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THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Media and Communications

**NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF FEMICIDE: AN ANALYSIS OF KENYAN
NEWSPAPERS' REPORTS ON THE KILLING OF TWO WOMEN**

By

Ng'ang'a Rose Wangui
535189

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

Nairobi, Kenya

May, 2021
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APPROVAL PAGE

The Aga Khan University
Graduate School of Media and Communications

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

Members of the Thesis Evaluation Committee appointed to examine the thesis of
NG'ANG'A ROSE WANGUI-535189, find it satisfactory and recommended that it be
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DECLARATION

NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF FEMICIDE: AN ANALYSIS OF KENYAN NEWSPAPERS' REPORTS ON THE KILLING OF TWO WOMEN

I, **NG'ANG'A ROSE WANGUI-535189**, declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university and that to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. The editorial assistance provided to me has in no way added to the substance of my thesis, which is the product of my research endeavours.

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beautiful daughter Laika Kamiri, loving parents Peter Ng'ang'a, and Veronica Wanjiku for their support through the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the Aga Khan University – Graduate School of Media and Communications (AKU-GSMC) faculty for the continuous support and motivation throughout this study. Thanks to my supervisors Dr. Nyakundi Nyamboga and Dr. Joy Mueni whose guidance helped me in the time of research and writing of this thesis. I thank Mr. Hesbon Owilla, Mr. Augustine Gitonga, and Mr. Henry Kibira for their help in making this thesis a success.

ABSTRACT

The Kenyan media has brought to the limelight disturbing issues of women who are murdered as a result of intimate partner violence. However, the framing of the femicide stories has brought about different perspectives in their interpretation, deeming the victims responsible for murder by blaming them. The framing justifies the actions taken by the perpetrators in committing murder. It is therefore against this background that the study focused on analyzing the frames used by the Kenyan media in covering homicide. The objectives that guided the study included; (i) to examine the major frames in the coverage of femicide by Kenyan newspapers; (ii) to establish the degree of prominence on femicide stories in the Kenyan newspapers; and (iii) to investigate what influences the selection of the different frames by Kenyan newspapers in the coverage of femicide. The study was anchored on framing and priming theories. The study used a mixed method approach, which included both a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of sampled newspapers and interviews of purposively sampled journalists. The study deployed a descriptive research design in analyzing the frames used in the coverage of femicide by the Kenyan media. The target population of the study was journalists working at the Nation and Standard media organizations and all the nation and standard newspapers that published Sharon and Monica cases – they were both victims of femicide. A sample size of six key informants was considered of the target population using purposive sampling technique. This study adopted both a code sheet and an interview guide as tools for data generation. Data collected from interviews was analysed thematically, while that from the texts was analysed using SPSS. The findings of this study indicated that, some of these frames that are widely used are attribution of responsibility, alleged perpetrator, love affair, societal frame, victim frame and sponsor support frame. The prominence of the femicide stories is determined by aspects such as who the victim or the alleged perpetrator is, the relation between the two, their status in the society, the nature of the killings, court proceedings and finally deliberations by the editor. Further, the study established that the usage of frames by the media is shaped by the sources, language and the context. The study concluded that the context of the killing informs the kind of frames used while writing femicide stories. It therefore recommended that (i) media houses actively engage in covering femicide stories to bring to the fore the seriousness of the matter; (ii) the media should exercise professionalism while framing the femicide stories; and (iii) consistent coverage that puts to task the authorities whose responsibility is to solve such cases.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL PAGE	iii
DECLARATION	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study	2
1.3 Statement of the Problem	5
1.4 Objectives of the Study	6
1.4.1 Specific Objectives	6
1.4.2 Research Questions	7
1.5 Justification of the Study	7
1.6 Significance of the Study	8
1.7 Scope of the Study	9
1.8 Limitations of the Study	9
1.9 Operational Definition of Terms	9
1.10 Summary	10
CHAPTER TWO	11
LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Theoretical Framework	11
2.2.1 Framing Theory	11
2.2.2 Priming Theory	19
2.3 General and Empirical Literature Review	22
2.3.1 Understanding Gender-Based Violence	22
2.3.2 What is Femicide?	24
2.3.3 Recent Trends and Statistics on GBV and Femicide in Kenya	27
2.3.4 Media Reports on Femicide	28
2.3.5 Framing of Femicide	30
2.3.6 Print Media Framing of Gender-Based Violence	32
2.3.7 Emerging Gaps in Literature	35

1.4	Summary	36
CHAPTER THREE		37
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY		37
3.1	Introduction	37
3.2	Research Approach and Research Design.....	37
3.3	Population.....	38
3.4	Target Population	38
3.5	Study Site	39
3.6	Sample Size	39
3.7	Sampling Procedures.....	40
3.8	Research Methods	40
3.9	Unit of Analysis	42
3.10	Data Generation/Collection Tools	42
3.11	Data Collection Procedures	43
3.12	Pre testing of Data Generation / Collection Tools.....	43
3.13	Validity and Reliability of Research Tools	44
3.14	Data Analysis and Presentation Plan	45
3.15	Ethical Considerations	46
3.16	Summary.....	46
CHAPTER FOUR.....		48
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION		48
4.1	Introduction	48
4.2	Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation.....	48
4.2.1	Response Rate and Demographic Results	48
4.2.2	Sample Representation for Content Analysis	49
4.2.3	Findings from the Newspapers	49
4.2.4	Key Informant Findings.....	57
4.3	Summary of Key Findings	64
4.4	Summary	65
CHAPTER FIVE		67
DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS		67
5.1	Introduction	67
5.2	Discussions of Key Findings.....	67
5.2.1	Research Objective 1	67
5.2.2	Research Objective 2	68
5.2.3	Research Objective 3	70

5.3	Conclusion and Implications for Practice	73
5.4	Recommendations	74
5.5	Areas for Further Research.....	74
REFERENCES		76
APPENDICES		83
Appendix A:	Analysis Criteria.....	83
Appendix B:	Code Sheet for Article Placement.....	87
Appendix C:	Data Set Code Sheet	92
Appendix D:	Interview Guides	110
Appendix E:	Research Timelines.....	112
Appendix F:	Budget.....	113
Appendix G:	AKU Ethics Review Committee Approval Letter	114
Appendix H:	Introductory Letter from AKU	115
Appendix J:	NACOSTI Research License.....	116

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1: The frame Attributes</i>	50
<i>Table 2: Focus Given to Femicide Stories</i>	52
<i>Table 3: Main Actors</i>	54
<i>Table 4: Story Source</i>	55
<i>Table 5: Statistical Figures Used</i>	56
<i>Table 6: Use of Graphics and Pictures</i>	57

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
DNA:	Deoxyribonucleic acid
GBV:	Gender Based Violence
GSMC:	Graduate School of Media and Communications
i.e.:	That is
IPV:	Intimate Partner Violence
KDHS:	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
PSI:	Population Services International
TAVAW:	Technology Assisted Violence Against Women
TV:	Television
UNECA:	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNODC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WHO:	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

In the months of September and October 2018, the Kenyan media was awash (Nation, 2018; Griffin, 2018; BBC, 2018; Standard, 2018; Muraya, 2018) with reports of two murders of young women in which high-profile Kenyans were adversely mentioned. In the weeks that followed, the media did its best in breaking down the details of the two murders. The first case was the murder of Sharon Otieno, a university student, on September 3, 2018 in Koderia Forest, in Homa Bay County (Muia, 2018). As it later emerged, the student had an affair with Migori Governor Okoth Obado who is among those accused of having played a part in the young woman's murder. At the time of her death, Sharon was seven months pregnant with Obado's child, as the results of the DNA test carried out by the investigating authorities showed (Nation, 2018b). The second case was that of Monica Kimani, a businesswoman based in Juba, South Sudan, who was found dead in a house in Nairobi and her boyfriend was charged with the murder (Nation, 2018a).

Kenya's media extensively covered the two murders, given the prominence of the people suspected to have been involved, a governor and a well-known journalist and their alleged co-conspirators (Nation, 2018; Nation, 2018). Prior to and after these two murders, there were several other killings of women either by their lovers or people they trusted to protect them. For example, according to Counting Dead Women Kenya, a Twitter and Facebook femicide awareness platform, in Kenya, 42 cases of femicide were reported in local newspapers between January 1, 2019, and April 16, 2019 (Nation, 2019; Standard,

2019; People Daily, 2019; Star, 2019). These murders brought to the limelight the issue of femicide, with activists condemning the crimes and their media coverage in equal measure.

Media coverage of any issue calls attention. Therefore, sustained media coverage of the murder of Sharon and Monica throughout the months of September and October 2018 and beyond, drew a lot of attention. It also caused policymakers and other stakeholders to start questioning the motive behind the murders and how the media themselves frame the issues at hand. Research findings suggest that sensational characteristics have a great impact on article prominence (Wong & Harraway, 2020). It is not just about the prominence in terms of time and space, but also the way the story is interpreted. At the heart of framing is the media's presentation of content in a way that influences interpretation. Media can serve as a risk amplifier regardless of accuracy in the portrayal of the risk (Kasperson, Kasperson, Pidgeon, & Slovic, 2003).

This study therefore seeks to look into how the media framed messages in their coverage of the two femicide cases, and the effect of this coverage on the audience, including policymakers, activists and the general public.

1.2 Background to the Study

Femicide is not a new concept. According to the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability, the first documented use of the term was in 1801 in a book titled *A Satirical View of London at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century* by where femicide was used to refer to the killing of a woman. Since then, several scholars and rights activists have variously defined the term. In 1992, Jill Radford and Diana Russell defined femicide as “the misogynistic killing of women by men,” (p. 9) and it was identified by

Radford as a form of sexual violence. In 1998, Jacquelyn Campbell and Carol Runyan gave a little twist to Russell's and Radford's definition by redefining femicide as "all killings of women, regardless of motive or perpetrator status" (p. 348). Russell finally refocused her definition to "the killing of females by males because they are females" (Russell, 2001, p. 101). This definition clearly identifies the perpetrator and main motive (because she is a woman). It is the definition that has been adopted by most femicide scholars and activists today, including the Oxford Lexico Dictionary. Even the World Health Organization (WHO, 2012) defines the term as the "intentional murder of women because they are women" (p. 1). This study will also adopt this definition by the WHO and most scholars.

The WHO further categorises femicide into two; intimate partner femicide, which is committed by a current or former husband or boyfriend of the victim for whatever reason; and non-intimate femicide, which is committed by someone who has no intimate relationship with the victim. Intimate partner femicide usually results from Gender-Based Violence (GBV) within marriages or relationships, and this type of violence is called Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). Research has shown both globally and in Kenya that IPV is common. For instance, according to the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS, 2014), the main perpetrators of physical violence against women are husbands, and 39 percent of ever-married women have experienced spousal physical or sexual violence as compared to only nine percent of men. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2018), 69 percent of women murdered in Africa in 2017 were killed by intimate partners or family members. This study is more interested in and will focus on these killings of women that results from IPV – intimate partner femicide.

Murder rarely escapes the attention of the media, and in telling any story, including those of femicide, the media have the responsibility to put matters into perspective. They do this through framing, agenda setting and priming. According to Chong and Druckman (2007), the public opinion on issues is fragile and weak, thus giving the media the power to present issues from their own perspective rather than the perspective of the general public. Framing is therefore defined as the process by which people conceptualize a particular issue or re-orient their thinking about an issue as presented to them by the media (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Further, Druckman (2001) intimates that people's opinions and preferences over different social policies depend on how the policies and underlying issues are framed.

Priming, on the other hand, refers to how prominently certain events or issues appear in the news. This placement of stories by the news media produces a concept called priming effects. Bennett and Iyengar (2008) define priming as the media-induced changes on what issues an audience should rely on in making a decision or evaluating government officials. Through priming, the media use their content to exert their influence on people's beliefs, thoughts, behaviour and judgements using psychological mechanisms (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Carpentier, 2002).

In the theory of agenda setting, the media set the public agenda by telling people what to think (Freeland, 2012). According to Maxwell McCombs, editors, broadcasters and newsroom staff play an important part in shaping political reality in how they choose and display news (McCombs M. , 2002). Readers learn not only about a given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. This therefore means in setting the agenda, the media relies on both

framing and priming to shape public opinion. These three theories thus have an undeniably crucial place in mass media's day-to-day activities.

In its coverage of femicide, the Kenyan media, including traditional mass media and social media, have a role to play in shaping the public opinion on this societal evil. How the media frame their stories and how prominently or otherwise these stories are treated play a critical role on whether this crime can be discouraged or fueled. The intention of this study is therefore to assess how the local media frames stories on femicide and the effect this has on the public's general view of the crime.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

In the coverage of the murder of Sharon and Monica, the Kenyan media did very little in placing the stories into perspective (Achieng, 2019). Sharon's case attracted attention from international media but having taken the cue from local media, they played down her murder into a sugar daddy/sponsor culture, which they said is common in Kenya among college going girls and older men (BBC, 2018). Counting Dead Women Kenya accuses the local media of characterising femicide cases through victim shaming and blaming.

A number of Kenyan newspapers have referred to murdered young women as 'slay queens,' a term loosely used to describe a woman who lives a luxurious lifestyle through money gotten from older and well-off men in the society (Achieng, 2019). This victim-blaming shifts the reader's focus from the fact that a woman was killed to the suggestion that she played a part in her own murder. This kind of coverage of femicide by the local media does not help in fighting the crime. Instead, it fuels it and likely encourages more

attacks on women by their intimate partners. This is buttressed by a research conducted by Viridiana Rios that found that people with intent on committing crimes found inspiration from media's coverage of homicides (Rios, 2018).

The media should be objective and fair in their reporting and it is not right for them to blame the women for their murder because nothing should really justify a murder. The question, therefore, is what motivates the Kenyan media to take this victim-shaming/blaming route in their coverage of femicide? Society and audience at large expect the media to uphold the principles of objectivity and fairness in covering any story, without having to appoint accusing fingers. Was this the best way the Kenyan media could cover the murders of Sharon and Monica? This is what this study seeks to interrogate.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective for this study was to analyse the framing of femicide by the news media in Kenya.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

This study was anchored on the following research objectives: -

- i. To examine the major frames in the coverage of femicide by Kenyan newspapers.
- ii. To establish the degree of prominence on femicide stories in the Kenyan newspapers.
- iii. To investigate what influences the selection of the different frames by Kenyan newspapers in the coverage of femicide.

1.4.2 Research Questions

The study was guided the following research questions: -

- i. What are the major frames used by Kenyan newspapers in the coverage of femicide?
- ii. What prominence do Kenyan newspapers give femicide stories?
- iii. What influences the frames used by Kenyan newspapers in writing femicide stories?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Media are considered the most reliable and credible purveyor of information in the public interest, thus, whenever a murder occurs, the people in a given country or region or village look up to the media to get information on what exactly happened, how it happened and why. In order to get the latest information to improve practices and for general awareness, people often turn to the media (Karasneh et al., 2020). The media have a responsibility to influence how people think about an issues and what actions they need to take as part of their role to either fight a vice or reduce its effects on society. Framing of femicide cases by the media is, therefore, important in waking up the general public to the reality that a murder has occurred and they need to act immediately to prevent another murder by condemning whoever is responsible. In framing of femicide, the media also need to be careful so as to direct attention of the public on the perpetrator and not victim, while also giving the accused a fair hearing.

Since the murder of Sharon and Monica in 2018, which immensely captured the attention of the public, no study has been conducted so far on how the media covered the

two femicide cases. According to Achieng (2019), a number of Kenyan newspapers have blamed women for their own murder, and this victim-blaming shifts the reader's focus from the fact that a woman was killed to the suggestion that she played a part in her own murder. This study will therefore provide insights into how the Kenyan media covered the two cases and provide lessons on the future coverage of such femicide cases.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The frames used in the coverage of the two femicide cases influenced the audience's behaviour with regards to the murders (Entman, 1993). This study will therefore establish to what extent this influence occurred and whether it called attention to the murders as a vice or encouraged more such killings. This will critically inform journalism practice and shape the future coverage of femicide cases.

