

**The Framing of Violence Against Women (VAW) in
Print Media: An Analysis of two Namibian
Newspapers
(*The Namibian* and *New Era*)**

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on the framing of VAW in the print media in Namibia, it exposed the masculine nature of media reports on VAW. From the perspectives of media discourse on gender, this research study uses both quantitative and qualitative analysis to explore the framing of violence against women (VAW) in the Namibian print media. The research study is located within the broad contexts of theory and methodology of both journalism and gender studies. News articles, photos, commentaries and editorial were collected from two newspapers, *The Namibian* and *New Era*, covering the period of 1 January to 31 December 2013.

VAW has become a day-to-day tragedy for women in Namibia while it has also now become a steady fodder of news in the print media. The media have a significant responsibility of projecting the seriousness and need for attention to social issues as VAW in the society.

The research study exposed how the VAW media reports are event-based failing to give in-depth analysis and bring out the seriousness of the VAW issue. While on the other hand the study reveals a news media discourse which prioritises men's voices over women's voices in the VAW reports analysed. The study also concludes that the print media in Namibia exhibits a press routine system that marginalises and ostracises women when it comes to VAW reportage which reflects a patriarchal discourse.

In this framework, the study draws our attention to the need for media changes in the coverage of social issues like VAW for the benefit of society.

Keywords: Women, print media, framing, violence against women, media discourse.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma Namibya'daki yazılı basının kadına yönelik şiddet konusunu nasıl çerçevelediğine odaklanırken, konuyla ilgili raporların ne kadar eril nitelikte olduğunu da ortaya sermektedir.

Bu çalışma, Namibya yazılı basınında, kadına yönelik şiddet konusunu, toplumsal cinsiyet ve medyada söylem perspektifinden niceliksel ve niteliksel olarak irdelemektedir. Bu araştırma, geniş ölçüde gazetecilik ve toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları teorik ve metodolojik literatürüne dayanmaktadır. Araştırmanın verileri *The Namibian* ve *New Era* adlı iki günlük gazetenin 1 Ocak ve 31 Aralık 2013 tarihleri arasındaki haber, fotoğraf, yorum ve editör yazılarından derlenmiştir.

Kadına yönelik şiddet Namibya'da günlük bir trajedi haline gelirken aynı zamanda yazılı basının da düzenli haber kaynağı halindedir. Medyanın kadına yönelik şiddet gibi toplumsal sorunlara ciddiyetle ve dikkatle yaklaşmak konusunda sorumlulukları vardır.

Bulgular, tecavüz ve cinayetin kadına yönelik şiddetin en yaygın şekilde temsil edilen formu olduğunu göstermektedir. Haber metinlerinin büyük çoğunluğunun bilgi içeren ancak eğitici nitelikte olmadığı görülmüştür. Kadına yönelik şiddet vakaları daha çok şiddet suçları ve mahkeme vakaları olarak rapor edilmektedir. Öte yandan, kadına yönelik şiddetin sağlığa etkileri, yasal durum ve diğer politikalar, mücadele ve önlemler hakkında çok az veriye rastlanmıştır.

Araştırma, yazılı basın kadına yönelik şiddet haberlerini ne kadar vaka bazlı, derin analizlerden uzak, sorunun ciddiyetini yansıtmaktan uzak olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Diğer taraftan çalışma analiz edilen haberlerde erkek sesinin kadın sesini önelediği bir haber söylemini saptamıştır.

Bu çalışma ayrıca Namibya'daki yazılı basının rutin bir şekilde ataerkil bir söylemi yeniden üreterek, kadına yönelik şiddet haberlerini marjinalleştirdiği ve garipleştirdiği sonucuna varmıştır. Bu çerçevede çalışma, kamuoyu yararı için kadına yönelik şiddet konusu gibi toplumsal sorunlara bakışta medyanın değişmesi gerektiğine dikkat çekmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kadınlar, yazılı basın, çerçeveleme, kadına yönelik şiddet, medya söylemi.

To all women who smile when they are supposed to cry, to all women who have died
but should be living, because of abuse suffered at the hands of men. Thank you for
feeding my renegade spirit.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action (1995)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All form of Discrimination against Women
CWPU	Child and Women Protection Unit
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GL	Gender Links
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre
NAMPOL	Namibian Police
NPC	National Planning Commission
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
VAW	Violence against women
WAD	Women Action Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WSN	Women Solidarity Namibia

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The World Health Organisation estimates that over one in three women globally will be beaten, raped or otherwise abused in her lifetime.¹

Since time immemorial violence against women (VAW) has been a widespread occurrence. In ancient Greece women were often subjected to wanton killings to please the gods as well as honour killings. In India women are not recognised to such an extent that abortion is permissible if the pregnancy confirms that the child in the womb is a girl. In Africa young women or girls were buried alive together with a king or a male member of royalty died. Until this date women are still experiencing more and more violence at the hands of society, tradition and hegemonic values assigned to women by men.

Namibia, lately has witnessed an increase in VAW crimes being reported in the print media. But what is worth noting in the reportage is the obvious lack of in-depth critical analysis of the news articles. They are bereft of vital and comprehensive information for such an insidious crime and thereby portray the crime as less important.

¹World Health Organisation (2005), “WHO Multi-Country study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women: Initial Results on Prevalence, Health Outcomes and Women’s Responses”

In the society and people's everyday lives, the media holds a significant function. The way we live, interact or make decisions is somehow affected by media either directly or indirectly. The media therefore is assumed to have some influence in our lives and this influence cannot be taken for granted. One of the critical functions of media is the dissemination of information which has been gathered ethically, objectively, and in a fair manner. At this juncture, in this study, the researcher investigates what role the print media is playing in shaping people's opinion with regards to VAW which has become prevalent in Namibia. Therefore this research investigates how the print media in Namibia frames VAW.

1.1 General Background to the Study: A Personal Note

Flipping through the Namibian newspapers, especially in the year 2013 became a depressing affair. Phrases and words like tragedy, shame, gang-rape, stabbed, hacked to death, rape rampage, murdered, passion-killing, and beheaded littered the pages of print media. These words related to a woman or girl somewhere in Namibia experiencing some gruesome violence anything from abuse, rape to murder. These words provoked and got me concerned about the issue of VAW in the country. These words are significant in the way media frames the VAW, a scourge that has reached disturbing numbers in such a relatively small nation of Namibia of about 2,113 077² inhabitants, (*Facts, Figures and other Fundamental Information*).

As the media continued to deliver a steady staple diet of fear and crises concerning VAW, I got scared and I got butterflies when I realised that I am in the midst of the VAW crisis.

²These statistics/figures are compiled by the Namibia Statistics Agency

Such a crisis generated immense and inexplicable fear especially after realising that I have been a VAW spectator operating on the peripheries of such a matter that bears so much on our social lives.

I have been like a passerby, slowing down to stare at an accident scene then moving on with life as if nothing happened, then spend the rest of the day taking pleasure in the spectacle of the accident and also trying to forget the tragic accident. Unfortunately VAW is not like an accident where an individual, the community or nation can afford to just stop, stare at the spectacle of a VAW incident and then spend a day or two trying to forget about the incident. I have come to feel ashamed for participating in this 'stop-stare-forget' stance the society takes towards VAW. This has been the underlying influence and motivation throughout this work. Because society loves any spectacular scenes, the media is ready to manipulate this at the expense of critical analysis of social issues. I also love spectacle but media framing of VAW exacerbates the crisis as the issue when reported is manipulated to create spectacle which sells to the public.

VAW is not a catastrophe that happens and then we honour it, remember it, reflect on it and move on, as media portrays it through its framing of the issue. VAW is not a day's event that media reduces it to but an issue that raises concern about social relations issues, public health issues, security issues, human rights and government responsibilities. As such VAW provided me with a unique case for analysing framing in the Namibian print media.

To gain further understanding on the subject I embarked to employ the use of a Case study, “The Miniskirt issue” to provide deeper analysis and understanding of how frames are influenced by elements such as culture, tradition, news values and hegemonic values assigned to women.

In Namibia the mini skirt has been labelled by many including officials as provocative, a morally indebted dress code and not part of the culture, rendering women who wear such inviting violent attacks from men. Culture and tradition in Namibia have been used extensively as an excuse for VAW crimes, grounded on the notions that men should be aggressive and women submissive and receptive. Scholars such as Kwenaita and van Heerden (2011) postulated that, “dress is often used as justification for violence against women”, (p.141). They further state that for women to avoid being raped, abused or killed society has assigned cultural interpretations and prescriptions of how women should dress. Men have the self-appointed duty of being ‘cultural vigilantes’ monitoring and policing how women are dressed. Any woman does not conform to dress code according to men deserves to be violated for her choice of dress, such as a miniskirt. This dress code issue, ‘mini skirt issue’, emerged in Namibia during the year understudy, the same year VAW reports escalated in the media.

1.2 Role of the Media in Social Issues

The media hold a significant position the society. Their coverage of communal issues such as VAW helps the public in understanding the existence of such issues and assist in coming up with mitigation efforts. Newspapers reach a much wider audience and are regarded by many as authentic pieces of information. Many people are heard saying, “It’s true I read it in the newspaper”. Therefore this relationship between the

newspapers and the public can not be taken for granted. VAW is in the newspapers almost every day, but the tendency of the coverage being focused on the VAW incidents and the way the incidents are framed means the public are unlikely to make the link of how big the issue is and what kind of intervention is thus needed.

In this study, findings reveal that VAW does receive considerable coverage in Namibian print media, but that does not translate into value and depth of the significance of a social issue such as VAW which has now recorded alarming statistics.

This study had a special focus on how VAW has been framed in the print media, by analysing the coverage of VAW in two Namibian newspapers, *The Namibian* and *New Era* of year 2013. How VAW is framed in the context of print media is important, because it contributes in the way the public understands VAW. For many especially in Namibia, print media remains the primary key source of information on VAW.

From this study it has also been revealed that media reports on VAW also have the capacity to misinform the public about the practical realities of VAW especially the frequency and numbers involved. For instance, a single news article on VAW or once-off reportage is capable of deluding the society of the actual situation of VAW, as if it's just a single event which is of no cause for concern. According to Scheufele (1999), media frames give the reader a better way of understanding and organising issues. Media often frame VAW as caused by alcohol, anger issues, and provocation from women, all these inadvertently provide excuses for perpetrator and that

ultimately reduces public concern over VAW and holding the perpetrator accountable.

1.3 Research Questions

The following were the research questions guiding the study:

RQ1: What were the common frames used by the mainstream print news media to cover VAW in Namibia?

RQ2: Who tells the story in VAW articles reported in the print media?

RQ3: Is there a difference in the coverage of VAW, between private and state-owned print media news organisations?

1.4 Research Methodology

This study employed an approach that utilised both qualitative and quantitative tools of analysis. Firstly content analysis was used for the two publications, *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers for the year 2013, on sourcing the numerical representation of VAW news articles. A total of 266 news articles from both publications were analysed for the study and employed SPSS version 17.0 for quantitative analysis.

Framing analysis was then used to identify, define and explain the frames regarding VAW found in the Namibian print media. According to Scheufele (1999) and Reese (2007) framing is used in media studies as a tool of analysis in order to find out how issues are constructed, discourse constructed and meaning developed.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed to bring out an in-depth analysis of VAW using a case study, “The miniskirt issue”. CDA was used in the analysis because of its “socio-cognitive and critical epistemological” pillars (van Dijk 1998) that harmonise with framing. CDA aims to uncover the taken-for-granted

assumptions and values and relate them to structures of power and dominance in media discourse.

This study enquired on the privately owned-*The Namibian* and the government-owned-*New Era*, how they framed the VAW issue during the year 2013. The two newspapers were chosen because they have wide distribution and readership and they also each mirror the political bias of Namibia that is the ruling party and the opposition. *New Era* is biased toward the government which is the ruling party while *The Namibian* is inclined to the opposition party/ies and is more liberal. As such the study therefore also sought to find out if who owns a newspaper holds any effect on how news is framed.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research study will contribute to informing both audience and media practitioners. The findings will help media improve the reportage of social issues such as VAW while audience can benefit also from accurate reportage. Women are an important demographic and professional group in the media industry. They contribute immeasurably to the industry as both contributors and consumers of news, they bring in a dimension and dynamic that cannot be ignored. The results of this study will be substantial in investigating on how issues about violence against women are framed in the Namibian media. Therefore, this study has been conducted in certainty that it will assist the Namibian media in finding appropriate ways of reporting relevant social issues like VAW. This may create new prospects for additional researches and studies so as to impart the citizens and policy makers with appropriate information concerning the issue of VAW how it affects society and its role in shaping public opinion if given the prominence.

The research will also be of benefit to the two analysed newspapers as it will highlight their strengths and weaknesses in the coverage of VAW in Namibia and suggest ways on how to improve such coverage. Findings of the study will also be helpful for other organisations outside media that work on gender and development issues like Women Action Development³, Gender Links⁴, and Women's Solidarity Namibia⁵. Other scholars and researchers who may want to conduct studies in the similar field can use the finding and results as a point of reference.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

This research study only focused on the two newspapers identified as *New Era* and *The Namibian* for the period of 1 January to 31 December 2013. There are five daily newspapers published in Namibia and these include, *Allgemeine Zeitung* which is published in the German language, *Namibian Sun* is a tabloid published in English and Oshiwambo⁶, *Die Republikein* is published in Afrikaans⁷, *The Namibian* and *New Era*. This study is limited in that assumptions cannot really be made outside the scope of the selected sample newspapers. Some of the limitations included:

³ Women's Action for Development (WAD) is a local NGO in Namibia which focuses on the empowerment of women.

⁴Gender Links (GL) is a NGO, which promotes gender equality in Southern African region.

⁵Women's Solidarity Namibia (WSN) is NGO that works with women in abusive relationships.

⁶Oshiwambo is an indigenous language spoken by the Owambo ethnic people in Namibia.

⁷Afrikaans is a language mainly spoken in Namibia and South Africa, a language descending from Dutch and German.

- The study was limited to the Namibian print media's coverage of violence against women (VAW).
- The study was limited to the editorials, courts and crime sections of the newspapers.
- Another limitation was that of language used in the publication of newspapers, of the five daily newspapers published in Namibia the *Allgemeine* is a German language newspapers and *Die Republikein* is an Afrikaans language newspaper. Only the English publications were analysed for this study.
- The study was limited to daily broadsheet newspapers, thereby excluding tabloids such as the *Namibian Sun*.
- The study was limited to a timeframe of twelve (12) months.
- There are limited sources of information on VAW especially from a Namibian viewpoint; this in turn had an impact on the depth of information of reference.

This introductory chapter gives context to the research. The chapter puts forward a case of why VAW is an area of concern worth investigating as will be interrogated and expatiated in the next chapters of this thesis.

1.7 Chapters Overview

This research includes six chapters as summarised below:

Chapter II discusses broad theoretical frameworks of the available literature that formed the basis of the study. The chapter explores the literature and theory on VAW in relation to media. The study drew insights from previous studies on VAW,

framing theory, social responsibility theory and feminist perspectives on VAW and media.

Chapter III gives context to VAW in Namibia and Southern African Region. It outlines the Namibian legislation regarding VAW and the regional instruments in Southern Africa on VAW that Namibia is a signatory to. It also gives a brief background to the overview of Namibia as a country and a synopsis of the print media in Namibia.

Chapter IV discusses in detail the research methods that this study used. This chapter discusses the techniques used to collect and analyse data. The main technique used to gather data was content analysis while qualitative tools of framing and critical discourse analysis were used for analysis and data interpretation.

Case study: This research study employed the “The miniskirt issue” as a case study. The “miniskirt issue” embodies an event that opens up public debate in media and engages the civil society. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been used to analyse the case study, to give elaborate and in-depth interpretation of the VAW issue in Namibia.

In Chapter V the findings are analysed and interpreted in detail. Findings are expanded to give meaning and citing implications of framing on VAW. Linkages are made between media coverage and society, while explaining the media discourse on an issue like VAW.

Chapter VI is a summary of what the study produced the conclusion and recommendations. It is a summary of what the media has to do on in order to improve the coverage of VAW.

The chapter also gives an insight into the media inadequacies in the coverage and framing of VAW, of how media squanders opportunities of being socially responsible and of being proactive rather than reactive to social issues.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Women are symbolically annihilated by the media through absence, condemnation or trivialisation, (Gaye Tuchman: 1978).

The main objective of this chapter is to provide a literature review within a theoretical structure that examines the intersections of gender studies and news media analysis. As it is noted before the specific material of this study is the news articles and commentaries on violence against women in Namibia. The theoretical framework and literature review will explore and discuss the following aspects; framing of VAW in the media, feminist perspectives on VAW, media influence on violence against women (VAW), discourse analysis and media social responsibility approach. This chapter will also present an overview of previous studies by discussing main concepts raised.

Violence against women is disturbingly common not only in Namibia but the world over. This study will delve into the discrepancies in the way in which different VAW cases are covered in the print media in Namibia. Since reports of VAW regularly feature in newspapers, there are patterns that emerge in the way in which different incidents are covered.

Often VAW whether sexual or otherwise has become popular media, entertainment fodder and not treated as serious news, but to fill up spaces in newspapers. Additionally, there are marked differences in the way violence against women incidences are covered, suggesting that not all instances of violence are seen in the same way.

