBTI persons were participating in Kenya, without having to hide their sexual orientation. The event was quickly followed by the World Social Forum in January 2007. This event is often said as the real watershed of the LGBTI movement in Kenya. Due to the large and prolonged media interest in GALCK activities and the limitless courage by the LGBTI activities present at the event, the movement underwent a public outing in Kenya and has never been the same again. Yet the remainder of 2007 was spent by the member groups seeking to deepen their understanding of LGBTI activism and their own identities as well as the nature of interactions to have with external organizations, including international LGBTI groups and local

mainstream human rights organizations. In the course of the year too, individuals within the coalition began fundraising for the establishment of an office and hired staff.

In 2006, GALCK had established a partnership with Annika Rodriguez of Queer Solidarity. She was to become very instrumental in transforming the movement in Kenya from being hands off, largely volunteer based into a frontline activist organization. The world Aids Day of 2006 and more particularly the World Social Forum the following year, were largely successful because she accepted to use the events to train the LGBTI activists on frontline activism. Later in 2007, she was to initiate a partnership between GALCK and LLH (The Norwegian LGBT organization). This partnership led to the successful funding support for GALCK to establish an office and have a full time staff to run the activities of the coalition.

This partnership was successfully funded and on the 1st August 2008, a GALCK office was founded, which comprised of a drop-in and community centre as well as offices for all the four founder members of GALCK. On the 19th of December 2008, the offices were officially inaugurated by a high ranking Norwegian Diplomat. The movement had finally matured and could now begin to engage with government, mainstream organizations and indeed with the entire society with some form of legitimacy and grounding. Indeed as the LGBTI movement continued to grow, its effect began to be felt beyond the major cities of Nairobi and Mombasa. LGBTI people living in smaller towns around the country increasingly began to see value in coming together and forming unique groups or start branches of existing groups in their hometowns. This trend will be interesting to watch in the coming years and will define the history of LGBTI activism in Kenya.

### **2.3. Challenges facing homosexuality in Kenya**

Like people affected and living with HIV /AIDS (PLWHAS) homosexuals too face a lot of stigma and discrimination in society in Kenya (David Kuria, 2005). A stigmatized community is less able to seek necessary health information and tends to be largely disempowered. Liesl Theron, (2010) in *A Tapestry of Human Sexuality in Africa*, says that discrimination enhances this real or perceived situation of disempowerment, creating a network of an underclass that is

unable and even unwilling to access necessary health services for fear of further stigmatization and discrimination. Unfortunately human networks do not stand alone - there are always points of convergence and overlap. It is through these points that HIV then crisis-crosses from the wider community into the gay community and vice versa posing a great challenge to homosexuality in the country.

The anti-gay laws contained in section 162 of the Kenyan Penal Code are of course the most visible manifestation of this form of discrimination towards homosexuals and homosexuality. They become the embodiment of social discrimination, and create social-legal structures in which discrimination is entrenched and perpetuated Muhammed Olanrewaju, (2006). While repealing anti-gay laws would de-link the patterns and networks through which HIV spreads, hence making it possible to focus on each network with culturally relevant information and education, such move to change the law is likely to face very stiff opposition.

#### **2.4. Homosexuality and Law in Kenya**

Kenya is among over 80 countries in the world that still maintain legal prohibitions of consensual adult same-sex sexuality. These prohibitions have been used as a basis for police harassment, discrimination and denial of essential services for same-sex practicing people, by state agents such as the police, health services providers and other members of the civil service (David Kuria, 2005). More ominously the law provides a justification for individuals and groups opposed to homosexual people to visit on them acts of physical violence, verbal abuse, blackmail and extortion, with impunity. It is now well established that violence particularly in the context of stigma and discrimination, is an important driver to HIV spread. Moreover since some of those who perpetrate these heinous acts are from the law enforcement agencies or closely linked with the government, the homosexual people often find themselves unable to access justice and legal redress.

The law against same-sex practicing people in Kenya enforces multiple concurrent sexual relationships. This is because not only are the same-sex practicing people unable to access safe sex information and commodities which are outlawed, but are also compelled to engage in heterosexual relationships if only to cover for their true sexual orientation (Khamati Shilabukha,



2006). In much of Africa, multiple concurrency of this nature is not merely because of the law. It is also because of the cultural values and religious teachings, which are perhaps even more compelling than the law. The law however sits at the entry point of any health intervention, and blocks any effort at providing services including HIV related services. Akeen Ayofe (2006) emphasizes that the law is rarely understood both by the same-sex practicing people and the law enforcement officers; it has gone beyond the criminalization of same-sex conduct, to service as a platform for punishment of homosexual identity. The vast majority of arrests of men and women on charges related to homosexuality are not based on the witnessing or reporting of the same sex act, but on the presumed identity of the individual.

The impact of blanket criminalization of both practice and identity places impossible roadblocks to developing interventions to address the cultural and religious biases against homosexuality and homosexuals in the country. Khamati Shilabukha (2006) argues that repealing the law would in no way be a panacea for equity programming against the same-sex practicing people nor would it stop multiple concurrent partnerships, but it would open the space for discussing the impact of these relationships. The anti-gay laws are then at the vanguard of the HIV spread and indeed all manner of human rights abuses against the same-sex practicing people.

“Worldwide, people are subject to persistent human rights violations because of their actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity. These human rights violations take many forms, from denials of the rights to life, freedom from torture, and security of the person, to discrimination in accessing economic, social and cultural rights such as health, housing, education and the right to work, from non-recognition of personal and family relationships to pervasive interferences with personal dignity, suppression of diverse sexual identities, attempts to impose heterosexual norms, and pressure to remain silent and invisible” (A. Gupta, 2009)

In Kenya, sections 162, 163 and 165 of the penal code outlaws homosexuality. Specifically, section 162 of the Penal Code states that: Any person who:

(a) has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; or

(b) has carnal knowledge of an animal; or

(c) permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature, is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years:

Provided that, in the case of an offence under paragraph (a), the offender shall be liable to imprisonment for twenty-one years if -

(i) the offence was committed without the consent of the person who was carnally known; or

(ii) the offence was committed with that person's consent but the consent was obtained by force or by means of threats or intimidation of some kind, or by fear of bodily harm, or by means of false representations as to the nature of the act.

163. Any person who attempts to commit any of the offences specified in section 162 is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for seven years, with or without corporal punishment.

165. Any male person who, whether in public or private commits any act of gross indecency with another male person, or procures another male person to commit any act of gross indecency with him, or attempts to procure the commission of any such act by any male person with himself or with another male person, whether in public or private, is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for five years, with or without corporal punishment.

*(Extracted from the Kenyan Penal Code, 1963)*

## **2.5. Position on rights related to homosexuality**

Homosexuals like any other individuals in society have rights to access to information, freedom of worship, assembly, health services among other rights. Although the government and other development agencies have been hard pressed to demonstrate that it protects and provides equal rights to homosexuals, however, homosexuals find it hard to access health services including HIV prevention, care and treatment program (GALCK Report, 2009). The GALCK report (2009) further says that it undermines the pillars which hold the reasoning for the protection of human rights - rights of the individual against others, thus when the government begin to cut down rights of others homosexuals are in effect chipping away their own rights in the long run. David Kuria (2005) argues that even when we do not have positive feelings towards sexual minorities, even when we would rather not associate with them, we must understand that protecting their rights actually reinforces the principles in which our very own rights are founded.

### **2.5.1. Right to Private Life**

The “Right to private Life” in one of most abused form of any human right, which although protected by many human rights instruments, sexual minorities in Kenya live under constant fear of its loss:

“The right to private life ...covering inter alia integrity of the home, body and family, the determination and development of one's own personality, personal identity and inter-personal relationships” (ICJ Guide No. 4, 2009).

David Kuria, (2005) argues that when the government legislates how and individual lives his or her private life in the privacy of his or her private home, it is invading and abusing the right to privacy. He further says that in executing the law as constituted, the police have to break into people's homes. The South African Constitutional Court has arrived at theory of privacy in sexuality that includes both decisional and relational elements. It states:

“privacy recognizes that we all have a right to a sphere of private intimacy and autonomy which allows us to establish and nurture human relationships without interference from the outside community...” (ICJ Guide No. 4, 2009).

So it is quite clear then that Kenyan laws abuse human rights, what is interesting is that we have human rights defenders who intentionally argue in support of these laws and do not mind violating the rights of others in enforcing their personal moral choices. It is unacceptable for the state however to threaten to invade peoples privacy especially when there is dire consequences of such actions on the spread of HIV.

