

**AN ANALYSIS OF KENYA'S MAINSTREAM PRINT MEDIA'S USAGE OF
OBJECTIFICATION AND ANCHORING TO REPRESENT THE KENYAN
INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT CASES IN THE *DAILY NATION* AND
THE STANDARD NEWS ARTICLES**

BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA STUDIES**

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis entitled **An Analysis of Kenya's Mainstream Print Media's Usage of Objectification and Anchoring to Represent The Kenyan International Criminal Court Cases in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* News Articles**, is my original work, that it has never been presented in any institution of higher learning for the award of a degree certificate and that the sources cited within the text have been duly acknowledged. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without prior permission of the author and/or Maseno University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Mr. Fredrick Oduor and Mrs. Consolata Oduor, for the good educational foundation they gave me.

ABSTRACT

The media play a central role in disseminating information with the aim of creating awareness of topical issues, including legal issues. Various studies have also established that news from the media is the popular source of information on current events. Similarly, public knowledge, beliefs and attitudes towards legal systems are largely shaped by the media information they receive, thus, the need for examining the content and nature of information being disseminated by the media. Correspondingly, the Social Representation Theory offers a framework for studying how the media communicates about issues through the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring, with the aim of creating awareness and promoting understanding. Embedded within these mechanisms are elements of metaphors, antinomies, naming, personification, thematic anchoring, emotional anchoring and objectification, which facilitate knowledge through their various interpretations. It is against this backdrop that this study examines how two Kenyan newspapers used objectification and anchoring to represent the ICC process involving six Kenyans accused of being key perpetrators of the 2007/08 Post-Election Violence. The objectives of this study therefore were; to identify and describe elements of objectification and anchoring used in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC process in selected weekday issues of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, to examine how the newspapers exploited the various interpretations of the identified elements of objectification and anchoring in their coverage of the Kenyan ICC process and to establish the implications of objectification and anchoring mechanisms on the media messages in order to decipher the overall representation of the ICC process by the two newspapers. This study was guided by Serge Moscovici's Social Representation Theory (SRT) that allows for an in-depth analysis of how the media creates meaning through the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring. An analytical research design was employed in analysing and evaluating the media messages. A three-step purposive sampling method was used in selecting first, the two newspapers because they are market leaders, then the period of analysis to cover the confirmation of charges hearing proceedings at the ICC, providing a population of 86 newspaper issues produced between the months of September and October 2011. Finally, relevant content was sampled to produce a sample size of 38 news articles. A coding sheet was used in collecting the data which was then analysed quantitatively to record the frequency of occurrence of the identified elements of representations and qualitatively to study their inherent meanings. The identified elements of objectification and anchoring were found to be fused with ideological undertones that served in representing the ICC process as a struggle or war between the prosecution and the defence teams. It is therefore hoped that the media fraternity can utilize these findings to develop media moderation when reporting on potentially polarising issues like court processes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Dedication	iv
Abstract	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	ix
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
List of Newspaper Extracts	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background Information	1
1.2.1 Kenyan ICC Cases	4
1.2.2 Media Representation Mechanisms	7
1.3 Statement of the Problem	11
1.4 Research Questions	12

1.5 Objectives of the Study	12
1.6 Significance of the Study	13
1.7 Scope of the Study	13
1.8 Theoretical Framework	14
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Elements of Representation and Their Usage in the Media	17
2.3 Implications of Elements of Objectification and Anchoring on media messages	22
2.4 The Social Representation Theory in Communication Research	28
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	31
3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Research Design	31
3.3 Study Area	31
3.4 Study Population	32
3.4 Sampling Procedure	33
3.6 Sample Size	34
3.7 Data Collection Method	34
3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation	35

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	39
4.1 Introduction	39
4.2 Elements of Objectification and Anchoring Used in the <i>Daily Nation</i> and <i>The Standard</i> Newspapers	39
4.3 How the Newspapers Exploited the Various Interpretations of the Identified Elements of Representation	54
4.4 Implications of Objectification and Anchoring Mechanisms on the Media Messages	70
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	88
5.1 Introduction	88
5.2 Summary of Findings	88
5.3 Conclusion	89
5.4 Recommendations	91
5.5 Suggestions for Further Research	92
REFERENCES	93
APPENDICES	111
APPENDIX 1	111
APPENDIX 2	115

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
EU	European Union
FACS	Facial Action Coding System
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KTN	Kenya Television Network
NMG	Nation Media Group
NNL	Networked News Lab
NTV	Nation Television Network
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PEV	Post - Election Violence
PNU	Party of National Unity
SGL	Standard Group Limited
SRT	Social Representation Theory
WSD	Word Sense Disambiguation

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: News articles with pictures	39
Table 1.2: News articles with captions explaining pictures.....	40
Table 1.3: News articles that used antinomies.....	43
Table 1.4: News articles with thematic anchoring.....	45
Table 1.5: News articles with metaphors.....	48
Table 1.6: News articles personification mechanism.....	50
Table 1.7: News articles with naming mechanism	52
Table 1.8: Classification of metaphors in the news articles.....	64

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Types of names used by the newspapers when reporting on ICC process.....	53
Figure 1.2: Various emotions evoked by the pictures used in the newspaper articles	55
Figure 1.3: Emerging themes identified in the news articles.....	58
Figure 1.4: Types of emerging personification identified in the news articles.....	67

LIST OF NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

Extract 1:	41
Extract 2:	41
Extract 3:	56
Extract 4:	56
Extract 5:	57
Extract 6:	57
Extract 7:	58
Extract 8:	71
Extract 9:	72
Extract 10:	72
Extract 11:	73
Extract 12:	73
Extract 13:	73
Extract 14:	74
Extract 15:	75
Extract 16:	75
Extract 17:	76
Extract 18:	85

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the background to the study and analyses the knowledge gap that necessitated the study as well as the objectives, significance of study and the theoretical argument behind the study. It also highlights the development of the International Criminal Court and the Kenyan cases being examined there.

1.2 Background to the Study

The socialising role of the media in their various forms cannot be gainsaid. Barak (1994) contends that media communication provides an avenue through which a person learns of the world outside his or her immediate experience and this information is often used to supplement their knowledge and perceptions of the world (Fishman, 1980). According to Kellner (1995), the images created and disseminated by the media play a role in shaping our views and opinions of the world's values which include what we consider good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil. Therefore, how the media represents social issues greatly determines how their audiences may understand and support them (Surette, 1992; Picard, 1998).

Empirical evidence from various scholars such as Okoro (1993), Okigbo (1992) and Moemeka (1991) also show that the media in Africa function as agents for transmitting information and news needed to balance the knowledge gap and to stimulate the public's level of interest and participation in development programs (Okoro, 2009). They play an important role in decision making process by providing information, a platform for articulation, aggregation and formation of public opinion (Carrabine, 2008; Surette, 2007).

However, the same media have also often been accused of promoting various negative effects on their audiences, such as violence, discrimination and conflict (Galtung, 1998; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). These allegations are based on the assumption that media discourse is important in shaping the images and representation of events as received by their audiences.

Thus, how the media report about various social issues affects not only their audiences understanding of them but also what they perceive to be the right way to relate to these issues. This line of thinking is further enhanced by the growing realization that media news is often not a mirror of reality, but rather a representation of the world, and that all these representations being selective make it impossible to have an absolute truth about media representations (Schudson, 2003). Therein then lays the need in continuous examination of the various representation mechanisms employed by the media (Schudson, 2003; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

Similar concerns have also been raised regarding media operations in Kenya, where there exists a plural, sophisticated and robust mass media and communication sector that serves the various competing political, social, economic, cultural and technological needs of diverse interest groups (British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 2008). There are over 8 daily newspapers and over 10 weekly newspapers in the country and it is estimated that about 2.2 million town folk read newspapers daily compared to 2.6 million rural folk who do not (Mbeke & Mshindi, 2008). This means that newspaper readership as at the year 2008 stood at 23 percent of the total population (Simiyu, 2013). The key independent print media are the Nation Media Group, The Standard Group, People Limited and the Times Media Group. There is no government-owned or controlled newspaper in the country (Bowen, 2010).

Politicians in the country have also taken interest in media ownership. However, this linkage between the politicians and the media has often led to the media being accused of providing political news that favours politicians aligned to them and in the same breath, some of the indigenous media outlets have also been accused of inciting one community against the other (BBC, 2008). For instance, the role of the Kenyan media in the 2007 Post-Election Violence (PEV) has repeatedly been questioned. They have been accused of taking sides in the run up to the 2007 election (Mbeke & Mshindi, 2008), and also that some media houses were sensational in their reporting, which in turn could have unnecessarily alarmed their audiences and inflamed their passions. As a result it could have been difficult for the public to tell the position of various leading media from that of various political parties (Mutua, 2008).