The reportage of VAW by media, presents an important function to public understanding of this social issue. It is also important to note that newspapers are clearly authoritative sources of information and extensive in reach especially in Africa where it is common to hear people saying “it’s true, I read in the newspaper”. Therefore this study recognises the importance of newspapers as a source of information and how this eventually moulds public opinion particularly regarding the issue of VAW.

This study will adopt the definition of ‘violence against women’ drawn from The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) which is:

Any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in the public or in private life.

VAW includes all forms of abuse and violence experienced by women irregardless of age, setting, circumstance or origins. It is worth noting that overwhelmingly much of the violent behaviour in society is perpetrated against women, small numbers of men experience violence at the expense of women.

Namibia is a signatory to both international and regional conventions designed to enshrine and enforce the rights of women and children, regionally the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development; The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and internationally The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. In a step further towards VAW mitigation and eradication Namibia domestically introduced its own legislation, for an example, the Combating of Rape Act 8 of 2000 and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003. Namibia, nonetheless faces an epidemic of violence against women that has reached crisis proportions.

VAW is a deep-rooted problem in almost every society. Most cultures, beliefs, families, religion and even governments perpetuate and legitimise VAW. Many scholars agree that despite its high prevalence and its devastating effects, VAW is largely a neglected matter (Heise, et al., 1999). In light of this the role media in the coverage of VAW becomes crucial in both awareness and mitigation efforts.

The current study examined and drew insights from previous studies on VAW. Findings from these studies highlight some key patterns on media coverage of VAW; The press generally misrepresent the realities of violence against women (McManus & Dorfman, 2005).

The scholars attest that, "... the news media systematically devalue violence against women and distort it by blaming the victim and mitigating blame for the perpetrator" (McManus & Dorfman, 2005, p.44). VAW is an insignificant issue in the media thereby belittles women's cause for protection and from suffering further violence.

Reporters covering instances of gendered violence rarely turn to victim advocates as sources for stories while blaming the victim. (Meyers 2004).

Meyers contends that, “Studies of news coverage of VAW indicate the news tends to blame women for their own victimisation while absolving their assailants of responsibility” (p.97). It is sad to note that media coverage of VAW attributes blame on women, women are said to initiate/provoke the violence committed against them.

Coverage is likely to address violence against women as an individual or family problem, rather than as a broader social problem (Michelle & Weaver 2003).

The scholars note, “... media largely neglect the more pervasive problem of physical and/or psychological violence against women in the home which most often occurs at the hands of men with whom women have close familial or personal relations” (p.4). Media still treats VAW as a private matter not a social issue and therefore does not warrant serious attention.

Due to the tendency to cover incidents of violence against women as discrete ‘events’ (events-based reporting), coverage includes little contextual, statistical, preventative or practical information about the problem (Wozniak & McCloskey, 2010).

The scholars assert that, “by presenting stories of violence against women as separate and discrete events, newspapers portray to the public that such incidents against women are isolated events” (Wozniak & McCloskey 2010, p.935). Media reports on VAW lack adequate detail and in-depth analysis.

News reports of VAW, particularly sexual violence, are often titillating and sensationalistic (Gill 2007).

Gill (2007) argues that, “the available evidence shows that most rapes are not reported as news at all; only the most typical cases, often with bizarre or horrific violence, received prominent coverage, (p.144)”. For VAW to deserve media coverage it has to be somewhat a bizarre incident or something extreme otherwise it would not be reported on.

Female victims are often blamed for the violence perpetrated against them (Alat, 2006).

Alat concurs with other scholars by noting that, “His version of the story is heard throughout the news. There is no endeavour to individualise the victim except her nationality which places her in the category of foreign women who are seen as promiscuous and, thus, exonerates the attacker. To emphasise her argument she further states that, “hence, loyal readers who are exposed over and over to this notion that reason leads to crime probably come to believe that “men’s action must have been provoked by women” and “women deserve punishment” so that male violence is justified” (p.303).

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Namibia: An exploratory assessment and mapping of GBV response services in Windhoek (UNAIDS/Namibia, 2013).

“The assessment sought to serve as an advocacy tool to encourage Namibia stakeholders to intensify their efforts in the prevention and response to gender based violence” (GBV, p.iv).

Seeking Safety Report (2012): Domestic Violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003 (Chapter 4: A profile of domestic violence in Namibia).

“The primary purpose of the study is to assess the application of the Combating of Domestic Violence Act with respect to protection orders, with a view to assessing whether the law is serving its intended purpose effectively” (p.1).

The findings above outline common scenarios governing VAW media reportage around the world.

2.2 Violence Against Women in the Media

VAW is a social issue that affects many women the world over. However in light of this sad reality, media coverage of VAW, the quality and extent of reportage remains

astonishingly mediocre. Media are significant agents in informing citizens about relevant issues like VAW. As Steeves (1997) states

News has been examined by many researchers who have discovered that very little news is by or about women, uses female sources, or examines issues of particular salience to women, such as child care, women's health, women's economic status, abortion or gender violence (p.7).

To further buttress Steeves assertion, Marshall (2004) and Gallagher (2001) postulates that gender violence has transformed over the years from extraordinary to ordinary news. They further allude that as a result it is not a first page news item unless famous people are involved. Gallagher (2001) notes that, "women and their voices maybe considered unworthy of serious consideration even in media content that is destined specifically for them" (p.6). When VAW gets media attention, it may not be framed in a fair and balanced manner. Gill (2007) contends that the media give a distorted version of incidents of VAW (p.135). News reports on VAW focus on disproportionately on attacks by strangers, bizarre assaults and on those perpetrated against young women. The news reports on VAW are also littered with descriptions that bear little relationship to the women's experience of the attack, such as, "fondled her breasts", "took turns, while the other pinned the girl down".

According to Benedict cited by Gill (2007) notes that,

Men are never described as hysterical, bubbly, pretty, pert, prudish, vivacious or flirtatious yet these are all the words used to describe victims of cases I have examined... male crime victims are rarely described in terms of their sexual attractiveness, while female crime victims almost everywhere...(p.139).

Another distorted portrayal of VAW perpetrators by the news media is "identifiably sick and depraved strangers" Gill (2007). Yet in reality many of the perpetrators are friends, neighbours, relatives, co-workers or someone else known to the victim.

News media hold a critical position in the society when it comes to the extent of influence on public opinion. According to (Gillespie, et al., 2013) argue that,

The news media have the ability to disseminate information more rapidly than any other entity in our society and the potential to drastically influence public opinion (p. 240).

From the above assertion it can therefore be realised that media are a force that cannot be overlooked. Sacco (1995), concurs with the idea that media have a vital role in shaping society's consciousness around issues of such as VAW, he contends that,

The news media are a vital part of the process by which individual's private troubles with crime, as victims or offenders' are transformed into public issues. The ways in which the news media collect, sort and contextualise crime reports help to shape public consciousness regarding which conditions need to be seen as urgent problem, what kinds of problems they represent and by implication how they should be resolved (p. 141).

In essence, news media industry embodies powerful institutions, presumably independent, and crucial agents in the creation of public opinion. They set the agenda, prime topics of interest and provide information of general interest. Consequently, the power of the media relies on their influence in social reality and context.

Often VAW, whether sexual or otherwise has become mere media entertainment pieces instead of being treated as serious hard news that carry huge impact on society. VAW in the news has many insights in society. It often shapes the way in which people think about the issue as well as how they receive survivors and perpetrators. The episodic coverage patterns of VAW undermine efforts to change opinion and policy. This also atomises victims' quest to be heard and obscuring the

social root causes of VAW. The literature also suggests that media coverage of violence can affect public policy. (Meyers, et al. 2010) argue that,

News of violence is significant not only because it influences public perceptions of whether this crime is seen as a serious social problem, but also it directly influences governmental policy making, (p. 94).

Media representation of women in news as victims goes further to describe a place for women in the community, as posited by (Ross, 2010) “...women’s lives are circumscribed by men” p.95. However, media only reports violence but when some women in such violent situations emerge as survivors, the media does not report such victory.

We see dominated male favoured societies where men who carry out such violence against women are termed ‘ignorant’. The media reports refers to them as children and reports that they are ignorant of what they are doing “the use of the term children here makes a clear value judgment that an adolescent male who commits an act of rape is childlike in his inability to distinguish right from wrong therefore deemed alright (Ross, 2010, p.95). The media is always blaming women for such assaults, referring to them as temptresses. The blame is not just put on women; it is also actually emphasised on way women dress. The question to be asked is, are all women who have experienced violence in any form been ‘provocatively dressed’ and how does the media/society account for the large number of grandmothers and babies in diapers who have become constant targets of especially sexual violence? This really begs the question.

Additionally, scholarly research has shown that print media and its reporting on VAW are biased. Studies such as Michelle & Weaver (2003) and Alat (2007) have demonstrated that the language used in media, frames women as guilty of their own abuse and often ask for it and this exonerates the perpetrator.

Alat (2007), conducted a study of print media coverage of VAW, titled “*News coverage of violence against women*”, which showed that news coverage of VAW in Turkey’s four mainstream newspapers “depicted women in a negative way, emphasising them as faulty” (Alat, 2007). The study also found that women were blamed for the crimes committed against them while perpetrators’ responsibility for the violence was often overlooked or diminished (Alat, 2007). The study moreover showed the frames that are often portrayed in the media regarding gender roles. Alat (2007) furthermore discovered in the study that women are often placed “at the bottom of social hierarchy” and society “honours women as mothers and wives but provides them with no power” (p.297). To further emphasise Alat’s findings, Jansen cited in Watson (2008), asserts that, “such stories have low or news value within the framing conventions of mainstream objective media. They will only be found on the margins of journalism” (p.235). Women later alone VAW are constantly and systematically marginalised in the media.

2.3 Framing of Violence against Women in the Media

The framing of an issue in the media can affect the understanding and interpretation of the news by recipients. VAW is a deep-rooted problem in most societies, how it is framed in the news bears implications on the citizens’ formation of public opinion and response from policy makers regarding the issue. According to Entman (2007) framing is

The process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation (p. 164).

This implies that framing is aimed at influencing what the audience should feel or think about an issue or event.

Scholars have advanced the notion that media reports on VAW carry sexualised frames which only perpetuates the cause. According to (Monckton-Smith, 2008), he asserts that, “murders of women are regularly sexualised by journalists and conversely that sexual assaults of women are framed within a discourse of murder” (p. 691).

The varied players involved in the process frame the issue of VAW from their own perspective. As a consequence, there are as many frames addressing VAW as parties interested in treating it. The different players use mass media to expand and gain support on their views. Therefore, the social constructions of VAW are fundamental in order to understanding general type of news coverage of VAW as Surette (cited by Gillespie, 2013) posits that,

Media frames are pre-packaged social constructions that function as fully developed templates for understanding a given social phenomenon. Irrespective of their accuracy, these templates permit the general public to easily categorise, label and manage a wide range of world events (p. 225).

Labels will determine the victims’ fate, how valuable are the news pieces, and to what extent the topic will affect the audience (Gillespie, 2013). News sources that cover VAW are the most relevant to the present work because they reflect how stakeholders and mainstream media outlets frame gendered violence. Furthermore,

news coverage of VAW tends to normalise and over generalise violence against women.

Significantly, the power of frames in the news construction process is a relevant aspect to study as the presentation of the news serves as a tool of social control, notes (Taylor & Sorenson, 2002 cited in Bonnes, 2011) and frames serve as a mirror where our values are reflected and reinforced. As social problems are constructed through news and news media, their perceived importance will depend directly on how the problem is portrayed in the news. Importantly, the portrayal of violence against women could influence how readers perceive the severity of those crimes and the reality constructed around violence, (Gillespie, 2013, et al.), assert that,

...the ways in which the news media chooses to frame domestic violence can have important ramifications, influencing how society perceives the dynamics of such violence as well the solutions and public responsibility (p. 223).

Additionally, frames on VAW could promote social change that can influence the policy making processes. Framing analysis would provide evidence about mainstream portrayal of victims, perpetrator and the scope of VAW issues. Framing analysis could also detail sources, features, and stereotypes highlighted to report the facts in the news coverage of these crimes. It can be seen that scholars are in agreement that media do frame news content.

Despite the fact that many researchers have employed framing in their studies, it has also been criticised by other scholars. According to Scheufele (1999), he argues that most of the limitations of framing theory are attributed to its “lack of clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation” (p.103).

As aforementioned, framing plays a significant role in understanding and presenting salient issues such as VAW to the public. However little has been done on the area of media framing of VAW in Namibia. This current study will research on print media framing of VAW in selected Namibian newspapers, so as to show the kinds and processes of news frames of VAW.

2.4 Social Responsibility in the Media

This approach is focuses on the notion that media carries an obligation to society in keeping the society informed with accurate information. The approach was born out of a report by a commission chaired by Robert Hutchins in 1947 which came up with the following key practices for the press, (McQuail, 2005, p.171);

- Provide a full, truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning;
- Give a representative picture of constituent groups in a society;
- Serve as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism and be a common carrier of the public expression;
- Present and clarify the goals and values of a society

Basing on above assertions, the news media must not present their product in a sensational manner but to report objectively without applying any cosmetics to their reportage to please a particular individual or group. Truthfulness and accuracy must be the defining principles of daily journalistic practice in reporting VAW issues and any other news stories. The media are supposed to behave in a manner that creates an informed diverse citizenry with a press that does not or avoids causing offence or encourages crime, violence and or disorderly conduct.

The approach calls on the media to uphold the above obligations through professionalism and not statutory control. Journalists are expected to be accountable by objectively providing a mirror image of the society they serve. They are expected to uphold high ethical standards in their conduct of duty.

They must have self-regulating bodies that check on their conduct and sanction anyone who misbehaves as necessary as is done by other internal bodies such as that for medical professionals for example. It is against this background that this study seeks to establish through framing analysis whether print media are objectively, fairly, accurately and ethically reporting issues of VAW in Namibia during the specified time of study.

2.5 Feminist Perspective on VAW

Feminist movements advocating against VAW have served as the spark for creating greater awareness of this issue. Feminist views challenged previous definitions of private life placing gendered violence in the public eye, and allowed women and advocates to fight back against gendered violence. The feminist movement reformulated gendered crimes such as rape and less known forms of victimisation such as acquaintance rape, stalking (Mullen et al., 2009), and sexual harassment (Wood, 1992). Therefore, VAW shifted from being considered a private issue, to be reframed as a social crisis. Awareness of VAW was in and of itself a feminist triumph, but ending the violence is a task that involves media advocates, policy makers, authorities and society in general.

It is against this background that some of the feminist arguments regarding VAW are rooted from. Feminists such as (Sarnavka, 2003) bring in another dimension of looking at VAW asserting that,

Violence against women is here understood in two ways, not only as violence against women in society, but as violence committed in the media. By this we mean all misrepresentations, distorted reflections, sexism and silencing of women's voices, which violate women's right to equal access to public discourse (p. 91).

To concur with Sarnavha's arguments Karen Ross (2010) affirms that women are misrepresented in media and are violated by the media itself. She states that "women are chopped up, dismembered, denied agency and humanity as they become rather less than the sum of their body parts" (Ross: 2010, p.46). To her, this fragmentation of women's body by media implies an act of violence. This brings in another interesting but ironic discourse on VAW where the media themselves are perpetrating VAW.

Thus according to the feminist perspective, in patriarchal cultures women represent a subordinate group and, as a consequence, some experiences that are unique to or more typical of women are not represented in accurate ways (Woods, 2005). Therefore rendering to the feminist perspective, using general labels, to point experiences that are unique to women, such as VAW in media prevent a comprehensive understanding of this pertinent social issue.

Over the years women have become more invisible in the news discourse when it comes to serious issues as Ross(2010) argues that,

It perpetuates a male-ordered environment which often is hostile to women, news discourse ignores the achievements of women in the society. The media

fails to provide women as news to audience when they do something great, but is fast to put up news in which women commit violent crimes. This gives audience the notion that women are a nuisance to society because all they get about them is negative. On the other hand, every little achievement by men is a talk of the day on media (Ross 2010, p.93).

Media framing of women is further explained using the 1995 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) model. Findings from the study highlighted that women continue to be underrepresented in both the newsrooms and in editorial content, this further has an impact on the reportage of social issues that affect women.

2.6 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a valuable analytical approach in the analysis of sub-themes arising from the study. In accordance with the methodological applications of frames and for the purposes of this study, Norman Fairclough's (2001) approach to critical discourse analysis will be applied. One of the main purposes of Fairclough's approach is to show the links between power relations and the broader social and cultural developments within established structures. Critical discourse analysis recognises social practices shape texts while this leads to the formation of frames from ideological representations. According to Wodak (1996) the general principles of CDA are concerned with social problems rather than language use.

Fairclough (1995) postulated of critical discourse analysis that it aims to uncover how the implicit or "taken-for-granted ideologies", values, assumptions that "have become naturalised" in discourse practices (p.37).

The use of CDA in this study will permit the investigation of the core issues of VAW reportage. Fairclough (2003) argues that, even though dialogue allows different voices to be expressed, direct speech can be placed within a text to shape a particular impression of the reported issue. This shaping is known as framing.