The media has a responsibility to the public. Therefore, this study will also inform policymakers on how responsible the media was in the coverage of the two femicide, and this will influence policy. The policy could include support to the media by the government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to improve their coverage of femicide cases or on self-censorship by the media in GBV and murder cases in general.

Lastly, this study will also be significant to the field of academia, as it will advance knowledge and theory in the framing of news, especially femicide stories. The study will also inform areas for further research on framing of femicide stories by both Kenyan and world media.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study covered femicide that resulted from intimate partner violence because the two victims whose cases are being analysed – Sharon and Monica – are believed to have been killed by their intimate partners, who have been charged with murder in both cases. The researcher settled on femicide in 2018 for two reasons; first, because there are empirical studies on media framing of various forms of gender-based violence for some of the previous years, for example (Ejigu, 2008; Koga, 2014; Muchemi, 2015; King'ori & Bitrus-Ojiambo, 2017); secondly, the two cases under study occurred in 2018 and were extensively covered by the media to the extent that discussions started emerging on how the local media covers the killing of women.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The study therefore limited itself to September and October 2018 during which the two women died and their deaths were extensively covered by the media. Because it is the newspaper stories being analysed, the researcher considered content analysis as the best approach in this analysis, with interviews of a few key respondents from newspaper production to respond to concerns or questions that would arise from the content analysis. The researcher limited the analysis to six newspapers from two media houses – Daily Nation, Saturday Nation, Sunday Nation, The Standard, Saturday Standard and Sunday Standard – of September and October 2018.

1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

Femicide: The killing of females by males because they are females

Intimate partner femicide: The killing of a woman by her husband, ex-husband, boyfriend or former boyfriend

Sugar daddy/sponsor: Rich men who use their money to lure younger women into relationships, mostly for sexual gratification

Slay queen: Young women who typically date sponsors for financial gain

1.10 Summary

This chapter covered areas such as introduction, background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, significance of the study and limitations. The problem that informed this is that Kenyan media have not been fair in their coverage of femicide stories as they blame the women for their own murder, thereby shifting the public's attention from the vice and its perpetrators to the victims. In an attempt to establish the cause of this problem and its effects, the study relied on three objectives; (i) to examine the major frames in the coverage of femicide by Kenyan newspapers; (ii) to establish the degree of prominence on femicide stories in the Kenyan newspapers; and (iii) to investigate what influences the selection of the different frames by Kenyan newspapers in the coverage of femicide.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review for this study was categorised into theoretical framework, general literature on concepts used in the study and empirical literature. The literature on concepts is examined in the following broad areas: understanding GBV; what is femicide; recent trends and statistics on GBV and femicide in Kenya; media reports on femicide; and print media framing of gender-based violence. The theoretical debates explored were framing and priming theories.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by both framing and priming theories.

2.2.1 Framing Theory

Framing was developed by Goffman (1974) who postulated that whenever individuals in a society recognise a particular event, they employ “one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation of a kind that can be called primary” (p. 21). He divided these primary frameworks into two broad classes; natural and social. Specifically, natural frameworks:

“Identify occurrences seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, and purely physical. Such unguided events are ones understood to be due totally, from start to finish, to natural determinants...An ordinary example would be the state of the weather as given in a report” (p. 21-22).

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

“Provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being. Such an agency is anything but implacable, it can be coaxed, flattered, affronted, and threatened. What it does can be described as guided doings. An example of a guided doing would be the newscast reporting of the weather” (p. 22-23).

Goffman (1974) elaborates that through social frameworks, events and issues are conceptualized as socially-driven occurrences that are initiated and propelled by the goals, whims and manipulations of social actors. Moreover, it is only through primary social frameworks that individuals can comprehend issues and events in their lives. Without these frameworks, then the individuals will continuously struggle to interpret and make sense of everything around them. Therefore, to comprehend gender-based violence and femicide, the audiences need to focus their attention on the media as the key sources of information and the roles that primary frameworks play in interpreting and understanding this violence (Shen, 2004).

Chong and Druckman (2007) define framing as the process by which people conceptualize a particular issue or re-orient their thinking about an issue. The major premise of framing theory is that different people can view an issue from a variety of perspectives and the issue can be seen as having implications for multiple values or considerations. The authors argue that the public generally does not hold firm opinion on issues – political or otherwise – and because opinions are too superficial, they cannot be relied on as indicators of public preferences. The public either has no attitudes on many political issues, or it holds so many fragmentary and conflicting attitudes that it cannot reconcile or resolve them. It is this weakness and fragility of public opinion on issues that gives the media the power to present issues from their own perspective rather than from the perspective of the general public.

Druckman (2001) posits that people's opinions and preferences over different social policies depend on how the policies and underlying issues are framed. For example, how people would prefer policies on combating a particular disease depends on whether the policies were framed in terms of losing lives or saving lives. Some see this existence of framing effects as evidence of the incompetence of citizens, which allows them to be manipulated by the elite (Zaller, 1992) through the media.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) point out that audiences rate a particular story depending on the research on the attention the news media pay to that story. A story to which the news media pay more attention is therefore considered more important or dominant than others by the audiences. This attention or prominence can be in terms of airtime in the case of broadcast media or newspaper space and size, the frequency, relative placement of news article, and general amount of coverage of the story by the news media. This was referred to as agenda setting by the media, which implies that the significance that audiences attach to certain issues is strongly associated to the prominence that the mass media assigns those issues (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In agenda setting therefore, the primary concern is how the media uses its power to directly persuade or influence audiences about the kind of story they should think about and how they should think about it (Price & Feldman, 2009). This scenario depicts audiences as being completely passive as they simply permit the media to introduce them to ideas, which they consume without much question. (Shah, Rojas, & Cho, 2009; Carroll & McCombs, 2003).

According to De Vreese (2005), framing can be conceptualised in two main ways; frame building and frame setting. Frame building as a concept refers to factors such as editorial policies and guidelines, space, time, resources, vested commercial, and media

house interests as well as news priorities and values. According to Kwansah-Aidoo (2005), these factors determine the internal structures of each news story and qualities of media frames and are normally applied by news reporters and editors to give prominence to stories in the newspapers. These factors constrain journalists to generate media frames that inevitably highlight some issues while discarding or ignoring others, with the primary purpose of persuading the audience to read about the highlighted issues at the expense of others. This is usually achieved by building and then applying the most dominant frames because they have the greatest influence on audiences (Gastil, 2008). For example, Iyengar (1994) found out that episodic media frames that lay more emphasis on winning and losing by individual candidates are usually the most dominant frames in newspaper analyses of politics and elections. De Vreese (2005) further suggests that a competition schema or game episodically framed is the prominent frame used to focus on the style of either a winning or losing candidate in the elections in order to bring out an overall picture of the polls.

Sutherland et al. (2015) contend that media stories about GBV in most countries exceptionally focus on episodic or framing event reporting. These stories focus primarily on discrete and prominent incidents of GBV in specific socio-cultural contexts and time periods. Wozniak and McCloskey (2010) in their study found out that instead of using follow-up features based on socio-cultural contexts in which GBV occurred, episodic framing was more inclined towards breaking news and first reports of the violence. Yet, the socio-cultural context is imperative because it depicts the fact that GBV against women is rooted in patriarchy, which very much fuels gender inequality in a number of societies. According to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), episodic framing tends to elicit an individualistic responsibility for GBV rather than societal attributions of the same.

Specifically, episodic framing is less likely to consider that the government or other societal factors are responsible for GBV in society, but rather blames it on individual victims and perpetrators.

Morgan and Politoff (2012) point out that events-based news stories do not discuss GBV against women on its own merit but rather in relation to violence incidents as criminal events and the stories are often framed in relation to law and order. Carlyle, Slater, and Chakroff (2008) buttress the argument that events-based coverage of GBV against women is never presented in context, but more commonly in individualized terms (McManus & Dorfman, 2005; Taylor, 2009). Maxwell, Huxford, Borum, and Hornik (2000), therefore, concluded that the adverse effect of episodic framing or event-based reporting of this aggression against women is that it shifts the responsibility of solving the problem from society to the individual victim and perpetrator. In the case of femicide, for instance, the victim would be dead, leaving only a conflicted perpetrator to be relied upon for a societal problem. This could explain why GBV against women does not seem to end despite efforts by various organizations and governments to solve the problem.

On the other hand, there is thematic framing in which stories are presented in a broader context that encompasses socio-cultural, political, and economic factors that contribute to GBV in different societies rather than in blaming it on the individual victim and perpetrator (Scheufele, 1999). Iyengar and McGrady (2007) and Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) add that thematic framing is more likely to attribute GBV to broader institutions such as the government or the society than to individuals as perpetrators and victims of the violence.

How the media frame stories have a great influence on the kind of interpretation the audience makes of the stories, and as Edwards-Jauch (2016) clearly puts it, people who read episodically framed GBV stories at the individual level will attribute the violence on individual failings while those who read thematically framed stories about higher rates of GBV at the national level, for instance, will attribute it to societal or institutional failings. The latter readers will likely blame the higher rates of GBV at the national level and the failure to provide solutions on poor government policies, which are beyond the control of individuals (Matthes, 2009). However, Sutherland et al. (2015) caution that clarifications about how or why print media audiences are influenced by what they read in the news do not exist. This is because the influence of the media is a complex process that puts together multiple actors, including sources, journalists, editors and audiences. But unquestionably, and relevant to the objectives of this study, the way the information is framed can increase public understanding of femicide and more importantly challenge its existence in society (Sutherland, McCormack, Easteal, Holland, & Pirkis, 2016).

The greatest technological invention – the Internet – has so far proved capable of interrupting traditional media framing of news and is likely to change episodic and thematic framing in journalism research and mass communication studies as it explodes with a variety of infinite amount of information online, which it exposes audiences to (Mwai, 2016). These online frames through outlets such as social media compete with each other and in the process serendipitously give more holistic and positive views towards the elimination of GBV. However, news and information are created for audiences, and these audiences, despite the explosion of information through the Internet, still play critical roles in selecting the media and which frames they get exposed to when using the Internet. The

result of this could be an exposure to similar multiple frames simultaneously, which might end up strengthening the attitudes of audiences towards the purging of gender-based violence in modern societies (Mwai, 2016). These attitudes, perceptions and knowledge, according to Morgan and Politoff (2012), shape how people apprehend and deal with all social problems that occur in their midst.

Frame setting, on the other hand, involves the interactions amongst print media frames and the comprehension and dispositions of readers of newspapers. Particularly through frame setting, readers are able to translate and, therefore, comprehend in meaningful idioms a news story about GBV in the newspapers. De Vreese (2005) suggests that frame setting has been investigated thoroughly in an attempt to explore and capture the scope and circumstances under which audiences reflect the media frames availed to them. Entman and Rojecki (1993) argue that media framing is actually a mirror of the power of patriarchy and hegemonic structures that exist in media houses, which fails to accord prominence and dominance to stories about GBV against women.

According to Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997), framing is the process by which the media define and construct issues related to gender-based violence. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) contend that framing is a product of micro- and macro-level conceptions. As a micro-level conception, framing describes how the media influence the way people read and interpret the information presented to them. In the macro-level conception, on the other hand, the story presented by the media plays to the existing underlying primary frameworks of the audiences (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Scheufele (1999) suggests that how a story is portrayed in the media and its influence on audiences is greatly determined by resource, space and time constraints. These constraints compel print

media journalists to choose which stories to frame and give prominence to and which ones to totally blackout. In this sense, framing and media frames become invaluable tools in shaping the focus and tone of a story in the newspapers.

Chong and Druckman (2007) intimate that individuals interpret news media contents depending on their feelings. This means that it would be difficult if not impossible for a story to persuade an individual to take part in an issue they do not believe in, however flowery the story is framed. For example, it can be argued that female genital mutilation still takes place in some Kenyan communities to date, despite the campaign that the media has mounted against it over the years because these communities have their feelings completely rooted in the practice. Based on this argument, therefore, it is important for the Kenyan media to study how their audiences perceive femicide and frame their stories in such a way that relies on this perception to end the killings. It is important that this perception is changed as the beginning of attempts to stop the vice. As Sahu and Alam (2003) argue, if GBV is framed mostly in negative tones in the media, it can help contribute to its elimination in societies where it is a vogue.

Indeed, as (De Vreese, 2005) suggests, one of the greatest consequences of framing is that it changes attitudes of audiences about events and issues in their societies. This is applicable to this study in the sense that an exposure to news media frames can lead to socio-cultural changes in attitudes aimed at curbing the perpetuation of gender-based violence, and more particularly femicide (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This is the main premise of framing theory, which stipulates that how a certain news story is portrayed can positively impact how audiences understand and classify that story (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; De Vreese, 2005).

2.2.2 Priming Theory

The audience relies heavily on certain issues that affect their lives in their day-to-day decisions. According to Iyengar (2008), priming effects therefore refers to the media-induced changes on what issues an audience should rely on as a criterion for making a decision or evaluating government officials. Priming particularly refers to how prominent certain events or issues appear in the news. This prominence majorly determines the public's perceptions of the problems facing the community or nation, hence the priming effect (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

According to Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, and Carpentier (2002), debate has shifted over the previous 20 years from whether media priming exists to how it works. This means it is no longer about the influence of media content on people's beliefs, thoughts, behaviour and judgements, but rather the psychological mechanisms by which the media exert this influence. This implies that the media go beyond just providing content and present this content in such a way that it produces a desired response from the audience. Thus, Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, and Carpentier (2002) define priming as "the effects of the content of the media on people's later behaviour or judgments related to the content" (p. 6).

Some scholars (Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) say priming simply means increased accessibility. Others (Ottati, Wilson, & Lambert, 2016) consider framing effects to be a form of priming. Sometimes a doubt is expressed about whether priming is a theory or just an effect of other processes (Chernov, 2018). Psychology and media priming studies have however evolved over the years beyond accessibility and included judged usability (Higgins & Eitam, 2014) and mental

representations (Roskos-Ewoldsen & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2009). This means how the media, in this case newspapers, use or present a particular story and the objective that drives that usage. This could mean where or what page of a newspaper the story is placed and the size allocated to it. Price and Tewksbury (1997) argue that priming and agenda setting are accessibility effects. This means they are based on memory-based models of information processing. The scholars posit that the temporal sequence of agenda setting and priming assumes that media can make certain issues or aspects of issues more accessible and therefore easily recalled for people, thereby influencing the standards they use when forming attitudes about particular issues and people.

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) intimate that priming occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments. Therefore, news audiences will evaluate the extent of the involvement of leaders in efforts to tackle GBV of femicide in society depending on the specific issues the media bring out concerning these ills and how the issues are covered by the news media. If, for instance, the media names the government agencies responsible for preventing femicide or dealing with femicide perpetrators, then audiences can easily hold to account these agencies when such killings occur.

Many scholars consider priming to be an extension of agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Hastie & Park, 1986; Tversky & Kahneman, 1973), thus agenda setting and priming assume that the heightened accessibility of an issue receives from its treatment in the news produces the desired locus of effect. This means that it is not the information about the issue that has an effect, but the fact that the

issue has received a certain amount of attention and processing time by the news media publishing or airing it.

Priming sets the standards that people use to evaluate political issues affecting them based on relative placement or amount of coverage given to a particular issue by the news media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Carpentier (2002) contend that the media is a powerful tool for priming how we think and behave because of its ubiquitous nature. Therefore, how stories on a certain subject are placed in newspapers and how accessible they are, determine how we react to such issues and behave immediately afterwards.

Josephson (1987) found that violent television viewing primed aggressive boys to act more violently during the initial stages of the viewing. However, this priming effect appeared to lessen with time. This implies that even in newspaper coverage, stories given more prominence prime the audience to behave in a certain way immediately after reading the story. Therefore, continuous prominent coverage of femicide stories can either prompt the audience to be more violent against women or to take action geared towards reducing femicide cases in the community, depending on how the stories are framed.