Likewise, Msungu (2008) accuses the Kenyan media of failing in its public watchdog role when they failed to recognize and highlight the main reasons behind the PEV but instead reduced it to a two-man war affair, between the leaders of the two political parties; Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU). However a report by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, 2008), asserts that the same media also played a significant role in mobilizing national and international opinion to promote peace and reconciliation in the country. This in turn may have had a constructive move that helped to reunify Kenya (Ogenga 2012, Mbeke & Mshindi, 2008, Mutua, 2008). This then highlights the significant socialising role that the Kenyan media can play within the society, especially in regard to unifying their audiences towards a course.

Conversely, Nyabuga (2009) contends that despite there having been a relative improvement in the Kenyan media's coverage and interaction with Kenya's politics, civil society, the constitution and the International Criminal Court (ICC), there is still need to improve on the quality of their reporting regarding these issues so as to ensure that they provide their audiences with balanced information at all times.

It is against this backdrop that the Kenyan media have actively reported on the ICC process involving the Kenyan PEV suspects. However, questions bordering on the quality of their content have continued to be raised, based on how they have covered the ICC process (Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2011). For example, a study conducted by Networked News Lab (NNL, 2013) on some of the mainstream media outlets discovered that the press, because of their need to fill the newspapers with content and working in an environment where they have to compete for the scoop, have been in a hurry to report on the proceedings with each development deemed newsworthy which in turn may have greatly impacted on the quality of information provided (NNL, *ibid*). This then sets the stage for further analysis of the media content to decode the overarching representation of the ICC process by the Kenyan press so as to establish the messages received by the Kenyan public regarding the process.

1.2.1 Kenyan ICC Cases

The International Criminal Court investigation in Kenya was instituted to find and bring to book those responsible for the 2007–2008 Post-Election Violence in Kenya. In 2010, the then serving ICC prosecutor Mr. Loius Moreno Ocampo, initiated court proceedings against two Kenyan cases. The suspects in case I faced three counts of crimes against humanity (murder, forcible transfer of population, and persecution), with William Ruto and Henry Kosgey charged as alleged indirect co-perpetrators and Joshua Sang charged as allegedly otherwise contributing to the commission of the crimes. While The suspects in case II faced five counts of crimes against humanity (murder, rape, forcible transfer of population, persecution and other inhuman acts), with Francis Muthaura and Uhuru Kenyatta charged as alleged indirect co-perpetrators and Mohammed Ali as allegedly otherwise contributing to the commission of the crimes (Lynch & Zgonec-Rožej (2013).

On 31 March 2010, Pre-Trial Chamber II authorized the Prosecution to open an investigation in the situation in Kenya, in relation to the 2007-2008 post-election violence in that country. On 8th March 2011, Pre-Trial Chamber II issued, by majority, summonses to appear for the six Kenyan suspects known colloquially as the "Ocampo six", who appeared voluntarily before the Court on 7 and 8 April 2011 ("The International Criminal Court," n.d.).

Confirmation of charges hearings followed in September 2011 with charges against Ruto, Kenyatta, Joshua Arap Sang and Francis Muthaura being confirmed in January 2012. Then in March 2013, and a few days after Kenyatta and Ruto were announced President and Deputy President elect, charges against Muthaura were dropped ("The International Criminal Court," n.d.; Lynch & Zgonec-Rožej, 2013).

The ICC's intervention in Kenya has thus become about much more than the trials of three individuals for their alleged role in the post-election violence, given that some of the accused persons are now serving as the country's President and Deputy President. Correspondingly, Simiyu (2013) contends that the issue of the Court process received massive amounts of space in both print and electronic media. Even the blogosphere was awash with the trials and their consequences on both the political and democratic processes in Kenya. For instance, the Global

Reporting Website posits that the ICC prosecution split Kenya in two; those fully supporting the ICC trial because they see no other way to bring justice to the victims of the violence and those who view the international body as partial and supportive of the opposition side in Kenyan politics.

Likewise, independent surveys conducted immediately before and after the commencement of the ICC process found that an overwhelming majority of the general public perceived the ICC as the most trustworthy, independent and reliable forum that could punish the perpetrators of the 2007/8 PEV. For example, a survey conducted by Infotrack Research & Consulting (November, 2009) showed that the public's support was 62% for the ICC trials while 2% were in support of a local tribunal to be held in Kenya. Similarly, a poll by Ipsos Synovate (October, 2010) indicated that the public's support for the ICC trials was at 54% against 22% for local tribunal. In line with this, Materu (2014) posits that the process received endorsements from numerous quarters like the Kenyan Catholic Church, African Centre for International Legal & Policy Research and other civil society organisation. This then highlights the level of the Kenyan public's support for the court, despite the fact that majority of Kenyans were being introduced to the court and its process for the first time during the confirmation of charges hearings (Musila, 2009).

Seeing as the Kenyan media have been shown to be influential in providing the public with information regarding the ICC process, it is then of significance to find out how they have represented the process to their audiences through their reporting. This is due to the fact that a majority of people receive much of their impressions and knowledge of the criminal justice system through the media (Mc Neely, 1995; Dowler, 2003). Various scholars have also accredited the significant role of the media in providing their audiences with knowledge and information regarding crimes, criminal and justice systems (Marsh, 2014; Chan, 2013). For instance, Marsh (2014) posits that even if people might have first-hand understanding of the justice system, it is almost inevitable that their ideas and understanding of the system will have come from the media reporting they have consumed. He argues that it is then sensible and realistic to accept that media representations become real for many of their audiences. Consequently, he advocates for continued examination of the manner and style in which the media represents criminal and justice systems and process in order to understand the ways in which such representations might impact on the target audiences.

Similarly, in the context of the Kenyan cases at the ICC, how the Kenyan media represented the process could affect their audiences' understanding and knowledge of the court and its processes. Also, given that the ICC as an institution is dependent upon state parties' support and cooperation to function, it is possible that without favourable representations, the ICC may not be seen as a legitimate institution and state cooperation and public support towards it could diminish (Clark, 2010). Similarly, the media's representations of the Court could potentially impact public opinion, state support, and ultimately the overall functioning of the Court.

Conversely, a report by the Crisis Group (2011) asserts that initially the ICC enjoyed tremendous goodwill in the Kenyan media. They attribute this to the fact that because of the history of impunity in Kenya, the media felt that supporting international trials was a public duty to them. However, the report further contends that immediately following the naming of the six suspects, the suspects themselves embarked on an extensive and sophisticated media campaign to cast themselves as victims of the court and of machinations by political opponents' intent on preventing their participation in the 2012 general elections. This further emphasises the involvement of the Kenyan media in the ICC process from the onset. However, several scholars concur that some media outlets, have been biased in their coverage towards the government and the opposition parties and their leaders (Simiyu, 2013; Ogenga, 2012; Nyabuga, 2009; Mutua, 2008).

Alai & Mue (2010), in their briefing argue that it is important that in a volatile and polarized political context such as in the case of Kenya, ICC investigations and processes should be perceived as fair, independent, neutral, and impartial and that they concern all those alleged to bear the greatest criminal responsibility, without respect to ethnic background or political affiliation. They further contend that if the Prosecutor is perceived to be balancing the number of people investigated from each group (for example, by having equal number of suspects from each political divide) or if he is perceived as putting the blame on one group over the other, further tensions may emerge. One of the ways through which the public can perceive the neutrality or lack of, of the process is through the media messages they consume. Thus, it is important that the media while undertaking their role of informing and educating their Kenyan audiences regarding the ICC process should ensure that they remain neutral in their reporting and provide a social representation of the process that will cut across the existing subjective

inclinations (such as ethnic and political affiliations) of their audiences, thus disseminating a uniform message and understanding amongst their audiences.

1.2.2 Media Representation Mechanisms

The media often employ the art of representation in their endeavour to inform and educate their audiences. Media representations are the various ways through which the media depicts particular groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics from a certain ideological perspective. Hall (1997) describes representation as made up of two different systems; mental representation and language representations. This study focuses on representation through language, where language in this context refers to the written, spoken and visual elements used in the communication process. Hall (ibid), posits that representation through language helps us to make sense of the world we live in, and we are able to express a complex thought about these things to other people or communicate about them through language in ways through which other people are able to understand them. According to Mackay (1997), any sound, word, image or object which functions as a sign and is organised with other signs into a system which is capable of carrying and expressing meaning is language. Representation is therefore the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language (Hall, 1997; Mackay, 1997).