### **2.5.2. Arbitrary Deprivation of Personal Freedom**

Another of the human rights that is constantly under threat for same-sex practicing people is arbitrary deprivation of personal freedom - an individual freedom can be summarily and arbitrarily deprived on account of engaging in what is private, adult and consensual activity in ones own private space. UDHR (Articles 3 and 9) recognizes and protects the right to liberty and the right not to be arbitrarily deprived of liberty.

The right to liberty is closely connected to the right to the security of persons protected by article 3 of UNDHR. Same-sex practicing people are frequently, deprived of their liberty solely on the grounds of their sexual orientation or gender identity. This kind of deprivation of liberty can include judicial prosecution and trial, administrative detention, deprivation of liberty on medical grounds and arrest for the purpose of harassment, among others. It has already been shown that since sexual orientation and gender identity is part of the right to private

life and grounds of non-discrimination, the deprivation of liberty on sexual orientation or gender identity grounds can amount to an arbitrary deprivation of liberty.

#### **2.5.4. Right to Life**

The most commonly abused right is the right to life for the sexual minorities because of their known or presumed sexual rights. The government has an obligation to protect the lives of all, against its agents but also third parties. It is unfortunate that the people who think that if you take away the right to life, are people who are in religious authority. The right to life is sacred and should not be taken away by anyone no matter the gravity of the disagreement. The State's obligation to protect should take action when instruments of Mass media call people to "slap gayness out of gay people" because this amounts to calling to execution of people. Sexual orientation is an enduring characteristic and cannot be 'slapped out' of an individual. Moreover the mere act of calling people into violence of any form against gay people is itself an acceptable.

#### **2. 6. Content analysis**

Content analysis as a research method is mostly used by researchers to analysis issues that exist but not be very visible. Researchers use this method to quantify salient and observable and concealed features in a text. In content analysis the text is reduced to numbers and the numbers counted, added and then compared. Numbers make content analysis a quantitative the descriptive of the interpretation make the method qualitative. Hansen et al, (2009) argue that the purpose of content analysis is to identify and count the frequency, or even absence of specific characteristics in a particular text so as to say something about the message of the text.

Singletary, (1994) says that content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. He further says that it is objective in the sense that the analyst should not harbor any vested interests. The principle of objectivity demands that biases of the analyst do not influence the research findings and if the method is replicated by another researcher, the findings should be the similar.

Because researchers have to exercise subjectivity in the definition of categories, objectivity is rarely achieved in content analysis. In content analysis systematic means that analysts do not select their own the text elements to be examined, however, the sampling method applied should determine that the content should give the truth the opportunity to emerge. In addition, manifest means that what ought to be counted should be noticeable, not vague and figment of one's own imagination.

### **2.6.1. Steps used in content analysis.**

Content analysis research method can be categorized into a number of steps.

#### **(i) Selecting the research topic**

A research topic could be the role of television in conflict transformation during the 2008 post election violence or the media framing of homosexuality in Kenya. According to Hansen et al, (2009) this is the research problem. He says that this is what the study hopes to say something about or this is what the study aims to shed some light on.

#### **(ii) Deciding on the sample**

In content analysis, the first step is to identify which media to use whether it is radio, TV, or the print –newspapers or magazine-online publications should be addressed. Then one needs to decide on the particular media, date of publication (period under study) which issues to be analyzed. This helps in clarity as the beginning and the end should be clearly defined in the research. To remove biasness in sample, appropriate sampling method ought to be used and a composite week or month where particular days were selected till the period is covered. Singletary, (1994) recommends that one continuous week from Monday to Sunday, then followed by a composite week. that is, Monday of one week. Tuesday of another week and so on. In addition, the size would be determined by the amount of labour devoted to the study but sometimes, the sample size can be determined when the data collected reach a point where coding becomes repetitive.

### **(iii) Define units of analysis**

In content analysis, unit of analysis is the smallest element of a content analysis which could be a single word, theme, picture, cartoon, or an article, character in a TV programme acts, or entire programme. Content analysis requires that what is to be counted should be defined precisely and the text characteristics identified for counting need to directly relate to research questions.

### **(iv) Constructing categories**

Content analysis categories must be mutually exhaustive, exclusive and reliable as they are used to classify media content. In content analysis, exhaustive means that there ought to be an existing slot into every unit of analysis while exclusive means that a unit of analysis is placed in one of the category; but this is not applicable in some cases. And reliability means that the coders should to a larger degree, agree about proper category for each unit of analysis and this should be evident when a repeated exercise produces similar findings.

### **(v) Creating coding forms**

This comes before the counting exercise begins. Coding forms are pages containing, for instance coding categories, dates, coders names, guidelines, definitions, variables to be coded. In this study, variables coded were similar to a survey questionnaire and a copy of the coding sheet is presented in appendix i and ii.

### **(vi) Training coders**

Content analysis is labour intensive and the researcher alone cannot manage the task of coding and assistants have to be trained to become coders. These must be people of certain level of education and who can make reasonable judgment. If they are not up to the task, they would make mistakes in coding which could effect affect the findings.

### **(vii) Collecting data**

The coding exercise entails going through each article and filling in the coding forms with the right unit of analysis. The coders have to use one coding form for each unit being studied. However, before the beginning the coding exercise, it is necessary to test the instrument. This is would enable the analyst to discover any shortcomings and rectify instruments before proper exercise begins.

### **(viii) Measuring inter-coder reliability**

Inter-coders reliability means, in content analysis, the degree of arrangement among coders. If coding is not reliable then the study cannot be trusted and it is necessary therefore to gauge the coder's reliability before they begin the task for instance before they go so deep into the exercise.

### **(ix) Analyzing data**

To analyze is to make sense of the numbers. It is to interpret the numbers /figures/tables so that they can become facts that can be easily understood by even a lay person. A computer can be used to analyze data or depending on the amount, data can be analyzed annually. Data analysis ought to address the research question.

(x) Reporting from the analysis, inferences can be drawn and then a report written about the findings. Recommendations are arrived at, and from them, decisions made.

## **2.6.2. Advantages and disadvantages of content analysis**

Content analysis is used widely in academic fields. It is one tool which the media managers exploit to monitor their business competitors. Advertisers find it beneficial in studying the creativity of successful competitors. One can employ content analysis to understand the appeal and style of certain text. On the demerits, content analysis cannot be used for determining the effects of messages on audiences. For example, a study might indicate 50 % advertisement in



daily newspapers is about mobile airtime. This does not mean that those who read this newspaper buy mobile airtime.

The findings of a particular content analysis are only limited to the categories and definition in that analysis, also, the technique may lack messages relevant to the study. Content analysis is an expensive and time consuming research technique.

## **2.7. Theoretical framework**

By reporting an issue, the mass media send an important message to their respective audiences in society. Issue that find themselves in the mass media form a basis for discussion by the public while those that do not see the lime light hardly get discussed by the public. When the media decide for their audiences what is important, critical questions such as whose benefit are the media reporting or not reporting? Is the mass media free to report or broadcast what they want and in whichever way or does they way they report change or harm society?

### **2.7.1. Agenda setting theory**

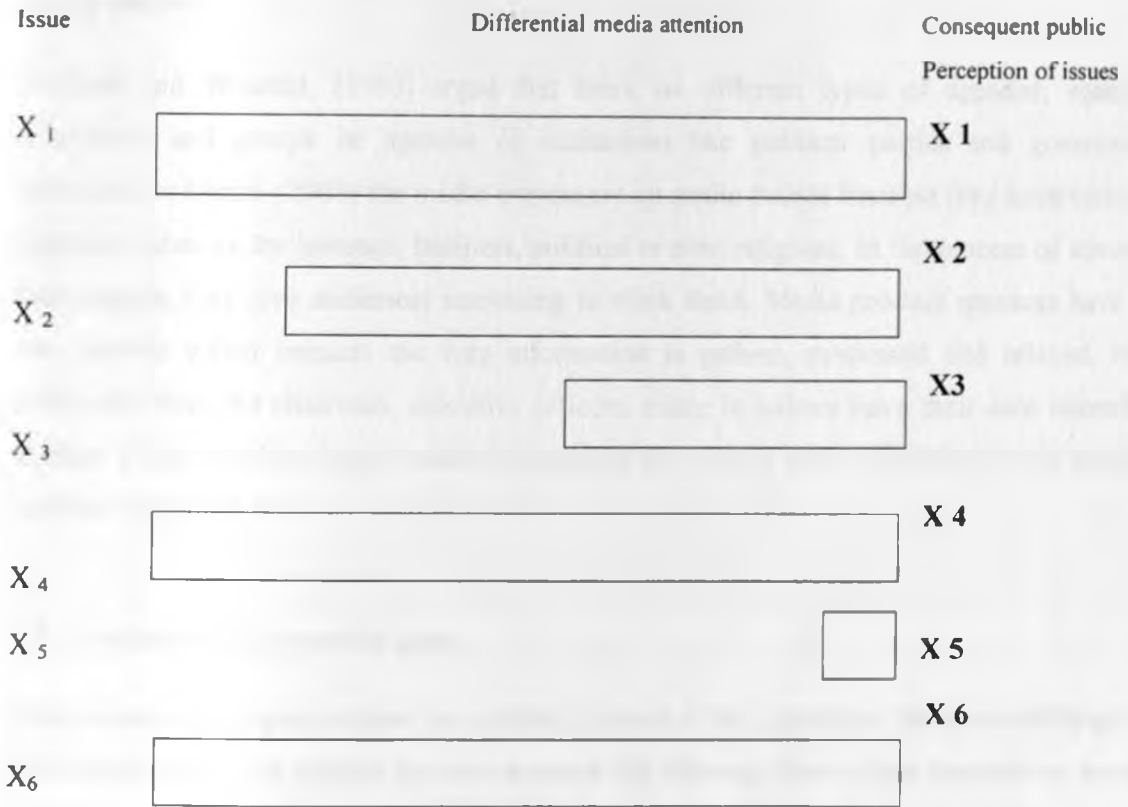
Severin, (1988) says that the agenda setting doctrines was first implied by Walter Lippman in 1922 when he stated that the mass media is responsible for the pictures in our words. In addition, Tan, (1994) emphasizes that McCombs and Shaw predicted that when the media emphasize an event, they influence the audience to see it as important.