Anderson (1997) showed across two studies that violent media can prime both aggressive feelings and aggressive thoughts. The media coverage of violence-related news therefore spurs aggressiveness among the audience even when not intended. It is therefore important for news media to present news on violence, such as gender-based violence, in such a way that the news does not encourage more violence against people who would not have fallen victim had the news not been aired or published.

In this study, therefore, framing theory was quite useful in explaining how and why certain aspects of femicide were excluded and/or included in the newspapers selected for the analysis. On the whole, framing theory helped this study in understanding the rationale behind frames used by the mainstream print media in writing stories about femicide in Kenya. Specifically, this theory helped in explaining why the print media in Kenya allows some information on femicide to be published while ignoring or completely discarding others.

Priming theory was also important in explaining the effect the newspaper coverage of femicide has on the audience; whether the placement and prominence of femicide stories in newspapers spur more violence against women or push the concerned agencies and the public at large to take action aimed at preventing more such violence. This theory also helped the researcher to understand the decision of the chief sub-editors in placing stories. What criteria do they use to determine the prominence of a story or how deserving a story is to a particular newspaper space? Priming theory was also important in this study because it is the origin of the concept of prime pages and spaces in newspapers.

2.3 General and Empirical Literature Review

2.3.1 Understanding Gender-Based Violence

Population Services International (PSI) defines GBV as violence directed at an individual based on his or her gender identity, sex or expression of socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity (PSI, 2016). This implies that both men and women can experience GBV. However, the rates of violence against women have been significantly greater – one in every three women, with rates of abuse as high as 70 percent in some

countries (PSI, 2016) – thus it has received so much attention that GBV is now almost synonymous with violence against women.

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, 2019), violence against women cuts across borders, ethnicity, race, religion and class, and is perhaps the most widespread and socially tolerated of human rights violations. GBV is usually defined to include any physical, sexual, or psychological violence occurring not only in the family, but also within the general community. This includes trafficking in women for prostitution and sexual harassment at the workplace. However, GBV is more prevalent domestically within the household, and women bear the brunt of this domestic violence when they are abused inside what should be the most secure environment – their own homes (Khasakhala-Mwenesi, Buluma, Kong’ani, & Nyarunda, 2003) and by the people they love and trust who ideally are supposed to protect them.

According to the European Institute for Gender Equality, GVB manifests itself in various forms, from intimate partner violence, which is the most widespread, to acts of violence carried out in online spaces (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019). With the increasingly larger online space currently, thanks to ever developing technology, violence in such spaces, including cyber bullying and online harassment, which sometimes graduate to physical and sexual violence, are on the rise. The Institutes reports that the various forms of GBV are not mutually exclusive as one form of violence can lead to another or multiple incidences of violence can be happening at once and reinforcing each other. The Istanbul Convention (Council of Europe, Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence), categorises violence against women under four key forms: sexual, physical, psychological, and economic. Cruz and

Klinger estimate that at least one in three women around the world has been coerced into sex, physically beaten and/or otherwise abused in her lifetime, and that for women aged 15 to 44 years, such violence is a major cause of disability and death (Cruz & Klinger, 2011).

In many societies, including Kenya, GBV occurs across all socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, and women are socialised to accept, tolerate, and even rationalise domestic violence (Zimmerman, 1994). In fact, in some communities, violence against women by their intimate partners is considered a way of expressing love and therefore the women accept and even expect it, so much so that a man who does not beat his wife is considered weak. According to Kenya's Demographic and Health Survey, 2014, 21 percent of women believe a husband is justified in beating his wife when she argues with him, while 15.1 percent believe a husband is justified in beating his wife when she refuses to have sex with him. The result of this is that there is a culture of silence surrounding GBV as women are socialized to remain quiet about these attacks. Even women who want to speak about their experiences of domestic violence may find it difficult because of feelings of shame or fear (Khasakhala-Mwenesi, Buluma, Kong'ani, & Nyarunda, 2003). For men, the silence is even worse because the society considers them strong enough to defend themselves against violence by their female partners. Therefore, they fail to speak about or report violence against them to avoid the shame of being seen as weak.

2.3.2 *What is Femicide?*

Diana Russell publicly introduced the term femicide for the first time in 1976 when she was testifying about murders of women at the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women in Brussels, Belgium. However, Russell did not explicitly define the term at the time (Russell & Van de Ven, 1976). In 1992, Diana Russell and Jill Radford defined

femicide as “the misogynistic killing of women by men” (p. 9) and it was specifically identified by Radford as a form of sexual violence. In 1998, Jacquelyn Campbell and Carol Runyan gave a little twist to Russell’s and Radford’s definition by redefining femicide as “all killings of women, regardless of motive or perpetrator status” (p. 348). This later definition is broader and is centered on the victim rather than the perpetrator. By this definition, Campbell and Runyan recognize that women get killed by various perpetrators, including their intimate partners, for various reasons, not only as a form of sexual violence as is argued by Russell and Radford. From Russell’s and Radford’s definition, one would ask, what if a woman is killed by another woman, doesn’t that qualify as femicide?

In this broad definition, researchers remove the need to clarify the motives of the perpetrators or their relationships to the victims before classifying murders as femicide. Many of these researchers (Russell & Radford, 1992; Russell, 2001; Widyono, 2008) focus their work around the concepts of intimate femicide or intimate-partner femicide. Russell, probably in an attempt to avoid any confusion that may be brought about by this broad definition, finally adapted her definition to “the killing of females by males because they are females” (Russell, 2001, p. 101). This definition clearly identifies the perpetrator and main motive (because she is a woman). According to Monique Widyono, Russell’s intention was to highlight femicide in the context of unequal gender relations and the notion of male power and their domination over women (Widyono, 2008). This is the definition that has been adopted by most femicide scholars and activists today, including the Oxford Lexico Dictionary. Russell also recognized that many girls and female infants are victims of femicide, and that young boys can also perpetrate these crime (Russell & Harmes, 2001).

This study will adopt this definition – the killing of females by males because they are females – because it is the most widely accepted and used.

According to Greenfeld (1998) and Nowak (2012), in the United States, femicide is the leading cause of death among young African American women aged 15 to 45 years and the seventh leading cause of premature death among women overall. James Bailey buttresses this point by positing that American women are killed by intimate partners (husbands, lovers, ex-husbands, or ex-lovers) more often than by any other type of perpetrator (Bailey, 1997). Further statistics show that a larger percentage (67%–80%) of homicides by intimate partners usually happen after the physical abuse of the female by the male, no matter which partner is killed (Campbell, 1992). This means that women battered by their husbands are more at risk for femicide and as Campbell suggests, it is important to identify and intervene with battered women as one of the major ways to decrease intimate partner homicide (Campbell et al., 2003).

Femicide or attempted femicide more often starts from stalking, which graduates to physical assault and then murder. Indeed, scholars warn that stalking is also a major risk factor for femicide and attempted femicide and advise abused women to be on the lookout and report to authorities when they realise that they are being stalked by their intimate partners or any man for that matter. Stalking is revealed to be a correlate of lethal and near lethal violence against women and, coupled with physical assault, is significantly associated with murder and attempted murder (McFarlane et al., 1999). And today, thanks to social media, stalking has become more prevalent and several cases of cyber bullying and stalking by intimate partners are reported world over. Some of these cyber stalking cases have been reported to have led to physical assault and murder or attempted murder.

These acts of violence against women committed through the use of information technologies such as phones, social media platforms, the Internet and emails are encompassed in a concept called Technology Assisted Violence Against Women (TAVAW). The prevalent forms of TAVAW include cyber-stalking, cyber-bullying, trolling, online harassment, hacking, impersonation, surveillance, malicious distribution and denigration (Oyugi, 2017).

Four other scholars break down the argument further to compare women abused during pregnancy and those not abused during pregnancy. They opined that femicide or attempted femicide victims abused during pregnancy report significantly higher levels of violence (McFarlane J. , Campbell, Sharps, & Watson, 2002). Suffice to say that pregnant women are more at risk of experiencing severe physical assault before they are murdered. As to why this relationship between pregnant women and violence exists is a subject for further research.

2.3.3 Recent Trends and Statistics on GBV and Femicide in Kenya

In the short period leading to this study, the Kenyan media had been awash with news about women killed by their spouses, the latest in the series of murders being that a woman and her two children who had allegedly been killed by her estranged lover – a military officer (Muasya, 2019; Star, 2019; Wako, 2019). Statistics from various organizations and analysts paint a gloomy picture on the status of intimate femicides in Kenya. According to Counting Dead Women Kenya, a Twitter and Facebook femicide awareness platform, 25 women were murdered by men between January and February 2019 alone. By November the same year, the number had risen to 82. Data from the Open Africa report on "Femicides in Kenya" had a slightly higher figure, putting the number of women

murdered by their boyfriends and husbands between January and October 2019 at 84 (Ombako, 2019). According to Nation Newsplex, 171 people were killed in gender violence in 2019 and three out of four of the victims were women, a majority of whom were killed by their intimate partners (Nation, 2020).

According to the KDHS, 2014, 45 percent of women and 44 percent of men aged 15-49 have experienced physical violence since age 15, and 20 percent and 12 percent, respectively, experienced physical violence within the 12 months prior to the survey. The survey reports that the main perpetrators of physical violence against women are husbands; whereas, the main perpetrators against men are parents, teachers, and others. Fourteen percent of women aged 15-49 report having experienced sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. Overall, 39 percent of ever-married women and only nine percent of men aged 15-49 report to have experienced spousal physical or sexual violence.

2.3.4 Media Reports on Femicide

Widyono (2008) contends that the only available source of information on incidents of femicide or undocumented forms of femicide is often newspaper accounts, particularly when official statistics are difficult to obtain. Newspapers report about these femicide cases almost instantly as they occur. While in some cases the media, including newspapers, TV and radio, get this information from police reports, many other cases go unreported in police stations, especially in Kenya where the relationship between the ordinary citizens and the police has waned over the years.

According to Rojas, Maturana and Maira (2004), newspaper accounts of homicides provide essential data on the relationships between victims of murder and perpetrators and

the circumstances surrounding the cases. Carcedo and Sagot (2000) add that newspapers have been used in a number of studies to follow up on gaps in information available through official police and medical examiner data.

The mass media tend to as much as possible put stories in context, and this provides contextual details on possible demographic risk factors. For instance, studies that lay focus on the marital relationship dynamics and the presence of children combed newspapers for important data on children in the households and how they are related to the victim and perpetrator (Daly, Wiseman, & Wilson, 1997; Brewer & Paulsen, 1999).

Widyono (2008) further states that myths and misinformation about homicide and intimate-partner violence may sometimes be reflected in sensationalised media reporting about cases. In Zambia, for example, femicide cases were not presented as part of a trend resulting from a system of gender domination but rather as isolated, exceptional events. In regard to this, *Women in Law and Development in Africa* (1995) summarised the media coverage as follows:

“The language used and details revealed often hid the brutality involved, blamed the victim for the assault, and perpetuated the idea that such killings were private affairs. More details were published about those accused than about the women they killed. Men were often depicted as justifiably unable to contain their rage and violence and women as having somehow provoked their anger. Newspaper accounts of violence resulting in a woman’s death tended not to provide a full, fair, or accurate picture of events” (p. 33).

Two decades later, nothing much has changed in the media coverage of femicide in countries like Zambia and the rest of Africa, where news coverage often supports the idea that the perpetrator “lost control” (Richards, Kirkland, & Dwayne, 2011), a common

defence for violent men, and one of the “domestic violence myths” (Monckton-Smith, 2012).

In Kenya, the media has been accused of characterizing femicide by victim shaming and blaming. For example, a number of Kenyan papers have referred to murdered young women as “slay queens,” which is a term used to describe a woman who pays for her luxurious lifestyle with money she gets from older men (Women’s Media Center, 2019). This institution argues that this victim-blaming shifts the reader’s attention “from the fact that a woman was killed to the suggestion that she played a part in her own murder” (p. 13).

2.3.5 Framing of Femicide

This study used various frames to analyze how the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers covered the murders of Sharon and Monica. One of the frames to be used is attribution of responsibility frame, where the story suggests that an individual or a group of people is responsible for the femicide either directly or indirectly (Zimmerman, 1994). This could be presented in the story in the form of an accused person as has been mentioned by the investigating agencies or blaming the murder on the influence of a person even if they are not accused of it. In this frame, the story also admits there is a problem that requires urgent action by different players, including the government, citizens, and various organisations (Campbell, 2003).

Secondly, the story used the victim frame. According to Berns (2004), sometimes the media simultaneously individualise the problem and blame the victim. When this happens, the story silences “alternatives that seek to direct attention to abusers and the

cultural, structural, and institutional forces that foster abuse” (Berns, 2004, p. 21). In this frame, the scholar also critiques mainstream media stories that either tolerate violence against women and children, or unduly focus on the responsibility of women to end abuse.

Another frame used by this study was the alleged perpetrator frame, which has been used by Richards, Gillespie and Smith (2013), and Tiscareño-García and Miranda-Villanueva (2020). In this case, the story focuses on the person or people accused of the femicide and the plausible reason(s) for the murder. Richards, Gillespie and Smith (2013) give four strands of this frame, including femicide by a male perpetrator, femicide due to loss of perpetrator control, femicide as a mercy killing, and femicide due to jealousy. According to Tiscareño-García and Miranda-Villanueva (2020), this frame justifies why the perpetrator or alleged perpetrator committed the murder, and possibly blames it on certain social issues.

The fourth frame was society frame, which gives implications for societal perceptions of violence against women. According to Richards, Gillespie and Smith (2013), femicide initially denoted a political intention and the media saw the anti-femicide as people driving a certain political agenda. As a result, feminists have been accused of blaming femicide on patriarchal hegemony (Marcuello-Servós, Corradi, Weil & Boira, 2016). The media also sees femicide as a significant global challenge of a major order.

The study further used love affair frame. Zimmerman (1994) argues that in some societies, violence against women by their intimate partners is considered a way of expressing love and therefore the women accept and even expect it. According to KDHS (2014), some women believe a husband is right to beat his wife when she argues with him, while others believe a husband is justified to beat his wife when she refuses to have sex

with him. In this frame, therefore, the newspaper story blames the femicide on the love affair between the alleged perpetrator and the victim.

Lastly, the study used sponsor support frame. In this case, story suggests the murder could have been a result of the financial support provided by the alleged perpetrator to the victim. A study by Campbell (2003) found that unemployment was the most important demographic risk factor for acts of intimate-partner femicide. When a story unduly focuses on the wealth or financial strength of the alleged perpetrator of femicide, then this is considered a sponsor support frame.

2.3.6 Print Media Framing of Gender-Based Violence

Muchemi (2015) examined the extent to which media coverage of domestic violence cases has created and fuelled gender stereotypes among Kenyan media audiences, hence, fanning violence. The study majorly analysed the framing of victims of domestic violence basing on the choice of words by the reporters, eye witness accounts, and the views of the story consumers. The study further addressed the possible causes of the propagation of gender stereotyping in reporting cases of domestic violence. The researcher found out that there is gender-based bias in the media coverage of domestic violence. Further, the coverage of domestic violence in Kenya is full of depiction of gender stereotypes and perpetuation that is likely to fuel domestic violence. In their study, Gakahu and Mukhongo (2007) revealed that Kenya's daily newspapers are written for males and about their affairs whereas females remain invisible in relation to the serious issues of the day. However, it was noted that there have been some attempts to cover matters concerning Kenyan females and to sell the dailies to them. These efforts include having separate and detached – women's pages slotted into the main daily and weekly newspapers. Nonetheless,

these sections for the females are normally filled with stereotyped roles of domesticity, over simplicity, fantasy, as well as beauty and vanity, thus, denying acknowledging the productive roles of females in society. The study concluded that the negative and stereotyped portrayal of females in the Kenyan print media has harmful repercussions for the country's development. In addition, M. Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier argue that the very existence of a separate newspaper section for the female readers is inherently prejudicial and chauvinistic (Ceulemans & Fauconnieri, 1979). This is because it intimates that all other news areas of a newspaper are exclusively the domain of males. The implication of the Muchemi's study is that the Kenyan media is gender biased and relies on societal stereotypes against women in their coverage of femicide, and this study wants to find out why.