The analysis and discussion will provide a basis for meaning-making surrounding VAW crimes in Namibia. For an instance to further understand framing of VAW, from some of the articles on VAW that still dog society where even Traditional Chief Leaders in Namibia are still calling for 'wife-sharing' on public platforms and more so having public institutions such as the Ministry of Safety authorities calling in the media for the arrest of women wearing 'mini-skirts' because they cause men to rape them and calling mini-skirt wearing as 'unAfrican'. The news article published on this issue was titled 'Top cop says miniskirts are not African' (2013, February 19) *The Namibian*, amongst other article that followed. The miniskirt became one of the controversial pieces of cloth that caused uproar in the Namibian media in 2013. This raises questions on how the media defined 'miniskirt' to the Namibian public in their articles, why the media continue to perpetuate the notion that 'miniskirt' is a moral barometer for women, what is the link between a miniskirt and VAW? This ultimately insinuates the blame and guilt of victim thereby exacerbating the issue of VAW. Through CDA we will gain further understanding into the meaning-making methods used by media when speaking to the public about social issues such as VAW. The study will help in understanding how media creates and strengthens cultural scripts around VAW issues.

The approach of critical discourse analysis is therefore beneficial and relevant to this study and analysis of framing of VAW, especially on how a discourse is created by the media on such a social issue. Critical Discourse analysis will offer deeper analysis by giving interpretation of meanings of framed texts.

Chapter 3

THE NAMIBIAN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONTEXT REGARDING VAW

Violence against women manifests itself in many forms ranging from physical, sexual to psychological while cutting across borders, race, ethnicity and religion. Violence against women indisputably ranks high in Namibia's crime records and human rights violations. Preliminary data of 2011 census reported by National Planning Commission (NPC) indicated that violence against women may be affecting at least 50% of Namibian women.

In a study conducted by Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) in Namibia, the research findings yielded that,

According to police reports, majority of VAW victims (86%) and most of these VAW crimes are perpetrated by men (93%). A study by the World Health Organisation has found that over one third of ever-partnered women in Namibia reported having experienced some form of violence at the hands of an intimate partner at some time.(LAC, 2013)⁸.

In a nutshell women's subordinate status to men in the Namibian society is combined with a common understanding that women need to be disciplined often, verbally or physically.

⁸LAC, conducted a study in 2012 and produced the 'Seeking Safety, Domestic Violence in Namibia and the Combating of Domestic Violence Act 4 of 2003', to evaluate the Act.

3.1 Defining Violence Against Women (VAW)

The violation of human rights includes that of VAW. The United Nations Declaration on Violence against Women (1993) in which article 2 states:

“Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to the following:

Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;

Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;

Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs. Acts of violence against women also include forced sterilisation and forced abortion, coercive/forced use of contraceptives, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection”.

On the other hand this definition was further expanded by The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA)⁹, emphasising that,

VAW includes violations of the rights of women in situations of armed conflict, such as; systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy, forced sterilisation, forced abortion, coerced or forced use of contraceptives, prenatal sex selection and female infanticide.

The definition further included women from minority groups such as refugee women, incarcerated, disabled, elderly and women living in rural or remote areas

⁹The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) is an international declaration of women’s human rights covering matters of concern and areas for action including women and poverty, violence against women and access to power and decision-making.

3.2 Violence against Women in Southern Africa: A General

Overview

In the Southern African region also known as the Southern African Development Community (SADC)¹⁰, VAW has become a social crisis in the region. While it is obvious that violence against women has reached endemic levels in the SADC region, there are no clear indicators to measure its pervasiveness. Most of the VAW data that is available is mainly based on police reports. This however, cannot be taken to be accurate considering that there are a number of cases that go unreported due to various reasons, (Illustration 1, see Appendix B).

In its efforts to mitigate VAW, the SADC region community came up with The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development¹¹, which situates elimination of violence against women within the larger mandates of Southern African states. The protocol is a policy document signed by the regional Heads of State in August 2008 firmly putting governments on the accountability spotlight. By 2015, The Protocol seeks to decrease by half the VAW incidences. As it is year 2015 it raise questions on the VAW statistics available in the SADC region; are the statistics available accurate and are all countries having VAW crime databases which are up to date?

¹⁰ The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is a Regional Economic Community comprising 15 Member States; Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Established in 1992, SADC is committed to Regional Integration and poverty eradication within Southern Africa through economic development and ensuring peace and security.

¹¹The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development adopted in August 2008 advances gender equality by ensuring accountability by all SADC member states.

The availability and validity of the VAW data in the region is a cause for concern, especially VAW has become social crisis.

Over the past two decades VAW has been receiving more attention worldwide while most incidences of VAW are still concealed by society in the SADC region. To concur with that point hooks (2000) states that, “despite years of committed hard work, the problem of male violence against women steadily increased” (p.117). The situation is such because of a number of reasons of which the main one is the prevalence the cultures and traditions of the regions that suppress women from voicing out their concerns. According to Susan Schedter,

Women abuse is viewed here as a historical expression of male domination manifested within family and currently reinforced by the institutions, economic arrangements and sexist division of labour within capitalist society (cited by hooks p.117).

Cultural norms and values accept VAW as part of their lives in a given society. On the other hand very few women report VAW as the issue has been deemed culturally as an inside family matter to be solved behind closed doors in the home. This means that there is no trustworthy information of VAW leading to mitigation difficulties and accurate media coverage. All these factors also have an effect on how media reports on the issues of VAW, as the media simply adopts and systematically mediate the invisibility of women and further marginalising them.

The fact that violence against women continues in the region raises fundamental questions about society’s commitment to ending it. As the region edges closer to the SADC Gender Protocol’s aim of reducing levels of VAW by 2015, there is need to

take a holistic look at media's coverage of VAW and analyse the current media discourse.

3.3 Namibia and VAW - Country Overview

Namibia has a population of about two million inhabitants of whom 53 percent are female. The population of Namibia comprises of 13 ethnic groups. These are, Ovambo, Herero, Damara, San, Basters, Nama, Coloured, Whites, Kavango, Himba, Tswana, Topnaars and Caprivian. The biggest ethnic group is the Ovambo, which accounts for almost half of the population in Namibia (45%). The Himba ethnic group is well known for having resisted change after colonialism and have preserved their cultural heritage. This group has maintained some of its controversial tradition of 'wife-sharing', whereby a man can share his wife with his friends. The Himba are also known for their dress-code where the women move around bare-breasted in short leather skirts. The San ethnic group constitute only about 3% of Namibians. They are the oldest inhabitants of Namibia, also known as the hunters and gathers. The San ethnic group barely wears any clothes just some hide sling, enough to cover their essentials, both men and women, (African point Insider, 2008).

In 1990 Namibia gained its independence from South Africa. Since independence Namibia has put in place laws that protect women and children, and in keeping with its regional and international obligations.



Photo 1: Namibia, map location.

Namibia has been identified as one of the countries carrying high rates of VAW most crimes reported are those on rape and murder (passion killing)¹². In 2006 the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC)¹³ in Namibia reported that one third of all rape cases are withdrawn by victims, this is also supported by the report given by the Child and Women Protection Unit (CWPU)¹⁴ thus most reported cases are withdrawn.

¹²Passion killing refers to when a person (usually a man) kills his lover in a fit of passion after allegations of infidelity, jealousy, broken relationships, and personality disorders amongst others. There has been a rise in passion killings in recent years in Namibia.

¹³ LAC is a public interest law centre in Namibia; it strives to make the law accessible to those with the least access in the country.

¹⁴ Woman and Child Protection Units (WCPUs) are specialised police centres that were set up to provide a coordinated multi-sectoral approach to detecting, investigating and preventing gender-based violence (GBV) in Namibia.

The then, President of the Republic of Namibia, Hifikepunye Pohamba has spoken on VAW since the year 2010 condemning all violent acts that prevailing in the country. In *The Namibian* newspaper (2010, October 26),

“The President urged all Namibians to voice out on all acts of VAW and that no act of such crime should have a place in our society. He enquired all law enforcement agencies to leave no stone unturned in pursuing the culprits who attack women and children” (Mongudhi, 2010, p 1.)

3.4 Legal and Policy Frameworks

Namibia has taken steps to address VAW by engaging in a law reform process. The process resulted in a national legal and policy framework to protect women from violence or abuse. The following laws have been enacted since independence:

Combating of Domestic Violence Act (No. 4 of 2003) – makes domestic violence a specific crime and has a broad definition of domestic violence that includes physical abuse, sexual abuse, economic abuse, intimidation, harassment and serious emotional-verbal or psychological abuse (Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia: Combating of the Domestic Violence Act 2003).

Combating of Rape Act (No. 8 of 2000) – internationally known as one of the most progressive laws on rape. The Act gives greater protection to young girls and boys against rape, provides for stiffer minimum sentences for rapists, and defines marital rape as an offence in the eyes of the law (Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia: Combating of Rape Act 2008).

Namibia is also a signatory to the following:

Protocol to the African Charter for Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa¹⁵

¹⁵ The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights of Women in Africa was adopted by the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union in Maputo, Mozambique.

SADC Declaration on Gender and Development¹⁶ and the,

SADC Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children¹⁷.

Finally the Namibian Constitution of 1990 outlines the rights of all citizens and the responsibility of government to protect these rights. The Articles that cover VAW include:

(Article 8), freedom from discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.

(Article 10), fair judicial procedures, all persons shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent, impartial and competent Court or Tribunal established by law.

The legal framework in Namibia to protect women has been hailed as one of the most progressive instruments for the advancement of women, but women continue to experience the most heinous forms of violence. Many have asked how effective these laws are, as the VAW crimes are escalating in statistics and the incidences becoming more brutal.

Therefore the role of media remains is paramount when it comes to the issue of VAW in Namibia, both in terms of coverage and how media may be used as a tool to help civil society and government raise awareness.

¹⁶ The Declaration reaffirms SADC's commitment to eliminating gender discrimination and mainstreaming gender issues in Southern Africa.

¹⁷ SADC Declaration on Gender and Development signed in Blantyre, Malawi on 8 September 1997, committing respective member countries to take 'urgent measures to prevent and deal with the increasing levels of violence against women and children'.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology used in the study. It gives an overview of data collection methods and the data analysis tools. Based on literature reviewed, frames according (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) have been identified for analysis and interpretation of VAW.

The main objective of this research study was to investigate the framing of violence against women new stories published in *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers during the period of 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2013. The period under study was significant in that they were many significant incidences of VAW cases around the country which ignited a lot of public debate and discussion. Print media through its coverage of these VAW issues became part of this discourse.

A quantitative study was first conducted and then followed by a qualitative analysis to give meaning to the patterns established through quantitative study.

4.2 Data Source

The study analysed news articles related to VAW covered by two Namibian major newspapers, *New Era* and *The Namibian*, covering the period from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2013.

These two newspapers were primarily selected because they have large national circulation. They are the most popular dailies in the country produced in English and also having sections published in local vernacular languages. The study chose print media over broadcast for reasons as highlighted by Lawrence (2000) who argues that,

TV news often sacrifices discussion of public policy issues for sensationalised and 'human interest' news. Analysing newspaper coverage captures a greater range of news coverage. Newspapers provide clues to other types of news organisations about what is newsworthy (p.11).

In light of the above argument, newspapers are highly regarded in terms of news coverage and accessibility. Print media for this study consisted of *New Era* and *The Namibian* newspapers because they are believed to set the agenda for the nation.

The news articles relating to VAW totalled 266 to VAW from both newspapers were analysed for the period of one year: *New Era* ($n = 130$), and *The Namibian* ($n = 136$), (see Appendix A).

4.3 Research Questions

Framing analysis was used to determine the dominant news frames employed by print media in the coverage of VAW. The dominant frames in the print media reportage of VAW are addressed by the following research questions:

RQ1: What were the common frames used by the mainstream print news media to cover VAW in Namibia?

RQ2: Who tells the story in VAW articles reported in the print media?

RQ3: Is there a difference in the coverage of VAW, between private and state-owned print media news organisations?

4.4 Research Design and Analysis

The researcher examined *The Namibian* and *New Era* publications' coverage of VAW and analysed objectivity of media's coverage of VAW. Data from the coding was analysed using the SPSS Version 17.0 to calculate frequencies and correlations. The analysis is mostly interpretative.

Quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis were used to study VAW frames in articles. The quantitative aspect was useful in quantifying features of the coverage in order to make generalisations, while qualitative analysis was employed used elaborate on the patterns derived from quantitative research. The study examined the 266 articles so as to gain full understanding of how the two newspapers framed VAW in the year 2013.

A codebook was developed for systematic guideline of data collection from the news articles, (see the Appendix C for codebook guide). Listed below are the main types of information collected:

- Information of the article such as (date, page, section, article type, headline);
- Type of VAW in the article;
- The victim(survivor) or perpetrator information in the article;
- Manifest frames in the coverage of VAW.

However the research also made note of key developments relating to VAW during this period understudy, hence the case of the "Mini-skirt" a case study which was analysed using critical discourse analysis later in the research.

Listed are broad categories of VAW news articles covered in this study, rape, murder, assault, abuse and sexual harassment. This was done so as to provide more conclusive results on which categories of VAW news articles which were most prevalent in the print media. It is worth recognising that VAW is varied and some types of violence are more prevalent than others and some are hidden inside other violations.

As one of the study's research questions was to investigate and analyse "who tells the story" in VAW articles reported in the print media, this research looked at whether victims are given the opportunity to talk about their experiences. The question of who speaks on VAW issues in the media is a crucial one. It was also important to see whether media rely only on 'official sources' like law enforcement agents and government officials for information on VAW or they give equal space to ordinary people.

Apart from establishing who the sources are, it was important to gender disaggregate this data so as to see whether women and men speak equally on VAW issues. Since women consist of the majority of VAW victims it is natural that they should be speaking more on it. There has been an observation that women are often spoken for even on issues that affect them more than anyone else.

This research also recognised the fact that victims of VAW are sometimes reluctant to speak to media about their experiences (Gans, 1979).

4.4.1 Coding Categories and Measures

The codebook provided guidelines for the coding process (see Appendix C). After the researcher finished the coding process, the articles from each newspaper were also analysed by a second coder. The second coder was a PhD student in the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, who had experience in coding. The coders examined the articles, and more precisely, the sentences and phrases in which the unit of analysis was found.

Each news article published in daily hard copy newspapers *The Namibian* and *New Era*, was analysed for data using the code guide which sought for the VAW type, page, location of article, source of news and the five news frames. For VAW type, the definition of VAW by the United Nations was used,

Violence against women is any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary detention of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (United Nations, General Assembly, December, 20, 1993).

The use of sources was analysed to determine how they contributed to frames. The researcher coded, clustered, and compared collected data to reveal frames that manifested themselves.

4.4.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis was one of the research method used to generate findings and to make generalisations on the overarching topics that are addressed. This approach was envisaged to help lead the identification of major VAW frames in Namibian print media. This method was ideal for this study in establishing patterns in terms of framing of VAW. For this study, the researcher used data were collected from

January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2013. This time period was chosen because the heightened occurrences of the issue of VAW in Namibia.

Content analysis has been identified as fast growing technique in the world of quantitative study as stated by Neuendorf (2002, p. 1). Content analysis has been used to study various issues focused on how the media can influence perceptions of objects or individuals.

4.4.3 Framing Analysis

Framing analysis is aimed at examining news texts for the presence and also absence of different elements that can alter or enhance the meaning of news. Framing analysis in this research study will help in the understanding of how hegemonic meanings are produced. It will also provide the qualitative analysis side of this study. As pointed out by Pan and Kosicki (1993) that “the prime focus of frame analysis is conceptualising news texts into empirically operationalisable dimensions” (p 47). Therefore framing analysis will lead to better comprehension of frames influence media discourse on coverage of VAW in print media.

There were 266 news articles analysed the and the morality frame, frequented most in *The Namibian* news coverage, it appeared when “media emphasised to blame women for violence perpetrated against them” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Morality frame is oversimplified in the news report rendering VAW a trivial matter. For instance, the Namibian Police Inspector General (*refer to Case study: The Miniskirt issue - Namibia*) could be framed in morality, over who tells women how to dress, when in fact the issue is not about a mini-skirt but complex issues of VAW, human rights violation, safety and security of citizens.

An image of this, (Illustration 2, see Appendix B) was provided by a cartoon in *The Namibian*, titled “*General Dilemma*”, 2013, p. 11). The responsibility frame presented in a cartoon to water-down the seriousness of the issue or problem. In this case the Police Inspector General used the ‘culture/traditional’ prescription to instigate VAW by arresting girls and women seen wearing mini-skirts. The consequence frame also came out strongly in the study. For instance, society suffers when breadwinners are murdered and perpetrators incarcerated when they could be working providing for family. Also the judicial or medical costs involved when there is VAW are increased.

The coverage from news articles analysed carried quotes such as; “Woman endures violence for shelter”, “Passion killing syndrome claims another life”, “Two men rape intoxicated woman” and “De Jay says his wife wanted to die” (*New Era*, 2013). Frames could be also identified such the headlines of the articles.

Framing analysis has risen in popularity since Goffman and Entman and extensive amounts of scholarly work have been devoted to discovering frames through content analysis.