In agenda setting, the media decide and make available what social matters they think are important and should be discussed openly by the public. The media thus pay attention to some social, economic or political issues while emphasizing, neglecting or even abandoning altogether issues they do not deem important for the society. The issues selected and highlighted by the media are those that are regarded as essential for the public debate. The order and manner in which they have been given treated determined the importance and priority attached to them.

Malcolm McCombs and Donald Shaw, (1976) stated that audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters through the media, they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the mass media places upon them. For example, in reflecting what politicians are saying during a referendum campaign. the media apparently determines the

important issues. In other words, the mass media set the agenda of the campaign during the referendum. McQuail and Windahl (1993) concur that this ability to reflect cognitive change among individuals is one of the most important aspects of the power of mass communication.

Figure 1. Agenda-setting model



**Source:** McQuail, D., and Windahl, S. (1983). *Communication Models for the study of mass communication*. Longman, New York.

The agenda setting model illustrated above shows that matters which are focused on more by the media will be seen as more important over a certain period of time, but those given little attention will continue decreasing in importance until they disappear from the limelight. The argument in this principle is that the public respond positively or negatively to the message the media puts a cross. Steinberg, (20020 says that because of this, the audience tend to take the issues the media have publicized as the most important in society. On the other hand, Ball-Rokeach (1989) says that the media's interpretation of issues and events can at times be

misleading as they create false pictures in the heads of the audiences for the outside world. This is untrue depiction of events is caused by the journalists' limited resources, difficulties they experience when preparing their stories, limited space and time which in turn compromises the filing of stories. Dependency on advertisers as a revenue source also affects the journalists' quality and out.

McQuail and Windahl, (1993) argue that there are different types of agendas; agenda of individuals and groups or agendas of institutions like political parties and governments. According to Ouma, (2009) the media owners set up media houses because they have concealed agenda to advance for instance, business, political or even religious. In the process of advancing their agenda, they give audiences something to think about. Media product sponsors have their own agenda which impacts the way information is gathered, processed and relayed. Media employees from the chairman, executive officers, editor to writers have their own interest and agenda. These people can also decide for example the editors, what to publish for the audiences and how to publish it.

## **2.8. Conclusion and research gaps.**

This chapter of literature review has critically looked at the significant literature existing in the field under study. The chapter has demonstrated that although there exists literature on sexuality and homosexuals in the country, none has directly focused on the print media framing of homosexuality in Kenya.

There is need therefore for the role of the mass media, especially, print to be studied so that it inspires how media framing of minority groups such as homosexuals affects their representation in the community, how they are fighting for recognition and how the society views them. Since sexuality and sexual orientation is gaining support in contemporary society, this study becomes more necessary considering the power of the media as institution and homosexuality as controversial as it exists and thrives in our communities, according to David Kuria, (2005).

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Introduction

Methodology is a system of explicit rules and procedure upon which research is based and against which claims for knowledge are evaluated (Nachmias, 2005). In this chapter the following areas of research design and methodology were covered: research design, target population, sample and sampling method, unit of analysis, data coding, analysis and presentation.

#### 3.2. Research Design

Research design describes the nature of the pattern the researcher intends to follow (Oso and Onen, 2005). The research design that was employed in this study was content analysis of the daily national English newspapers in Kenya. Kaid, (1989) notes that “the most widely accepted definition of content analysis is offered by Berelson where he defines content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” He further says that in content analysis, the units of observation (elements) of the phenomenon studied (called units of analysis) are coded and analyzed to reveal information.

McQuail (1987) further explains that content analysis is a research design for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the content of communication. Content analysis research method can be categorized into a number of steps. This research applied a number of steps undertaken while carrying out a content analysis. These steps include: selecting the research topic, deciding on the sample, define units of analysis, constructing categories, creating coding forms, training coders, collecting data, measuring inter-coder reliability, and analyzing data.

Content analysis is used widely in academic fields. It is one tool which the media managers exploit to monitor their business competitors. Advertisers find it beneficial in studying the creativity of successful competitors. One can employ content analysis to understand the appeal

and style of certain text. On the demerits, content analysis cannot be used for determining the effects of messages on audiences. For example, a study might indicate 50 % advertisement in daily newspapers is about mobile airtime. This does not mean that those who read this newspaper buy mobile airtime. The findings of a particular content analysis are only limited to the categories and definition in that analysis, also, the technique may lack messages relevant to the study. Content analysis is an expensive and time consuming research technique.

The media coverage of the homosexuality issues were be explored through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of content. The quantitative method was used to measure the duration and frequency of the news reported and qualitative analysis was used to interpret the viewpoints presented by the news articles. This supports what Smith, (1975) (cited in Yan, (2006), suggests that the same blend of both quantitative and qualitative analysis should be used- because qualitative analysis deals with forms and antecedent-consequent patterns of form, while quantitative analysis deals with duration and frequency of form.

While analyzing the content, it was important to establish and document the basic features and characteristics of the newspaper reporting and the way in which the newspapers represented issues regarding homosexuals. To ascertain the impact and the relevance of the articles, an assessment of the following categories was done: number of articles by date/month/year, standpoint of the articles, types of reporting, placement of articles, size of the articles, the headlines used, and the viewpoint presented in the story (Zorica et.al. (2004).

### **3.3. Target population**

The target population of this study was 320 articles on homosexuals and homosexuality covered from 1<sup>st</sup> March 2005 to 28<sup>th</sup> February 2010 in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers. The articles were found in the collection of the newspaper cuttings in the libraries of the media houses for these two newspapers. The study included the Sunday and Saturday editions (Weekend editions) of these newspapers. Weekend editions were included in the study as they have more coverage in terms of features, editorial analysis, opinion pieces and contain more commentaries.

**Table i: Newspaper articles on homosexuals and homosexuality published in *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* (1<sup>st</sup> March 2005- 28<sup>th</sup> February 2010)**

Year	News paper	Months of the year												Total
		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	De	
2005	DN			2	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	22
	STD			1	3	2	2	3	0	3	1	0	2	18
2006	DN	0	2	5	1	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	2	17
	STD	1	1	3	3	0	2	3	0	3	1	0	3	20
2007	DN	3	3	3	4	1	0	0	0	1	3	2	4	24
	STD	2	4	2	5	2	1	0	0	2	3	3	4	28
2008	DN	4	2	1	5	5	0	1	2	0	0	3	6	29
	STD	6	4	2	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	28
2009	DN	1	3	6	4	2	1	2	0	3	6	5	8	41
	STD	3	4	5	6	3	1	0	0	4	5	6	10	48
2010	DN	12	10											22
	STD	11	12											23
<b>Total</b>		<b>43</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>04</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>320</b>

**Source: The Standard and Daily Nation Newspapers Libraries**

The *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* were selected because they have a wider geographical circulation, huge readership and have been consistent in publication in the period under study (Mbeke Oriare, 2010). These English language newspapers were selected because the researcher and research assistants understand newspaper contents written in English and capable of determining which cuttings are relevant. The selected time frame (1<sup>st</sup> March, 2005- 28<sup>th</sup>

February, 2010) has seen more liberal space open up in political, freedom of expression and movement, economic development and religion. In addition, the research stopped at February, 2010 because the study was conducted in March. The study opted to use a five year period to obtain a deeper analysis of homosexual and homosexuality issues by the two national English newspapers. Because of the short time frame, it was not possible to go through the huge volume of daily newspapers for the five year period and that is why the study opted for newspaper cutting.