Using content analysis, Ejigu (2008) looked into a nationally representative sample of newspaper coverage of gender violence between September 2006 and September 2007. Three Amharic newspapers; *Police na Ermijaw*, *Addis Admas*, and *Medical*, which deal with the social, crime and health aspects of gender violence, were sampled for the analysis. Journalists and editors who work for the sampled newspapers were also interviewed to supplement the information gathered through content analysis. The results of the study showed that the analysed newspapers mostly framed gender violence using human interest and empathy frames. However, they ignored economic and conflict frames. Also, private owned *Addis Admas* and government owned *Police na Ermijaw* gave gender violence a better extent of coverage compared to *Medical*. Furthermore, rape and beating were found to be the most frequently reported forms of violence in the newspapers. The study concluded that many of the articles were informative rather than educative because they

focused on reporting committed violence and court trials regarding gender violence. Little was done, however, in educating the public on the health consequences and how to tackle the violence. This implies that the media can uphold fair and balanced coverage of femicide or any other GBV issues if they choose to. This study, therefore, establishes what informs Kenyan media's choices for the frames they use in their femicide stories.

Koga (2014) conducted a study on the reporting of sexual and gender-based violence in the Kenyan media to understand why and how it is framed. The study finding was that the media is judgemental and negatively critical in reporting on sexual and GBV. The media criticises the perpetrators or aggressors as well as vilifies and judges them even before they are given a fair hearing in court. In reporting on sexual and GBV, the study also felt that the media are activists for sexual assault victims. This is because the media demand for justice for the victims and their financial and psychological help in order that they can be treated and for them to heal from the physical and psychological injuries of the assault. At the same time, the media demand for prosecution of the perpetrators. The study similarly found out that frames such as injustice, brutality, feminism and chauvinism were present in the reporting of sexual and GBV stories in Kenya. Therefore, the study recommends for more coverage of stories on rape and sexual violence as well as the need for accurate, fair, and balanced reporting on issues of sexual violence by the media. This study also finds out if the two newspapers under study were judgmental and negatively critical of the alleged perpetrators of femicide instead of giving them a fair hearing.

King'ori and Bitrus-Ojiambo (2017) analysed articles in the Daily Nation and Nairobi issues published from June 1 to August 31, 2015. All the articles were concerned with the print media representations of GBV messages from Nyeri County, Kenya. The

study had four conclusions: (i) most of the news articles were neutral, (ii) the *Nairobi*, being a tabloid-style weekly, sensationally framed domestic violence using vivid language, graphics, and colourful pictorials while the *Daily Nation*, being a mainstream newspaper, used a more conservative approach in its coverage, (iii) the two newspapers used the angry and violent frames to show that the Nyeri woman was the perpetrator while the alcoholic and helpless frames were utilised to portray the man as the victim and (iv) previous gender media narratives such as the Bobbitt's gender violence story and the Angry black woman phenomenon paralleled the localised *Nyerification* effect. This implies that the media can sometimes be sensational in their coverage of GBV issues and this study establishes if this is the case with the femicide cases under this study.

2.3.7 Emerging Gaps in Literature

While it is evident that a number of studies exist on how Kenyan media covers gender-based violence in general and frames femicide in particular, but there is no research specifically on the media framing of the two femicide cases. This study therefore seeks to fill this gap by adding to the existing research on how the media in Kenya frame femicide stories, especially in the wake of the increase in the cases of this violence in the country. These findings thus provoke further interrogations on the role of media and its place in fighting societal ills such as femicide. Findings in this study would be useful to media houses, reporters and editors in assessing their approach when reporting such sensitive stories.

2.4 Summary

This chapter covered the theoretical framework and reviewed the general and empirical literature on femicide. The study was guided by two theories. The first theory was framing as developed by Goffman (1974) and advanced by scholars such as Shen (2004), Chong and Druckman (2007), McCombs and Shaw (1972), Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), De Vreese (2005), Kwansah-Aidoo (2005), Sutherland et al. (2015), Wozniak and McCloskey (2010), Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997), among others. The second theory was priming as advanced by Iyengar (2008), Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, and Carpentier (2002), Price and Tewksbury (1997), Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), Ottati, Wilson, and Lambert (2016), Chernov (2018), Higgins and Eitam (2014), among others. The chapter reviewed empirical literature on print media framing of gender-based violence. The literature included studies by Muchemi (2015) on the extent to which media coverage of domestic violence cases has created and fuelled gender stereotypes among Kenyan media audiences; Ejigu (2008) who looked into a nationally representative sample of newspaper coverage of gender violence between September 2006 and September 2007; Koga (2014) on the reporting of sexual and gender-based violence in the Kenyan media to understand why and how it is framed; and King'ori and Bitrus-Ojiambo (2017) who studied the print media representations of GBV messages from Nyeri County, Kenya. The gap in literature was that there is no research specifically on the media framing of the two femicide cases.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers methods and processes that were used in the study. It outlined the research approach and design, research methods, population, study site, sampling procedures, and the sample size. Further, it identified the process of data collection, data analysis and presentation, and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Approach and Research Design

The study deployed a mixed method approach. This included both a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of sampled newspapers and interviews of purposively sampled journalists. The content analysis was qualitative in that the researcher looked at how the stories were framed and placed in the newspapers. On the other hand, it was quantitative because the number of femicide stories in the newspapers being analysed was counted and recorded as part of the study. Mixed method approach was the most appropriate for this study because relevant data was collected from respondents with different backgrounds, experiences and knowledge levels on how the Kenyan media frame femicide in their coverage.

The study used a descriptive research design, which is used to describe characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied. The design was appropriate because this study sought to analyse the construction of the femicide stories based on particular frames. Descriptive designs are appropriate in such studies whose desired characteristics are to describe the sample being studied (Omar, 2015). In this design,

subjects are usually measured once and the study establishes only associations between variables. The researcher measured the units of observation and relate such attributes as frames with elements of prominence. In analysing the coverage of femicide stories, descriptive design is appropriate as it was ideal in the systematic generation of patterns or understanding of how femicide messages appeared in the news.

3.3 Population

Population in research can be defined as a comprehensive group of individuals, institutions and objects that have common characteristics, which distinguish them from other individuals, institutions and objects, and are of the interest of a researcher (Majid, 2018). The population for this study was the journalists working in all print media organisations in Kenya. Another target population was all the Kenyan newspapers that published the Sharon and Monica murder stories in the months of September and October 2018.

3.4 Target Population

Target population, also known as the universe, refers to the entire group of people or objects to which the researcher wishes to generalize the study findings and from which the study sample is drawn. (Majid, 2018). The target population for this study was the newspapers published by the Daily Nation, Saturday Nation, Sunday Nation, The Standard, Saturday Standard and Sunday Standard in the months of September and October 2018, the period under study. Part of the population was also the journalists working at Nation Media Group (which prints the Daily Nation, Saturday Nation, and Sunday Nation) and Standard Group (owners of The Standard, Saturday Standard and Sunday Standard). The two media

houses were selected among the rest in the consideration that they are the largest in the country in terms of circulation of their products and work force. This large work force is therefore expected to provide a representative sample for the entire study population.

3.5 Study Site

This study was conducted in Nairobi County because the media houses targeted for the study have their headquarters in the capital, where the editors and reporters who were sampled, work from. These media houses have subsidiary offices in other towns but the population in these offices are not relevant to this study.

3.6 Sample Size

All the Nation and Standard newspapers published in the months of September and October 2018 were purposively sampled for the study. This is when Sharon and Monica were murdered and the period during which their murder cases received the greatest media attention. The study, therefore, sampled a total of 122 newspapers; 61 copies of Daily Nation and 61 copies of The Standard.

This study also targeted print media personnel at the Nation and Standard newspapers who are actively involved in the whole process of publishing a story, right from its assignment, generation and editing. The researcher, therefore, sampled from each of the two newspapers one assignment/news editor, one chief sub-editor and one crime reporter. This gave a total sample size of six key informants, who were interviewed.

3.7 Sampling Procedures

For the selected newspapers, the researcher used purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is done to ensure representativeness of the sample (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The objective of purposive sampling is to sample participants or cases strategically so that those sampled are relevant to the questions being interrogated by the research (Bryman, 2012).

For the key informants selected for interviews, the researcher used stratified random sampling. In this case, the researcher divided the journalists into the strata of assignment/news editors, chief sub-editors and crime reporters. From each stratum, a number of respondents as defined in the sample size above, was randomly selected for the interviews. According to Hayes (2020), while simple random sampling treats all members of a population as equal, stratified sampling is used to highlight differences between groups in a population.

3.8 Research Methods

This research sought to study how the local media framed the stories of the two murder cases of Sharon and Monica in a bid to identify and understand the dominant issues and messages that the newspapers were trying to put across and what they ended up putting across. The study then sought to understand why such frames were used and how those responsible arrived at such decisions.

As such, this is both a quantitative and qualitative content analysis-based study. This type of content analysis is meant to establish the number of newspapers that had stories on the two femicide cases within the period under study (quantitative) and the frames used

in each of those stories (qualitative). Content analysis can be defined as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from the text, works of art, images, maps, sounds, signs or symbols to the content of their use (Krippendorff, 2018). As a scientific tool of research, content analysis must meet two key requirements, reliability and replicability (Krippendorff, 2018). Findings must be reliable in such a way that researchers studying the same phenomena but working under different environments and times must reach the same conclusions (Krippendorff, 2018). Shiundu (2018) writes that content analysis is a crucial method as it addresses questions on the usefulness and sufficiency of the data collected. This study therefore uses a conceptual content analysis to determine the existence and frequency of concepts – in cases, frames – used in the newspaper articles being analysed.

The researcher analyzed a census of Nation and Standard newspapers published in September and October, 2018, around which time the murders of Sharon Otieno and Monica Kimani occurred. The purpose of this analysis was to help the researcher identify a trend (if any) of how these newspapers framed the stories on the two cases of murder.

In order to understand why such frames were used and how they were identified, the researcher then conducted Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). According to Easwaramoorthy and Zarinpoush (2006), interviews are an appropriate method when there is a need to collect in-depth information on people's opinions, thoughts, experiences, and feelings. The researcher, therefore interviewed a sample of journalists who are the target population of the study. The interviews focused on the factors that editors consider to publish a story on femicide; the kind of information and questions reporters ask when they are covering stories on femicide and who they interview; the space allocation and

prominence given to femicide stories in the newspapers selected for the study; and how the stories are framed by the editors and sub-editors who edit and re-angle them before they are published.

3.9 Unit of Analysis

The units of analysis for this study were stories published by the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers. In this regard, a number of *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers covering the study period as is defined in the data collection section was analysed.

3.10 Data Generation/Collection Tools

This study used both a code sheet for the content analysis, and an interview guide for the interviews. First, there was a codebook, which provided the analysis criteria and defined the codes used to capture the data in the code sheet. Using the codes, the content analysed from the newspapers – which included date of the newspaper, title of the story, frames used, treatment and focus of the story, main actors, story source, statistics and use of pictures and graphics – was captured in an Excel data set code sheet. To identify the different frames the newspapers used to give meaning to the issues they wished to communicate in the stories, this study applied a frame analysis of several steps following a guide provided by Erlingsson and Brysiewicz (2017).

The interview guide had open-ended questions. This is because unstructured questions give the respondents the freedom of response (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003) and the researcher a chance to ask follow-up questions from the respondent's responses (Robson, 2011).

3.11 Data Collection Procedures

After all the ethical and regulatory requirements are met, and the intercoder reliability rate is acceptable, the researcher accessed the physical newspapers under study. The study focused on the variables explained in detail in the codebook. Coding of stories was done according to the variables, including date of the newspaper, title of the femicide story, frames used, treatment and focus of the story, main actors, story source, statistics and use of pictures and graphics. The frames under study included attribution of responsibility, victim, alleged perpetrator, society, love affair and sponsor support. Prominence attributes include placement of stories in newspapers as high focus, medium focus and low focus. This is determined by whether the story was placed on the front page of the paper or in the subsequent pages among other attributes as defined and detailed in the codebook.

Interviews were conducted using the interview guide. The interview targeted reporters, editors and chief sub-editors of *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* in an attempt to validate and explain the data collected from content analysis. While some of the interviews were conducted face to face, most of them were done on Zoom call as some of the respondents were not available for a physical meeting, especially because of the Covid-19 restrictions.

3.12 Pre testing of Data Generation / Collection Tools

One coder was trained on how to code the newspaper articles using the codebook. The training entailed introduction and explanation of the analysis criteria as explained in the code sheet. The coder then practiced coding before the intercoder reliability test is carried out. Once training was satisfactory, the coder was given a copy of *The Standard*

and *Daily Nation* each to code using the code sheet. Intercoder reliability using percentage agreement between the two newspapers was determined. If the discrepancies were huge, the coder was retrained until an acceptable percentage, which should be near a hundred percent intercoder reliability, was achieved before data collection commences.

For the interview guide, a pilot test interview was conducted with two respondents with the aim of ensuring of ensuring that the validity was achieved. The pilot interview tested whether the interviewees understood the questions asked and at the same time the researcher managed to get the data for the research questions. According to a number of authors, a pilot test helps to detect any possible flaws at the early stage by identifying potential problems and areas which may require adjustments in the instrument (Dikko, 2016; Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001; Watson, Atkinson, & Rose, 2007)

3.13 Validity and Reliability of Research Tools

Validity is concerned on whether the research can be trusted and whether it is evaluating what it is meant to evaluate (Zohrabi, 2013). On the other hand, a research is considered reliable when there is consistency of data and when it measures the concepts it is supposed to measure without bias (Sekaran & Bougie, 2003). Construct validity test was done to ensure that the variables measure the research questions. The study ensured construct validity by using variables used in previous studies (Zimmerman, 1994; Campbell, 2003; Berns, 2004; Richards, Gillespie & Smith, 2013; Tiscareño-García & Miranda-Villanueva, 2020; Marcuello-Servós, Corradi, Weil & Boira, 2016) and through rigorous testing of how these variables was applicable in the study (Kondracki, Wellman, & Amundson, 2002). The researcher pretested the code sheet, the analysis criteria and the interview guide to ensure that the tools were valid, reliable and objective. The research

quality that needs to be considered before engaging in the data collection and at the research design stage include validity, objectivity, reliability and to ensure that the research findings are not biased in any way.

To establish reliability, the researcher tested the agreement between the two newspapers as coded by the coder in the pretest to establish the strength of the code sheet that was used to collect and analyze data (Krippendorff, 2004). The coder then coded the stories in the two newspapers using the code sheet. The results from the pretest was analysed for agreement, consistency and reliability using Scott's *pi* index, which is a measure of reliability that accounts for chance agreement between coders or between units being coded. Krippendorff (2004) notes that a coefficient score of .80 and above is reliable. Therefore, code sheet was only considered reliable and valid if the coding of the two newspapers in the pretest attain a similarity index of .80 and above. The preliminary findings were analysed for validity to ascertain whether the data retrieved via the code sheets and interviews were indeed responding to the objectives. In case of disparities the analysis criteria, code sheet and interview guide were revised in consultation with the supervisors.

3.14 Data Analysis and Presentation Plan

Data collected from interviews was analyzed thematically and using descriptive analysis to describe characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied. This was in an attempt to answer the specific research questions and with a particular focus on the framing and placement of stories in the sampled newspapers. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is the process of identifying themes or patterns within qualitative data. One advantage of thematic analysis is that it is a very flexible method and

is appropriate for the diversity of work in learning and teaching. Its flexibility stems from the fact that unlike many qualitative methodologies, thematic analysis is not tied to a particular epistemological or theoretical perspective (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). The Quantitative data from the code sheet was cleaned and analysed using SPSS software and presented in tables while the qualitative data was analyzed based on emerging themes and presented as narratives and verbatim quotes from the respondents.