4.4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a model that studies language as used by and in society which provides the attention to social with the reference to textual analysis. Different scholars have made acknowledgements to the different understandings of CDA and what it entails, (Philo, 2007) advances the notion that, “there are many different theoretical strands in discourse analysis and the word discourse is used in various ways.

It is used abstractly to mean statements in general or to refer to a particular group or type of (p. 176). Other attempts to define CDA have been made renowned CDA scholar van Dijk, who describes CDA as, “an interdisciplinary discipline interested in the analysis of the various contexts of discourse” (Dijk, 1988, p.2).

Corresponding with Dijk’s description of CDA is Carvalho (2008) who brings in another dimension of CDA which emphasises on society, stating that,

Discourse is viewed as a type of social practice. Each discursive event is dialectically tied to society insofar as it both constitutes and is constituted by social phenomena (p. 162).

The interest of a CDA is to reveal the embedded ideological structures in discourse. This point is sustained by Norman Fairclough (1989) who claims that ideology works best when it is covert and the ideal way to spread ideology is through language.

The approach looks at how language is a constructive component which is concerned with the action orientation of discourse. The approach helps in understanding themes such as dominance and power that are found in the analysis of media texts. Given the depth and seriousness of the issue of VAW in Namibia, only a study that allows going beyond texts is befitting to contribute constructively in the alleviation of the VAW issue.

However CDA has been criticised by other scholars claiming “that it is flawed or ideologically committed” Tyrwhitt-Drake, (cited in Carvalho, 2008, p. 162). On the other hand, Widdowson (1995) and Stubbs (1997) accused “CDA of doing interpretation and not analysis” (Carvalho, 2008).

To which Fairclough (1996) responded contending, “That the kind of interpretive work that CDA offers is closer to explanation than subjective understanding. Most of the criticisms do not diminish the theoretical and analytical value of CDA” (cited in Carvalho, 2008p. 162).

CDA is used in various ways as identified by Fairclough (2013),

- (1) meaning-making as an element of the social process;
- (2) the language associated with a particular social field or practice e.g. (media discourse); and
- (3) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective.

In a nutshell there is need for thorough investigation on how media are shaping public discourse on violence against women.

4.5 Case Study: The “Mini Skirt” Issue

The period under review is very important in that there were significant incidences of VAW cases which ignited a lot of public debate and discussion. One of the significant incidences was that of the “mini skirt” reported by the print media in Namibia in the year 2013. In December 2012, 40 girls were arrested in Rundu¹⁸ town for wearing miniskirts, and the issue spilled over in year 2013. This case study was selected because it touches on many elements of VAW such as gender inequality, gender stereotype, patriarch, culture and repressive state apparatuses such as the police. The mini skirt issue is about the control of women’s bodies, power, violence and not clothing.

¹⁸ Rundu is a town in Namibia

In this case study it was interesting to note how the media reported on the “mini skirt” issue and how they continue to promote the idea of blaming a piece of clothing as the primary causes of VAW and further advancing the notion of a male-dominated society where they rule.

The media reporting of the issue was more on the side of saying “A woman wearing a mini skirt leaves no option for men, but to be violated, raped, assaulted, harassed”. Or “women who wear miniskirts are merely inviting violation, therefore the only way to discipline these women is to arrest them”. The media failed to address the deep-seated issue of men involvement in perpetrating VAW but chose to join the bandwagon of blaming women and reducing their cause to just a mini skirt. The media merely advanced the notion that miniskirt provokes rape in their reportage of the miniskirt issue.

The mini skirt incident took centre stage in public outcry and debate when the Ministry of Safety and Security, Police Inspector General Sebastian Ndeitunga ordered for the arrest of women and girls seen wearing ‘mini-skirts’¹⁹. In his call for the arrests he said that mini-skirts were ‘unAfrican’ and ‘the alluring dress causes rape’. This was followed by a public outrage on social media and street demonstrations took place with women carrying placards with messages such as "How dare you minimise my freedom of choice" and "Arrest rapists and not fashionists"²⁰. This incident, made available an opportunity for this study to observe

¹⁹Inspector General Sebastian Ndeitunga calls in the media that miniskirts are ‘unAfrican’, Illustration 3, see Appendix B

²⁰There was public outrage marked by protests in Windhoek after the Inspector General said miniskirts were ‘unAfrican’ and should be banned, see Appendix B.

patterns of coverage of VAW in the print media especially violations incited by the state and also those that take place in public spaces.

The 'mini-skirt' story was used as a case study with which to comprehend the breadth and depth of VAW and the framing of such issues in the media. This issue of VAW is in sharp contrast to what Namibian legislation and constitution's position towards dignity of its citizenry and protection especially that of women. Furthermore it is the Ministry of Safety and Security instigating arrest of girls and women in miniskirts, it therefore begs the question 'safety for who, are women not valid citizens for safety? It was more like the Namibian police were being called to spend their working hours checking the length of women's clothing instead of ensuring their safety by apprehending rapists, murders, abusers and the like. The ignorance displayed by both the media and the Ministry of Safety and Security was quite perturbing regarding this incident in a country where VAW cases are increasing on a daily basis.

The case study approach is a method used to narrow down a very broad field of research into one easily researchable topic. As a research strategy, the case study technique involves a comprehensive examination of an issue in a systematic way. The case study also allow further elaboration and to formulate a position on a subject. This gives the research study more depth as it is likely to find more revealing information pertaining to VAW in this instance. The miniskirt incident was an already existing story when this study commenced. It was chosen mainly to give more in-depth information on Namibian print media coverage of VAW.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 VAW News Articles in the Namibian and New Era Newspapers

This chapter details the findings from the research study regarding VAW reportage of news article of entire period covered by the study. As discussed in the previous chapters, the findings will be analysed through content analysis, framing analysis and critical discourse analysis' of the VAW coverage in the print media, *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers published between 1, January 2013 and 31, December 2013.

The discourse analysis, particularly CDA covers the two newspapers' coverage of VAW of the "Miniskirt issue" case study. This issue was one significant VAW incidences reported by the print media in Namibia in the year 2013. In December 2012 after an order from the police authorities, 40 girls were arrested in Rundu town for wearing miniskirts. This incident led to civil society a platform to denounce the police to stop perpetuating VAW. From the findings of this study it can be noticed how the media underplayed the issue totally, ignoring crucial acts of violence committed against women. It was also worth noting how the media reported on the "mini skirt" issue by continuing to promote the idea of blaming a piece of clothing as the primary causes of VAW while exonerating men.

A total of 266 news articles on VAW were available for analysis in this study. Between the time period, 136 news stories were used from *The Namibian* and 130 from *New Era*, (Figure:1).

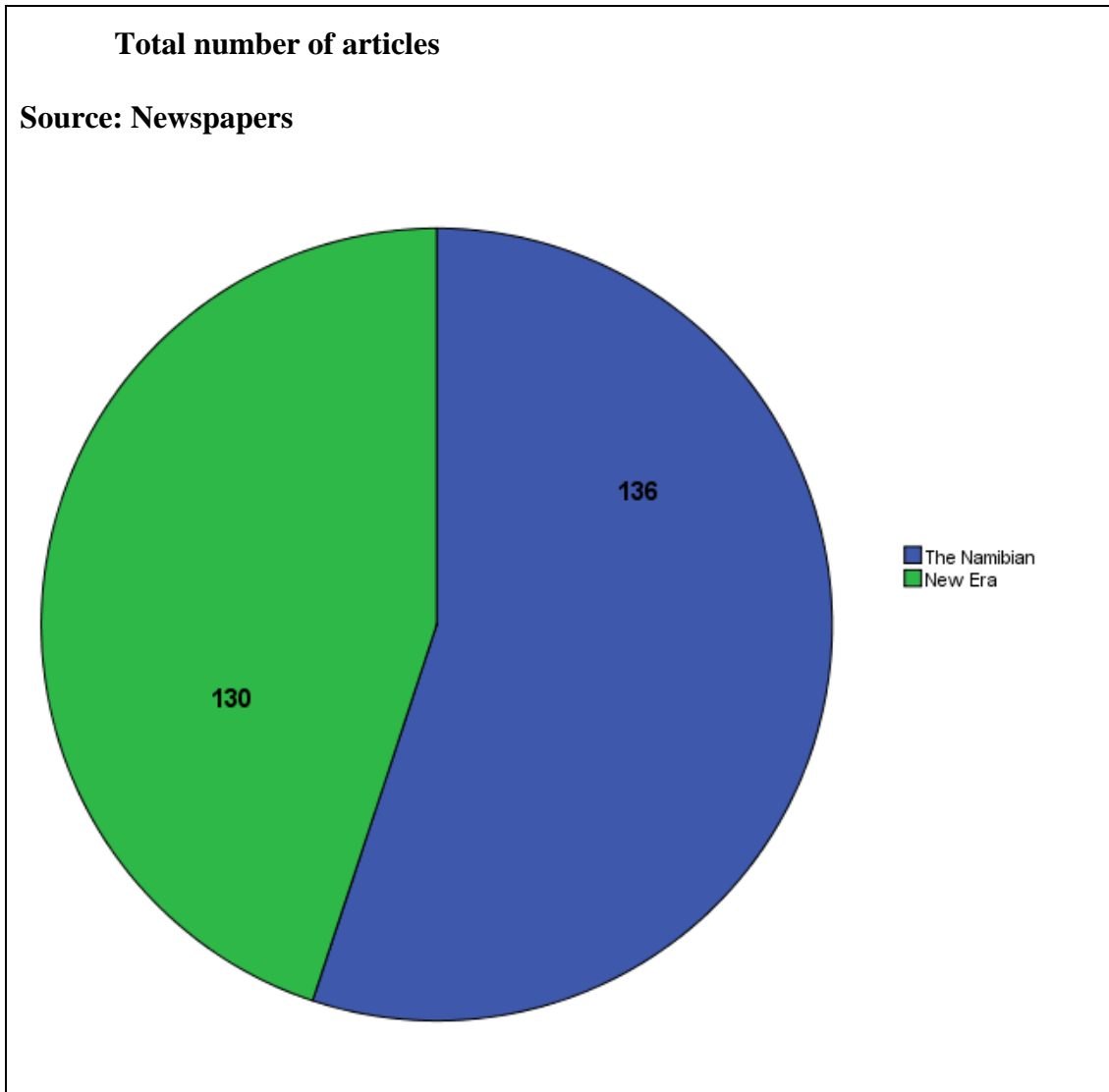


Figure 1: The total number of news articles covered by the study from the two newspapers

5.2 Frames

The body of research on news is growing leading to researchers' interest in the approach to the understanding of news discourse.

According to the first research question, it enquires on what are the common frames used by print media to cover VAW in Namibia. After coding the data all the generic frames were found in the articles. In the following, the results are presented in graphs along with their analysis and discussion.

5.2.1 The Generic Frames

This study, in its analysis of the newspaper articles data employed the generic frames as identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and these are; Consequence, Morality, Responsibility, Conflict and Human Interest (see Appendix C Codebook). As shown by Figure 2. all the frames were frequently used in both newspapers; Morality frame -58.6%, Responsibility frame -14.2%, Consequence frame -13.2%; Human interest frame -12.8% and Conflict frame -3.0%.

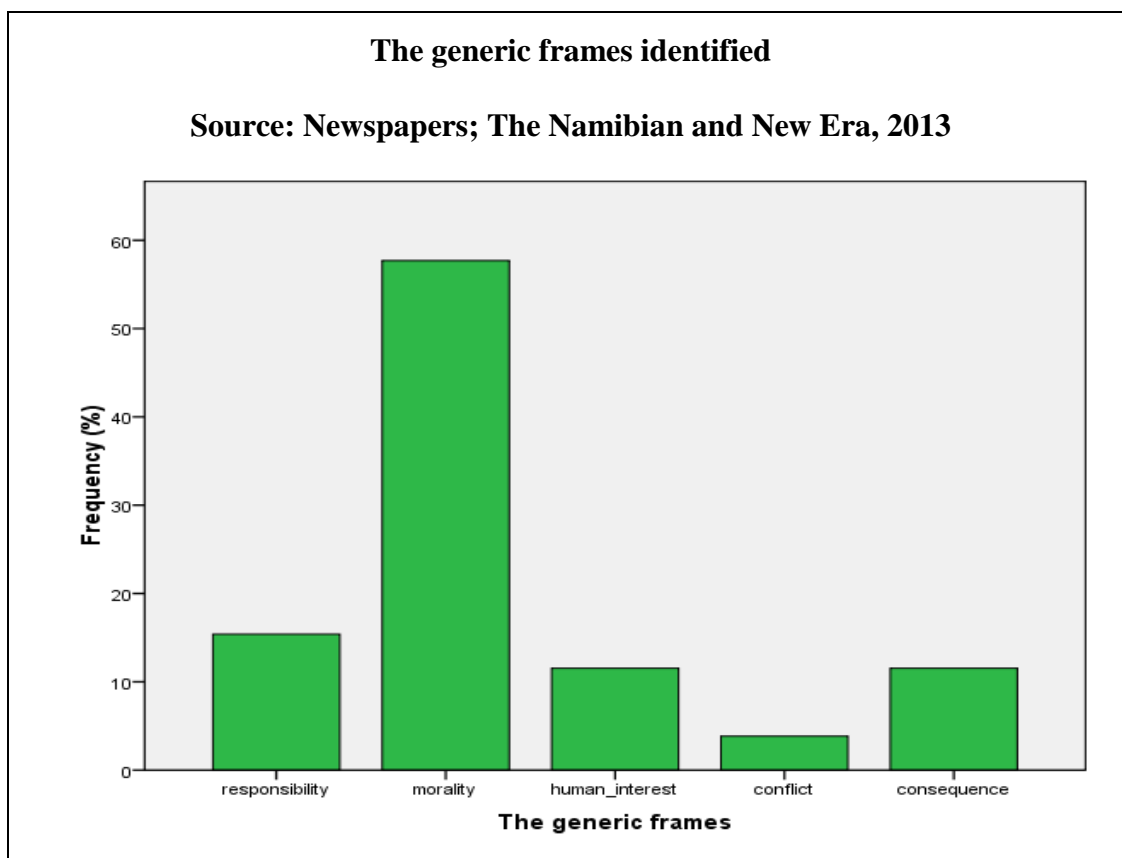


Figure 2: The generic frames identified from the articles

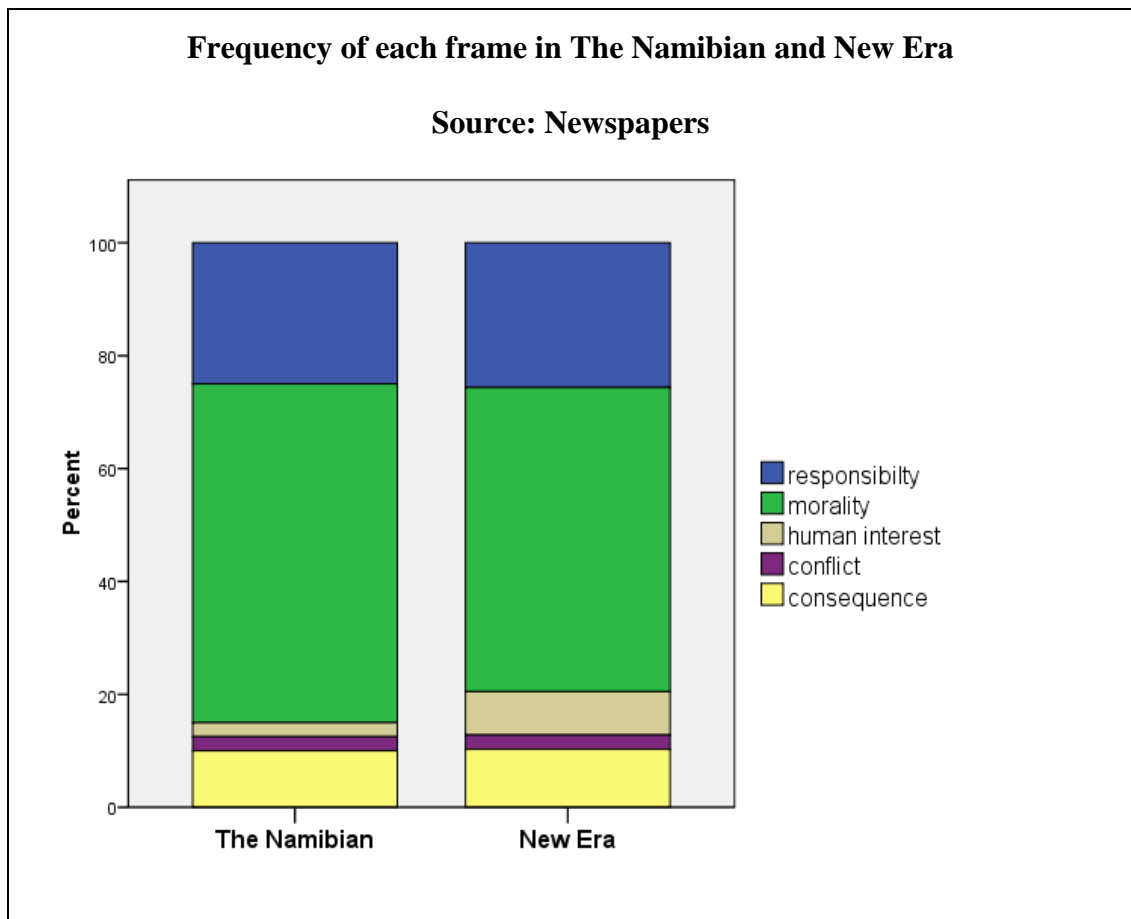


Figure 3: The frequency of each frame in *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers

The bar graph above illustrates the frequency of each VAW frame in *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers covering the period of 1 January – 31 December 2013. The morality frame has the highest percentage in both newspapers, *New Era* had 44% and *The Namibian* had 60%. As discussed in the literature review, previous research on frames has found out that in any incident of VAW women are morally judged either based on religion or culture. My analysis shows that VAW as a social issue is reduced to a morality issue which highly and unlikely to be treated as newsworthy but something that has to be addressed within the confines of the home.