#### **3.4. Sample and sampling procedure**

Wimmer and Dominick, (1987) state that determining adequate sample size is one of the most controversial aspects of sampling. However, sample size can be determined by methodology, cost and time among other factors. According to Krejcie and Morgan, (1970) to determine needed sizes of a randomly chosen sample from a given finite population of  $n$  cases, the research need to take the sample proportion  $p$  which should be within  $\pm 0.5$  of  $t$  and the population proportion  $p$  with a 95 per cent level of confidence. Krejcie and Morgan provide a table for determining sample size and it is on the basis of this table that a sample of 222 newspaper copies, out of a population of 320 was arrived at. The table is provided in appendix iii. Because of numerous limiting factors including time, funds and resources, it was not possible to scrutinise all the newspapers published during the period to be studied. This therefore made it necessary to conduct multi-stage sampling.

In multi-stage sampling a sample is selected within each cluster, rather than including all units in the cluster. This means there is selection of a sample in at least two stages. Firstly, large groups are selected. According to Nachmias, (2005), units are chosen from large groups. In the context of this study, the large group was the mass media. From the mass media, the study zeroed in on the print media. And from the print media, there will be a smaller group of newspapers that's daily national English newspapers published in Kenya. These newspapers include *Daily Nation* and *the Standard*.

The exercise was made possible by selection of appropriate newspaper cuttings containing homosexuality and homosexual stories from all the two daily newspapers published in Kenya.

This therefore means that multi-stage sampling was conducted and this involved selecting a sample within each cluster.

This meant that a simple random sampling exercise had to be conducted for each month and the dates containing homosexuality and homosexual issues selected. The study also analyzed weekend newspaper editions since the newspapers selected usually contain more opinion articles on weekends. The total number of newspapers that formed the study population of this research was 320 newspaper cuttings.

In selecting the respondents from the two newspapers studied, purposive sampling procedure was employed. This sampling technique allows the researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objective of the study (Olive Mugenda and Abel Mugenda, 1999). This study applied purposive sampling because it targeted micro and small scale businesses owners who are registered and have a valid license from the City Council of Nairobi and have been in business for the past six years. According to Bayea, (2009), in purposive sampling, researchers select certain subjects to be included in the sample based on the study purpose.



**Table ii: Sampled newspaper articles (Weekdays, Saturdays and Sundays) on homosexuals and homosexuality (1<sup>st</sup> March 2005- 28<sup>th</sup> February, 2010)**

		<b>Weekdays (Mon-Fri)</b>	<b>Saturdays</b>	<b>Sundays</b>	<b>Total</b>
2005	DN	9	2	3	14
	STD	5	1	4	10
2006	DN	4	3	4	11
	STD	5	2	5	12
2007	DN	7	3	6	16
	STD	8	4	6	18
2008	DN	9	6	5	21
	STD	11	5	4	20
2009	DN	18	7	8	33
	STD	20	8	10	38
2010	DN	6	3	5	14
	STD	7	4	4	15
<b>Total</b>		<b>111</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>222</b>

**Source: The Standard and Daily Nation Newspapers Libraries**

As indicated in the table above, 2005 had 14 weekday editions, 3 Saturday and 7 Sunday, making 24 newspaper copies. 2006 on the hand had 9 newspaper copies on weekdays and 5 copies on Saturday and 9 copies on Sunday making a total of 23 newspaper copies. 2007 had 15 weekday copies, 7 Saturday copies and 12 Sunday copies making a total of 34 newspaper copies. 2008 had 20 weekday copies, 11 Saturday copies and 9 Sunday copies making a total of 41

newspaper copies. 2009 had 38 weekday copies, 15 Saturday copies and 18 Sunday copies making a total of 71 newspaper copies for analysis. 2010 had 13 week day editions, 7 Saturday editions and 9 Sunday editions making a total of 29 newspaper copies.

The total number of newspapers that were analyzed for the study was 111 weekday editions and 111 weekend editions. This means 222 was the total number of newspapers examined in the study. To effectively compare *Daily Nation and the Standard*, the number of all newspapers was the same and the dates for all newspapers was the same.

### 3.5. Unit of analysis

Stacks and Hocking (1998) define unit of analysis as what the researcher actually counts and assigns categories, adding that is the area of social life on which research question focuses. The unit of analysis for this study was the stories, opinions and commentaries that covered homosexuality. The articles, adverts, cartoons, pictures were in terms of the following selected variables:

*Number of articles:* This is the total number of articles on homosexuals and homosexuality published during the period under consideration (1<sup>st</sup> March 2005- 28<sup>th</sup> February 2010) and which at the time of conducting this study were available in the newspaper cuttings' collection in the libraries of the media houses publishing the two newspapers analyzed (*Daily Nation* and the *Standard*).

*Placement of articles:* This is where an item appeared in the newspaper analyzed which and this could be front page, inside pages and back pages. The placement was also looked at as whether the articles were placed in the weekly edition, Saturday edition, Sunday edition and if the articles were pull-outs and inside page

*Size of articles:* This was the amount of space given to an item. This was categorized as below 2 inches<sup>2</sup>, which can be described as very small, 3-5 inches<sup>2</sup> can be placed under small, 6-8 inches<sup>2</sup> is medium in size, 9-11 inches<sup>2</sup> can be described as big and above 12 inches<sup>2</sup> can be categorized as very big.

*Types of headlines used:* The headlines was divided in two categories, namely informative and interpretative headlines. An informative headline is a type of headline which provides brief information on what an article is about while an interpretative headline presents the personal points of view of the story by the author or editor (Conrad & Markens, 2001).

*Type of story:* This is defined as the categories of newspaper items-news, features, editorials, letters to the editors, opinions, cartoons, pictures and adverts.

*View Points:* This considered the themes of the articles. Themes were coded based on what Kuhar (2003) developed in his study, the five basis mechanisms of media representation of homosexuality: stereotyping, medicalization, sexualization, secrecy and normalization. Stereotyping means labeling individuals and making them look not wanted in the community in which they live, medicalization was used to indicate that homosexuals need more medical examination to ascertain their problem, sexualization refers to reversion of ones sexuality, secrecy means confidentiality in the practice of homosexuality and normalization means the perception of homosexual have in homosexuality as something ordinary.

*Portrayal of homosexuality:* The portrayal of homosexuality was divided into three categories that are negative, neutral and positive. Three operational definitions of the categories were used in the study as stated by Alagappan and Kaur (2009). When a news item contained any of the attributes, relationships, terms, expressions and phrases showing positive image of homosexuals, it was coded as positive. When a news article or an editorial contains any of the attributes, relationships, terms, expressions and phrases portraying a negative image of homosexuals, it was coded negative. When a news article or an editorial was neither positive nor negative towards the homosexuals, it was as coded neutral. In other words, the contents of the news articles in this category showed a balance of, or no, positive and negative arguments.

*Standpoint/Treatment of story:* Generally, Africans are uncomfortable about discussing the issue of sex and sexuality, which are considered as taboo. As such, a controversial issue such as homosexuality is not discussed or debated among the general public in Kenya. For the purpose of this research, the standpoints of the newspaper articles was categorized based on five different themes that are apparent: religion and homosexuality, homosexuality and punishment,

homosexuality leads and social illness, homosexuality as a western culture and censorship of homosexuality in the entertainment industry. David Kuria, (2009) explains that in African and other cultures like in the Islamic world, sex and sexuality is not discussed publicly thus making the issue a prohibited matter. On the other hand, he says that religion and homosexuality have a long history. He cites examples in Europe especially in the Roman Catholic Church where homosexuality is condemned but the followers practice it and including the clergy whom he says have been accused of homosexuality from time to time. It is on this basis that David Kuria, (2009) argues that homosexuality and punishment is rampant in the church and the state. He says that in Kenya for example, the Kenyan Penal Code of 1963 where the state out laws homosexuality. In particular, section 163 of the Penal Code states that any person who:

(a) has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; or

(b) has carnal knowledge of an animal; or

(c) permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature, is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years:

The church and social moralists in society argue that homosexuality is the origin and the cause of all social illness in society. David Kuria, (2009) puts it that HIV/AIDS was seen as the disease associated to homosexuals and they (homosexuals) were seen as cursed members of society. Homosexuality seen as unafican is believed by most African communities as a western culture. Ponmalar N. Alagappar, (2009) argues that homosexuality existed in most communities in the world, including the Africa and Muslim cultures. However, he notes that the practice was done in secrecy without proclaiming publicly. He adds that the Africans and the Muslim communities later blamed the colonialists for introducing homosexuality into their cultures. Ponmalar's explanation is that the Europeans practiced homosexuality openly and was well known of its existence while although it existed in the African and Muslim cultures, it was not practiced publicly.