In his essay on the role of the media in transmitting ideologies, Hall (1980) posited that the media, as a principal form of ideological dissemination, produces representations of the social world through the images and portrayals they use in their messages. According to him, the media uses the art of representation to communicate or transform complex ideas into what is perceived as actual and tangible. In agreement with Hall, a significant body of research (Ross, 1992; Croteau & Hoynes, 1997; Dimpleby & Graeme, 2001) suggests that the media, as a key transmitter of representations and as a major source of information within society, has the power to control and shape attitudes and beliefs held by their audiences. For example, Ross' (1992) study on the relationship between white people's perceptions of ethnic minorities and television representation of the minorities demonstrated that attitudes of whites towards non-whites were influenced by media representations of the latter. In her study she recommends for continued studies on the issue of representation in the media because of the cultural power that the media

possesses, since the way the media represents different socio-political issues may influence the way their audiences understand these issue.

The media uses various mechanisms such as propaganda, stereotyping, framing, objectification and anchoring, to enhance their art of representation. This study focuses on objectification and anchoring as advanced by the Social Representation Theory (SRT) (Moscovici, 1973). By analysing their various elements, these two concepts can be used in understanding how new social representations are developed when various elements of representations are included in a message(Moscovici, *ibid*).

Moscovici (2001; 1973) describes social representations as systems of values, ideas and practices that create a common understanding of a phenomenon or strange concept, by providing a code for social exchange, naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of the phenomenon. These systems are achieved through the various elements of representation embedded in the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring.

Anchoring promotes the categorisation of unfamiliar phenomena through their comparison with already existing, familiar and culturally accessible objects (Moscovici, 1984). As a mechanism, anchoring encompasses elements such as naming; emotional anchoring that is achieved through language, illustrations or photographs; metaphors and antinomies.

Objectification on the other hand is the process whereby unfamiliar and abstract phenomena are transformed into concrete common-sense realities by attributing to them physical characteristics thereby making them easier to relate to and understand. In order to objectify a phenomenon, the media might personify or emotionally objectify it through images that will give it physical attributes. For example, in order for a community to develop an understanding of a complex phenomenon such as the ICC process, it must first be named and attributed familiar and physical characteristics, which will facilitate communication and discussion about it.

Social representations therefore play an important role in communication because their existence allows an issue to be debated, rejected or defended, depending on an individual's interests and motivations (Höijer, 2009; Olausson, 2010). Conversely, Billig (1993) and van Dijk, (2000) posit that an analytical approach to the study of anchoring and objectification can expose how these

processes function discursively in the domain of media text through the analysis of print media. This approach has similarly been used in the current study to identify and decode the various social representations of the ICC process involving the Kenyan suspects as advanced by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers.

Empirical researches on media effects (Okoro, 2009; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005) have also found that as sources of information, news media such as the press have the ability to shape their readers' views and perspectives regarding social issues in their social milieus. These studies show that consumers of news media will subjectively decode the contents of news stories they receive in order to make sense of and create meaning from them in a way that resonates with their own life experiences. In agreement with this, Moscovici (1998) in his theory posits that the media when using the process of anchoring, aim at reducing strange ideas into ordinary categories and images by setting them within familiar context that their audience can use to help them understand. On the other hand, objectification aims at turning an abstract idea into something almost concrete by relating it to something existing in the physical world (Moscovici, 1984). Thus, according to Moscovici (ibid), without these mental representations, media consumers may not be able to interpret information in order to make it understandable.

As Moscovici (1984) noted, social representations may be formulated through the actions and communications between members of a society. Once formed, they provide us with a way of understanding and communicating what we already know. Depending on how the public understands these representations, they may also act as guides for action (Abric, 1994). Therefore, recognising the various implications of the social representations we use is important when we want to effectively communicate. The same can also be said of media communications where different elements of representations such as naming, metaphors, photographs or personification, are used to aid in the interpretation of a social phenomenon.

Consequently, researches involving content analysis of media texts have continued to focus on assessing the various implications of media representations by decoding the hidden messages within the texts (Markova, 2003; Olausson, 2010; Ogenga, 2012). In line with this, Van Dijk (2000) advocates for studying news articles with the aim of highlighting how social issues are covered by the print media and making inferences to their possible denotations. Hier &

Greenberg (2002) also advocate for thematic mapping of news texts as a means of revealing embedded media messages. This in turn helps in understanding the overall information that the media want their audience to have and use when relating a social phenomenon.

Bauer and Gaskell (1999) similarly developed a framework to be used in the study of social representations. The framework advances the analysis of media content and the process of social representations within a media text. Using the same framework, Olausson (2010) by focusing on antinomies, emotional anchoring and objectification in a detailed analysis on selected European newspapers, was able to uncover a concealed but emerging European identity in the media reporting on climate change. This study similarly sought to employ the same methodology, in order to find and decode the various representation elements used by the Kenyan print media to represent the ICC court process involving the Kenyan suspects, with the overall aim being to unearth the overarching social representation of the ICC process as advanced by the two newspapers.

However, despite the fact that all representations aim at making the unfamiliar familiar, some media scholars (Schudson, 2003; Gripsund, 2002) have problematized the role of representation in communication by arguing that media representations are neither objective nor democratic, as not all groups in society are equally represented. For example, Gripsund (2002) warns that representations are often a construction of the reality and may not be a reflection of the real thing. Thus, according to her, when studying representations, it is important to note that there might exist a double meaning to any element of representation. Nonetheless, as posited by Hall (1997) and Moscovici (2001), the media, when using the various forms of representation and regardless of their possible interpretations, always aim at communicating one central theme or ideology. Thus, when studying elements of representation it is important to decode their various interpretations in order to find out the overarching message being passed in the media texts.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The media have been shown to use the art of representation to communicate or transform complex ideas into what is perceived as familiar and concrete. They do this through images and language that their audiences can relate to in order to understand and make sense of an issue.

Correspondingly, proponents of the Social Representation Theory(SRT) posit that the media, in their endeavour to inform and educate their audiences, will employ representation mechanisms of objectification and anchoring in order to make abstract issues, comprehensible by setting them within familiar context understood by their audiences. They further contend that embedded within these mechanisms are elements of metaphors, antinomies, naming, personification, thematic anchoring and emotional anchoring and objectification, which facilitate knowledge and understanding based on their inherent interpretations.

Based on the notion that a majority of people rely on the media for information regarding a phenomenon and that it is this information that shapes their knowledge, belief and attitudes towards the phenomenon, several researchers have therefore used the SRT to reveal how the media attempts to make unfamiliar familiar and to create meaning through the various elements of representation. However, these studies have either focussed on studying single elements of representation at a time, although the theory allows for the analysis of many elements of representation as a means of understanding emerging social representations that promote knowledge of a phenomenon.

Consequently, working on the premise that the ICC process presented a phenomenon that needed to be highlighted by the Kenyan media, this study while using the tenets of the SRT, seeks to analyse the various elements of representation used by two leading newspapers in the country; *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers and to decode their various interpretations in order to decipher how the process was portrayed by the newspapers.

1.4 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions:

- i) What elements of objectification and anchoring are identifiable in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC cases in the selected weekday issues of *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers?
- ii) How did *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* exploit the various interpretations of the identified elements of objectification and anchoring in their coverage of the Kenyan ICC process?

- iii) What implications did objectification and anchoring mechanisms have on the media messages and the overall representation of the ICC process by the two newspapers?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were:

- i) To identify and describe elements of objectification and anchoring used in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC process in selected weekday issues of *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers.
- ii) To examine how *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers exploited the various interpretations of the identified elements of objectification and anchoring in their coverage of the Kenyan ICC process.
- iii) To establish the implications of objectification and anchoring mechanisms on the media messages in order to decipher the overall representation of the ICC process by the two newspapers.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Research on media representation has largely focused on topics concerning gender, race, ethnicity and morality (Kellner, 1995; Awan, 2008). On the other hand, research on media's representation of legal issues has been minimal despite the fact that legal education and access to legal information are ways of improving peoples' understanding of the civil justice system (Canadian Bar Association, 1996). It is therefore hoped that the findings of this study will be beneficial to both scholars and researchers of communication, media studies and international relations as it will draw attention to how the Social Representation Theory can be employed in studies concerned with decoding how the media makes abstract issues understandable. This study will also contribute to the existing body of literature on media's representation of social issues and it should stimulate further research in this area given that the art of representation is a wide subject.