5.2.2 Consequence Frame

This frame basically discussed the potential negative effects of VAW, on women, society and the country. There are no recorded benefits of VAW, identified in the

articles analysed in this study. The negative effects range from women being excluded from full participation in the society, economy suffers, families cohesion is jeopardised and any other national activities. VAW carries a lot of health implications on victims and to a certain extent on the perpetrators as well. VAW can create financial burdens on the health delivery system, legal courts handling the VAW criminal cases and it can be generally overwhelming on the economy of a country as some of the citizens are not full participants and normal cohesion in the society is affected. Namibian Ministry of Safety and Security representative said that,

...his ministry is worried about the threat posed by the increase of criminal incidences which are causing fear and insecurity amongst its law-abiding citizens. He said the increase might also create an unfavourable situation for both local and foreign investors who want to invest their money in the country's socio-economic development. My concern is mainly on the increases of gender-based-violence... (Nampa²¹, 2013, p.4).

VAW in Namibia has caused many women to live in fear of their male counterparts. Police records are showing high records of women seeking "Protection Orders" throughout Namibia, even rural women who are believed to be conservative and docile in reaction to violence and abuse from men.

As domestic violence continues to rear its ugly head more women have realised the importance of filing for protection orders to ensure safety from their abusive partners (Haufiku, 2013, p. 2).

Namibia being one of the signatories to international binding codes to reduce and eliminate VAW, government officials are concerned by the escalation of VAW as it hampers progress in VAW reduction targets set by some of the organisations such the United Nations;

²¹NAMPA is Namibia Press Agency, the Namibian local news agency

Violence against women is one of the greatest threats to achieving some of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. The director of Gender Equality and International Affairs in the Ministry of Gender and Equality and Child Welfare, Victor Shipoh, said...even if the country achieves gender equality, violence against women and children may overshadow this achievement. We cannot say that we will achieve goal number three if women are being killed, raped and treated in hospital because of injuries resulting from gender-based-violence (GBV) (Kapitako, 2013,p.4).

VAW is not simply about women or women's problem. Other members of the society also becomes victims of the VAW, immediate families suffer greatly, emotionally, physically and financially, especially if they are dependents. Both victim and perpetrator could be breadwinners in the family and could result in both either being incarcerated for crime and the other killed or disabled to provide for the family,

There are countless young children under the care of the ministry who are victims of rape, physical and emotional abuse by close relatives and thus gender-based-violence remains a serious concern in Namibia (Nampa, 2013, p.3).

The increase in VAW issues is also leading to an increase in more women being silenced mostly for the fear of being murdered as the case of Namibia. Most of the VAW cases are murder of women and girls as reported in 2013 print media and police records and statistics.

Since most violence against women and children happens within the confines of families and homes, which by virtue of values are spaces where outside interference is restricted, most women suffer in silence (Nampa, 2013p.7).

In both publications the consequence frame was 13.2% of the articles analysed. The New Era newspaper used this frame the most with 8%. In light of VAW being able to

cause economic losses in a country, both newspapers seem to have ignored to highlight the seriousness of such consequences.

5.2.3 Conflict Frame

The conflict frame describes the VAW debate by emphasising conflict between two parties, ideologies or groups who are in disagreement. The VAW debate, lies over power and control between men and women, critics especially from the civil society organisations state that men use culture as an excuse to control women. The conflict frame as presented in the media challenges how traditional renditions of what it is to be woman and man according to culture and social norms. There has been a shift from women being relegated to the background and women empowerment, women as household furniture and solely dependent on men, to women enjoying modernity. This change in awareness and consciousness has made men to be threatened over their place in the home as bread winners and family head. This change has not only affected men, it has also provoked the media to present women in different ways. Therefore, there is a strong conflict between masculinity and femininity.

This is just the summation of conflict arising and leading to most VAW now common in the society, where men are feeling they no longer have space or control over anything in the world.

The conflict frame was the lowest frame used in both publications with *The Namibian* 2.1% and *New Era* on 1.8% coverage.

The atrocities committed against women are attributed to cultural and social norms still present in Namibia (Beukes, 2013, p.4)

Culture continues to be used as a justification for men perpetrating VAW, especially in most African cultures where women culturally do not have a say in decisions. Any decision is made on their behalf, there is no consultation of women. Women cannot even make decisions over their bodies, women's bodies are owned by men. This is exemplified by this Traditional Chief of one of the tribes in Namibia who said,

Sharing of wives is a unique traditional custom that smothers jealousy between both sexes and strengthens friendships, hence I advocate its continuation. This practice, Tjavera said has reduced gender-based violence in the Ovahimba and Ovazemba communities (Kuhunga, 2013, p.2)

In response to the Chief's statement of wife-sharing, the Programme Analyst for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Namibia, Cloudina Venaani said,

Women in these practices do it to obey their husbands and not out of their free will, which will lead to emotional pressure and stress in their lives (Kuhunga, 2013, p.2).

There is constant conflict between tradition and the modern way of living, this frame is not fully explored in the articles to explain to the reader why harmony between tradition and modernity is necessary to eradicate VAW.

According to OpukaMensah, (2004 cited in Ross, 2010), what the news environment looks like for women, stating that "it perpetuates a male-ordered environment which often is hostile to women". News discourse ignores the achievements of women in the society through framing. The media fails to provide women as news to audience when they do something great, but is fast to put up news in which women commit violent crimes. This gives audience the notion that women are a nuisance to society because all they get about them is negative.

This is a source of conflict as it perpetuates the view that men can do as they please over women and should not be questioned just because they are men. Experienced, intelligent and talented women do not fit in the world as far as media framing is concerned. These women are relegated to the background is exemplified in the quote below where a business woman was continually being stalked and harassed by some man;

I am a man. It is acceptable to propose to the person you like. It is not sexual harassment (Mupetami, 2013, p.3).

The quote below attempts to explain VAW

!Omeb said that some of the causes of violence can be ascribed to the unequal power relations between women and men which ensure male dominance over women (Kapitako, 2013, p.2).

In the articles analysed, the findings revealed that the male and female genders are in constant conflict, the male wanting to dominate the female thus contributing to VAW. Tradition and modernity are in conflict as male leaders of society in Namibia hold on to tradition that suppresses, excludes and marginalises women.

5.2.4 Human Interest Frame

This frame presents VAW issue from a much personalised angle either of the victim, relatives or community. This frame generally comes from stories of people affected by VAW. In both publications this frame carried 12.8% coverage. This frame is more used by the media to attract audience than to highlight and emphasise the issue of VAW. This is exemplified by some of the news articles found in both publications;

Pieter you did us a great injustice, you hurt me very much, she was my first born and I could have had great times with her...the distraught mother testifying during sentence arguments meted out to the man convicted of murdering her daughter (Routh, 2013, p.4)

The mood was somber as hundreds of pupils of Augustenium secondary school gathered yesterday morning to pay their last respects to 17 year old Rina !Nau/gawases who was raped and murdered over the weekend (Andima, 2013, p.1).

5.2.5 Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame, holds accountable a specific person, group or institution as the main responsible party to causing or solving the problem of VAW. In this case this frame was generally attributed to the victims of VAW of causing the problem in both publications. While the responsibility to solving the VAW issue was attributed to the police, society leaders and the government. Most of the articles analysed seems to carry the same message that women are responsible for the VAW predicament they find themselves in. The messages are like, “if they dressed well they would not be raped”; “if they walked in well-lit paths they would not be murdered”; “if they respected their husband or boyfriends they would not be abused or killed”; “if they adhered to culture and tradition they would not be abused, raped or killed”; “they should just be quiet and submit or risk being murdered, raped, abused”. Below are some examples of how the media framed the responsibility frame;

The miniskirts worn by young girls nowadays contribute to high cases of rape and prostitution in the region because it tempts men (Nampa, 2013. p.2)

Interestingly comments regarding VAW coming from authoritative leadership are somewhat disturbing, they display a high level of ignorance and reduce the whole issue of VAW to a small issue that can be avoided if women just did the right things at the right time. Below is an ‘ignorant’ comment made by the Namibian Police Chief Inspector Kaunapuwa Shikwambi and a leader of a civil society organisation;

Common sense is one’s best defence against any type of attack. Therefore women should avoid places, times and circumstances that create risky situations. Always stay in well-lit areas as much as possible, avoid riverbeds, bushes, alleys where rapists can hide (Kaakunga, 2013, p.1)

The above remark is not just ignorant but irresponsible as well especially coming from a representative of the Ministry of Safety and Security.

Women contribute to this, Namises said, some women believe that their bodies are there for men's pleasure (Kaakunga, 2013, p.1).

In the quotes (articles) above the media squanders an opportunity to explain that women alone cannot prevent VAW crimes and that they are not always responsible for the crimes committed against them. In the article the media also fails to give a full account of the responsibility of the role of the police in maintaining safety and security of its citizens against such heinous acts VAW, but only gives a scanty report of how women are always responsible for the negative things that happen to them.

5.2.6 Morality Frame

The morality frame was the most prominent frame in both publications. This frame came out strongly in the "miniskirt" issue (see Case study: Miniskirt analysis). Morality and cultural traditions were used as justifications for VAW, as if to say immoral women are prone to VAW. The question is who defines what morality is, what is the yardstick for measuring morality, and why is that morality is only assigned to women who must adhere to it and not men, and why does the media fail to interrogate and fully expatiate the issue of morality and educate society that morality issue is accountable for all citizens not assigned to a group of people. The women's morality is questioned in the media, which renders the text biased and inadequate as man's morality is left out or not questioned the same way.

The morality frame is a frequently used frame in the articles analysed. From the findings it seems to be in contradiction to Neuman et al (cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) that morality frame is not categorised under the most frequently

utilised frames. This specific frame is believed to exist in the minds of the audience rather than in the content of the stories. (Neuman et al cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). I attribute this contradiction to the social and cultural background of Namibia, where the society is highly patriarchal in its operations and a culture where women are seen and not heard and also a media landscape that continuously renders women invisible.

5.3 Who Tells the Story of VAW in Print Media?

For the purposes of this study, information cited and/or quoted in the articles was divided into eight categories of sources, these include; police, perpetrator, victim/survivor, social worker, community, judiciary, government officials and other. These are the people whom the reporters consulted for comment and quoted in their news reports on VAW. The study established that the majority of the people speaking on VAW are men in both publications. This renders the invisibility of women in the media even on issues that directly concern them, women are not given a fair and equal chance to speak. Only 10.5 % of the articles analysed used women as sources in their news stories and the rest is men speaking.

Source: The Namibian and New Era newspapers, 2013

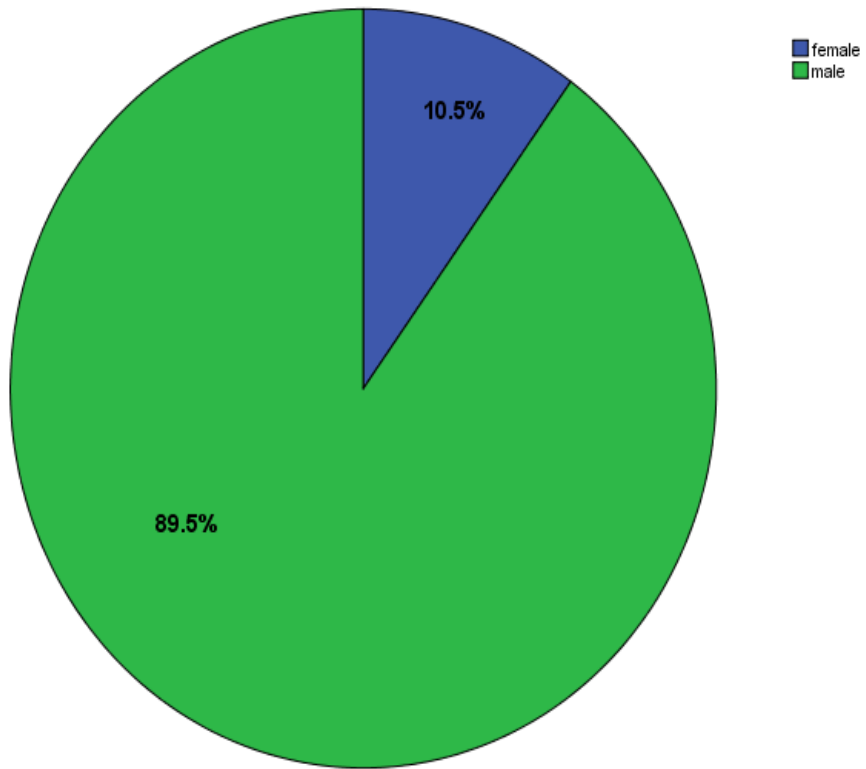


Figure 4: Sources in VAW news articles

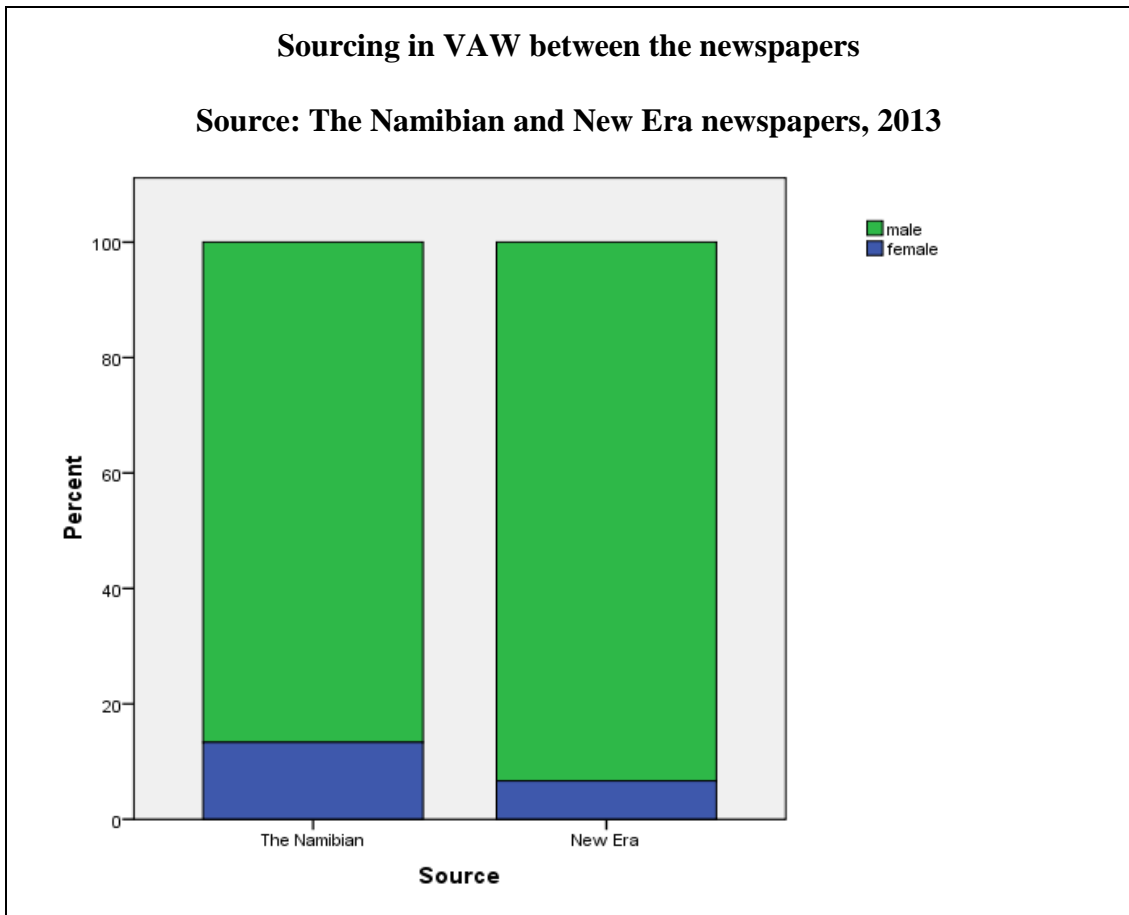


Figure 5: Sourcing in VAW between the two newspapers

The Namibian newspaper shows the highest number of female sources quoted in their articles with 13.3% while *New Era* recorded 7.7% of female sources. Even though the year 2013 was marked by an increase in VAW stories reported in the media, this increase did not directly translate into an increased number of women speaking on VAW.