### **3.6. Coding**

Coding entailed putting the units of analysis into the already constructed content analysis categories. But before embarking on the actual coding of content, a code sheet and code book were constructed and then pilot exercise of coding conducted. A sample of the code sheet is presented in Appendix I. After the pilot study, proper exercise of coding was commenced. Latent coding method was used. This method is best used for tapping the underlying meaning of communication, because people communicate meaning in many implicit ways that depend on content, and not just in specific words (Neuman, 2003). These news articles were coded into themes to see if there was an emergence of certain themes. According to Ma & Hildebrandt, (1993) the most important indicators of coverage content are, of course, themes or topics, since they reflect what the press staff perceives as newsworthy about a group. The coding of the news articles were coded by both the researcher and research assistants, who are familiar with the technique of content analysis. To minimize subjectivity, the researchers made their judgment only on the literal meaning of each news articles.

The themes selected in this research was coded based on what Kuhar, (2003) developed in his study, that is, the five basis mechanisms of media representation of homosexuality: stereotyping, medicalization, sexualization, secrecy and normalization. As such, the researcher and research assistant used Kuhar (2003) categorization as a base and the underlying implicit meaning of the news articles, the categorization of the news articles fell into the following categories: sex and sexuality is a taboo.

### **3.7. Data analysis**

While applying content analysis, this research wanted to establish and document the basic features and characteristics of the two newspapers reporting and the way in which they represented issues regarding homosexuals. To ascertain the impact and the relevance of the articles, an assessment of the following categories were done: number of articles by date/month/year, standpoint of the articles, types of reporting, placement of articles, size of the articles, the headlines used, and the viewpoint presented in the story. This study applied similar analysis procedure used by Zorica, R. et.al. (2004), and Conrad & Markens (2001).

The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative techniques when analyzing data. While qualitative is non-numerical information which is related to qualities, values, such as a person's views and its aim being to gather in-depth understanding of human behaviour and reasons behind that behaviour, quantitative is systematic scientific numerical information. The objective of quantitative is to develop and employ mathematics models, theories and hypotheses pertaining to natural phenomena (Chandran, 2004). In this study, quantitative technique involved reducing text to numbers and then those numbers counted, summed up and compared. But qualitative employed in the interpretation of the findings. Data was analyzed using Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS), 15.0 edition and Microsoft Office Excel 2007.

### **3.8. Ethical Considerations**

One ethical consideration was on dissemination of the findings which the research adhered to. The research findings will be disseminated as required by the University of Nairobi regulation, that is, the research findings will remain the property of the university. It is unethical to conceal findings after completion of research. Copies will be given only to participating institutions such as Gay Kenya and GALCK.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

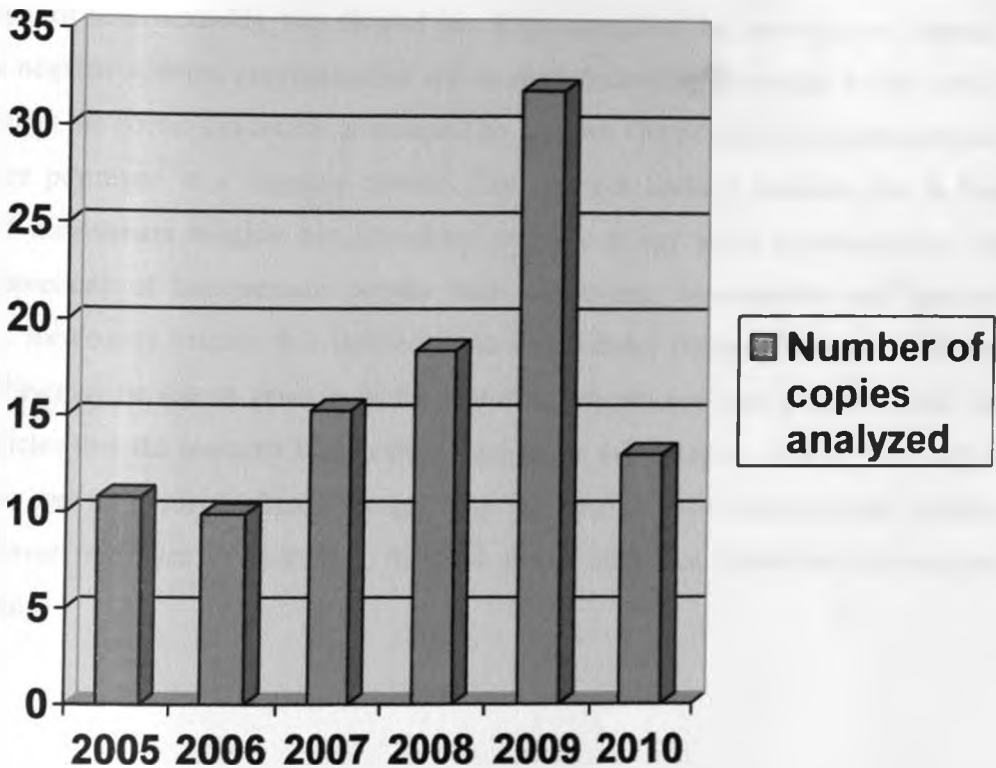
#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of the data collected based on content analysis of the framing of homosexuality by two daily national newspapers in Kenya beginning January 2005 to February 2010. The study analyzed a total of 222 copies of newspapers comprising of the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. For comparison purposes, all the newspapers had 111 copies each and those analyzed were of the same dates. In 2005, 24 (10.8 %) copies were examined, 2006, 22 (9.9%) copies were analyzed, 2007, 34 (15.3%) copies were analyzed, 2008, 41 (18.4%) copies were analyzed, 2009, 71 (31.9%) copies were analyzed and in 2010, 29 (13.0%) copies were analyzed. The data mentioned were the exact period within which the media concentrated reporting on homosexuality and homosexuals in the country.

#### 4.1. Number of Articles

A total of 222 articles with the word homosexuality appeared in the two English national newspapers from the period of January 2005 to February 2010. These articles appeared in the various sections of the newspaper but were mainly in the main papers – the national news, world news, letter to editors, and in feature articles and entertainment. About two fifths of the articles were concentrated between September 2008 to February 2010 which includes the wedding of two Kenyans living in London and the aborted planned wedding in the coastal town of Mtwapa. The graph below indicates the number of articles published and analyzed from the year 2005 to 2010.

Graph 1: Number of copies analyzed each year.



Source: Research data.

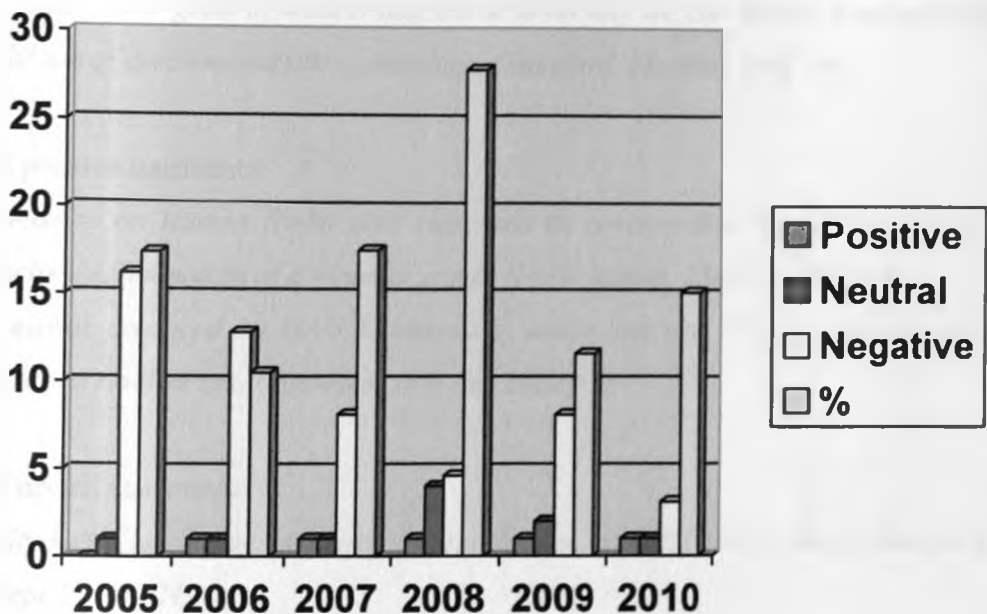
The graph above shows that 2009 had the highest number of articles that were analyzed, with 33.5 %. This is because the media had a lot of issues on homosexuality and homosexuals to report on. From the study findings, two Kenyans wedded in London in the same year which drew a lot of criticism from the Kenyan public back home and it was in the same year that the Anglican Church in Kenya was fighting with the Mother Church in England over the ordination of gay Bishops. The study further indicates that 2008 and 2007 had the highest number of articles analyzed and this was because these were the two years that GALCK was building its foundation in terms of publicity and recruiting new members into its society. 2006 had the least number of articles analyzed.