3.15 Ethical Considerations

First, the researcher got an introductory letter from Aga Khan University Graduate School of Media and Communications (AKU-GSMC), as per the regulations, permitting the researcher to conduct research. The letter indicated that the data collected was only for the purposes of this research, and nothing else. Secondly, the researcher introduced herself and explained the purpose of this research to the population sampled before interviewing them. The researcher also assured the respondents of confidentiality about themselves and their responses and that the data collected was used only for purposes of the research, and this assurance was upheld. The researcher also applied for a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).

3.16 Summary

This chapter outlined the research approach and design, research methods, population, study site, sample size and procedures, data generation/collection tools, data collection procedures, pre-testing of data collection tools, validity and reliability of research tools, data analysis and presentation plan and ethical considerations. The study deployed a mixed method approach that involved content analysis of 122 Nation and Standard

newspapers and interviews of six key informants who included crime reporters, news editors and chief sub-editors from the two media houses. The study used a descriptive research design. Before embarking on data collection, the tools used, including code sheet and interview guide were pre-tested for validity and reliability. Data collected from interviews was analyzed thematically and using descriptive analysis while quantitative data from the code sheet was analysed using SPSS software. The ethical considerations included getting an introductory letter from AKU-GSMC and a research permit from NACOSTI.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and the findings of the study. Data was collected through interviews and content analysis of *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers. The interviews responses are from purposively sampled reporters, editors and chief sub-editors from *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* to corroborate and provide explanations of the findings from the quantitative content analysis. The interviews were transcribed and coded to identify recurrent words and phrases which were grouped as emergent themes and patterns in the reporting of femicide stories. The findings were discussed and presented in response to the research objectives and the theories of framing and priming which anchor this study. The frames of both the murder cases were coded differently from both the newspapers and the data was analysed using SPSS.

4.2 Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

4.2.1 Response Rate and Demographic Results

The study targeted the six key informants; one assignment/news editor, one chief sub-editor and one crime reporter, from Daily Nation and Standard Newspapers respectively. Five out of six participated and responded to the interview making it a response rate of 83%. According to Mugenda (2020), a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting, a rate of 60% is good and a response rate of 70% and above is excellent. Based on the assertion, the response rate was excellent.

The study also planned to do a content analysis of 122 newspapers. A total of 94 newspapers, which published the stories on the two femicide cases were analysed. This was a response rate of 77%, which was also excellent.

4.2.2 Sample Representation for Content Analysis

The *Nation* and *The Standard* are the largest media houses in the country in terms of circulation and work force. These aspects were used in choosing the media houses to participate in the study as a representative sample for the entire population and for content analysis. The two media houses' flagship print publication also have a longer tradition in the coverage of the major stories covered in the study thus the response from interviewees from these two media houses and analysis of the two newspapers give a broader picture of the coverage of femicide.

4.2.3 Findings from the Newspapers

Framing Attributes

The study sought to find out the framing attributes used in the newspapers' coverage of the murder of Sharon Otieno and Monica Kimani. The findings indicate that while *Daily Nation* predominantly covered Sharon Otieno's stories along the responsibility frame (90.20%) and alleged perpetrator frame (97.60%), *Standard Newspaper* covered femicide stories (the killings of Sharon and Monica) along the four major frames of responsibility (97.30%), alleged perpetrator frame (94.60%), society (86.50%) and the victim frame (70.30%) as shown in table 1 below.

All stories on Monica Kimani had responsibility frames (100%) in both *The Standard* newspaper and *Daily Nation*. The other predominant frame in the coverage of Monica Kimani was alleged perpetrator at 96.80 percent for *Standard* Newspaper and 100 percent for *Daily Nation*. More details on the frames used in table 1 below.

Table 1: The frame Attributes

<i>The frame attribute</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>
Responsibility	97.30	90.2	100	100
Victim	70.3	24.4	12.9	18.5
Alleged perpetrator	94.6	97.6	96.8	100
Society	86.5	29.3	6.5	11.1
Love affair	54.1	29.3	45.2	33.3
Sponsor support	43.2	29.3	9.7	7.4

The findings above indicate that in the coverage of femicide, the responsibility frame and the alleged perpetrator frames are the most dominant. Almost all the stories on the murder cases of both Sharon and Monica seem to have the responsibility frame while there seems to be a dearth of coverage of these stories along the society frame for Monica Kimani’s murder which seems to suggest that in Monica’s murder case, the coverage did not blame the society or attribute her murder to the permissiveness in the society. The findings also suggest that for both cases and in both newspapers, the sponsor support frame was not dominant and this presents interesting findings, especially in Sharon’s case where the sponsor subplot was part of the stories doing rounds on social media.

Prominence of the Stories

The study sought to establish the prominence given to the coverage of Sharon Otieno and Monica Kimani’s murder by the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers.

From the findings, Sharon’s murder was predominantly treated as general news in coverage by both *Standard* newspaper (91.90%) and *Daily Nation* at (95.10 %). Similarly, Monica Kimani’s stories received the general news treatment by *The Standard* newspaper (93.50%) and *Daily Nation* (96.30%). The general news treatment is characterized by current news based on recent events, with an in-depth narrative on issues surrounding the events being covered and, in this case, the two murders the study looked at, received such treatment. Further, the analysis established that for both cases and in both newspapers, the stories had commentaries by columnists based on first person opinion. In both newspapers and for both murder cases there was very little treatment of these stories as in-depth features or from a critical commentary point of view. The findings indicate that the treatment of these stories as longer news features or commentary accounts for very small percentage as shown in the table 2 below.

Table 2: Treatment Attributes

<i>Treatment</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>
General news	91.9	95.1	93.5	96.3
News feature		2.4	3.2	
Commentary	5.4	2.4	3.2	3.7
Other				

From the findings in both Sharon and Monica Kimani’s cases indicated above, it is clear that both cases were given a general news treatment by *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation*. The findings seem to suggest that there were emergent angles of the murder stories that presented hard news that needed to be reported on a timely basis. The profiles of the

alleged perpetrators involved in both the cases were high profile, thus receiving a higher prominence.

Story focus

The study also sought to find out the level of prominence given to the two murder stories by analysing the level of focus newspapers gave these stories. The findings indicate that the *Daily Nation* accorded Sharon Otieno’s murder case high focus in its coverage with 80.50 percent of the stories prominently covered as compared to the *Standard* newspaper (75.50%). This is also similar to Monica’s murder story, where the *Daily Nation* gave it a high focus (85.20%) as compared to the *Standard* newspaper (77.40%). Both stories in the two publications were given a high focus during the coverage. The stories appeared either on the front or back page, had a headline including the word murder. Nation as compared to The Standard had less than 20 percent of the stories for both Sharon and Monica, placed or covered in either low focus spaces or covered in a manner that did not give these stories prominence as shown in table 3 below.

Table 2: Focus Given to Femicide Stories

<i>Focus</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>
High focus	75.5	80.5	77.4	85.2
Medium focus	10.8	9.8	19.4	11.1
Low focus	10.8	7.3	3.2	3.7

From the findings above, it clear that both Sharon Otieno’s and Monica Kimani’s cases, were accorded high focus by both *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation* which means the stories were placed either in the front page of the newspaper or between page one and

eight which are considered prime pages in the newspaper layout. The murder cases were given a high focus mainly because of the main actors from which the story was drawn from were prominent. The findings further noted that with time, the story covered slanted from high to medium and to low focus. This is explained by court procedures where the newspapers restrict themselves to featuring only the court proceedings which has low focus.

Influence of Frame Selection in Covering Femicide Story

In Sharon Otieno's case, the findings indicate that the *Daily Nation* covered the story using a combination of key sources including her family and close relatives. There was also an aspect of alleged perpetrators acting as key sources in the writing of the story. The accused families and relatives as well as the authorities and investigators, the study found out, acted as key informants when writing the story (73.20%). This was also the case at the *Standard* where all these main actors mentioned above were key sources in the story (70.40%). In Monica Kimani's story, both newspapers used a similar combination of the main actors as was the case with Sharon Otieno's case. While writing Monica's story, The *Daily Nation* sourced the information from all main actors namely; victims' family, alleged perpetrator as well as the investigators or authorities involved in the case (74.10%) which was similar but relatively lower in the *Standard* newspaper coverage (58.10%) as indicated in table 4 below. Both newspapers also used family of alleged perpetrator as a source in both cases.

Table 3: Main Actors

<i>Main actors</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>
Victim's family/alleged perpetrator/investigators	70.4	73.2	58.1	74.1
Advocacy group		2.4		2.4
Family of the alleged perpetrator	21.6	24.4	25.8	25.9

From the above findings, it very clear that both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper relied a combination of sources to write the stories but the key actors were mainly the victim's family, the alleged perpetrator, investigators as well as family/relatives of the alleged perpetrator.

Story Source

The findings of the study established that the main sources used in the writing of Monica Kimani's and Sharon Otieno's murder stories involved a strong combination of a reporter from the media house that publishes story, family of the victim of femicide and the alleged perpetrator. For instance, in Sharon Otieno's story, the *Daily Nation* (95.10%) and the *Standard* newspaper (81.10%) used the three aspects above to cover the story throughout its coverage. This was similar to Monica Kimani's murder case where a similar combination of a reporter from the media house that publishes story, family of the victim of femicide and alleged perpetrator was replicated at both the *Daily Nation* (92.60%) and the *Standard* newspaper (90.30%). Additionally, in both murder cases and with both newspapers, the alleged perpetrator's family played a crucial role in the sourcing of the story as shown in table 5 below.

Table 4: Story Source

<i>Story source</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The Standard</i>
Victim's family/reporter/alleged perpetrator	81.10	95.10	92.60	90.30
Investigator	2.7			3.2
Family of alleged perpetrator	2.7	4.8	3.7	

The findings above indicate that at both the *Standard* and the *Daily Nation*, a combination of different story sources were used in the coverage of Monica Kimani and Sharon Otieno murders. This is an indication that both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard Newspaper* use different sources to ensure that the stories are verified by all the sources and there is consistency while covering the femicide cases.

Statistical Figures

The study findings in both the murders of Sharon Otieno and Monica Kimani indicated that there were no statistical figures while covering the femicide stories by *Daily Nation* (97.60%) and the *Standard* newspaper (97.30%) in the coverage of Sharon's murder. The figures are equally the same for Monica's case for both the *Standard* newspaper (96.80%) and the *Daily Nation* (96.30%) as shown in table 6 below.

Table 5: Statistical Figures Used

<i>Statistical figures</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>
Yes	2.4	2.7	3.2	3.7
No	97.6	97.3	96.8	96.3
Total	100	100	100	100

From the above findings, the study established that both newspapers did not use statistical figures when writing and laying out of the stories of Monica and Sharon in their coverage. This is probably because studies have shown that people with intent to commit homicide draw their inspirations from media’s coverage and placing the statistics of the femicide stories would only be fueling the perpetrators to add the number to the existing statistics (Rios, 2018).

Graphics Use

The study established that the stories of both Monica Kimani and Sharon Otieno used graphics and pictures in both the newspapers. The *Daily Nation* (85.40%) and the Standard newspaper (83.80%) mostly used graphics and pictures in its coverage of Sharon’s murder. For Monica’s case, both the *Daily Nation* (96.30%) and the *Standard* newspaper (87.10%) used pictures and graphics as shown in the table 7 below.

Table 6: Use of Graphics and Pictures

<i>Statistical figures</i>	<i>Sharon Otieno</i>		<i>Monica Kimani</i>	
	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>	<i>The standard Newspaper</i>	<i>Daily Nation</i>
Yes	83.8	85.4	87.1	96.3
No	16.2	14.6	12.9	3.7
Total	100	100	100	100

The newspapers used graphics while covering the murder case of Sharon Otieno and of Monica Kimani to increase the comprehension and interest to the story considering that in both cases the alleged perpetrators were prominent people and having their graphics and pictures in the newspaper would be enthralling and catchy to the readers.

4.2.4 Key Informant Findings

The researcher conducted interviews with the target reporters of the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. The interviews were guided by the objectives of the study which are: to examine the major frames in the coverage of femicide by the Kenyan media; establish the degree of prominence given to femicide stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya, and to investigate what influences the selection of the different frames by Kenyan newspapers in the coverage of femicide. The response from interviews sought to answer two research questions:

- i) What prominence do Kenyan newspapers give femicide stories?
- ii) What influences the frames used by Kenyan newspapers in writing femicide stories?

The interviews from the key informants from both media houses were transcribed and coded to identify the patterns and emerging themes from the study. The findings of this study were presented according to the objectives of the study.

Frames used

From the findings, the most used frame based on the respondents, is the alleged perpetrator; where the victims were murdered by men and appeared to be out of jealousy or loss of control. According to the study, most victims engage in other affairs which eventually, when the perpetrator finds out, creates motives for murder. One participant noted that:

Remember the other one that was in Juja, I think a male student burned up a female student in the hostels and this is a guy who had been providing for her only to realize she was also going out with others. He was also very aggrieved.

The respondents further noted that in our society today, the victims usually take for granted the input made by the man in the relationship and the investment made. This frame puts the blame on the victim, and justifies the alleged perpetrators actions. The findings established that this can either be with a prominent person or even students. In the long run, when the man finds out there is probably someone else or others, in the picture, things get out of hand as noted by this respondent.

But you see the other unique aspect about that case is this is a case of a boy-girl affair. The boy is so much involved and trying to do so much to help the girl, but the girl is not bothered. He was actually feeling like she was having other affairs. So, it's a serious human-interest story and that's why the issue of even sponsors came up, that that's the reality men are facing. So, it's a social problem that you can actually be with a woman, sponsor her, and spend so much money on her, expecting that she is in love with you then she's just using you. So, you can see the motive of the murder is quite clear. So, now that being a serious social issue, we also can't ignore it regardless of subjects involved were neither high-profile or prominent, they were not even wealthy, they were just ordinary students.

The study notes that attribution to responsibility is commonly used in the coverage of femicide stories by the Kenyan media. The media calls out the person responsible in the

murder and also the security agencies like police officers to action, however, the interviewee notes that they are usually restricted once the court proceedings on the cases begin.

To highlight the seriousness of these cases, we have had instances where the front page has been dedicated to the killings, and editorials penned calling out relevant authorities to act expeditiously on these cases.

The sponsor support frame is also another aspect that was mentioned in the coverage of femicide stories, where the murder could have been due to the financial support provided by the perpetrator. The sponsors are usually prominent people, wealthy and of high profile. Stories where such personalities are mentioned usually attract a lot of attention and traffic.

A murder that involves somebody who was a friend to Obado or like suspected he had a hand in it and he is a governor, there's no way you will take it as a small story; that's a big story.

This is further sustained by another respondent

You talked about the Sharon case. When you look at that story, you'll find that there are very prominent people involved, linked to this. So, this definitely gives that kind of story prominence and that's what we consider.

Prominence of the story

The researcher noted that femicide stories are given a higher priority in the mainstream print, usually occupying the front or the back page with an in-depth story line up. The priority or placing treatment of the story as a news feature or general news is dependent on who the victim is and the alleged perpetrator and how they are associated. Stories covering prominent people or high-profile people usually attract a lot of audience thus a major parameter in the measuring how important a story will be and where it will be placed in the newspaper.

The first thing of course we look at is the person in the story - the woman. We look at, how prominent is this person? That will determine the placement. Secondly, we look at the association. You talked about Sharon's case. When you look at that story, you'll find that there are very prominent people involved, linked to this. So, this definitely gives that kind of story prominence and that's what we consider.

Another respondent indicated that:

A murder that involves somebody who was a friend to Obado or like suspected he had a hand, and this is a governor, there's no way you will take it as a small story; that's a big story.

This is further sustained by another respondent:

You talked about the Sharon case. When you look at that story, you'll find that there are very prominent people involved, linked to this. So, this definitely gives that kind of story prominence and that's a great ingredient for a good story.