This study, by examining the nature of representation mechanisms used by the two newspapers, will highlight the dangers inherent in using elements of representation that might have varied

meanings to them, especially when the aim of representation is to provide a common understanding of a phenomenon. It is therefore hoped that the findings of this study might lead the media fraternity to rethink their editorial policies that greatly affect their coverage of issues.

1.7 Scope of the Study

How the media employ the art of representation is a wide subject to cover, however, this study concentrated on objectification and anchoring to help it achieve its objectives.

The scope of the study was limited to the content of the two newspapers despite the fact that in Kenya there exist at least five mainstream newspapers. These two papers were chosen because they are market leaders in terms of readerships, national influence, and representation of diverse geographic areas (Okigbo, 1994; Bowen, 2010). The period of analysis was also limited to the confirmation of charges hearing proceedings at the ICC, because it was the time a majority of the Kenyan public were being introduced to the ICC and its operations (Musila, 2009).

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by Serge Moscovici's Social Representation Theory (SRT) as advanced in his 2001 edition (Moscovici, 2001) for use in communication and media studies. Although originally used in the study of human psychoanalysis, the theory started gaining prominence in media studies when Moscovici studied the spread of psychoanalytic thinking by the media in the French society and their transformation into common social representations (Moscovici, 2001).

As a theory of communication, the social representation theory attempts to link the media and the public through the communicative representation mechanisms of anchoring and objectification. The theory posits that the media, by using the representation mechanisms, provide their audiences with a framework by which they can make sense of their social world and their understanding of social issues affecting them (Moscovici, 1984; 2001; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). Through anchoring, a strange and unknown phenomenon is made known by the media when they relate it to already existing and well-known concepts, so that their audience may compare and interpret it. On the other hand, when using the mechanism of objectifying, the media will attempt

to make the unknown known by transforming it into something concrete that their audience may perceive, touch and understand (Moscovici, 2001; Markova, 2003).

The theory is thus relevant for media and communication research such as this one, because by advancing the two representation mechanisms, media scholars are able to understand and explain how phenomena are communicated and transformed into what is perceived of as common sense knowledge by the public, which eventually aid in their interpretation of them (Bauer, & Gaskell, 1999).

Although the theory has social psychological origin, it has been widely accepted and used by various media scholars (Biling, 1993; Lippman, 1998; Berglez, *et al* 2009; Høijer 2011; Olausson, 2010) to enhance on the media effects debate, by studying how the media and citizens socially represent societal and political issues affecting them. Lippmann (1998) for instance, combined the theory's communication mechanism of naming (through anchoring) with the theory of stereotyping to examine how media messages could be used either knowingly or unknowingly to promote discrimination, power and domination.

Similarly, Joffe (2002) advocates for the use of the theory in media or communication research where the aim is to assess the emotions brought about by using symbols infused with emotional undertones. Based on this line of argument, Høijer (2009) employed the theory to analyse the emotions drawn by the media, when reporting on climate. This study also hopes to contribute to these media effects debate by establishing the inherent communicative power of the two mechanism of objectification and anchoring as used by the two Kenyan newspapers when reporting on the Kenyan ICC cases.

Bauer and Gaskell (1999), also assert that the theory offers a wide range of empirical research methods, both quantitative and qualitative, that can be used in communication research, by providing a possibility of developing a relationship between the theoretical and empirical levels of a research methodology. For example, Jodelet, (1991) advocates for using the theory in anthropological methods where focus groups or interviewing techniques are used, while Duveen (1993) recommends the theory's use in observational techniques where conversational and interaction analysis are being made. De Rosa (1994) also supports using the theory in discourse

and content analysis where both qualitative and quantitative approaches are combined in studying communicative texts and images.

According to the theory, the media while enabling communication to take place amongst members of a community also provides them with a code for social exchange that helps them classify new phenomena in their world. This ideology can be replicated in this study because although having been acquitted with local legal issues occurring in the country (and despite the country having signed a treaty that made it a member state to the ICC), majority of Kenyans were introduced to the ICC and its process by the media and they in turn tried to compare it with the legal process the public were used to (International Crisis Group, 2012). In line with the objective of this study, the theory is thus relevant to this study since one of the objectives of the study is to assess how the two Kenyan newspapers used the communicative mechanisms of objectification and anchoring to represent the Kenyan ICC process. The study uses the theory to provide not only the theoretical basis for the qualitative analysis of the texts and images, but also for the quantitative analysis of the elements of objectification and anchoring used by the two Kenyan newspapers to represented the ICC process.

The first tenet of the theory posits that each of the mechanisms (objectification & anchoring) has elements that help in promoting it. Identifying these elements is useful when studying the mechanisms and their usage in a text. The study quantitatively identified the elements to ascertain their usage and occurrence in the two newspapers.

The second tenet of the theory posits that the various elements of representation facilitate knowledge through their various meanings and effects on users. This study qualitatively analysed the various interpretations of the identified elements in order to understand their implications on the overall representation of the ICC process.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews existing literature on methodologies used in studying elements of representation and their usage by the media, their implications on media messages and literature on media discourses relating to the Social Representation Theory's usage in communication research.

2.2 Elements of Representation and their Usage in the Media

Social representations theorists have identified the mass media to be instrumental in both the formation of social representations and in transforming 'expert knowledge' into what the lay audiences can comprehend (Höjier, 2011; Joffe, 2002; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). For example, Joffe (2002) contends that an individual's first encounter with a social phenomenon is often through the mass media, or via other people relaying information through the mass media. In view of what has been reported in the media, individuals would then forge, shape, and frame perceptions, ideas, and beliefs of the social phenomena, such as domestic violence against women (Boswell, 2003; Sanson et al., 2000).

Information originating from the mass media therefore plays a central role in the Social Representations Theory. The SRT posits that few members of the public have individual access to knowledge about social phenomena, like organ donation or climate change, except through the mass media (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983), thus, a number of studies on social representations in the media have generally begun with an explication of the content and nature of information being disseminated through the media. In this regard, social representations researches have focused on either television news (Harrison *et al*, 2008; Morgan *et al*, 2005) or newspaper reporting of social phenomena (Washer & Joffe, 2006; Johnson, 2010; Wagner & Kronberger, 2001).

Within the field of communication, proponents of SRT (Moscovici, 2001; Markova, 2003; Hoijer, 2009) posit that it is largely concerned with describing the content of representations and predicting what that content will be in any particular group context. It is primarily a functionalist model, thus, much attention is paid to explaining the purpose of representations. Consequently, numerous text-oriented analyses using the SRT have tended to focus on assessing media representation of science (Hoijer, 2011; Morgan *et al*, 2006; Wagner *et al*, 1995) and social issues such as domestic abuse (Isaacs, 2014), organisational change (Andersén, 2014), disability (Foster, 2001) and racism (Johnson, 2010) but few works have examined the media representation of justice process. This study aims at contributing to these studies by examining the emerging social representations of a court process, in particular the ICC process involving the six Kenyan suspects, based on how the Kenyan press employed the mechanism of objectification and anchoring to represent the process.

In this regard, Bauer and Gaskell (1999) developed a framework for the study of social representations, thus providing a possible alternative research methodology to research on social representations. The framework advocates for the analysis of the media content and the process of social representations. They posit that studying representation elements such as images, metaphors and themes allows for the assessment of the function of anchoring, objectification within a text and the organization of social representations for a social group. For example, this study while working on the assumption that the ultimate aim of a qualitative research is to capture a detailed interpretation of text in order to critically understand social phenomena (Da Rocha, 2008), employed a qualitative approach with the aim of decoding the possible interpretations of identified elements of representations in the newspapers under study. This would eventually help in identifying the social representations of the ICC process as disseminated by the two newspapers.

Similarly, both quantitative and qualitative methods have been combined in studying elements of representations as used by the media in their various forms such as print or electronic (Smith, 2003; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). In these studies, content analysis of verbal, visual (both written texts and images) or audio-visual material which are products of media communication, have involved quantifying the occurrence of the various elements in the media texts and their interpretation done by qualitatively assessing language patterns (De Rosa, 1994).