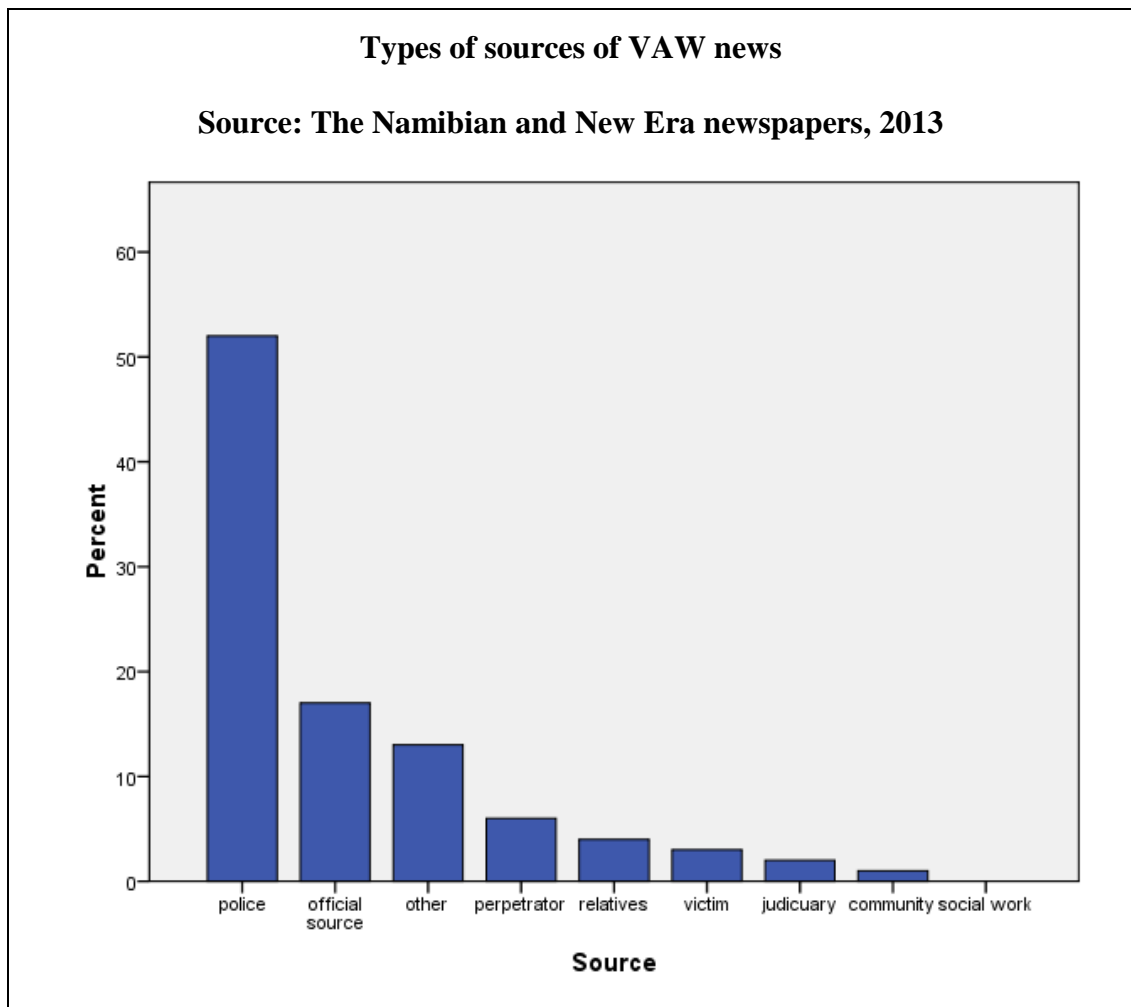


Figure 6: Types of sources of VAW news articles

The above findings show that both publications rely heavily on the police for VAW information for their news stories. The police, government officials, legal professionals were the sources most quoted and paraphrased in the news articles. Social workers account for a 0% as sources on VAW. This is a disturbing scenario, when especially one considers the level of expertise and knowledge that can be offered by social workers on commenting issues on VAW. Interesting to note that most social workers are women, and could it be the reason why media ignores them or are they not authoritative enough to be consulted for commentary.

This presents a key concern as well as an opportunity in the sourcing of news by the media.

The Namibian newspaper of October 10, 2013, reported on a story of a woman who was abused by her boyfriend leading to her speech becoming impaired, (Illustration 5, see Appendix B). The story quotes the victim/survivor, telling how she has been emotionally, physically and financially abused by the boyfriend. Clearly in the article, there is no attempt by the paper to explain the ‘speech impairment’. No health personnel are interviewed to explain what ‘speech impairment’ means or entails. No social worker is consulted to find out how the woman can live a normal life and cope in the society with that new condition. As stated by Gill (2007:137), “...It has an everlasting effect on victims’ physical and psychological conditions”, this calls for more reason for the professionals to be consulted by media on any VAW issue. Again media squanders another opportunity to inform and educate citizen. More so the psychological trauma this woman is experiencing is left unexplored.

It is important to note that the terms victim/survivor are used together to refer to those who have managed to come out of VAW alive as some are not so lucky as they are killed. Of the 266 VAW news articles reported in both publications in the year 2013, *The Namibian* records 43 murder cases while *New Era* carries 45 murder news articles.

5.4 Ownership of Media and Representation of VAW

This section answers the research question 3, whether is there a difference between state-owned and private owned media in the coverage of VAW, and how ownership can influence framing of news.

According to Rakow and Kranich (1991), “the news media are sites at which women, women’s movement and women’s issues are ignored or displayed in particular way”, (p.9).

As such many research studies have sought out to find out why it is so, whether it is political economy of newspapers, newspapers editorial policies or sheer ignorance of male editors and reporters who dominate most newsrooms.

This research study whose topic is “Framing of violence against women in the print media in Namibia” is therefore aimed at appraising the extent of media ownership affects the framing of certain issues such as VAW. Under this research question the study interrogated on how ownership affected how a newspaper gives prominence to VAW news coverage and how often do the newspapers reported on VAW issues.

Findings reveal that both publications do not give prominence to VAW news stories, this is shown by the low number of articles placed on the front page. They do not frequently report VAW, most of the news articles are event-based, how bizarre the VAW case was, and who was involved especially if they are prominent people involved.

The *New Era* newspaper is a publication owned by the government where the reporting is biased towards government because of its influence. Government here means the ruling party of the day. This is meant to ensure that the publication supports the government position on issues and never portray government and its policies negatively. Therefore as a government-owned newspaper, it was established

following the New Era Publication Corporation Act of 1992²², is expected to be pro-government in its reporting.

On the other hand *The Namibian* is privately owned with individual sponsors of the publication seeking to present issues that are ignored by the government media or issue the government is trying to cover up.

Even though both newspapers covered the VAW issue substantially, the way the news articles are framed, portray a striking difference between the two publications. *The Namibian* VAW news articles show that VAW is an issue at the heart of the society and community and that the government is doing little to prevent or eradicate VAW which is escalating in statistics every day.

Society is consulted for comment on VAW and civil society organisations speak more on VAW in *The Namibian* newspaper. *The Namibian* generally offered a more heterogeneous coverage of VAW giving space for discussion and debate for various players from the public.

New Era on the other hand, had its news articles framed in ways to show how the government is responding to VAW and a lesser extent how VAW can affect the economy. The VAW news articles also showed that the government is more concerned and fears not meeting the VAW prevention and eradication target set by the UN and specified through the Millenium Development Goals of 2015 and other regional targets.

²²The New Era Publication Corporation of 1992 states that the paper was formulated to report on issues of national interest and government-related matters.

This is revealed through the frequency and space given to government officials, ministers to speak on VAW and how they are frequently quoted in the news articles. The newspapers' coverage of VAW is not balanced as it only has men who are perpetrator more visible than women who mostly are the victims.

5.5 Case study: Miniskirt Politics in Namibia

Discourse had been identified as a powerful tool that seeks to maintain gender ideologies of position and interest in the society, (van Dijk, 2006). Discourse has also been noted to hold a powerful position in the creation and maintenance of male supremacy and so it follows that powerful members of the society are in control of discourse that serve to discriminate women and men. Such discourse becomes naturalised in the society through the media and goes on unquestioned.

The media has often identified women by objects and in this case 'the miniskirt' has been manipulated to represent immorality of women and used to as an excuse perpetrate violence against women by men. In support of this view, van Dijk (2006) states that, "the essence of CDA is to elucidate injustices that are embedded within discourse and propose how to change it". CDA provides a more focused analysis of the power discourse especially on how it is used to maintain male supremacy in the society. The miniskirt here, is denotatively linked to a naked attack of culture and on the other hand as a sign progressiveness and freedom. Thus the miniskirt poses as a source of power struggle between men and women and men will always seek to suppress this freedom. The miniskirt discourse is predicated on the dichotomy of two binaries, that is culture and modernity.

Culture and modernity binaries are tools deployed to justify social practices used to justify VAW by men. Men have the power to define what appropriate or inappropriate clothing is for women, this serves to assert male dominance in the society. In contemporary Africa, men view the miniskirt as signifying ‘moral degeneration’, an unAfrican piece of clothing and thus it has become a battleground for protecting ‘Africanness’.

This ‘Africanness’ in this case is highly imagined because it contradicts with so many ethnic tribes in Africa let alone Namibia which is inhabited by the San and Ovahimba tribes whose women walk bare-breasted in short skirts, just enough to cover essentials. The issue is not a miniskirt but rather what the miniskirt symbolise to men; independence of women from men’s authority. Power and ideology are therefore enacted in the miniskirt issue.

Women in Namibia have made great strides in overcoming inequality but VAW incidence increase is still worrisome. The year 2013 witnessed the Namibian media, print and electronic awash with news reports of the arrest women and girls accused of wearing ‘miniskirts’. The arrests sparked debates on many fronts of the society with some in support of the arrests stating that miniskirts were a major cause of rape in the country while gender activists opposed this assertion.

“There is no empirical evidence that mini-skirts are responsible for the spate of Gender Based Violence in Namibia, none! The San²³ wear the shortest miniskirts, but roam the land freely (literally). NAMPOL²⁴ should focus their attention on finding Shaduka²⁵, and he definitely isn’t under some mini skirt!” said Ricardo Goagoseb (Nunuhe, 2013).

The above quote was a response to an issue over the arrest of women wearing miniskirts in Namibia. The call for arrest was made by the Inspector General Sebastian Ndeitunga. The whole issue of the miniskirt emanated from an incident from town called Rundu when 40 girls were arrested for supposedly wearing miniskirts. The arrests drew widespread public outcry and debate in Namibia. The issue was further aggravated when the Police Inspector remarked that “the alluring dress provokes rape and is unAfrican” (Burton, 2013). To many Namibians, this was irresponsible for a person in a high public office to use a public platform to instigate VAW.

Burton, (2013) further remarked that,

Ndeitunga's cluelessness might get a pass, except that we have known for decades now that rape is about power and violence, not clothing. If someone is intent on raping another person, male or female, I might add ... then he needs no provocation whatsoever, particularly in the form of dress.

This makes it clear that it’s not only about women’s dress-code but power relations between male and female genders.

²³ San is an ethnic group found in Namibia, they are known to be the oldest inhabitants of Namibia. Both women and men of the ethnic group wear very minimal clothing, almost naked.

²⁴ NAMPOL, is the Namibian Police

²⁵Shaduka Lazarus, is a fugitive businessman in Namibia who was convicted of murdering his wife, he escaped police custody and to date he still on the run.

Later Ndeitunga denied having made the remarks stating that he was misquoted by the media. The public had already reacted in anger and protested to those remarks. This introduces a 'morality frame' to which VAW seem to be justified in media reports. Ndeitunga's remarks highlight problematic discourse with regards to VAW in the media. With the help of media the morality and sexuality of women is questioned and attacked on public fora, this presents a worrisome discourse. The first problem is the banning of miniskirts, in that it subtly instigates further gender inequality and VAW. Secondly it is worrisome how leaders, especially men assign what is African and unAfrican to suit their own discourse. If African culture is to be measured by what or how women dress surely especially in Namibia where there are some tribes of people such as the San and Ovahimba²⁶ who almost wear nothing, women go around bare-breasted, and that should also warrant their arrest and rape for them.

The public strongly resisted such discourses by protesting and it only showcased how some leaders in Namibia are just out of touch with reality. Below is a comment written on Facebook by a protestor, Elize Prins responding to Ndeitunga's statement,

The inspector-general is wrong! What you wear does not give anyone the right to rape you. How can you as the head of the law enforcement agency in this country make such an irresponsible remark about miniskirts not being African. Women (regardless of their ages) are raped every minute of the day all over the world....not only in Africa. Rather spend your time to teach our fellow countrymen to control their sexual urges and not feast on us women like animals simply because we wear miniskirts. I wonder what your comments are on those babies and very old women who are also raped daily whilst you ponder on whether miniskirts are African? How dare you make such a comment? (Prins, 2013).

²⁶Ovahimba, are an ethnic group found in Namibia, both men and women wear minimal clothing. The women move around in very short animal-skin hide and bare-breasted.

Interesting to note in this issue is when Ndeitunga said that revealing clothes such as miniskirts lead to rape, this careless remark shifts blame and responsibility from men to women. Women are eventually and out rightly blamed for all the violence that happens to them. On the other hand the remark alludes to the point that men rape women because they are provoked by a miniskirt and cannot control it. In light of that how then do we account for babies, grandmothers, Muslim women in burkas who in large numbers are raped everyday worldwide? On the same note another sad and disturbing remark came from one of the parents of the arrested girls, who said “the mini-skirts worn by young girls nowadays contribute to high cases of rape and prostitution in the region because it tempts men²⁷”.

Below are some of the news headlines on the miniskirt issue reported in the print media:

Box 6.1. Print media headlines on ‘Mini-skirts’

- ‘Top cop says miniskirts are not African’ – (*The Namibian*, 19 February 2013)
- ‘The Fight Over the Mini’ – (*The Namibian*, 22 January 2013)
- ‘Mini-Skirt Debate Heats Up’ – (*New Era*, 20 February 2013)
- ‘School Sends Girls With Short Skirts Home’ – (*The Namibian*, 20 February 2013)
- ‘General dilemma’ (editorial cartoon on the mini skirt issue) – (*The Namibian*, 22 February 2013)
- ‘The power of the miniskirt’ – (*The New Era*, 22 February 2013)

²⁷*The Namibian*, 16 January 2013, p2. “Girls detained for wearing hot-pants”

- ‘What is all the beef about miniskirts’ – (*The New Era*, 22 February 2013)
- ‘Women protest over miniskirts’ – (*The New Era*, 25 February 2013)
- ‘The right to wear miniskirts’ – (*The Namibian*, 25 February 2013)

To bring to light another problematic discourse in the miniskirt issue, cartoonist, Dudley published in *The Namibian* (Illustration 2, see Appendix B) a cartoon showing the confusion and hypocrisy of Ndeitunga’s remarks on calling miniskirts unAfrican. In the cartoon Ndeitunga is shown having no reservations with the presence of un-African objects such as Mercedes Benz car keys and handcuffs. This reflects implicit ignorance, irony and illogical nature of justifications and beliefs in positing mini-skirts as un-African an idea that is sadly held by many African men.

In another discourse, disturbingly men who carry out violence acts on women are termed ‘ignorant’. The media reports continue to refer to them as children and reports that they are ignorant of what they are doing “the use of the term children here makes a clear value judgment that an adolescent male who commits an act of rape is childlike in his inability to distinguish right from wrong (Ross, 2010), therefore deemed alright. Parallel to this discourse, the media continues to blame women for the abuse and assaults that befall them, referring to them as temptresses. The blame is not just put on women; it is actually emphasised on way women dress. The question to be asked is, are all women who have been sexually assaulted/raped ‘provocatively dressed’.

In a nutshell the discourse of media framing of women in news as victims goes further to dictate a woman's place in society and the authority under which they exist. The lives of these women are circumscribed by men (Ross 2010, p. 95). We see dominated male favoured societies where men make decisions on behalf of women even if it infringes on their human rights. Sadly the media perpetuates such flawed tendencies by not giving women a voice or seeking their comment.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After analysing the data of this study, I arrived at some interesting points regarding the framing of VAW in the print media in Namibia for the period covered by the study. The way VAW was framed brought about some worth noting elements such as how masculine is the nature of news in the print media, the level of and existence of event-based reporting, and finally the reporters' approach and attitude towards women's issues like VAW. All these elements had and have an effect on how the VAW news articles were framed in the print media.

More importantly the study revealed that VAW reportage was framed as a masculine narrative, neglecting women who are the prominent actors in VAW related issues. Research findings, indicate more of men talking to each other, from the reporters who covered the stories to the sources consulted for information and comment were men and less women, as revealed through analysis of *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers of 2013. According to Watson (2008), he observes that,

What constitutes both a constraint and an issue in the world of media communication is the treatment of women by media...news content and news gathering are gendered with a profound and institutionalised biased towards maleness (pp.232-234).

Male reporters and male sources contribute to the framing of answers and choice of words used in the VAW reportage and affects the meaning of story to which the reader is finally exposed to.