The degree of importance placed on a femicide story is also dependant on the details of the story in terms of the nature of the killing. Femicide stories with detailed information, and intriguing nature of killing, always scream for attention in the main print media. The media is concerned with what aspect of the story will intrigue its readers. The researcher established that gruesome murders are 'interesting' to readers.

We also look at the nature of the killing, the circumstances, what we call 'what makes it interesting to the readers or the public?'. It's a gruesome murder. How was it carried out? Who did it involve?

Another respondent notes that:

There are some stories that you cannot run away from. They just scream for attention; you can't avoid them. The circumstances under which someone is killed, the people involved, love triangle, and property disputes make such stories interesting. Those kinds of stories really attract attention and we know that once we put them there, then they are likely to attract people's attention.

This of course goes hand in hand with the available sources as most times the investigators in charge are not willing to give out information on the same. Without the details and reliable sources, then the stories don't make it to the paper.

So, definitely when a story comes without a lot of details, then it's treated as a small story or it will not even be published because it looks insignificant.

Lastly, the researcher found out that the editors in the media houses play a major role in determining the prominence the story gets. The placement of such stories in the newspapers is also based on the decision of an editorial conference which decides what prominence is given to stories. For instance, a reporter may suggest that a story should receive a certain degree of prominence meaning that it should be placed somewhere between pages 1 to 8 of the newspaper which are considered prime pages, but that's the much they can do. The final decision on which page the story is placed in is solely on the editors.

Like I told you, stories that are used on the front page are determined by the editorial conference whereby the editors decide that, "Okay, this is the kind of story that should get page one treatment. Where a story is placed is never a one person show. Such decisions largely depend on the ingredients a story has. So, it's a deliberation, I can't sit in my corner and decide how to treat a story without consulting others. Of course, the ultimate decision for the content that goes on page 1 lies with the managing editor.

The researcher further established that the prominence of femicide stories is also determined by the number of such stories in the lineup for the day. If the cases are few, then the choice becomes easier which is the opposite when the cases are many; it becomes challenging to choose which one to give prominence over the other.

Influences of Frames Used

From the findings, the study established that the frames used in the media coverage of femicide are shaped by the sources, language and the context. Framing is dependent on the sources available and the details of the story. A story maybe catchy but with few details as shown by the respondent below.

But the first one is first of all how detailed the story is. There are times you get killings in the rural areas, but the reporter only brings a few words that doesn't explain in detail what happened. That would determine whether the story gets good space.

The frame to be used can be determined by what the available sources are saying. The victim's family and close relative's information on the murder account, provides sufficient information which goes way back before the occurrence and can be useful in determining the frame to be used. The alleged perpetrator's family can also provide details concerning either the killer or the victim and sometimes both. These details then inform on what frame to be used.

We have in some cases got tips to follow from say social media, which we must however verify before publishing. Some of our readers/ viewers have also given crucial pointers in certain instances which when followed up and verified turn out to be good stories.

However, this can be challenging because the information provided by the investigators maybe different from what other sources are saying and vice versa. So harmonizing the two is a bit difficult which might lead to legal charges especially when the frame used is not in harmony with the sources available.

This is a fact we must always be conscious of even as we tell the victim's story to avoid exposing ourselves legally, while at the same time bringing to light details of the case.

Secondly, the language or the choice of word to use. The choice of words is key, in determining how the audience will receive it and interpret it. Therefore, the framing of the story has to provide the details of the story while also ensuring that the media is professional and the audience will appreciate the frame used for the story while ensuring the dignity of both the victim and the alleged perpetrator.

I mean the angling of the story has everything to do with how the people take it. There's the professional aspect and now there's the other aspect depending on who is your subject. That's why you see newspapers like the Nairobiian will introduce other 'sexier' angles than the mainstream. The mainstream media looks at woman as a woman irrespective of status in the society or whatever.

Finally, the context of the story. The frames used by the media are dependent on the association of the victim with the alleged perpetrator and the motive of the murder. The association of the victim illustrates the kind of relationship the victim had with the alleged perpetrator. The frame to be used will depend on the relationship type, which can either be love affair or sponsor support. From the love affair, frames such as responsibility attribute, alleged perpetrator, victim frame or societal frame are derived depending now on the perspectives of the story.

These, if well covered should be able to tell the story of the victim and the circumstances around their death e.g. who was she? Who is the suspect? What was the nature of their relationship?

Answering the question why, will also influence the kind of frame to be used. Once the media houses identify the motive of murder, then framing becomes automatic. So the why questions answers both why the victim was killed and why the killer did it. From the available details of the story, the media houses can judge and place a frame depending on the answers derived. For instance, one may gather that the murder was due to jealousy or just abuse by the intimate partner.

But you see the other unique aspect about that case is this is a case of a boy-girl affair. The boy is so much involved and trying to do so much to help the girl, but the girl is not bothered. He was actually feeling like she was having other affairs. So, it's a serious human-interest story and that's why the issue of even sponsors came up, that's the reality men are facing. So, it's a social problem that you can actually be with a woman, sponsor her, and spend so much money on her, expecting that she is in love with you then she's just using you. So, you can see the motive of the murder is quite clear.

The intensity and the nature of how the victim was killed will also influence the frame used by the media. This is sustained by (Chong & Druckman, 2007) who depicts that individuals interpret news media contents depending on their feelings. Therefore, the frame to be used should be in line with the nature of the killing for the audience can only buy into the frames used if they believe in what is projected to them. There are victims that are stabbed to death numerous times, usually indicating a crime of passion, love affair, victim frame or an alleged perpetrator frame.

4.3 Summary of Key Findings

The findings of this study established that media houses in Kenya use different frames to cover femicide stories. Some of these frames that are widely used are attribution of responsibility, alleged perpetrator, love affair, societal frame, victim frame and sponsor support frame. The results noted that even when different frames are at play when writing femicide stories, there are notable frames that are quite prominent such as attribution of responsibility where the media is not only calling out the person responsible, but also urging the investigators in charge to act expeditiously. Further, the alleged perpetrator frame was equally common in covering of the femicide stories.

The prominence of the femicide stories is, however, determined by several aspects. These aspects include who the victim or the alleged perpetrator is, the relation

between the two, their status in the society, the nature of the killings, the stories available, court proceedings and finally deliberations by the editor manning the news desk. The findings established that prominent people attach a lot of prominence to a story. Disturbingly, gruesome murder of a victim is attractive to readers and can easily get page one treatment. The findings further established that prominence of a story determines where it is placed in the newspaper. Where a story has all the ingredients of a good story, it can even get space on the front page. A lot of factors go into deciding how a femicide story is treated in terms of placement. The study found out that in coverage of both Sharon and Monica killings, there was a mixture of high, medium and low focus as to how the newspapers looked at treated the stories. In both stories, graphics and pictures were used while there was little use of statistical figures by both newspapers.

Use of frames by the media houses in covering the femicide story is influenced by the story sources', main actors from which the story is drawn from and the context of the case. The sources maybe both families and close relatives of both the victim and the alleged perpetrator, investigators, reporters' editors and in some cases feedback from the readers. The main actors include the victim, the victim's family, the alleged perpetrator and the investigators in charge of the case. The framing is largely shaped by the context of the story, in terms of who the victim and the alleged perpetrator are, the kind of relations they had.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, the results and the findings of the study were presented. The response rate from interview respondents was excellent at 83%, while that of newspapers analysed was 77%. The findings indicated that in the coverage of femicide, the

responsibility frame and the alleged perpetrator frames were the most dominant. Both Sharon and Monica cases were given a general news treatment by *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation* and were accorded high focus by both papers, including being placed on the front page. Both newspapers relied on a combination of sources to write the stories but the key actors were mainly the victim's family, the alleged perpetrator, investigators as well as family/relatives of the alleged perpetrator. The study established that the frames used in the media coverage of femicide are shaped by the sources, language and the context.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings on the framing of femicide by the news media in Kenya based on the research objectives. The findings of the study will inform the recommendations that the media houses can adopt and also form the basis on which further studies can be done as a result of the discussion.

5.2 Discussions of Key Findings

The key findings are discussed based on each objective of the study. This is to ensure that every objective that the study sought to achieve is covered and every research question is answered.

5.2.1 Research Objective 1

Objective one sought to examine the major frames in the coverage of femicide by the Kenyan media. From the content analysis, both newspapers used different frames in covering the murder of Sharon and Monica. This is supported by the interviews conducted, where the respondents agreed that various frames were used. The study noted that attribution of responsibility and alleged perpetrator were the most dominant frames in both murder stories. The finding suggests that both stories in both newspapers blamed an individual or a group of people for the femicide either directly or indirectly (Zimmerman, 1994). Both stories in both newspapers also used victim frame, suggesting that the femicide cases were partly due to the victims' fault. This argument was supported by the respondents

interviewed who suggested that the two victims were to blame for their murder for entertaining a man's effort and embracing his investments while the victim is engaging in multiple relations.

For both murder stories in both newspapers, sponsor support frame was the least used. This finding indicates that in certain circumstances, the two newspapers presented stories to suggest that Sharon and Monica were killed as a result of their relationship with rich men who spent money on their welfare in exchange for love or an affair. Sponsor support frame was more dominant in Sharon's murder stories in both newspapers (43.2% for Standard and 29.3% for Nation) as compared to the stories on Monica's murder (9.7% for Standard and 7.4% for Nation). This suggests that Sharon, who was a university student at the time of her death, was believed to depend more on her lover's financial support and this contributed significantly to her murder. Sadly, however, more femicide stories are reported that do not involve wealthy people who give financial or material support to their lovers/victims of murder but students who are just in relationships.

The media plays a critical role in role in informing and shaping public opinion. From the above findings, it is clear that the media treats each femicide case based on certain factors such as sources and the people involved. In the two murder cases the study analyzed, prominent people were involved and therefore deemed as important stories that got front page coverage.

5.2.2 Research Objective 2

Objective two sought to establish the degree of prominence given to femicide stories in the mainstream print media in Kenya. From the content analysis, both the

newspapers accorded both the cases of Monica and Sharon a front-page treatment. From the analysis of the two newspapers on both the murder stories, prominence of a femicide story is characterized by front page treatment, an in-depth story of the murder with opinionated editorial columnists, high focus on the story, use of graphics and pictures and less use of statistical figures where the story is featured. This is sustained by the interviews conducted on the respondents that the case of Sharon's murder was attracting by itself based on the fact that a governor had relations with the victim and the alleged perpetrator was also connected to the governor, these aspects warranted a prime page in the newspaper. Monica's murder was intriguing and the alleged perpetrators were high profile journalists which was bound to draw readers' attention in so many ways. However, the findings established that, femicide involving common people is less likely to get attention as compared to cases where prominent people are involved.

From the content analysis, the prominence given to a story is mostly determined by the editor. This is supported by the interviews from the respondents, the editors and the writers deliberate on the how the stories are written but the editor decides where the story appears. The participants further noted that some writers may deem a story worthy of the front page but the editor may not. At the end of the day, the ultimate decision on page one treatment relies solely on the editor. Further, from the interviews conducted, a participant noted that sometimes the femicide stories are just too many and this determines their placement in the paper. They further noted that audience raise concerns when such stories are too many in the paper so the media house has to downplay them at times thus the story that screams for attention like the two stories the researcher looked at are assigned front pages or even page one. The participants further posited that the prominence of femicide

stories is sometimes dedicated to the front page as way of showing the seriousness of the cases and calling out the relevant authority to act speedily on the cases. Further, the participants said such stories are placed on the first page of the newspaper to condemn and raise awareness of the vice especially when these cases are many.

Finally, the degree of prominence of the story is determined by court procedures as the participants suggested. The content analysis established that in both cases of Sharon and Monica's murder, the focus on the story went from high to medium with time. This is explained by the court procedures. The respondents indicated that once the case is in court they restrict themselves in the coverage of the story especially even when they have evidence where the alleged perpetrator is guilty of femicide but the court is of different opinion. To avoid legal implications, the media houses do not engage intensively in a matter once the legal proceedings are on.

The placement of femicide stories in a newspaper is largely dependent on a combination of factors but one of the key factors that editors look at before determining whether a story is a page one story or not, is the circumstances of the murder, people involved and their influence in society. In cases where prominent people are involved, the stories are treated as of high importance to the public and therefore placed in prime sections of the paper – front or back page and any other page before page eight.

5.2.3 Research Objective 3

Objective three sought to investigate what influences the selection of the different frames by Kenyan newspapers in the coverage of femicide. From the content analysis of both the papers, the frame used by the media houses in Kenya in covering the femicide

stories is shaped by the sources, and the main actors of the story. The findings established that a combination of sources i.e., reporters, victim's family, reporter and the alleged perpetrator was used in covering both the murder of Sharon and Monica. The findings concur with views from the interviews conducted on the respondents that, majority of the femicide framing is shaped by the available sources. It is crucial to look at both sides so that the story is factual. This means that you as you gather information from the victim's family it is equally important to get to listen to what the family of the alleged perpetrator and close relatives have to say about the same matter. The content analysis established that the framing of femicide stories of both Sharon and Monica was framed based on the information gathered from both families of the victim and the alleged perpetrators.

The content analysis on the *Daily Nation* and the Standard newspaper established that the stories of Monica and Sharon's murder were covered using a combination of victim's family and close relatives, the alleged perpetrator and the investigators as the main actors. These actors influenced the frame that was used in writing the stories. In the case of Sharon Otieno, the story was framed in a way that blamed the society due to her lifestyle of having relations to gain financial support. Moreover, the alleged perpetrator was a governor thus imposing themes such as sponsor support frame due to their relations. From the stories that developed, Sharon was solely responsible for what happened to her for blackmailing the governor which also created the victim frame. This is supported by (Achieng, 2018) who stated that Sharon's case attracted attention from international media but having taken the cue from local media, they played down her murder into a sugar daddy/sponsor culture, which they said is common in Kenya among college going girls and older men. On the other hand, Monica was not framed in a way that blames the society

because of her lifestyle but rather attribution of responsibility was used. The frame to be used is further influenced by the investigator on the case. Depending on the briefings made by the investigator concerning the femicides that will determine the type of frame to be used.

The other factor that is key in determining the frame to use, is the paper's editorial policy and the feedback from its audience. The participants noted that the framing of femicide stories must be done professionally while ensuring that the dignity of both the victim and the alleged perpetrator is maintained. The participants further noted that the framing should be done in a way that the readers will appreciate how the story is written in terms of angling, language and the editorial standards of the media house.

Lastly, the participants agreed that the context of the story will determine the frame to be used. This is in terms of relations and association of the victim and the alleged perpetrator. The context answers the question who, why and what. Who is the victim, who is the alleged perpetrator? What kind of relationship did they have? Once that is established, it then forms the basis of answering the question why? Is it because of love affair, is there blackmail, and is it about property and love triangles? From the details of the story, that dictates the kind of frame to use.

The prominence a story gets in a newspaper is dependent on many factors. From this study's findings, one of the major factors that editors who determine where to place a story look for is well-balanced the sources is and who has been quoted in the story. The characters involved also determine whether a story will be given prominence in terms of placement in the newspaper or not.

5.3 Conclusion and Implications for Practice

Covering of femicide stories is mainly centered on attribution of responsibility and the alleged perpetrator frame. However, other frames such as victim frame, love affair, society and sponsor support frame are also used in covering of femicides stories but not as prominently as responsibility and alleged perpetrator frame.

Prominence of femicide stories is based on the victim and the alleged perpetrator, their relation, their status quo, deliberations by the editor, court proceedings, as well as the circumstances and the context of the murder.

Lastly, the frame used by the media in covering the femicide stories is shaped by what the sources such as family and close relatives of the victim and the alleged perpetrator have to say about the murder. The sources can also be the investigators in charge of the case, feedback and information from the readers which has to be verified that it is factual before it is published. The main actors in the femicide that is the victim's family, the alleged perpetrator and the investigator in charge of the case will influence highly the kind of frame to be used since the story is drawn from them. The language used in framing the femicide stories should be professional and should do its part in dignifying the subjects. The context of the killing informs the kind of frames to be used while writing such stories.