Several SRT researchers have also given special attention to the importance of mass media images as elements of representation, though relatively few have attempted an empirical analysis of the images pertaining to a particular topic in order to decipher the emotional impact that such images might evoke on an individual regarding that topic (Sommer, 1998). This is a gap that the current study seeks to fill by attempting to analyse the possible emotions that the newspaper texts might evoke on their readers. Such an analysis would help in determining how the newspapers employed emotional anchoring and objectification as a means of achieving a social representation of the ICC process. This is in line with Harre (1998), Joffe, (2003) and Lauri & Lauri's (2005) assertion that visual images can assist in the process of anchoring a new phenomenon to something more familiar. For example, in an attempt at illustrating how images can be used to better understand cognitions and emotions about media representations, Lauri and Lauri (2005) asked research participants to engage in a "photo language exercise," where they sorted photos of people taken from magazines into groups that would be likely to be willing to become organ donors and those who would not. The participants rationalized their decisions to group images of "donors" or "non-donors" based on whether they interpreted the photographs as representing educated, generous, or religious people, or alternately as conservative or uncaring. This study clearly shows that consumers of media content often attach emotional interpretations when analysing media texts, especially photographs, as posited by the SRT (Moscovici, 2001).

Similar efforts have been undertaken by other researchers (Höijer, 2011; Kotnik, 2003; Bošnik, 2002). However, these studies have either concentrated on the social representations of a specific discipline (usually scientific) or focused on only one type of representation, such as thematic (Isaacs, 2014), metaphoric (Wagner, Elejabarrieta & Lahnsteiner, 1995) or emotional presentations (Höijer, 2011). Drawing from the methodologies of these previous studies and also in contrast to them, this study without focusing on one type of representation, sets out to examine all available forms of social representations advanced by the two Kenyan newspapers through their usage of both objectification and anchoring (*Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers) and eventually establish the overarching social representation of the ICC process involving the Kenyan suspects.

Correspondingly, many studies have likewise been carried out in an attempt at examining how Kenyan press represent social issues. For example, Ogenga (2012) used a complementary

approach that combines theories of media representation in mainstream journalism with the concepts of peace journalism to analyse how the Kenyan press represented Kenya's war against terror in Somalia; Ojwang (2009) studied how the Kenyan press framed the 2007 PEV, while Mararo & Mberia (2014) studied stereotypes of Kenyan women politicians in newspaper cartoons.

Although these studies employed content analysis as the best technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying and analysing specific characteristics within a text (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999; Newbold *et al*, 2002) none studied how the press employ objectification and anchoring as representation mechanisms, yet as proponents of the SRT (Morgan *et al*, 2005) posit, the two mechanisms can help in explaining how the media develops social representations of new phenomena through their usage of the various elements of objectification and anchoring. Studying the various implications of these elements could help a researcher identify a predominant representation that the media may be extending to their audiences (Markova, 2003).

For example, Mararo and Mberia (2014) studied newspaper cartoons in order to understand how a Kenyan newspaper (*Daily Nation*) stereotypically depicted Kenyan women politicians and whether this could affect how the newspaper readers viewed women politicians in the country. In the study they aimed at exploring the use of stereotypes as forms of gender representation mechanisms. They posit that as forms of communication, newspaper cartoons can serve as representation mechanisms used by newspapers to stereotypically represent various subjects. Despite conceptualising that cartoonists through their images and texts often present their attitudes and opinions to their readers, the study fails to establish these attitudes and opinions. They could do this by analysing the emerging themes in order to establish the overall representation of the women and thereby unearthing the opinions of the cartoonists in the themes.

Moses (2002) acknowledges that when studying images, be they pictures, photographs or cartoons, it is prudent to go further and establish the overall theme in them in order to understand the underlying message in them. Similarly, the current study employs content analysis as a means of identifying and describing the elements of representation used by the daily nation and

standard newspapers in their reportage of the ICC process. The same technique is also employed in examining the inherent interpretations of the elements in order to unearth the overall representation of the process.

The use of specific language in the media has likewise been the subject of a number of investigations, including in the analysis of how the media have represented social phenomena such as climate change (Höijer, 2010; Atieno & Njoroge, 2014), immigrants (Van Dijk, 2000), Cancer (Tanner, 1997) and organ donation (Morgan *et al*, 2005). Van Dijk (2000) for instance, provides an analysis of the language used by news media to describe legal and illegal immigrants, populations with which many citizens have little direct experience. He illustrates how through the use of metaphor, hyperbole, antinomies of “us vs. we” language, the media ignites powerful mental images that can provoke some populations to act in ways that would be incomprehensible to those not exposed to media coverage of an issue.

The choice of words is significant because they activate entire systems of meaning (Markus & Plaut, 2001). This, of course, can be for better or for worse. In line with this, Sontag (1989; 1978) observed that the language used to describe cancer and AIDS, both in the mass media, had a direct impact on the way their audiences developed their schemas for those diseases and in turn, their interpersonal behaviours toward people afflicted with these diseases. For example, while analysing how the media used metaphors when reporting on the diseases, Sontag (1989) contends that using war metaphors when describing the process of “fighting” a disease causes society to view those affected by a disease as “harbouring an enemy”, and because the enemy lives within the body it must be defeated at all costs.

It is therefore in order to posit that language and images from the mass media have a powerful impact on how the recipients understand media messages. Language plays a key role in anchoring the less familiar aspects of an attitude object into existing schemas (Gaskell, 2001). Importantly, it is language that allows us to create a frame for an issue that is new or disturbing to us in some way, thus merging it into a more familiar schema which helps to provide a blueprint for appropriate behaviour with regard to the phenomenon (Hall, 1997). This then calls for continued analysis of media content as a means of discovering and monitoring shifts and patterns in their reporting, especially in regard to a social phenomenon (Neuendorf, 2002). This

can as well be achieved through the analysis of elements of representation such metaphors, antinomies, thematic anchoring and emotional objectification, in order to understand their usage within a media text and how this eventually leads to a social representation of a phenomenon.

2.3 Implications of Elements of Objectification and Anchoring on Media Messages

Most of media studies involving the social representation theory have focused on describing the various forms of representation elements found in objectification and anchoring in order to make inferences to their effects on the subjects being studied. These studies have been enhanced by existing psychological researches that show that emotions may help us to interpret and judge social situations and objects (Bless, Fiedler & Strack, 2004), thus the need to examine media messages in order to unearth their inferences.

In newspapers, for example, visuals have been shown to be important elements of representation and as Moses (2002) noted, graphics, photographs, and headlines get far more attention from readers than text does. He posits that photos have the ability to convey drama, emotion and realism in a way that text alone cannot. He attributes this to the fact that they can have a dramatic impact on a reader's involvement and feelings toward an event or issue reported by the media. Similarly, Graber (1996) argues that combining pictures with words makes the message more memorable and understandable and that the overall content of pictures differs in the emotions they evoke, their immediacy, and environment where they are captured. These elements of a picture can produce dramatic information, which are not necessarily conveyed or included through textual information alone. Thus, readers are more likely to feel emotionally involved in a news story when a photograph is present.

Paivio (1986) also contends that imagery (in a person's mind) is more likely to be evoked by pictures than with words and that affective reactions would usually occur more quickly to pictures than to words because pictures have a more direct access to affect-mediating images in an individual's brain. These emotions serve as heuristics and guide one's decisions with minimal information processing or thought (Dillard & Meijnders, 2002). Affect, therefore, plays an important part in determining how individuals view events. If an event is determined to be beneficial to an individual then it is likely to trigger a positive emotion, and when an event is

considered to be harmful to an individual it is likely to trigger a negative emotion (Mesquita & Karasawa, 1999). This is the same premise that media scholars rely on when studying emotional objectification and anchoring (Höijer, 2011; Markova, 2003, Jodelet, 1991). They posit that the media when reporting on a strange phenomenon will objectify it by relating the issue to already existing and known objects, thereby creating imagery in their audiences' minds with which they can understand the phenomenon. Thus, studies focussing on how the media represents issues have often aimed at deciphering the inherent interpretations of the elements of representation as a means of making inference to their impact on targeted audiences.

For example, Raman's (2004) studied how the western media's representation of Islam affected how they were viewed by the western public. Similarly, a number of studies on the media's representation of Islam and Muslim in the western states have also focused on exploring their usage of antinomies (Bosnik, 2002) and images (Kotnik, 2003) and their implications on how the messages were emotionally decoded media consumers. Kotnik's (2003) study, for instance, explored how emotional anchoring and objectification, through the use of images, served in representing the whole Muslim community and Islamic religion. Thus, these studies by highlighting how images and antinomies can be used to emotionally represent social issues have provided other studies, such as this one, with useful theoretical basis for understanding how emotional representations are formed.