#### 4.1.2. Portrayal of homosexuals

The portrayal of homosexuality was divided into three categories that are negative, neutral and positive. In negative articles, homosexuality was seemed as deviant, an outrage by the public and leaders, against the norms and totally unaccepted by religion. Out of the 222 articles analyzed 64 articles were portrayed in a negative manner. The research findings indicate that in Kenya, virtually all mainstream religion has something negative to say about homosexuality. These negative depictions of homosexuals portray them as deviant, unacceptable and against the religion. As for neutral articles, it is defined as no commitment made by writers, for example, homosexuality may be due to genetics or the nurturing process and thus is unavoidable. There were 13 articles that the research study categorized under this category. Out of this, only nine articles were seen as positive where homosexuality was seen as basic human rights, freedom of choice and even portrayed in theatres. The graph below illustrates further on the portrayal of homosexuality.

**Graph 2: Portrayal of homosexuality by the Daily and the Standard newspapers from 2005 to 2010.**



**Source: Research data**

From the above graph, 2005 had the highest negative coverage of homosexuals with 16% of the total number of newspapers that were analyzed by the study. The possible explanation from the research findings is that by 2005, homosexuals had not taken centre stage in calling for their basic rights include the right of assembly and association. The findings indicate that despite the numerous publicity of homosexuality and homosexuals, negative coverage by the main stream newspapers persisted. It emerged that homosexuality only to get a paltry below 5% positive coverage from the two newspapers under study. This is an indication that homosexuality and homosexuals still have a negative image in the Kenyan society.

From the study analysis of the newspapers, the research sampled a few examples of statement from the two newspapers understudy that were found to be negative. Some of these include the following:

*The Daily Nation – harsh punishment for sodomy, incest, bisexuality, homosexuality and lesbianism (Daily Nation, 10th July 2005 p. 10)*

*The Daily Nation – harsh punishment for sodomy, incest, bisexuality, homosexuality and lesbianism (Daily Nation, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2005 p. 10)*

*We simply cannot make good of what is not. There is no way we can accept homosexuality or encourage the use of condoms outside of marriage. (Standard, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005 p.8)*

Examples of positive statements:

*Kenya Commission on Human Rights also expressed its concern that GALCK action was an attempt to incite discrimination of a minority group. (Daily Nation, 23<sup>rd</sup> Oct 2009 p. 6)*

*Short film festival produced by GALCK showcase issues that are taboo in society such as homosexuality and random sex. (Standard, 18<sup>th</sup> Jan 2010 p.3)*

Examples of neutral statements:

*Homosexuality had a largely genetic basic (research done in 1993) but backlash from the elite. (Standard, Sept 2009 p. 24)*

*Homosexuality is not hereditary but through a nurturing process. ( Daily Nation, 24<sup>th</sup> Feb 2010 p. 11)*

#### **4.1.3. Types of Reporting**

From the research findings, the types of reporting show if homosexuality issues were prominent or less prominent in the articles. The research indicated that prominent issues were articles that discussed the homosexuality issues and less prominent were articles that did not discuss about homosexuality but carried words related to homosexuality in them. The findings indicated that out of total articles analyzed, 41% (35) of the articles were prominent issues and 59% (51) of the articles were less prominent. This finding show how weighty the issue of homosexuality has in the country.

#### **4.1.4. Placement of Articles**

Out of the 222 articles published, 111 (61 *Daily Nation* and 50 *Standard*) articles on homosexuality were published in the week day editions of the main newspapers and 63 (*Daily Nation*) and 48 (*Standard*) were in the weekend editions of the two main newspapers. The

majority of the articles had appeared in the main newspaper, indicating the importance given to the news articles in terms of accessibility and readership, a clear indication of the salient of the issue.

The table below shows that 2010 had the highest number of articles placed in the main section of the newspaper. The research further shows that in 2010, the two newspapers under study put some weight on the issue of homosexuality and homosexuals. The issues of secret gay marriage in the coastal town of Mtwapa in early 2010 sent a lot of critiques of same marriages writing articles and buying advertisers pull-out pages in the newspapers. 2009 had the highest number of articles that were placed as pull-outs. The research findings indicate that GALCK had bought a number of those pull-outs and other organizations that advocate for the rights of the gay people in the country. 2006 had the least number of articles placed in the main section of the newspaper and as pull-out. The findings indicate that in 2005 and 2006, there was less activities involving the homosexuals and homosexuality thus the less number of articles placed either in the main section of the newspaper or a s pull-out.

**Table 1: Placement of Articles**

Year	Daily Nation		Standard		Total
	Main Section	Pull Out	Main Section	Pull Out	
2005	4	3	1	0	8
2006	3	0	1	1	5
2007	5	4	0	0	9
2008	4	3	0	1	8
2009	8	6	0	1	15
2010	8	2	2	1	13

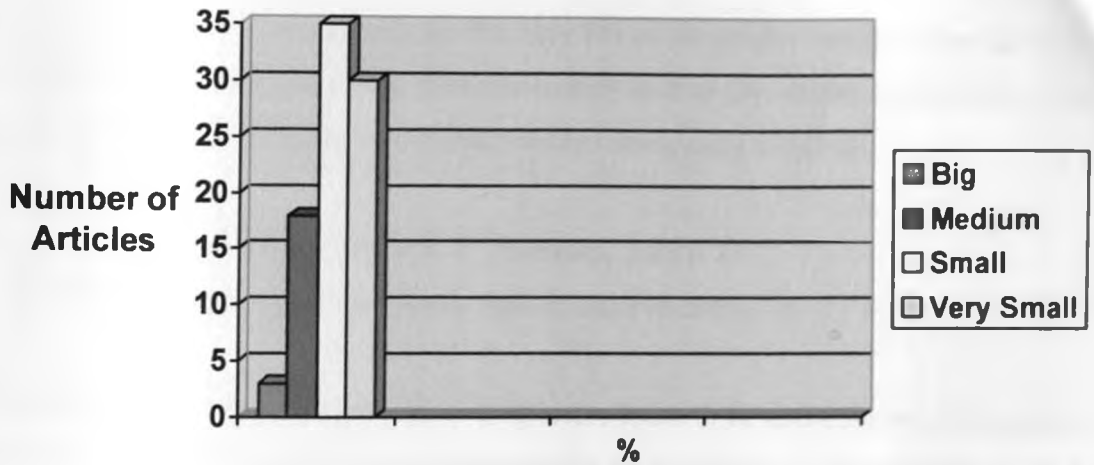
#### 4.1.5. Size of Articles

The sizes of the articles were categorized as big, medium, small and very small depending on the article length. Size of articles was the amount of space given to an item. This was categorized as below 2 inches<sup>2</sup>, which can be described as very small, 3-5 inches<sup>2</sup> can be placed under small, 6-8 inches<sup>2</sup> is medium in size, 9-11 inches<sup>2</sup> can be described as big and above 12 inches<sup>2</sup> can be categorized as very big or had more than 1,500 words (more than a page of the newspaper), As for small articles the length is from 501 to 999 words (two third of a page of the newspaper) and very small articles are articles that have below 500 words (one third of a page of a newspaper). Table 1.0 below illustrates further.

**Table 2: Size of Articles**

Article Size	Article length (no. of words)	Number	Percentage
Big	> 1500	3	3.5
Medium	1001 – 1499	18	21
Small	501 - 1000	35	40.7
Very Small	< 500	30	34.8
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>86</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Research data.



In this study 10 articles were categorized as big were in the main paper of the newspapers. Two of it was paid features made by the GALCK. As for the medium size articles, only 25 articles were in the main section of the newspaper and the rest were in the pull out section. In general, the research study found that news stories merited at least 2/3 of a page of the newspapers thus emphasizing the importance of the news articles featured in the study. From the study findings, it is clear that small articles (those that carried between 501 to 1,000 words) had the highest number of publications with 40.7% while big articles (those with more than 1,500 words) had the lowest number of publications with 3.5 %.