VAW is a man's story, 'men talking to men', a male reporter covering the story seeks information from a male police officer, gets comment from a male legal officer and the story is then edited by a male editor. In the end women are not given a chance to speak on matters that concern them. Women simply are excluded from any public platform, if there it's a trivial one. To concur with this, Watson (2008) further states that,

Women, women's issues and problems are not newsworthy unless they can be labelled according traditional female roles of wife, mother, daughter... (p. 234).

The news discourse continues to ignore women and their issues, when they do get a chance to appear, their matters suffer trivialisation and ridicule. As noted by van Dijk (1991), that trivialisation is accomplished in the media through, 'strategic use of irrelevance' (p.114). This happens when unnecessary details are used in the story to trivialise the matter especially if one is to look at how VAW is written in the print media. For instance a story on a girl raped will contain a lot of details on how she was dressed, the wrong road she took when she left the party, the company of boys she hung with before the rape. The story is bereft of information about the actual rape, perpetrator details, laws/legislation on rape or legal proceedings pertaining to the rape. To this van Dijk cited by Watson (2008), argues that media do not address the problems of minorities, rather they define minorities as the problems, (p.237).

This is seen throughout the stories analysed which is quite problematic in light of the social responsibility of the media.

The absence of women from being news sources on matters that concern them ultimately excludes them from the news discourse. The continuous reliance of reporters on male/expert source gives the story a frame which excludes women's voice. It is also worth noting as observed by Rakow and Kranich (1991),

It is not always true that men conspire to exclude women as sources but rather news media personnel work within taken-for-granted meaning system in which it simply makes sense to do these things 'exclude women' (p.2).

Over time it has become 'common sense' to ignore women in the news discourse. What we see and hear continues to be news about men, men having conversations with each other on public platforms as if women don't exist or are invisible. Citing OpukaMensah (2004), Ross (2010) describes what the news environment looks like for women, stating that "it perpetuates a male-ordered environment which often is hostile to women". News discourse ignores most of women's activities in the society. The media fails to provide women as news to audience when they do something great, but is fast to put up news in which women are in scandals or violent crimes. This gives audience the notion that women are a nuisance to society because all they get about them is negative. On the other hand, every little achievement by men is a talk of the day on media (Ross 2010, p. 93).

Reporters, as revealed by the type of VAW stories covered in the analysis of this study from both publications, it can be seen that reporters are obsessed with reporting on events rather than themes which give room for in-depth analysis of an issue.

Social issues such as VAW require in-depth analysis which is critical, authentic linkages to other phenomena and statistics to warrant relevant and seriousness to the subject matter. It has been revealed in the study that, the media tends to get bogged to the bizarreness of the VAW incident and eventually reduce the incident to how women can be a troublesome lot in the society.

The story is reduced to 'if only they knew their place in the society they would not be raped or killed'. If women are not raped, killed, scandal or assaulted you would hardly find them in the news discourse. Some kind of action such as murder or rape has to occur to them warrant coverage. The framing of such event-based reported stories become obvious bases for frames of blame and trivialisation. It is high time that media realises that VAW is not an event but a theme that requires critical analysis of the issue and generate meaningful insights.

Most of the reporting of VAW is left for the cub-reporters who lack experience, knowledge and exposure to the issues and seriousness of VAW. Failure by media to treat VAW as a serious issue in their reportage just normalises VAW leading women and girls to continue suffering in silence. Print media in their coverage of VAW can help in the awareness of Namibia's Combating of Rape Act (2000) and Domestic Violence Act (2003), which were disturbingly absent from the dialogue in the analysed news articles.

The discourse on VAW in the two newspapers does not differ from the general women's issues talk. There is rarely in-depth and sustained dialogue on this social problem. Media again fails to give a holistic coverage which fully informs audiences

on what policy efforts and interventions are being made by the legislation regarding VAW which has become a big concern. Media continues to deal with VAW in a very simplistic way as if it's some pick-pocket crime, lacking analysis which can inform decision makers. The cost implications of VAW are not fully explored and explained in the media, its cost to the society, economy and the country as a whole. VAW is still reported as if someone is announcing football game results, who won and who lost and let us wait for the next match. Many women and girls are failing to live to their full potential and contribute to the nation because of the effects of VAW.

Anomalies in the newsrooms need to be rectified to change the masculine nature of news. Reporters need to realise that in their role of informing the public they also assumed the role of social responsibility that enables them to be social advocates to all members of the society not to some. Their reportage should be devoid of discrimination against women, so that women's issues are not centred on simplistic dichotomies of how old the woman/girl, how she was dressed when she was murdered or raped. To conclude, as a reminder, McQuail (2005) states the critical role of media,

Mass media are not the same as any other business or service industry but carry out some essential tasks for the wider benefit of society especially in the cultural and political life. For this reason, the media can legitimately be held accountable for what they do or do not do and be liable to some claims that they do things which they might not choose to do (p.68).

6.1 Further Research

The role played by journalists in reporting VAW is an imperative one. Based on the findings of this research study, I put forth a suggestion of a guideline to support journalists in their work of covering VAW news stories, so that the stories remain ethical, meaningful, useful and progressive for the society and any other

stakeholders. This guide can be further developed to meet needs either in-house standards, editorial policies or trends in VAW reporting.

6.1.2 VAW Reporting Guide for Journalists

Know your role as a journalist;

VAW crimes are committed by force, without consent. VAW transforms lives forever; therefore a journalist has an important task in improving this discussion. Once again you are reminded of your social responsibility role when covering VAW issues. As a journalist it is commendable when covering VAW issues “to write to end VAW” and not to encourage it in whatsoever way.

Know the importance of language (word choice);

We are all aware of the power of language. Rape IS NOT Sex; Trafficking IS NOT Prostitution; and Passion killing IS murder. Language is integral in understanding VAW and appreciating it as a social crisis. The words a journalist chooses to use in VAW story can alter meaning, misinform or under represent the depth and breadth of the VAW incident. Most of the VAW news articles analysed in this study used the term “alleged” rape/murder. This term reinforces disbelief, untrustworthy rendering the victim a liar and unsure when the crime was actually committed. Avoid terms that minimise the issue of VAW e.g. ‘troubled marriage’, ‘unwanted sex’ etc.

Know your ethics when covering VAW;

Always ensure that your VAW report does not compromise safety of the victim/survivor. It also pays to know the laws governing VAW because they are a host of complex legal issues involved , e.g defamation – your story should not be defamatory; invasion of privacy – always seek permission especially VAW is

sensitive to victim/survivor. Prioritise the dignity, safety and confidentiality of the victim/survivor and their families.

Use of statistics;

Of the VAW news articles analysed in this study, all of them lacked statistics. Data is very important when reporting VAW, because it is a crime which is chronically underreported. It is the journalist's duty to seek credible VAW data sources and methods of interpretation. Local, national and international statistics would be relevant in VAW stories so as to give the bigger picture of the problem to ensure the VAW incidences are not isolated stories. Statistics help contextualise the story.

Who tells the VAW story?

Previous research studies and this current study show that there is an over reliance on police and legal professionals as sources of VAW information and comment. Journalists should contact a diversity of experts such as social workers, medical doctors, psychologists, community members etc, for information on VAW. Always do your research, lack of adequate and relevant information or one-sided pieces information lead to misinformation.

Show the impact of VAW;

Always provide information about impacts of VAW as they are so imperative. Show the impact on people, health costs, economic costs caused by VAW. How many lives can be saved from VAW prevention and also how much money can be saved from VAW prevention, this is relevant information.

In full acknowledgment that most media organisation have established in their editorial policies on how to cover issues like VAW, the above is a reminder and also a suggestion to guide journalists in VAW reporting based on the findings of this research study. Women also deserve better from media coverage.

In light of the above, this study is by no means exhaustive in its explanations to the framing of VAW in print media in Namibia. There could be other explanations on the subject matter and I would recommend further study in the same area, either using the different or similar same techniques and methodologies.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Newspaper Articles Analysed

New Era newspaper 2013 articles: n=130

Article no.	Date	Page	Article Title (Headline)	Location section	Article type
1	14 Jan	4	Still no trace of Shaduka	Crime and courts	News
2	15Jan	4	17 year old girl raped at Mariental	Crime and courts	News
3	22Jan	4	Rape dominates crime stats	Crime and courts	News
4	23Jan	4	Suspect claims rape victim initiated encounter	Crime and courts	News
5	24Jan	5	Shocking testimony against Angolan witchdoctor	Crime and courts	News
6	24Jan	5	Trial date set for shotgun killer	Crime and courts	News
7	28Jan	4	Suspect calls witness a liar	Crime and courts	News
8	28Jan	4	Passion killing syndrome claims another life	Crime and courts	News
9	29Jan	7	Poor interpersonal communication skills contribute to increase in passion killing		Feature
10	18 Feb	4	Man kills his own father brutally	Crime and courts	News
11	18Feb	4	Valentine's day double homicide at Omafafa	Crime and courts	News
12	18Feb	4	Teenager beheads lover	Crime and courts	News
13	22Feb	4	Kavango cops adamant will act on public indecency	Crime and courts	News

14	22Feb	4	Murder and rape accused denies charges	Crime and courts	News
15	22Feb	7	X-Factor rape case postponed	Crime and courts	News
16	22Feb	7	The power of the mini-skirt	Column	Feature
17	22Feb	7	What is all the beef about the mini-skirt	Column	Social Commentary
18	25Feb	1	Women protest over mini-skirt	Front page	News
19	25Feb	4	Many violence victims refuse to press charges	Crime and courts	News
20	4 Mar	4	Otjiwarongo woman stabbed to death by ex-boyfriend	Crime and courts	News
21	4 Mar	5	Police constable allegedly raped young girl at Osire	Crime and courts	News
22	5Mar	4	Heavy sentence for wife killer Nhinda	Crime and courts	News
23	6Mar	4	Rapist to serve 45 years behind bars	Crime and courts	News
24	6Mar	4	Father takes witness stand in rape trial	Crime and courts	News
25	8Mar	2	Ban-Kin Moon denounces violence against women	National	News
26	11Mar	2	Gender violence a daily affair	National	News
27	13Mar	4	Unengu referred to mental observation	Crime and courts	News
28	13Mar	5	Implement laws and policies to eliminate GBV: Nghidinwa	National	News
29	15Mar	7	Are our killing fields not a pointer to a misery country?	Column	Social commentary
30	22Mar	4	Unengu bail ruling on Monday	Crime and courts	News

31	22Mar	4	Principal arrested for rape	Crime and courts	News
32	25Mar	4	Rape dominates weekend crime	Crime and courts	News
33	26Mar	4	Cops find unidentified body	Crime and courts	News
34	27Mar	4	Court convicts wife killer	Crime and courts	News
35	28Mar	4	Grootfontein woman survives 12 stab wounds	Crime and courts	News
36	28Mar	4	Murder suspect to plead today	Crime and courts	News
37	4 Apr	4	Female corpse found under rubbish	Crime and courts	News
38	5Apr	4	State requests lengthy jail term for killer	Crime and courts	News
39	5Apr	4	Nation hurts for answers on violence against women	Crime and courts	News
40	5Apr	7	Women live in state of siege	Column	Social commentary
41	8Apr	4	Gaeses murder suspect arrested	Crime and courts	News
42	10Apr	4	Double murder suspect granted bail	Crime and courts	News
43	12Apr	7	Urgent intervention required to stem GBV	National	News
44	12Apr	4	Safety Minister concerned about crime	Crime and courts	News
45	12Apr	7	How many dead bodies before we wake up?	Column	Social commentary
46	15Apr	7	Unending violence mars weekend	Crime and courts	News
47	15Apr	4	Protest march against	Crime	News

			GBV	and courts	
48	17Apr	4	Killer faces heavy sentence	Crime and courts	News
49	17Apr	4	Birthday 'murder' wants bail	Crime and courts	News
50	18Apr	4	Shotgun killer gets 28 years	Crime and courts	News
51	22Apr	4	Ngatjizeko was mother's blue-eyed boy	Crime and courts	News
52	8 May	4	Minister Ngatjizeko testifies in murder trial	Crime and courts	News
53	13 May	4	Alleged girlfriend murderer granted bail	Crime and courts	News
54	14 May	4	Male nurse allegedly rapes patient	Crime and courts	News
55	22 May	4	Defiler guilty as charged	Crime and courts	News
56	22 May	4	Wife killer jailed for 30 years	Crime and courts	News
57	23 May	4	Farmer to be sentenced today	Crime and courts	News
58	24 May	4	Farmer gets 35 years for murder	Crime and courts	News
59	29 May	4	Accused confesses to fatal blows	Crime and courts	News
60	29 May	4	Defence counsels argue vigorously in youth gang-rape trial	Crime and courts	News
61	4 June	4	Woman killed in another crime of passion	Crime and courts	News
62	5June	4	Passion killer surrenders to police	Crime and courts	News

63	5June	4	Waterboer found guilty of murder	Crime and courts	News
64	6June	1	No end to the violence	Front page	News
65	6June	4	Passion killing was avoidable- uncle	Crime and courts	News
66	6June	4	Angry residents bay for suspect's blood	Crime and courts	News
67	10June	5	Weekend of murder mayhem	Crime and courts	News
68	19June	4	Ngatjizeko gets 40 years for matricide	Crime and courts	News
69	20June	4	Rape suspect out on N\$1000 bail	Crime and courts	News
70	24June	5	Pensioner hacked to death by grandson: Nampol	Crime and courts	News
71	24June	5	Charred body remains of Constance Wicomb 45 years old woman reported missing 13 June 2013	Crime and courts	News
72	25June	4	Weekend of armed robbery, rape and death	Crime and courts	News
73	26June	4	Domestic violence cases alarming	Crime and courts	News
74	28June	5	Rapist Gariseb could face 135 years	Crime and courts	News
75	2 July	4	Woman endures abuse for shelter	Crime and courts	News
76	2July	4	Two murders in Karas in another weekend of crime	Crime and courts	News
78	5July	4	Man kills mother then self	Crime and courts	News
79	10July	4	High profile official charged with rape	Crime and	News

				courts	
80	10July	4	Woman beaten and raped at Opuwo	Crime and courts	News
81	25July	2	Assault victims withdraw cases	News	News
82	25July	4	Teenager brutally raped	Crime and courts	News
83	26July	4	Murder accused pleads not guilty	Crime and courts	News
84	26July	4	Learner raped during school week	Crime and courts	News
85	1 Aug	2	More abused women seek protection	News	News
86	1 Aug	4	Ex-boyfriend kills woman	Crime and courts	News
87	2 Aug	2	Young girl's murder shocks coastal residents	News	News
88	2 Aug	4	Murder accused out on bail	Crime and courts	News
89	6 Aug	4	Outjo slayers appears	Crime and courts	News
90	7 Aug	4	Corridor 18 murder hearing to start	Crime and courts	News
91	7 Aug	4	Murder accused Mbundu commits suicide	Crime and courts	News
92	8 Aug	4	Ditshabue pleads guilty to wife's murder	Crime and courts	News
93	8 Aug	4	Governor condemns Outjo murder	Crime and courts	News
94	8 Aug	4	Brutal child murderer charged for 30 years	Crime and courts	News
95	12Aug	5	Accused charged with murdering pregnant girlfriend	Crime and courts	News
96	12Aug	4	Emotional farewell for slain schoolgirl	Crime and	News

				courts	
97	13Aug	4	Two men rape intoxicated woman	Crime and courts	News
98	13Aug	4	Bassoon acquitted on rape charge	Crime and courts	News
99	14 Aug	4	New court appointment for alleged killer	Crime and courts	News
100	14 Aug	4	Violence may undermine progress on MDGs	Crime and courts	News
101	19 Aug	5	Barman in court on attempted murder charge	Crime and courts	News
102	20 Aug	4	Murder confession ruled inadmissible	Crime and courts	News
103	27 Aug	4	Rape suspects commits suicide	Crime and courts	News
104	29 Aug	1	Another woman brutally murdered	Crime and courts	News
105	3 Sept	4	Rundu man appears in court for slaying wife	Crime and courts	News
106	4 Sept	4	Keetmanshoop man admits killing girl	Crime and courts	News
107	5 Sept	4	De Jay says his wife wanted to die	Crime and courts	News
108	10 Sept	4	De Jay murder case postponed to October	Crime and courts	News
109	10 Sept	4	Former detective gets four years	Crime and courts	News
110	10 Sept	4	Woman shot after allegedly bashing lover	Crime and courts	News
112	16 Sept	4	A 21 year old gang raped	News	News
113	24 Sept	3	Need to investigate root causes of domestic violence	News	News

114	1 Oct	4	Murder, rape soil weekend	Crime and courts	News
115	14 Oct	4	Burnt victim's brother testifies	Crime and courts	News
116	16 Oct	4	Grootfontein man in court for strangling girlfriend	Crime and courts	News
117	28 Oct	4	VIP cop allegedly raped minor	Crime and courts	News
118	31 Oct	4	Taxi driver fined for assaulting school girl	Crime and courts	News
119	4 Nov	1	Young man kills lover after paying fine for assault	Front page	News
120	5 Nov	4	Unidentified man rapes 17 year old girl in Rundu	Crime and courts	News
121	5 Nov	5	Okahandja park murder suspect pleads not guilty	News	News
122	5 Nov	5	Son killed to hurt mother	News	News
123	11 Nov	7	Pregnant woman brutally raped	News	News
124	14 Nov	5	Youngman kills lover then himself	News	News
125	18 Nov	4	Double murderer loses appeal	Crime and courts	News
126	19 Nov	4	Domestic worker rapes boss	Crime and courts	News
127	21 Nov	5	Swakopmund residents denounce GBV	News	News
128	26 Nov	4	Man accused of burning girlfriend off the hook	Crime and courts	News
129	5 Dec	4	Rape victim fears for her life	Crime and courts	News
130	12 Dec	4	GBV cases on increase	News	News