The power of images or photographs in the media, more so in newspapers cannot then be underestimated, particularly when the public do not have personal experience with the subject in question or if the phenomena are not fully understood. Correspondingly, despite the fact that newspaper photographs are the most salient hooks which draw the reader into a story; their captions anchor these photos in relation to the story by providing interpretations on the image thereby shaping the reader's understanding of that image (Engel, 2008).

Working on the assumption that media images and their captions can greatly influence a consumer's attitude about a product, Cope et al (2006) carried out a study to examine the impact of images from the Iraq war on an individual's levels of involvement, emotion, and attitude toward the war. Results of the study revealed that sufficient evidence exists to support the hypotheses that images with a caption exert greater impact on viewers' attitudes towards the

images compared to images without text. It also showed that images with a caption exert greater impact on involvement levels than text without images. They therefore recommended for analysis of captions as part of image analysis in order to fully understand the inherent meanings of the images, as advanced by the specific media. Conversely, although their study took a marketing angle with the aim of understanding consumer habits, their findings can provide a theoretical basis for researches, for example as was used in the current study, that aim at analysing images and their captions with the aim of making inferences to their possible interpretations.

Consequently, in the study of communication and emotions, scholars have put across three approaches to conceptualizing emotions (Scherer & Wallbott, 1994; Ekman, 1994; Izard, 1994; Tomkins, 1963). These include the discrete or basic emotions approach, the dimensional approach and the prototype approach. Each provides a unique view of emotions and each has different implications for the study of communication and emotions. Given that the discrete approach helps in analysing universal emotions, this study uses the discrete emotions approach in decoding the various messages passed by the two newspapers, either through images or language.

Proponents of this approach (Ekman, 1994; Izard, 1994; Tomkins, 1980) contend that these emotions can be identified by their distinct biological and physiological elements that are universally recognised. Some of the criteria proposed by the scholars in distinguishing basic from non-basic emotions include distinct and universally recognised facial expression characteristics. Some of the emotions identified as fitting this criteria include sadness, fear, surprise, anger, disgust or contempt (Ekman, 1994) interest, joy, shame, shyness and guilt (Izard, 1994). Because of its importance to the study of emotion, the Facial Action Coding System (FACS; Ekman & Friesen, 1975; 1977; Ekman, Friesen, & Hager, 2002) was thus developed. It has since become the most comprehensive, psychometrically rigorous, and widely used (Cohn, Ambadar & Ekman, 2005; Ekman & Rosenberg, 1997), and as such, was employed in this study when analysing how the ICC process was emotionally objectified and anchored.

The FACS advances that discrete emotions should be understood as socio-cultural products that are related to values and social norms of a society (Elster, 1999; Nussbaum, 2001). They

therefore are to be studied as emotions of individuals or groups of individuals and also as emotions of spoken, textual and visual cultural products (Edwards, 1999). For example, Höijer's (2010) study found that climate change has been anchored by the media in a mixture of well-known emotions of fear, hope, guilt, compassion and nostalgia. This in turn implied that climate change was something to collectively fear, but that there was hope if the public behave in a climate friendly way.

Likewise, a study by Scherer and Wallbott (1994) in 37 different countries around the globe, with the aim of determining the extent to which emotions are characterised by universal versus cultural features, found that most of the basic emotions were universally demonstrated and perceived. They thus provided profiles of characteristics associated with these emotions. Similarly, Ekman (1994) and Izard (1994) in their earlier studies discovered that facial expressions commonly associated with the basic emotions are encoded and decoded equally by members of different cultures. Given their universality and replicability, these findings provide researches on communication and emotions with a schema they can use in studying basic emotions. Similarly, the current study uses these characteristics in studying the various emotions evoked by the photographs used by the two newspapers when reporting on the ICC process as a means of understanding how the process was emotionally objectified through the photographs.

Apart from images, proponents of the SRT also posit that language, such as metaphors, and how they are used in a text, for example through naming or antinomies, can have implications on how a message is interpreted by a recipient (Moscovici, 1993; Markova, 2003; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). For instance, in a study on the role of representation in maintaining stigmatizing practices, Foster (2001) found out that when the media used labelling tags such as "mentally ill" in reference to people suffering from psychological disorders, the patients often ended up being discriminated against, marginalized or disempowered in their social encounters. This is because the tag represented them as being violent, unpredictable and fear-provoking. These media reports in turn led the general public to adopt strategies of avoidance and discrimination towards the patients. His study's findings are in line with Moscovici's (1984;2001) assertion that through anchoring, naming and classification of new encounters, ideas, things and persons is often based on an existing order of meaningful names and this determines how we view situations.

Moscovici also argues that naming, as an element of anchoring, should not be seen as biasing or diminishing of the original object or phenomenon. Instead he points out that naming may enrich the object and give it new dimensions and qualities that can be used in relation to the object (Moscovici 2001). On the other hand, Lippman (1998) contends that classifying and naming a person may sometimes lead to stereotyping, where stereotyping involves defining, evaluating and fixing people into marginal positions or subordinate status where they are eventually judged according to these statuses. Stereotypical naming can be deceitful especially when a phenomenon or individual is attributed negative characteristics and these could eventually be conceived as natural ways of relating to them, even when they are not true. Secondly, stereotypical naming settles when they are repeatedly used in reference to the phenomenon or individual (Pickering, 2001). Consequently, Foster (2001) advocates for the analysis of names as a means of understanding how the media creates social representations of issues in any social milieu. Similarly, based on the tenets of the SRT, the current study, while relying on the tenets of the SRT, identified naming as one of the key elements to be analysed in order to establish how the Kenyan press used naming mechanism to create a social representation of the ICC process.

In the same way, Wagner & Hayes' (2005) study found that the media by using metaphors such as "milk lakes" and "butter mountains", when referring to food surpluses within the European Union (EU), made the donations to be viewed as exceptional favours made by the EU, because to their audiences, butter and milk were exceptional delicacies enjoyed only by the wealth. Thus, metaphors as means of anchoring are used to make things and phenomena comprehensible by imagining them as something else. However, some scholars (Jodelet, 1991; Kövecses, 2005) posit that an individual's choice of a metaphoric image is often subjective. For example, because they were farmers and village dwellers, Jodelet's (1991) respondents used the metaphoric imagery of souring milk to characterise mental illness because it is closer to their everyday experience than it would be, for example, to the inhabitants of urban cities. This then means that for a metaphoric imagery to be created, the metaphors used by the media should be those that can easily be understood by their audiences, because of their closeness to their everyday experiences. In the case of Jodelet's (1991) respondents, their close experience with these source domains allowed them to understand and explain the threatening, unfamiliar, and strange phenomenon of madness.

Kövecses (2005) therefore opines that classifying metaphors can help in determining the public's ability to understand and appreciate them. He further advocates for metaphors to be classified as universal, cultural or according to those understood by specific communities. He bases his assertion on the fact that specific social conditions of a social group favour specific kinds of tropes when using metaphors to objectify and represent an unfamiliar phenomenon. Such differences in social conditions between groups may be socio-structural, historical, cultural or subcultural, intergenerational or differences in educational levels. Differences in living conditions of groups delimit their space of experiences with the world, which in turn delimits their world of images and metaphors available for objectification. As a result, whether an image is accepted or not by a group is determined by the group's first-hand experiences with the world (Moscovici, 1984; Wagner *et al*, 1995; Wagner, 1996). These assertions guided the current study in developing coding categories for the identified metaphors. Thus, when considering the metaphors used by the two Kenyan newspapers and their role in representing the ICC process, part of the analysis process involved coding the identified metaphors into groups of universally understood metaphors, metaphors cultural to the African public and those that were westernised because they made reference to elements that resonated well with a western or literate audience.

On the other hand, Markova (2003) advances that when the media anchors strange phenomenon in antinomies, they work on the assumption that the public's sense making is based on their ability to make distinctions and to think in oppositions, or antinomies. As such, Billig (1993) posits that antinomies such as, 'we versus them', or 'freedom versus oppression', when used in relation to a social phenomenon may become a source of tension, conflict or problem and the phenomenon part of public debate. According to Markova (*ibid*), it is in such situations that new social representations are developed and which may form the basis of understanding the phenomenon, for example, as a struggle between one party versus the other. However, in such a representation, the public is often left to decide on a side they feel comfortable to support. These decisions are always subjectively made, depending on an individual's political, tribal, religious or any other social leanings. Höijer (2011) also contends that objectification through personification has the effect of drawing attention and popularizing a phenomenon through the identified persons. She posits that how the public understands the phenomenon is based on how they perceive and appreciate the person, either morally, economically or even politically.