While all the factors that editors consider before placing a femicide story in the newspaper are important, they aren't quite the best parameters to use in the coverage of such serious vices in the society. Many of the stories lack some of the factors the editors look out for which means if a story lacks a prominent person in it, the likelihood of it being

spiked or being played down to a small brief is very high yet a woman like in the case where a prominent person is involved has been killed.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends that:

- 1) The study recommends that media houses should actively engage in covering femicide stories to bring to the fore the seriousness of the matter so that relevant authorities such as security agencies as well as the judiciary can take appropriate actions and ensure justice is served.
- 2) The study recommends that the media should also exercise professionalism while framing the femicide stories so that the real issues – which is the killing of a woman no matter the circumstances – is given the right attention to ensure the government takes the right action in dealing with such cases and that justice takes its course.
- 3) The media houses should play their role in dealing with the vice through consistent coverage and putting to task the authorities whose responsibility is to solve such cases. Such coverage can also put policy makers to task in ensuring a policy to deal with the rising cases of femicide is put in place.

5.5 Areas for Further Research

The study has shown that the media dedicates its time and resources in coverage of femicide stories in Kenya. Despite the fact that such stories are given prominence even going to the front pages of the newspapers, the cases are still prevalent. This therefore creates a dilemma whether the coverage is resulting to solving the crimes or perpetuating

it. The participants noted that there are times when there are numerous femicide stories which makes it hard for them to determine what to publish and what not to publish or which gets a prime page and which doesn't. The participants further noted that, the readers get concerned when the newspaper is full of femicide stories. Based on these findings, the study suggests that further studies should be carried out to establish the influence the coverage of femicide stories by the media houses in Kenya has on its readers. Do such stories encourage or discourage the vice?

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Analysis Criteria

News Media Framing of Femicide: An Analysis of Newspapers' Reports on the Killing of Two Women

Sampling Period: September 1, 2018 – October 31, 2018 – 61 Days.

Unit of Analysis

- The unit of analysis is the newspaper and the unit of observation for a frame occurrence (for example love affair frame) is a news story. A frame will count once even if it appears more than once in a story. If more than one frame appears in one story, they will be coded distinctly.
- The second level of coding will match the occurrence of a frame attribute with the level of prominence.

Operationalization of Categories:

1. Attribution of Responsibility Frame: (Zimmerman, 1994; Campbell, 2003)

- Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the femicide?
- Does the story allude to the influence of the alleged perpetrator in society?
- Does the story suggest the problem of femicide requires urgent action by different players in the society, including the government, the citizenry and other organizations?
- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem of femicide?

2. Victim Frame: (Berns, 2004)

- Does the story individualise femicide and blame the victim?
- Does the story silence alternatives that seek to direct attention to abusers and the cultural, structural, and institutional forces that foster abuse?
- Does the story appear to tolerate violence against women and children, or focus unduly on women's responsibility for ending abuse?

3. Alleged Perpetrator Frame: (Richards, Gillespie & Smith, 2013; Tiscareño-García & Miranda-Villanueva, 2020)

- Does the story present the accused as a male perpetrator?
- Does the story suggest the alleged perpetrator committed the murder because they lost control?
- Does the story suggest the femicide was committed out of jealousy?
- Does the story appear to justify the act of femicide by the alleged perpetrator or blame social issues?

4. Society Frame: (Richards, Gillespie & Smith, 2013; Marcuello-Servós, Corradi, Weil & Boira, 2016)

- Does the story blame societal perceptions of violence against women?
- Does the story denote femicide as a political intention?
- Does the story blame femicide on patriarchal hegemony or as a global challenge?
- Does the story suggest the femicide is a result of influences of societal factors such as the internet, social media, mainstream media or community beliefs and values?

5. Love Affair Frame: (Zimmerman, 1994).

- Does the story suggest the femicide is a result of a love affair between the alleged perpetrator and the victim?
- Does the story suggest that violence against women by their intimate partners is considered a way of expressing love?
- Does the story suggest that an intimate partner is justified to beat their partner for whatever reason?

6. Sponsor Support Frame: (Campbell, 2003)

- Does the story mention the income or wealth of the accused?
- Does the story suggest the murder was a result of the financial support provided by the alleged perpetrator to the victim?
- Does the story project the victim as a victim of pursuit for financial gain through such unorthodox means like blackmail, money laundering, deal gone sour etc.?

Prominence

7. Treatment (the way the story is written),

Indicates the way that the story is written, not to be confused with the subject of the story

- General News/Hard news: any story that emphasises facts of a recent event. Often uses a straight news or inverted pyramid style of writing with an emphasis on the time factor. For instance, news on the deaths, investigations, arrests, etc.
- News feature: longer, more insightful tone; covers the murders in more depth, tell a story rather than just regurgitate a series of facts.
- Commentary: any story that offers a first-person opinion or is a stated opinion of the newspaper. Includes the editorials and the opinion editorials by columnists.
- An article of any other nature will be categorised as other.

8. Focus (the level of importance)

Indicates the level of importance or prominence accorded to the story in a newspaper in terms of where the story is placed, presence or absence of graphic/picture, and mention of key words in the headline. Three focus levels: high, medium and low will be used.

- High focus stories are: (1) on the front or back page, (2) fall on pages 1-8, (3) have a headline that includes murder, (4) more than 800 words, (5) is an editorial story.
- Medium focus stories have a (1) coloured pictures of Sharon or Monica and their families, (2) coloured pictures of other subjects in the story, including the alleged perpetrators, (3) a story on the murders specifically and is between 300 and 800 words in length (4) a section of an integrated story that is more than 300 words and devotes at least half of the lines in the story to the murder of Sharon or Monica, (5) black and white picture.
- Low focus stories are (1) less than 300 words and devoted to the issue of murder of Sharon or Monica, (2) a section of an integrated story that is 300 or less and devotes at least half of lines of the story to the two murder cases (3) no picture/graphic.

9. Main actors (Indicate if any news sources were used in writing the story)

Main actors refer to: the people mentioned in the story most or featured as sources or news makers, for example, victims of femicide, alleged perpetrators, and authorities/investigators. Main actor categories will include:

- Victims of femicide and their close families and relatives
- Alleged perpetrators or those accused of being involved in the femicide cases in any way
- Families and relatives of alleged perpetrators
- Authorities or investigators/police involved in the investigation of the two femicide cases
- Advocacy groups who add their voices to the story
- Any other actor not mentioned above will be categorised as others.

NB

If there are more than one actor in the news story the actor that is mentioned first and many times in the article will be coded as Main Actor one and the actor that comes second in terms of mentions in the story or is mentioned second most frequently will come in as Main Actor two and if there is any other actor, they will be coded as main actor three. Only a maximum of three actors can be coded in one single story.

10. Story source (where the story is drawn from),

- Indicate whether the story was drawn from (1) a reporter from the media house that publishes the story, (2) families and close relatives of the victims of femicide, (3) alleged perpetrator, (4) families and relatives of alleged perpetrator, (5) investigator, (6) activist, (7) unknown

11. Statistics

- Indicate whether the story presents or is accompanied by statistical figures.

Yes

No

12. Use of graphics and pictures

- Indicate whether the story has pictures and graphics or not

Yes

No

Appendix B: Code Sheet for Article Placement

**Frame Analysis: Newspapers' Coverage of the Murder of Sharon Otieno and
Monica Kimani**

Name of the Coder: Rose Wangui

Date of coding: November 2020

The coding sheet

The six framing attributes will be recorded on the count of frequency. For each story in the sampled newspapers, the date of the newspaper edition will be recorded and all the Sharon and Monica murder stories will be recorded in subsequent rows as the units of observation. The columns will have the different framing attributes (See Excel Spreadsheet). For every news story the presence of a framing attribute will be coded YES (1) and if the framing attribute is not present in the story it will be coded NO (2). The second level of analysis will be the coding of all of these stories and placing them along the six categories of prominence which will be columns after the framing attributes. The coding of the six categories is explained below.

Coding of the framing attributes

Responsibility Frame

1 Yes

2 No

Victim Frame

1 Yes

2 No

Alleged Perpetrator Frame

1 Yes

2 No

Society Frame

1 Yes

2 No

Love Affair Frame

1 Yes

2 No

Sponsor Support Frame

1 Yes

2 No

Coding of the prominence attributes

TREATMENT (THE WAY THE STORY IS WRITTEN)

- 1 **General News/Hard News:** any story that emphasises facts of a recent event. Often uses a straight news or inverted pyramid style of writing with an emphasis on the time factor. For instance, news on the deaths, investigations, arrests, etc.
- 2 **News feature:** longer, more insightful tone; covers the murders in more depth, tell a story rather than just regurgitate a series of facts.
- 3 **Commentary:** any story that offers a first-person opinion or is a stated opinion of the newspaper. Includes the editorials and the opinion editorials by columnists.
- 4 An article of any other nature will be categorized as other.

FOCUS (THE LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE)

1 **High focus stories**

Stories that have the following will be coded as high focus stories:

- Fall on the front or back page
- Fall on page 1-8
- Have a headline that includes murder
- Story is placed inside the newspaper pages but has a banner headline or a stripe headline or brief snippet on the front or back pages
- Have more than 800 words
- Is an editorial story

2 **Medium focus stories**

The stories that have the following will be coded as medium focus stories

- Pictures of Sharon or Monica and their families
- Pictures of other subjects in the story, including the alleged perpetrators
- A story on the murders specifically and is between 300 and 800 words in length
- A section of an integrated story that is more than 300 words and devotes at least half of the lines in the story to the murder of Sharon or Monica

3 Low focus stories

The stories that have any of the following will be coded as low focus stories:

- Less than 300 words and devoted to the issue of murder of Sharon or Monica
- A section of an integrated story that is 300 or less and devotes at least half of lines of the story to the two murder cases
- No picture/graphic.

MAIN ACTORS (NEWS SOURCES USED IN WRITING THE STORY)

- 1** Sharon and Monica and their families and close relatives
- 2** Alleged perpetrators accused of the murders or being accessories to the murders
- 3** Families and relatives of alleged perpetrators
- 4** Authorities or investigators involved in the investigation of the two femicide cases
- 5** Any other actor not mentioned above will be categorised as others

STORY SOURCE (WHERE THE STORY IS DRAWN FROM),

Indicate whether the story was drawn from

- 1** A reporter from the media house that publishes the story
- 2** Family of the victim of femicide
- 3** Investigator
- 4** Columnist/Opinion writers/Activist
- 5** Editorial board
- 6** No clear source – not attributed to any writer
- 7** Other

STATISTICS

Indicate whether the story presents or is accompanied by statistical figures in relation to femicide.

1 Yes

2 No

USE OF GRAPHICS AND PICTURES

Indicate whether the story has pictures and graphics or not

1 Yes

2 No

Appendix C: Data Set Code Sheet

NATION – MONICA

	Date of the newspaper	Title of the story	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	9/26/2018	Security expert' seized over killing of woman in city	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	
2	9/27/2018	Police seek television journalist in probe into murder of city woman	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	
3	9/28/2017	City murder case: Police quiz TV star over fiance statement; Slain woman eulogised as outgoing, generous and pillar of their family	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	
4	9/29/2018	Butchered so young; TV journalist interrogated for the second day over city murder; Other macabre killings; Society that kills its women is rotten and dying	1	2	1	1	2	2	1;2;3	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3,4	1	1	
5	9/30/2018	News anchor is a suspect in murder case, to be charged Monday – police; Irungu was staunch church boy, say friends	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	
6	10/1/2018	A spent bullet, hole in wall, and flour patch; Friends recall 'budding musician' whose life was cut short	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	

7	10/2/2018	Prosecution: News anchor could face murder or accessory to murder charges; Chronology of a murder investigation	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
8	10/3/2018	Enter the general: How Monica made a fortune in Juba; Politician is a man of immense wealth	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
9	10/4/2018	The myterious life of 'creepy Jowie' who loves the good things	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
10	10/5/2018	Police take Maribe's knife for forensic tests; Friends describe Maribe as an easy going person who knows her work	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
11	10/6/2018	Maribe takes DNA test in hunt for Monica's killers	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
12	10/7/2018	Police: DNA results will decide Maribe's fate; Writer bullied online for sharing a name with suspect in murder case	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
13	10/8/2018	Maribe's dad: My daughter is guilty of love, not murder; Suspect's father says his son didn't do it	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
14	10/9/2018	Kassaine – Jowie and Maribe's friend – to testify against them in gripping murder case	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

15	10/10/2018	Monica murder probe moves to Mombasa; Jowie isolated man as he shares dock with fiancée Maribe; Judge orders mental test on Maribe, sets plea hearing for Monday	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
16	10/12/2018	Monica murder: Deal Kassaine got pays off	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
17	10/13/2018	Test shows Maribe fit to stand trial	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,3	2	1
18	10/15/2018	Drugging angle in Monica murder	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
19	10/16/2018	Murder case: Why detectives oppose release of Irungu and Maribe; 'When he came back in the room he was crying, telling me he was sorry'	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
20	10/17/2018	Maribe: I've co-operated, free me	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
21	10/18/2018	Maribe, Jowie to spend 7 more days in custody before bail plea	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
22	10/20/2018	GSU man seized in murder probe twist	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
23	10/21/2018	Detectives for third day quiz Recce officer over Monica murder	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
24	10/23/2018	Jubilee man's NGO is making waves in Monica murder trial	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
25	10/24/2018	Obado, Maribe bail pleas set for today	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2

26	10/25/2018	Court to decide Maribe, Jowie bond applications on Tuesday	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	
27	10/31/2018	Judge's surprise harsh description of Jowie in bail case as Maribe freed	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	

KEY

A - Responsibility Frame

B - Victim Frame

C - Alleged Perpetrator Frame

D - Society Frame

E - Love Affair Frame

F - Sponsor Support Frame

G - Treatment

H - Focus

I - Main actors

J - Story Source

K - Statistics

L - Use of graphics and pictures

M – Comments

NATION – SHARON

	Date of the newspaper	TITLE OF THE STORY	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	9/6/2018	Last moments of heavily pregnant university student killed in brutal knife attack; Beautiful, generous spirit – but with personal secrets; Phone call to help a friend that turned into tragedy; 16 detectives on their way to help solve murder of student; Koderu: The 'evil forest' of Homa Bay; Scribe who first broke kidnapping news fears for his life	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	
2	9/7/2018	Governor keeps low profile as detectives hunt Sharon killers; Obado's PA still in custody as police intensify watch over cell; All set for slain student's postmortem	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	
3	9/8/2018	Governor Obado sends team to take part in autopsy; Student stabbed 8 times, raped and strangled in grisly murder: Autopsy; Detectives cast net wider for Sharon's killers	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	
4	9/9/2018	Detectives piece together crucial clues in hunt for Sharon murderers; Why did man posing as KDF officer meet Oyamo in cell?; Orange party calls for speedy investigations as tragedy features in Migori Senate by-election race	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	

5	9/10/2018	Sharon's killers were after baby, shows autopsy; Now family, witnesses seek police protection; Let investigators find Sharon's killers, former husband appeals; Four MPs to lead demos against killing	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
6	9/11/2018	Suspect in horror murder could be released on bail; Visitor to Oyamo's cell is genuine military man: DCI; Police allowed to detain former MCA for 14 days as Sharon murder probe gathers steam	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
7	9/12/2018	Obado puts on a strong show after day-long date with police; Police beat tough court rules to hold onto Oyamo; Nation journalist also questioned in murder probe; Activists take to Nairobi streets demanding justice for slain woman; We do not plan to bury Sharon yet, say parents	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1; 2	1; 2	1,2,3; 4	2; 2	1; 2
8	9/13/2018	Sharon 'forwarded chat messages to Obado's wife, son'; Oyamo to be held for 14 more days; Family to bury Sharon's unborn baby today, appeals to President; Varied views as Obado speaks out	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
9	9/14/2018	Family rejects Obado's consolation	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
10	9/15/2018	Sharon's baby finally buried in day of drama	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
11	9/16/2018	Police track Sharon's last contacts; Obado lies low in Migori campaigns	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