#### 4.1.6. Headlines

The research divided the headlines in two categories. Informative headlines provide brief information on what an article is about and interpretative headlines present the personal points of view by the author or editor. The research found that 32.5% of the articles were based on interpretative headline. Below are some of the examples of interpretative headlines carried by the two national newspapers under the study:

*Standard-Talking In a Queer World (Standard, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 2007 p. 8)*

*Open Society Still Betrays Sign of Intolerance (Standard 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2008 p. 8)*

*Desperate Times, Desperate Measures (Daily Nation, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2009 p. 19)*

Besides that, the research findings indicate that only 8% of the articles headlines had the word homosexuality or words that are related to homosexuality such as gay, lesbian and sodomy in the headlines. Examples carried by the two English national newspapers included:

*No "to Sodomy Being Legalized (Standard, 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2010 p. 2)*

*Objections to UN Homosexuality View (Daily Nation, 10<sup>th</sup> Feb 2009 p. 4)*

Headlines used by the two newspapers under study were found to be also quite misleading as to what the content was about as the word homosexuality did not appear in the headlines. Instead very general headlines such as the following were used.

*Time To Erase Last Trace of Colonialism (Daily Nation, 15<sup>th</sup> Oct 2009 p. 12)*

*Where You Can Open Up About Sex (Standard, 8<sup>th</sup> Nov 2008 p. 8)*

*"Spinning" in the right sprint (Daily Nation, 5<sup>th</sup> May 2007 p.9)*

This is in support of what David Kuria (2009) notes that Kenya is a conservative and religious society in which homosexuality is frowned upon and not discussed in public.

#### **4.1.7. Statements / View Points**

Generally African societies including Kenya are uncomfortable about discussing the issue of sex and sexuality, which are considered as taboo. As such, a controversial issue such as homosexuality is not discussed or debated among the general public. Freedom of speech on the issue of homosexuality is much reserved to the internet (certain websites) and electronic social networks such as facebook, twitter and Hi5. The GALCK communications officer, Mr. Dennis Nzioka also confirms this by stating that in Kenya where over 80 % of population is Christian and, homosexuality is a taboo. These statements made in the mass media further strengthens the idea that the Kenyan society is a close and conservative society that does not discuss or debate

on such issues openly. For the purpose of this research study, the statements were categorized based on five different themes that were apparent:

- i) Religion and homosexuality
- ii) Homosexuality and punishment
- iii) Homosexuality leads and social illness
- iv) Homosexuality as a western culture
- v) Censorship of homosexuality in the entertainment industry

#### **4.2. Religion and Homosexuality**

The issue of sex and sexuality that is a taboo is further infuriated by the various religious viewpoints by prominent religious leaders. Statements such as-homosexuality is a sin put an end to any further discussion. Kenya being a Christian dominated country does not condone homosexuality. In politically conservative countries such as Kenya, there is little overt anti-gay hostility (Choong, 2000). The editorials in the main English national newspapers are in support of what is politically correct and chose to highlight the statements mentioned below in the main newspapers. In this instance, the Standard newspaper chose to highlight homosexuality as a threat.

*The head of the Catholic Church in Kenya, Cardinal John Njue said that any attempt to legalize homosexuality would never succeed as it was against the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and other religions. (The Standard newspaper, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2009 p. 10)*

The research findings show that most religions regarded homosexuality as wrong. This is supported by the statements made by other religious bodies.



*“Same sex unions are against the course of nature, against biblical teachings and church doctrines and as abomination to God”, Joseph Abong Archbishop & Head of Seventh Day Adventist Province of Kenya. (Daily Nation, 4th Dec 2009 p. 13)*

*Fredrick Ndungu, Leader of the Christ Ministries stated that Christianity forbade sexual relationship outside the institution of marriage and homosexuality morally wrong. (Daily Nation, 10th Feb 2009 p. 4)*

### ***Homosexuality and Punishment***

Homosexuality is described in the Kenyan Laws as sexual acts against the order of nature and are punishable by up to 7 years in prison with or without corporal punishment and these outlawed sexual acts include anal and oral sex (Logan, 2000). In this variable, the newspapers framed homosexuality and homosexuals as unnatural, sodomy, incest, bisexuality among other negative forms. The research findings indicate how leaders especially religious were out to have the homosexuality and homosexuals punished harshly by the law. The research findings indicate homosexuality and homosexual were not tolerated as the newspapers framed. Of particular interest was how the English newspapers called on those promoting homosexuality to be punished. Examples include:

*A movement to combat homosexuality was launched today, and among its first move was to call on the government to increase the penalties against those found guilty of sodomy. The movement is also to create awareness on the danger of homosexuality and other unnatural sexual acts like lesbianism. (Daily Nation, 22nd Oct 2008 p. 7)*

*Standard: Harsh punishment for sodomy, incest, bisexuality, homosexuality and lesbianism. (Standard, 10th July 2009 p. 10).*

The research findings further show that Islamic Religion was very direct on what punishment was to be met with those found guilty of any homosexuality acts. For instant, the standard newspaper carried this:

*Shariah laws clearly stated that homosexual behavior was illegal. Section 377(A), (B) and (C) states that any penile penetration through the anus or mouth is considered carnal intercourse against the order of nature. An offender could be jailed a minimum of five years and maximum of 7 years. (Standard. 10<sup>th</sup> Feb 2009 p. 4).*

### *Homosexuality and Social Illness*

The research findings indicate that various statements were made by the religious leaders and prominent figures in the country as to the negative effect of homosexuality on the society in relation to culture. The media has further enhanced this by highlighting it in the main sections of the newspapers with quotes by experts in the various fields. Examples of direct quotes:

*"The Gay and Lesbian Community in Kenya were viewed as social outcasts – human beings who have "deviated" from nature's norms." (Daily Nation, 15<sup>th</sup> Aug 2009 p. 7).*

*"There was a time when we were accused of gay and lesbians for destroying the morals of the country because we discussed the subject of homosexuality." (Standard. 7<sup>th</sup> Sept 2009 p. 12)*

*All kind of vices, such as homosexuality, lesbianism and bestiality are sold in the night market, will lead our children and youths have succumbed to vice and immorality." (Daily Nation, 26<sup>th</sup> Jan 2010 p.13)*

*Kwamchetsi Makokha, a columnist views that if God wanted men to be homosexual, he would have created Adam and Bruce. He also feels that there is intuitive connection between gayness and theatre and that the Ministry of Youth and Sports should work closely with certain NGOs and recommend a special rehabilitation course for queer kiddies, where participants could spend weekends undergoing sexual orientation courses and bonding in hot sweaty tropical jungles. (Daily Nation, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 2009 p. 8).*

Statements such as these generally inform the public on what to think about or the line of taught to follow.

### *Homosexuality as a Western culture*

Another issue that the research findings brought up in the newspapers is that homosexuality is regarded as a globalized 'Western virus that corrupts the local. However, in reality, there are no borders when it comes to sexuality. This is illustrated as the presence of hatred towards homosexuals exists in the heart of the world's most vocal and chauvinist democracy (Offord, 1999). Furthermore, some religious leaders founder labeled homosexuality as a new threat to the country, following the apparently likes of communism, the Aedes mosquito and HIV/AIDS. It was a serious social illness (Jacqueline, 2005). The examples below Clearly show how some parties believe that homosexuality is a western influence that has corrupted our society.

*"The pendulum of sex has swung from unrestrained abandon to repression and back to permissiveness. Riding this momentum, the current sexual revolution is a progeny of western modernity", Prof. Malik Badri – Sudan born, Psychology lecturer at USIU and author of "The AIDS Crisis: An Islamic Socio-Cultural Perspective.*

He blames the Western media for championing the gay revolution with "scholarly enticements" to anal sex. (*Daily Nation*, 24<sup>th</sup> February, 2010 p. 7).

*UMNO Youth Exco Ab. Rauf Yusof reported in a Malay daily that there were Malay professionals who practiced homosexuality and that youth could have picked up homosexuality while studying abroad, but did not deny that there could be local influences too. (NST, 31<sup>st</sup> Aug 2001 p. 10)*

*Dr. Sihanya from the University of Nairobi states that degradation of moral values due to western exposure through films, videos.... Will weaken our spirit to fight and bring ill to society. (Daily Nation, 1st January, 2010 p. 19)*

The above statements made in the newspapers shows that homosexuals were deemed a threat that needed to be weeded out and dealt with. In her article, Jacqueline, (2005) stated that western

values were also blamed for the rise in homosexuality but how homosexuality could threaten the nation was never explained except for the often repeated description of sodomy as despicable.