The Namibian newspaper 2013 articles: $n=136$

Article no.	Date	Page	Article Title (Headline)	Location section	Article type
1	4 Jan	7	Shaduka still on the run	National news	News
2	7 Jan	5	Oshakati nurse stabbed to death	National news	News
3	8 Jan	1	Namibia in a social crisis: Rape rampage continues unabated	Front page	News
4	8 Jan	5	Nurse murderer suspect in court	National news	News
5	16 Jan	2	Girls detained for wearing hotpants	Inside news	News
6	21 Jan	2	Rape 'unlimited' in Swakopmund	National news	News
7	22 Jan	5	Week of rape, homicide and suicide	National news	News
8	22 Jan	7	The fight over the mini	Opinion	Opinion
9	28 Jan	1	Woman stabbed fifty times	Front page	News
10	28 Jan	7	Man convicted of rape of four year old	National news	News
11	28 Jan	7	Berseba man gets 15 years for child rape	National news	News
12	31 Jan	5	State may appeal incest rape sentence	National news	News
13	1 Feb	6	15 years in prison for rape of child	National news	News
14	5Feb	5	Fugitive murder and rape suspect rearrested	National news	News
15	7 Feb	5	Father fit to be tried over double murder	National news	News
16	15 Feb	1	Pistorius charged with murdering girlfriend	Front page	News
17	18 Feb	1	Stepfather allegedly assaults mother and kill baby	Front page	News
18	18 Feb	3	Man arrested for killing wife, lover	National news	News
19	19 Feb	1	Top cop says miniskirts are not African	Front page	News
20	19 Feb	6	Khorixas school hostels patrolled because of	National news	News

			intruders		
21	19	6	Foreign national's rape trial nears end	National news	News
22	20 Feb	5	Defence lawyers exits murder trials	National news	News
23	20 Feb	5	Man in court for baby's death	National news	News
24	22 Feb	11	General dilemma	Opinion	Cartoon
25	22 Feb	11	Right to wear mini skirts	Opinion	Feature
26	25 Feb	1	Protestors defend mini	Front page	News
27	27	7	Missing girl found dead	National news	News
28	4 Mar	3	Heavy prison term for murder of wife	National news	News
29	4 Mar	5	Young rapist jailed for 17 years	National news	News
30	5 Mar	1	School brutally raped, murdered	Front page	News
31	6 Mar	1	Rapist gets 90 years	Front page	News
32	8 Mar	10	Namibian men view women as commodities	Opinion	Opinion
33	11 Mar	7	Foreign national found guilty of rape	News	News
34	20 Mar	3	Rape accused passes mental health test	National news	News
35	22 Mar	7	Family opposes bail for murder accused	National news	News
36	22 Mar	7	Man accused of molesting daughters	National news	News
37	2 Apr	5	Seven rape cases reported	National news	News
38	4 Apr	3	A nation under attack	National news	News
39	4 Apr	3	Young woman murdered at Arandis	National news	News
40	5 Apr	1	The last hours of a beautiful life	News	News
41	5 Apr	6	35 years in prison over Karasburg rapes	National news	News
42	5 Apr	6	Arandis woman laughed at killer	Front page	News
43	8 Apr	3	Rape, stabbing mar weekend	National news	News
44	9 Apr	5	Foreigner jailed for 12	National	News

			years for child molestation	news	
45	10 Apr	2	Swakop murder accused wants lawyer	Inside news	News
46	11	6	Violence worries Nghidinwa	National news	News
47	11 Apr	5	Accused man convicted of murdering ex-girlfriend	National news	News
48	12 Apr	5	Grieving mother berates daughter's killer	National news	News
49	15 Apr	6	Churches and police tackle violence	National news	News
50	15 Apr	3	Lazarus Shaduka still on the run	National news	News
51	15 Apr	2	Murder and rape continue unchecked	National news	News
52	17 Apr	2	Father of 33 jailed for murder	Inside news	News
53	19 Apr	3	Son convicted of murdering mother	National news	News
54	22 Apr	5	Another woman killed in the North	National news	News
55	22 Apr	3	A mother's murder after a life adrift	National news	News
56	23 Apr	5	Murder suspect in court	National news	News
57	8 May	3	Ngatjizeko grapple with treason for murder	National news	News
58	10May	15	Rape and murder need serious intervention	Letters	Opinion
59	13May	1	Rape tops crime in Namibia	Front page	News
60	13May	3	SWAPO women speak against passion killing	National news	News
61	13May	7	Bail for birthday party murder suspect	National news	News
62	13May	6	Murder sentencing awaits Ngatjizeko	National news	News
63	13May	6	Nurse accused of raping patient at clinic	National news	News
64	13May	6	Former minister Konjore faces assault charges	National news	News
65	22 May	5	Wife killer given 30 years in jail	National news	News
66	22 May	5	Triple rape conviction	National news	News
67	24	3	Teen's killer jailed for 35	National	News

	May		years	news	
68	27 May	2	Another woman brutally killed in Ongandjera	National news	News
69	28 May	5	Namibian women missing in rights	Inside news	News
70	29 May	5	Accused admits deadly assault on child	National news	News
71	5 June	3	Guilty verdict in Henties murder trial	National news	News
72	10 June	5	Increasing domestic violence disturbing	National news	News
73	11 June	3	Konjore and company in court for assault	National news	News
74	12 June	1	Heavy term for Henties killer	Front page	News
75	12 June	5	Longtrip in vain for DNA expert	National news	News
76	13 June	7	Child murder trial judgement reserved	National news	News
77	19 June	1	Killer son jailed for 40 years	Front page	News
78	26 June	3	33 years for rape and murder	National news	News
79	27 June	1	Healer convicted on multiple rape charges	Front page	News
80	24 June	1	Missing woman gruesomely killed	Front page	News
81	1 July	1	No to gender violence	Front page	News
82	9 July	3	Top official arrested for rape	Inside news	News
83	10 July	3	Likoro out on rape bail	National news	News
84	11 July	1	90 years for rapist	Front page	News
85	15 July	1	Rapist healer jailed for 25 years	Front page	News
86	16 July	5	City police concerned about violence	National news	News
87	19 July	3	Bail for engineer accused for rape	Inside news	News
88	24 July	22	30 million girls at risk of genital mutilation	International	News
89	26 July	5	Child killer gets sentencing date	National news	News
90	2 Aug	1	Child murder suspect accused of killing ex-	Front page	News

			girlfriend		
91	7 Aug	1	Strangler admits guilt, denies second murder	Front page	News
92	7 Aug	7	Assaulter wants job back	National news	News
93	7 Aug	3	30 years in jail for child killer	News	News
94	7 Aug	6	4 guilty of school gang rape	News	News
95	9 Aug	3	Young men await gang-rape trial verdict	News	News
96	19 Aug	5	Confession allowed in wife killing trial	National news	News
97	21 Aug	5	Double rape trial judgement reserved	National news	News
98	28 Aug	3	Two deny murder, rape charges	National news	News
99	29 Aug	3	Rundu woman brutally killed	News	News
100	30 Aug	2	Engineer's rape case goes to high court	Inside news	News
101	11 Sept	1	Strangler jailed for 31 years	Front page	News
102	6 Sept	3	Robbers killed wife, teacher	News	News
103	9 Sept	5	Pastor allegedly rapes woman	National news	News
104	16 Sept	5	Former detective jailed four years	National news	News
105	20 Sept	3	Soldier guns down girlfriend kills self	National news	News
106	25 Sept	3	Trial date set for strangler	National news	News
107	1 Oct	1	Man accused of raping, killing step daughter	Front page	News
108	3 Oct	3	Double murder suspect declared mentally ill	National news	News
109	9 Oct	3	Passed out rapist to be sentenced	National news	News
110	10 Oct	1	Abuse impairs woman's speech	Front page	News
112	14 Oct	5	Drunken rape leads to 15 years in jail	National news	News
113	15 Oct	5	Grootfontein man arrested over girlfriend's death	National news	News
114	16	3	GBV on the increase:	National	News

	Oct		Nghidinwa	news	
115	17 Oct	1	Chief encourages sharing of wives with friends	Front page	News
116	18 Oct	5	Accused found guilty on three rape counts	National news	News
117	21 Oct	7	Likoro rape case awaits PG's decision	National news	News
118	25 Oct	3	Ex-minister Konjore fined for assaulting woman	National news	News
119	31 Oct	1	Rape still reign in Namibia	Front page	News
120	5 Nov	5	Stabbing suspect convicted of murder	National news	News
121	8 Nov	1	Witness claims killer licked blood off knife	Front page	News
122	12 Nov	3	De Jay gets judgement date	National news	News
123	12 Nov	5	Double murder appeal bid dismissed	National news	News
124	14 Nov	5	Knife licking killer guilty of murder	National news	News
125	15 Nov	7	Verdict reserved in knife murder trial	National news	News
126	19 Nov	3	32 years in jail for knife licking killer	National news	News
127	25 Nov	1	Breaking silence on gender violence	Front page	News
128	25 Nov	3	Estranged man shoots step daughter, kills himself	National news	News
129	28Nov	3	Man axes mother to death, injures sister	National news	News
130	29 Nov	1	Florins own up, aims for parole	Front page	News
131	29 Nov	7	Silence place women greater risk- Dausab	National news	News
132	3 Dec	3	Lovelorn man harasses business woman	National news	News
133	3Dec	5	Murder accused still absent	National news	News
134	5 Dec	3	Protection units ineffective for gender violence victims- LAC	National news	News
135	6 Dec	6	Ruling reserved on murder admissions	National news	News
136	9 Dec	7	Man who raped niece	National	News

			jailed for 17 years	news	
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Appendix B: Illustrations



Illustration 1: New Era, July 25, 2013, “Assault victims withdraw cases”, p.2

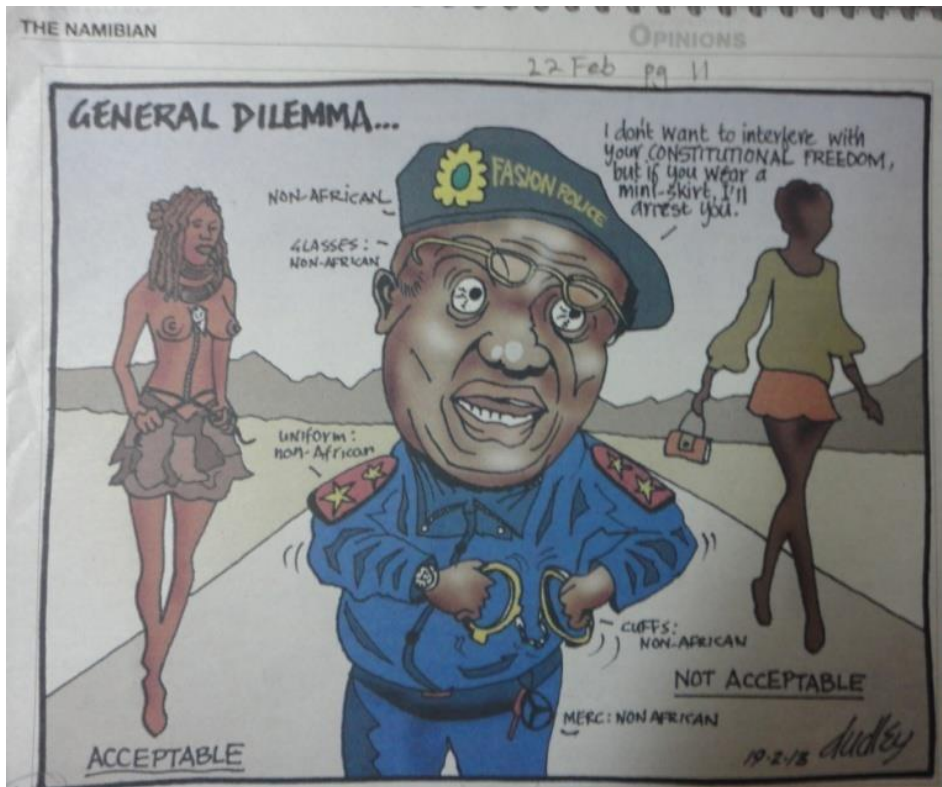


Illustration 2: The Namibian, February 22, 2013, "General Dilemma", p.11



Inspector General Sebastian Ndeitunga

Top cop says miniskirts are not African

• SHINOVENE IMMANUEL

NAMIBIAN Police Inspector General Sebastian Ndeitunga has warned women to refrain from wearing miniskirts that are “too short and revealing” in public because it’s not acceptable in the African culture.

Ndeitunga told *The Namibian* yesterday that the police do not want to interfere in citizens’ constitutional freedom but there is a “need to underline the importance of culture, especially to our young people and that includes what they wear”. Those wearing “revealing” clothes will be arrested, Ndeitunga warned.

Nampa recently reported that more than 40 girls were arrested at Rundu over the past festive season after they were spotted wearing hot-pants.

The police said wearing these very short pants amounted to public indecency. The girls were held overnight and released the next morning after being warned in the presence of their parents not to appear in public “half naked”, which was said to amount to public indecency.

Ndeitunga said the same would be done in the rest of Namibia.

Illustration 3: The Namibian, February 19, 2013, “Top Cop says miniskirts are not African”, p.1



Illustration 4: The Namibian, February 25, 2013, "Protestors defend the mini", p.1



THIS USED TO BE ME

... This picture shows Bernadette Eises (54) in better days, not long before she was verbally and physically abused by Moses Fillipus (34), who appeared in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court in Katutura yesterday and was denied bail.



Photos: Nomhle Kangootui.

Abuse impairs woman's speech

• NOMHLE KANGOOTUI

THE law finally caught up with Moses Fillipus when he was denied bail yesterday at the Windhoek Magistrate's Court in Katutura, after his lover had reported him repeatedly for allegedly assaulting her.

Bernadette Eises (54) spent three years trying to hide her abusive relationship and hoping that her boyfriend might eventually change. Eises, who repeatedly made unsuccessful attempts to report Fillipus to the authorities, laid a final charge with the authorities after Fillipus allegedly tried to kill her and left her speech-impaired.

Eises, who is significantly older than her alleged abuser Fillipus (34) (whose real name is Ngitira Petrus Siduwa), was struggling to speak in an interview with *The Namibian*, but received assistance from her younger sister who said on her behalf: "I was strong-minded, independent and a businesswoman in Walvis Bay but it took him only three years to take all that away from me, including my speech".

She further said: "At first he (Fillipus) was very sweet, so I was feeling blessed to have someone as caring as him and gave him everything he asked for.

ABUSE: continued on page 2

Illustration 5: The Namibian, October 1, 2013, "Abuse impairs woman's speech", p.1

Appendix C: Coding Sheet and Guide

Coding Sheet

Name of newspaper:

Date of publication: _____

Location of article (page): _____

Headline of the article

1. Article type

- News _____
- Feature _____
- Commentary _____

2. Theme of the article

2.1 Themes

- Court trials _____
- Discussions/workshop/protest _____
- Actual incident report _____
- If other please specify _____

2.2 Types of VAW mentioned mostly

- Rape _____
- Beating/abuse/assault _____
- Murder _____
- Passion killing _____

3. Sources

- Officials e.g government, NGOs _____
- Victims/survivor _____

- Perpetrators _____
- Police officers _____
- Relatives _____
- Social workers _____
- Judiciary _____
- Community members _____
- Other _____

4. Frames

Responsibility frame

- Does the article suggest that the victims, perpetrator, society, government or any other as responsible for the VAW crime? Yes/ No

Morality frame

- Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets? Yes/ No
- Does the article offer social prescriptions about how to behave towards the problem?

Human interest frame

- Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue? Yes/ No

Consequence frame

- Does the article indicate any consequences of VAW be it health, economic, political etc? Yes/ No

Conflict Frame

- Does the story reflect disagreement between individuals or groups? Yes/ No

Coding Guide

1. Types of VAW mentioned mostly

- Rape - refers to having a forced sex.
- Beating, assault, verbal abuse - causing a physical or psychological harm on a woman
- Passion killing – killings of women resulting from excessive passion from outrage, jealousy, heartbreak etc, (common crime in Namibia of late)
- Murder -killing a woman because of her sex.

3. Sources

- Refers to as name(s) of a person, group or organisation that are quoted directly or indirectly in the news article.

4. Types of Framing

- Conflict frame – when the story provides two or more opposing views or statements.
- Human interest frame- when the story involves people and their testimonies about VAW.
- Responsibility frame – when the story suggests individuals or an organisation should take actions on the issue.
- Morality frame - when the story involves cultural, religious or human right perspectives.

- Consequence frame – when the story mentions the impact of VAW on an individuals, society, economy or country.