12	9/17/2018	Three more witnesses record statements on Sharon murder	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
13	9/18/2018	Big break in hunt for Sharon killers	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
14	9/19/2018	Clerk grilled in the Sharon murder	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
15	9/20/2018	Paternity test proves Obado fathered slain student's unborn son	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
16	9/21/2018	Police look for clues in car linked to kidnapping of slain student, scribe	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
17	9/22/2018	Obado arrested, to be charged with murder; Student's death shocks, grips the entire nation; County boss' absence leaves staff in limbo; Sharon 'refused dowry offer from ex-husband'	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
18	9/23/2018	State treating Obado as first accused after driver provides the missing link; Governor aides linked to dreaded Migori group; Opinion divided in Migori as governor stays in cell	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
19	9/24/2018	Sequence of events that culminated in Sharon's murder; Cruel death: Portrait of family torn by loss of cherished mum, daughter; Sharon kin in fear after gang attacks vocal uncle	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
20	9/25/2018	You betrayed my daughter, Sharon's mother tells Obado; Sharon's murder case finally kicks off as Obado supporters in protest; County official denies role in abduction, murder; County boss	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

		gets taste of prison life; Governor's guard held												
21	9/26/2018	Governor awaits ruling on his bail application	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
22	9/27/2018	Two more weeks in jail for Obado aide; More pain for Sharon's family at the courts	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
23	9/28/2018	Obado to spend 10 more days in prison as judge denies him bond; ODM warns against being dragged into governor's woes	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
24	9/29/2018	Butchered so young; Other victims of macabre killings; Society that kills its women is rotten and dying	1	2	1	1	2	2	2;3	1	1,2,4	1,2,3,4	1	1
25	9/30/2018	Oyamo's kin claims rape but medical report shows contrary	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
26	10/3/2018	Sharon's kin finally set her burial date	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
27	10/4/2018	Obado admitted to Kenyatta after falling sick in remand; Family needs Sh1.3m for the burial of slain varsity student Sharon	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
28	10/5/2018	Obado moved to KNH general ward; Raila speaks on Sharon's death during rally	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
29	10/6/2018	Obado to renew bond application	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
30	10/7/2018	Obado speaks on ill health, Migori by-election	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
31	10/9/2018	Sharon's mother pleads with court to deny Obado bail	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
32	10/13/2018	Obado to know bail fate in 11 days	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

33	10/19/2018	Sharon's body arrives home for burial as suspects await bail fate	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
34	10/20/2018	Sharon finally laid to rest as family calls for justice	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
35	10/24/2018	Obado, Maribe bail pleas set for today	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
36	10/25/2018	Police close in on three more suspects as Sharon murder probe gathers speed; Detectives widen the hunt for student's killers; Obado finally free, but more local issues fill his in tray	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
37	10/26/2018	Out of prison but locked up at home; To set free or not? Judge clears air on bail dilemma	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
38	10/27/2018	I will respect bail terms, says Obado	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
39	10/28/2018	Church holds prayers for Obado after time in prison	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	2
40	10/29/2018	Obado moves to old house as tough bond terms bite	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
41	10/30/2018	Obado case: Suspect to be held for 10 days; Governor in office after remand	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

KEY

A - Responsibility Frame2

B - Victim Frame

C - Alleged Perpetrator Frame

D - Society Frame

E - Love Affair Frame

F - Sponsor Support Frame

G - Treatment

H - Focus

I - Main actors

J - Story Source

K - Statistics

L - Use of graphics and pictures

M – Comments

STANDARD – MONICA

	Date of the newspaper	TITLE OF STORY	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	September 22, 2018	Shock as woman killed, body soaked in bathtub	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,4	1,3	2	1	
2	September 23, 2018	Mystery of two visitors, missing neighbour as details emerge on Kilimani killing	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,4	1,2,3	2	1	
3	September 24, 2018	Three men sought in woman's killing	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,4	1,2,3	2	2	
4	September 25, 2018	Stop deaths at the hands of ruthless killers	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	1,4	5	2	2	
5	September 26, 2018	Police arrest TV host's fiance as murder probe mystery deepens	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	

6	September 27, 2018	Police look for TV host after fiance's arrest over murder; Suspect to remain in police custody	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
7	September 28, 2018	Maribe grilled by police on fiance; Emotional tribute to slain woman as more call for justice	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
8	September 29, 2018	Revealed: Murder suspect's high profile network	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
9	September 30, 2018	Police arrest TV star as detectives pick crucial evidence	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
10	October 1, 2018	Maribe's fiance may have tried to kill self, claim police; Father devastated after son is linked to murder	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
11	October 2, 2018	TV journalist twice faced rage of fiance; Maribe detained for 11 days	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
12	October 3, 2018	Why Irungu's friends could be pulled into murder case	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
13	October 4, 2018	Politician to be grilled about Monica murder	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
14	October 5, 2018	DNA, fingerprints put Irungu at crime scene	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
15	October 6, 2018	I don't know Monica, top South Sudan official says	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
16	October 7, 2018	State to consolidate Maribe, Irungu cases before plea	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
17	October 8, 2018	Police take Jowi round city in search of weapon	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
18	October 9, 2018	Police look for another Monica killing suspect	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

19	October 10, 2018	Maribe meets lover in dock as stage is set for landmark case; Jowie applies for bail citing referrals to seek treatment; What suspect-turned witness told police on Monica Kimani's murder	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
20	October 11, 2018	Witchcraft crops up in hunt for Monica's killers	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
21	October 12, 2018	Kassaine is freed after turning witness against Irungu, Maribe; Suspect in Monice death free	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
22	October 13, 2018	Hi-tech probe leaves no room for criminals to hide	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1,3	1	1
23	October 15, 2018	Maribe, Jowie back in court for plea in Monica's murder case	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
24	October 16, 2018	Irungu and Maribe charged with murder as State fights bail plea	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
25	October 17, 2018	Maribe: Release me for sake of my child	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
26	October 18, 2018	Maribe: I'm suffering because I loved Jowie; Victim's kin fear for their security	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
27	October 20, 2018	GSU man held in Monica murder probe	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
28	October 22, 2018	GSU man in murder probe well trained	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
29	October 25, 2018	More people could be charged with Monica's murder	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
30	October 26, 2018	Why Itumbi courtroom romance is talk of town	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
31	October 30, 2018	Maribe in court for bail ruling	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2

KEY

A - Responsibility Frame

B - Victim Frame

C - Alleged Perpetrator Frame

D - Society Frame

E - Love Affair Frame

F - Sponsor Support Frame

G - Treatment

H - Focus

I - Main actors

J - Story Source

K - Statistics

L - Use of graphics and pictures

M – Comments

STANDARD – SHARON

	Date of the newspaper	Title of story	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	September 6, 2018	A promise of Sh20m house, county tender ends in death; MPs condemn student murder, demand action; Lavish student 'boasted of carrying mtoto wa county'	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	
2	September 7, 2018	Lavish lifestyle hid school fees problem; Police: Sharon could have been raped; How Obado has waded turbulent waters in party politics; Man at epicentre of murder mystery	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	
3	September 8, 2018	More questions emerge as late Sharon's life story revealed; Autopsy speaks of gruesome end to glittering life of varsity girl raped then stabbed eight times; Two worlds: Student was mysterious even to family and friends	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1	
4	September 9, 2018	Obado knew Sharon, sources reveal as new details emerge; I'm still in shock, says man who found Sharon's body in thicket	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1	

5	September 10, 2018	Police question 12 in murder of varsity girl; Haji and Kinoti under pressure to speedily resolve the two cases; Man kicked out of meeting in family row over spokesperson; DPP orders probe in cell visit as he warns leaders; MPs want key suspect arrested; Justice for Sharon cloud poll campaign	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
6	September 11, 2018	Obado aide to be charged today in connection with Sharon's murder; Kinoti promises more arrests as second suspect detained for 14 days	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
7	September 12, 2018	Governor gives DNA in 8-hour grilling session; Obado's long day with detectives in Kisumu; Detectives stage suspect's release; Obado, Oyamo met at local school in 1990s	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
8	September 13, 2018	My family, public knew about Sharon: Obado; Suspect sent back to police custody	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
9	September 14, 2018	Obado: All the joy and pain Sharon gave me; Family postpones foetus' burial day	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	1	1
10	September 16, 2018	Sharon's kin disown estranged husband	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	1,2	1,2	2	2
11	September 17, 2018	Media playing crucial role in fighting for the defenceless	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	1,2	1,2,4	2	1

12	September 18, 2018	Police: We've found car used in Sharon's kidnap	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1,4	1,3	2	1
13	September 19, 2018	Police question second governor aide over killing	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,3,4	1,2,3	2	1
14	September 20, 2018	Police hold governor's bodyguard	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,3	2	1
15	September 21, 2018	Sharon 'in mysterious trip to Tanzania' before her murder	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
16	September 22, 2018	Detectives use phone logs to link Obado to Sharon murder	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
17	September 23, 2018	How Obado's aides led detectives to his arrest	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
18	September 24, 2018	Obado faces murder charges after three days in police cell	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
19	September 25, 2018	Governor in fight of his life as judge rules on bail today; Hunt for Sharon's killers shifts to city; Residents follow Obado's court case; Stop deaths at the hands of ruthless killers	1	1	1	2	1	1	1;3	1;2	1,2,4	1,2,3;5	2	1
20	September 26, 2018	DPP plans to charge Obado with murder of foetus; Ward reps might have to kick out or save governor	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,3	2	1
21	September 27, 2018	Obado back in court after 2 nights in 'Inda'; Oyamo pleads 'not guilty' to murder	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
22	September 28, 2018	Obado to remain a guest of the State for another 12 days	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
23	September 29, 2018	Obado fights for his life amid hushed talks of impeachment	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

24	September 30, 2018	Obado's case puts legal system that protects 'big men' on trial	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1,2,4	3,4	2	2
25														
26	October 4, 2018	Obado in KNH with stomach ailment	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
27	October 5, 2018	Obado being treated at KNH's general ward	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
	October 6, 2018	I'm hurt but have accepted my fate, says embattled governor	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
28	October 8, 2018	Obado to know his fate today	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
29	October 9, 2018	Obado faces new case of Baby Sharon murder; Sharon's mother wants suspects held during trial	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
30	October 13, 2018	Judge extends Obado remand stay for 12 days; Sharon's kin seek Sh3.5m	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
	October 19, 2018	Sharon burial set for today as governor remains in cell	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
31	October 20, 2018	Calls for justice as Sharon laid to rest at last	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
	October 24, 2018	Obado to know fate on bail application today	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
32	October 25, 2018	Governor to live with tough bail conditions	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1
33	October 26, 2018	Obado is free after 34 days in remand	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
34	October 27, 2018		1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	2
35	October 30, 2018	Obado back to office, another suspect held in death probe	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1,2,4	1,2,3	2	1

KEY

A - Responsibility Frame

B - Victim Frame

C - Alleged Perpetrator Frame

D - Society Frame

E - Love Affair Frame

F - Sponsor Support Frame

G - Treatment

H - Focus

I - Main actors

J - Story Source

K - Statistics

L - Use of graphics and pictures

M – Comments

Appendix D: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Reporters/Writers

Framing of the killing of Sharon Otieno and Monica Kimani

1. What informed how you wrote the stories on the murder of Sharon and Monica, given the sensitivity of the matter and the people involved?
2. When writing a femicide story, given their sensitivity, what target audience do you focus on most?
3. What major factors do you consider when gathering information on a femicide story you are working on? (Follow-up questions on the role of editors).

Interview Guide for Editors

Selection of frames for the stories on the murder of Sharon and Monica

1. When angling or re-angling a story on femicide from your reporter, who/what sources do you look for and why?
2. What key factors do you consider before you allow a femicide story to go to press the way it is, especially given the sensitivity of a femicide story and the many parties involved or interested?
3. Given the society we live in, audience feedback and editorial policies, how do all this play in writing and publishing a femicide story?

Interview Guide for Chief Sub-Editors

Placement and prominence of femicide stories in newspapers

1. What factors do you consider when deciding the page number on which to place a story on femicide?
2. What key factors influence your decision on the amount of space in terms of number of words you allocate to a femicide story?
3. When do you make a femicide story a headline of your newspaper or promote it on the front page and what factors influence this decision?

Appendix E: Research Timelines

February 2020 – April 2020

Topic conceptualization and discussion with lecturers

Writing of the concept paper and presentation

Allocation of supervisors

May 2020 – July 2020

Proposal writing and development of data collection tools

Revision after consultation with supervisors

August 2020

Proposal presentation

Revision of proposal

September 2020 – March 2020

Application of AKU Ethics clearance

Application of NACOSTI license

Data collection, cleaning, tabulation and transcription of interviews

Writing data findings and analysis

Revision after consultation with supervisors

Submission for examination

Final thesis presentation

Corrections and fine-tuning

Appendix F: Budget

Item	Cost
Research licence	Sh1,000
Equipment (Computer and recorder)	Sh50,000
Transport, data bundles and airtime	Sh10,000
Research assistant	Sh5,000
Miscellaneous	Sh10,000
Transcription of interviews	Sh 2,500
Total	Sh78,500

Appendix G: AKU Ethics Review Committee Approval Letter



THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Media and Communications

REF: AKU-GSMC/ERC/2020/004

Date: November 05, 2020.

Dear Rose Ng'ang'a (Student No. 535189)

**RE: NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF FEMICIDE: AN ANALYSIS OF KENYAN
NEWSPAPERS' REPORTS ON THE KILLING OF TWO WOMEN**

This is to inform you that Aga Khan University - Graduate School of Media and Communications Ethics Review Committee has reviewed and approved your above research proposal. Your approval period is November 1, 2020 to October 31, 2021 and your application's approval number is AKU-GSMC/ERC/2020/004.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following, under the supervision of your two supervisors:

1. Only the approved documents including the informed consent form and the data collection instruments will be used.
2. Any changes, made on the approved documents that may increase the risks or affect the welfare or safety of the participants or compromise the integrity of the study must be reported to GSMC within the shortest time possible. The amended documents will be taken through a fresh review and the due process of approval.
3. In the event that the research cannot be completed within the one year approved period, the researcher will request for renewal of approval 30 days prior to the end of the approved period.
4. The researcher will be required to submit a comprehensive progress report when applying for renewal of approval.
5. Submission of an executive summary report to the GSMC's Ethics Review Committee within 90 days of completion of the study.
6. Produce all the data collected using the approved tools as and when required by the Ethics Review Committee within the 90 days of completion of your study.

Prior to commencing your study, you will be required to obtain a research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). You can access the application portal from the website on <https://www.nacosti.go.ke/>.

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

Yours sincerely

Dr Nancy Booker

Director- Academic Affairs

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS

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Appendix H: Introductory Letter from AKU



THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Media and Communications

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

November 05, 2020

Dear Sir/Madam,

ROSE NG'ANG'A (STUDENT NO. 535189)

Rose Ng'ang'a is a registered student at the Aga Khan University, Graduate School of Media and Communications. She is enrolled in the Master of Arts in Digital Journalism Programme and has completed her course work. She is now working on her Master's thesis. Ms. Ng'ang'a's topic is "News Media Framing of Femicide: An Analysis of Kenyan Newspapers' Reports on the Killing of Two Women."

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Nancy Booker
Director – Academic Affairs

Appendix J: NACOSTI Research License


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


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

Ref No: **425470** Date of Issue: **19/January/2021**

RESEARCH LICENSE

[[permit_photo]]

This is to Certify that Ms. Rose Wangui Ng'ang'a of Aga Khan University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: News Media Framing of Femicide: An Analysis of Kenyan Newspapers' Reports on the Killing of Two Women for the period ending : 19/January/2022.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/21/8509**

425470
Applicant Identification Number


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

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