### *Censorship of homosexuality in the entertainment industry*

The issue of homosexuality as a threat seems to spill over into the entertainment industries with the banning of any movies, television programmes, or plays that has the touch of homosexuality.

*The movie director had to deal with outrage quarters and crude censorship (in Spinning Gasing movie) due to subject like homosexuality was discussed in the movie. (NST., 5<sup>th</sup> March 2002 p. 9)*

*Banning or censoring of movies that portray or promote lesbianism or homosexuality. (NST, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2003 p. 1)*

*Red Communication, the producer of 3R, a television programme episodes were banned as they were accused of destroying the morals of the country because they discussed the subject of homosexuality. (NST, 7<sup>th</sup> Sept 2004 p. 12).*

*Mohd Hussain Shafie, chairman of film Censorship Board banned the movie Brokeback Mountain since it dealt with homosexuality and portrayed two cowboys in love. Homosexuality is not something we allow in films here. (NST, 18<sup>th</sup> Sept 2006 p. 6)*

The above statements clearly indicate that the authorities have the right to decide on what the society can or should watch as they feel that the society can be easily influenced by what they watch on television or movies.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.0 Discussion and Conclusion

The research findings indicate that the media representation on the issue of homosexuality in Kenya is negatively skewed as 74% of the articles were framed/ portrayed in a negative way. This is in agreement with Kuhar (2003) and Kam-lun (2005) that the media reporting on homosexuality perpetuates a negative attitude of public opinion towards the phenomenon. By emphasizing or frequently mentioning the issue in a negative manner, the media increase the salience of this issue among the public. Thus in Kenya, the media as shown by the study findings, framed homosexuals and homosexuality issues in a negative manner.

Furthermore, the research findings show that a significant number of the negative articles were published during a significant period of the formation of GALCK and the tying of the nodes by Kenyans in London, the appointment of a gay bishop in the Anglican Church in England, and during the arrest of two young men who tried to wed secretly in the coastal town of Mtwapa and the demonstration of the church leaders against the holding of the gay ceremony in the National museums of Kenya-2010, which acted as a reminder to the public that homosexuality is not accepted in this country.

Besides that, most of the articles were published in the main section of the newspapers and the size of the news stories merited at least 2/3 of a page of the newspapers thus highlighting the importance of the issue given by the media. Therefore, creating the public awareness and concern for issues that are reported by news media (Gewijzigd, 2003)

Negative words such as immoral act, illegal, criminal offence and harsh punishment in the articles leave an impression to the readers that homosexuality activities are not acceptable and if they're caught, they will be punished. The media, by portraying homosexuality as an act that is punishable or which leads to social illness, generally informs the public what line of thought to follow.

If the media regularly represents homosexuals as an illness and a threat to the nation or morality, then such an image becomes realistic for homosexuals, particularly in terms of its consequences i.e. the public's response. Branston and Stafford (in Kuhar, 2003), point out a link between the frequency of the appearance of a specific image in media texts and the public's response. This further enforces the fact that homosexuality acts are not accepted in Kenya.

The research findings show that the sources of the news articles were mainly from politicians, religious leaders, activist and individuals. The media had relied heavily on experts' sources i.e. prominent politicians and religious leaders when it comes to expressing judgments, opinions or views. This adds to the seriousness of the issue and eventually these viewpoints will be mirrored in what the readers think as important too. This is in accordance to McCombs and Shaw (cited in Sei-hill Kim, 2002) argument that the media emphasize certain issues in their coverage of politics by devoting a greater proportion of the news hole to them or by placing them more prominently in the newspaper and this emphasis, in turn influences the salience of these issues among the audience.

This further enforces the fact that the issues of homosexuality are banned in the entertainment industry, as the relevant authorities believe that they have the right to decide on moral grounds of what can or should be viewed or read by the society. What were missing were the voices of the homosexuals themselves in terms of their opinion and rights. As such, it was clear that the media portrayed, as what according to Littlejohn 1992, this picking and choosing activity establishes the salience of issues or images in the minds of the public (cited in Akpabio, 2005, p.174). The media should obtain the viewpoint of all relevant parties i.e. the homosexuals themselves and of those directly or indirectly involved with the homosexuals.

In a politically conservative country like Kenya, the media tends to report what is politically correct and issues that conforms to the general public norm. Quist and Wiegand (2002) asserted that conservatives' representations would be less favorable toward the gay community in general. Therefore, the media choose to portray homosexuality in a negative manner as this conforms to the general public idea or stereotype images of homosexuality. It would be ideal if the media took greater responsibility for and placed more focus on generating unbiased reports.

The news media's portrayal on the issue of homosexuals and homosexuality in Kenya as either deserving or undeserving of civil rights not only tells us about their social standing but also the prevailing societal view of homosexuality (Meyers, 1994). This study concludes that the media by emphasizing certain attributes of an issue tell us how to think about this issue as well as what to think about.

Developing countries like Kenya did not recognize sexual relations between people of the same sex (J.J.Ray, 2005). Therefore, it would take a long time before Kenyans can openly discuss or accept the idea of homosexuality being another sexual orientation. Society is still homophobic as it was then, and heterosexuals are just as ignorant today about homosexuality as they were then (J.J.Ray, 2005). An article in *The Star* by Loh (2009) titled —Homosexuality more about politics than biology concludes that regardless of whether homosexuality is inborn or nurtured, the greater question is: Where does society draw the line in sexual behavior? If some of us choose to express our homosexuality, what should a society's attitude be without demeaning homosexuals as persons? These are questions that every society needs to address and to see if they can embrace diversity and treat all members as equal.

The study is rather limited as it based on only two newspapers and much of the sources of information were based on press cuttings of local newspapers and magazines. The study has established the way in which print media represents the issue of homosexuals but it cannot be generalized as merely reflects the representation of homosexuals in only two newspapers, that is, the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*.

**APPENDIX I**  
**CODE SHEET FOR THE RESEARCH ON “MASS MEDIA FRAMING OF  
HOMOSEXUALITY: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL DAILY  
NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA”**

**SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE NEWSPAPER STORIES**

1. Name of newspaper:

- a) Weekly Daily Nation
- b) Saturday edition of Daily Nation
- c) Sunday edition of Daily Nation
- d) The standard
- e) Weekly edition of the Standard
- f) Saturday edition of the Standard
- g) Sunday edition of the Standard

2. Date (day/month/year): \_\_\_\_\_

3. Placement of story:

- (a) Front pages
- (b) Inside page
- (c) Back page

4. Size of Story/article:

- a) Below 2 inches<sup>2</sup> (Very Small)
- b) 3-5 inches<sup>2</sup> (Small)
- c) 6-8 inches<sup>2</sup> (Medium)
- d) 9-11 inches<sup>2</sup> (Big)
- e) Above 12 inches<sup>2</sup> (Very Big)



5. Categorization of headline of story:

a) Informative

b) Interpretative

6. Type of Story:

(a) News

(b) Feature

(c) Commentary/Analysis/Opinion

(d) Editorial

(e) Letter to the editor

(f) Advert

(g) Cartoon

(h) Picture

(i) Advertisement

**SECTION B: PERTINENT ISSUES REGARDING HOMOSEXUALITY FRAMING BY THE MEDIA IN RELATION TO THE CATEGORY/FOCUS OF THE STUDY**

1. Theme of story:

a) Stereotyping

b) Medicalization

c) Sexualization

d) secrecy and normalization.

2. How the newspapers frame the article?

a) Positive

b) Negative

c) Neutral -

3. Portrayal of homosexuality:

How has the article framed homosexual /homosexuality?

(a) Positive

(b) Neutral

(c) Negative

4. Standpoint/Treatment of story:

- a) religion and homosexuality,
- b) homosexuality and punishment,
- c) homosexuality leads and social illness,
- d) homosexuality
- e) Western culture and censorship of homosexuality in the entertainment industry.

## Appendix ii

### A GUIDE SAMPLING TABLE

Determining needed sizes of a randomly chosen sample. From a given finite population of  $n$  cases such that the sample proportion  $p$  will be  $\pm .05$  of  $t$ , the population proportion  $p$  with a 95 per cent level of confidence.

Population size	Sample size	Population size	Sample size	Population size	Sample size
10	10	55	48	100	80
15	14	60	52	110	86
20	19	65	56	120	92
25	24	70	59	130	97
30	28	75	63	140	103
35	32	80	66	150	108
40	36	86	70	160	113
45	40	90	73	170	118
50	44	95	76	>	>

Source: Krejcie, R.V. & Morgan, D.W (1970). Determining sample size for research activities. Educational and Psychological measurement.

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