2.4 The Social Representation Theory in Communication Research

Media scholars and proponents of Social representations theory posit that the theory has been underutilized in the communication field (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). This is despite the fact that the theory can be used to explain the interrelationships between interpersonal communication, cognition, and the mass media, particularly in situations where a new phenomenon emerges that requires some kind of social understanding.

Because this theory explicitly recognizes the intertwining roles of both the mass media and interpersonal communication it allows scholars to understand how the elements of media representation combine to create a larger social representations of a phenomenon, which ultimately will shape how the public understand and relate to the phenomenon (Markova, 2003; Moscovici, 2001).

The social representation theory has nonetheless been linked to various communication theories and researches. For example, in trying to create a link between attitude theory and social representation theory, Liu and Sibley (2006) assert that the social representation theory provides an important input for current research on social representations. This is because of the fact that it has many features, such as the communicative mechanisms of objectification and anchoring, which make it a study of interest for researches in the social representation tradition. In their study on how attitudes towards multiculturalism can be studied from a social representation perspective and how attitude formation can be accounted for within such a frame work, they refer to ‘societal anchoring’ achieved through interpersonal discussions and exposure to mainstream media.

Their study (Liu & Sibley, 2006) therefore advances that sharing information with others or receiving information through media channels can help in attitude formation, because the more the participants in their study were exposed to mainstream communication and the more they discussed these issues with friends and colleagues, the more they were reluctant to embrace multiculturalism and vice versa. Of importance to this study, Liu and Sibley’s (2006) findings by illustrating how a social representation approach can contribute to attitude research, provide a

theoretical framework through which the link between communication, be it between individuals or between the media and their audiences, and attitude formation can be understood.

There have likewise been attempts at reconciling the social representation theory and the study of discourse. In line with this, Biling (1990) posits that the theory could also be merged with discourse analysis because of the argumentative and rhetorical aspects of anchoring and objectification that makes it possible to combine the theory to rhetorical psychology. He believes that this is possible given that attitudes emerge out of everyday behaviour such as talking and hence are embedded within social networks and discursive practices some of which are institutionally (through the media for example) or socially mediated.

Similarly, Byford (2002) conducted a study that attempted to reconcile the two theories by illustrating using the example of contemporary Serbian conspiracy culture, the way in which the social representation theory and the analysis of rhetoric could jointly be used to help explain periodic outbreaks and proliferation of collective beliefs amongst members of a community. His study showed that social representation theory could make a valuable contribution to the understanding of rhetorical aspects of media communication by rhetorically analysing the communicative power of the two representation mechanisms of objectification and anchoring.

Moscovici (1998) also reiterated the importance of language in the process of representation and suggested that the analysis of discourse can complement his theory by exploring in greater details its linguistic and discursive aspects. Similarly, although this study used only one theory, it relied heavily on language use so as to discern the inherent meaning of various aspects of objectification and anchoring as used by the Kenyan media while reporting on the ICC process.

2.5 Conclusion

It can be deduced from the above literature review that the media's role as a socializing agent within the society cannot be contested. Highlighted empirical evidences have also shown that how the media utilises representation mechanism when reporting on issues can impact on how the message is interpreted and on the public's perception towards the same issues. The reviewed literature has therefore provided the study with an academic background upon which arguments could be built and a framework for analysing how the two newspapers' represented the ICC

process. It has also drawn attention to the knowledge gaps that necessitated the current study in order to further reinforce the existing media effects debate.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this section, the methodology that was adopted when conducting the research is outlined to cover the research design, study area, study population, sampling procedure, data collection techniques used and how the data was analysed, interpreted and presented.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted an analytical research design to help it achieve its objectives (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). Analytical research involves critical thinking skills and evaluation of facts and information relevant to a research, which eventually enables a researcher to find out critical details regarding a phenomenon. Therefore in this study, employing critical thinking was effective in identifying the elements of representation within the sampled texts and in decoding their inherent meanings. This further helped in understanding the various forms of social representations being put forth by the media and also the common representation of the ICC process in the sampled articles.

3.3 Study Area

The study area was the print media, where *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers were considered for analysis. Print media was selected because there is significant evidence showing that newspapers in particular, regularly serve to shape popular attitudes and beliefs, as they act as agents of public education (Baillie, 1996).

Within the newspapers, the study focused on news articles appearing in the ‘National News’ sections of the newspapers. These articles consist of hard news reports written by reporters or journalists, with the aim of providing neutral and objective accounts of a particular issue. Hard news is fast paced news that is heavily promoted by newspapers and usually appears on the front pages of newspapers (Schudson, 2003). In the two newspapers, the ‘National News’ sections appear on the first twelve (12) pages of the newspapers. These sections mainly target the Kenyan

audience, with information that news editors deem to be the most important (Matu, 2003). Studies have also shown that a majority of newspaper readers will peruse through the first pages of a newspaper before deciding on whether to buy or read the paper in whole (Dor, 2003). Thus, studying these sections of the newspapers provided an opportunity for understanding the messages that the newspapers promoted as the most important regarding the ICC process.

3.4 Study Population

The population for this study was the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper issues produced between the months of September 2011 and October 2011. A population of eighty six (86) newspaper issues were considered for analysis. This population size was arrived at on the basis that the study considered only issues produced on the weekdays during the two month period. This is due to the fact that in Kenya, newspapers produced during the week often provide new accounts of everyday happenings while weekend issue summarises the reports of the whole week (Matu, 2003). Thus, studying the week day issues enabled the researcher to examine daily accounts of the ICC process as reported by the newspapers. Within this period, each newspaper produced an issue daily for one month, giving a total of forty four (44) issues for both newspapers in the month of September and forty two (42) issues for both newspapers in the month of October.

Month	Number of days in the month	Number of weekdays	Total number of issues for both newspapers
September	30	22	44
October	31	21	42
Total	61	43	86

3.5 Sampling Procedure

This study adopted purposive sampling techniques where the researcher selected only issues of the newspapers that covered the Kenyan ICC process within the defined months. This method was ideal for the study because it allowed the researcher to select relevant samples based on

personal judgment with the aim of cultivating an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996).

Purposive sampling enabled the researcher to identify and select only articles that had the required information and characteristics to be studied. For instance, the two newspapers were purposively chosen because of their established nature, location, and the substantial audience sizes (Okigbo, 1994; Bowen, 2010; Obonyo, 2007).

The sampling procedure entailed a three step approach as proposed by Newbold *et al.* (2002), involving first the selection of media form and genre, then selecting the period that formed the parameters of the study and finally sampling relevant content from the selected newspaper copies. In this study, *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers were selected for analysis and the genre of the articles analysed were the hard news articles. The months of September 2011 and October 2011, the period the confirmation of charges hearings took place at the ICC, were used as the parameters for the research. This period was chosen because it is the period when most Kenyans were introduced to the court (Musila, 2009). Thus only newspaper copies published during that period and produced on the weekdays were considered for analysis. Relevant content to this study were hard news articles that reported on the ICC process. Subsequently, the unit of analysis was one news article per newspaper issue.

‘Hard news articles’ refers to those reports published on the front page or in ‘National News’ pages of the Kenyan papers. As opposed to Editorial articles that are written by newspaper editors or editorial board and are often subjective because they reflect the newspaper’s official stance on an issue, this study only considered hard news article that are usually written by a reporter or journalist with the aim of providing a neutral and objective reporting on an issue. These are often fast passed news that often appear on the front pages or in in ‘National News’ pages of the Kenyan newspapers, usually covering what a newspaper’s editorial board considered most important (Schudson, 2003; McQuail, 2000).

3.6 Sample Size

The sample size used in the study were 38 news articles from both newspapers, with each newspaper contributing equal number of articles for analysis, that is, *The Standard* contributed

19 articles and the *Daily Nation* 19 articles. Therefore, for the month of September, 30 news articles were sampled and for the month of October 8 news articles were sampled. This sample was arrived at on the basis of the articles' coverage of the Kenyan ICC process within the selected study period that focussed on the confirmation of charges hearings. During the sampling process, the sample size was adjusted after it emerged that both newspapers stopped reporting on the confirmation hearings once they ended by 10th October. Thus, in the month of October, only 8 news articles from both newspapers were sampled.

3.7 Data Collection Method

Both primary and secondary data were used in the study. Primary data was obtained by reading through the sampled news articles in order to identify the information needed in the study that eventually provided the data that was analysed. The unit of analysis was an entire news article including any photograph in it.

The coding sheet (in *Appendix 1*) was employed to reduce the newspaper content into categories that were consistent with the objectives of the research. The coding categories used in the study were determined by the tenets of the social representation theory and included; metaphors, antinomies, photographs, personification mechanisms, thematic anchoring and naming mechanisms. The categories helped in identifying the various representation mechanisms used by the newspapers and to analyse how the mechanisms were used in the news stories.

The coding sheet was pre-tested before use to find out whether it was reliable and efficient to the study and to ensure that there was clarity and consistency in the coding process. The pre-test was done on 10 percent of the articles (4 articles) which Holsti, (1969) proposes as an appropriate number for pre-testing and examining a coding sheet. In the pre-test, it was discovered that a clear description of the categories was needed and that all the types of discrete emotions needed to be included as part of the independent variable in the analysis of emotions evoked by the photographs. The identification of these emotions was based on the Facial Action Coding System (FACS, *Appendix 2*). These were thereafter included in the coding sheet to ensure reliability and inclusivity of available independent variables.

Secondary data was obtained by reading relevant literature on the social representation theory and empirical researches on media effects. These data provided a framework for validation of the results of the study. Sources of this information included online books and books obtained from the library.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

The study used content analysis as proposed by Newbold *et al* (2002) and Pawson (1995) where both quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods were used to analyse the coded/collected data. Content analysis is a technique for making inference by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages. It also allows for quantitative analysis of text in order to identify and count occurrence of characters and qualitative analysis that places focus on analysing the latent content of a text, that which can be interpreted but not explicitly stated in a text (Newbold *et al*, 2002).

Therefore in this study, the coded content was quantitatively analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) computer software package. This analysis helped in identifying manifest content, which is the number of news articles that employed the various elements of representations such as naming, antinomies, metaphors, personification, and thematic anchoring. These findings are presented in the form of tables and bar graphs.

The qualitative content analysis was used in studying the inherent meanings of the identified elements of representation. The qualitative analysis was based on the tenets of the SRT (Moscovici, 1988, 2000, 2007), where different elements of anchoring (naming, thematic anchoring, antinomies, and metaphors) and objectification (personification) were analysed including emotional dimensions of objectification and anchoring, where pictures were analysed for their emotional appeal.

Qualitative researchers contend that there is no fixed interpretation of a text but rather that interpretations can be multidimensional and relational (Flick, 1998). In the case of the current study, a qualitative method of analysis was thus fitting as it allowed the researcher to identify and unearth meanings behind the multiple representations of the ICC process that continuously emerged from how the newspapers used the various elements of representation. This also helped

to decipher the overall representation of the process by identifying the most recurrent thematic representation.

For the analysis of thematic anchoring, a deductive thematic analysis was employed. Deductive thematic analysis is a research method where the tenets of a theory are used in identifying, analysing, and reporting prominent themes and patterns through careful reading of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Sanders, 2010). The current study made use of predetermined themes whose identification was based on previous scholarly works that have used the SRT in analysis of newspaper content (Højier, 2011; Washer & Joffe, 2006; Johnson, 2010; Wagner & Kronberger, 2001). Thematic analysis also allows the researcher to interpret and examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, meaning, and conceptualisation associated with a theme that emerges from large masses of text (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Breakwell, 2012). Therefore, this method of analysis was used as a tool to highlight and identify social representations that arose from media reports that made reference to the ICC process (Da Rocha, 2008).

Based on Kövecses' (2005) schema for classifying metaphors, the identified metaphors were classified as either universal metaphors, referring to metaphors that were easily understood by everyone regardless of their geographical location; as cultural to Africans because they made reference to objects or concepts that resonated well with Africans and as westernized, in which case the metaphors had their origin from the west or the references used were those that were available in the west, thus resonating with the western or European audience or with anyone knowledgeable in their customs.

In order to find out how the newspapers employed emotional objectification and anchoring, pictures used in the articles were analysed using the Facial Action Coding System (FACS; Ekman & Friesen, 1977; Ekman, Friesen, & Hager, 2002). Given that this system is advanced as the most comprehensive, psychometrically rigorous and widely used, it was then be used to study the discrete emotions evoked by the photographs (Cohn, Ambadar & Ekman, 2005; Ekman & Rosenberg, 1997). These emotions were identified by their distinct facial actions that are universally recognised (see Appendix 2 for more information on the FACS). Some of the emotions identified as fitting this criterion include sadness, fear, surprise, anger, disgust or contempt, interest, joy, shame, shyness and guilt (Ekman, 1994; Izard, 1994).

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to examine how the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers represented the ICC process using the representation mechanisms of objectification and anchoring. This chapter therefore, presents the data, analyses them and discusses the research findings in order to answer the four objectives of the study which were: to identify and describe elements of objectification and anchoring used in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC process in selected weekday issues of *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers; to examine how the newspapers exploited the various interpretations of the identified elements of objectification and in their coverage of the Kenyan ICC process and to establish the implications of objectification and anchoring mechanisms on the media messages in order to decipher the common representation of the ICC process by the two newspapers.

In line with this, section 4.1 presents and describes the elements of representation identified within the sampled news article. This is because it is these elements that promote objectification and anchoring as mechanisms of representation. Section 4.2 on the other hand analyses how the newspapers exploited the various interpretations of the identified elements of representations in order to develop social representations of the ICC process. Finally, section 4.3 discusses the implications of these elements and their interpretations on the media messages.

The analysis and discussions in this chapter are based on the tenets of the SRT and research findings from existing scholarly literature on the usage and implications of elements of representations in media texts.

4.2 Elements of Objectification and Anchoring Used in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers

As already discussed in chapter 1, when employing the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring, the media will often use elements such as photographs, antinomies, themes,

metaphors, naming and personification to aid in representing an issue in ways through which their audiences can easily understand them (Markova, 2003). Thus, the current study also sought to find out whether the newspapers used these elements in order to enhance the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring, in their representation of the ICC cases involving the six Kenyan suspects.

4.2.1 Photographs

According to the social representation theory, the media when using the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring may use photographs to help in anchoring new phenomena in emotions that are easily understood by their audience. This in turn makes it easier for the audience to make sense of the phenomenon by attaching emotions to the photographs they see.

Conversely, in the current study and as shown in table 1.1 below, it emerged in the study that out of the 38 news articles that were analysed, 36 of them had photographs accompanying the written texts while only 2 did not have photographs.

Table 1.1 News articles with picture included

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Picture include	36	94.7	94.7	94.7
No picture	2	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Barthes (1982; in Engel 2008) in his study on the functions of media photographs found that newspaper photographs are never isolated structures but often have some sort of written commentary or an accompanying text associated with the photo that illustrates the picture. These accompanying texts are captions that provide a short description of the picture is and why it has been used in the article. They help the readers understand what they see. According to him (Barthes, 1982 *ibid*), the text anchors the image by naming it and this anchoring function is a common practice used in mass communication.

Thus, considering the forgoing importance of captions especially in textual analysis, this study also sought to determine whether the photographs used had accompanying captions to explain them. This in turn would help/ helped in understanding how the photographs and their captions were used objectifying and anchoring the ICC process. According to Table 1.2 below, 32 (84%) of the photographs had captions explaining them while 4 (10%) did not.

Table 1.2 News articles with captions explaining pictures.

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
With caption	32	84.2	88.9	88.9
No caption	4	10.5	11.1	100.0
Total	36	94.7	100.0	

When captions anchor photos in relation to a story, they feed the reader with information on people, time and place included in the picture (Engel 2008). They also provide snippets of details that make the reader want to read more from the text. Captions also place a particular interpretation on the image that helps in shaping how the reader understands that image. For example, a story appearing in one of the news articles, had a photograph (*Extract 1*) of a group of people holding placards, with a caption reading; “Families displaced by the post-election violence celebrate the decision by the ICC to throw out Kenya’s appeal challenging trial of the Ocampo Six at The Hague in Nakuru yesterday.” (*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011). This caption thus explains who the group of people was and why they were demonstrating.



Extract 1

On the other hand, Barthes (1982) opines that when captions are not used, then a photo is opened up for varied interpretation. Similarly, when the newspapers used the four photographs without captioning them, they risked allowing their readers to interpret them depending, for example, on their subjective inclinations.



Extract 2

For instance, *Extract 2* has a photograph showing a subject raising his hand in protest and there is a fire at the background. without a caption, is opened up for many interpretations. For example, it can be interpreted to mean that the subjects are protesting against the ICC process, given that the headline of the article is about the confirmation of charges process. on the other hand, it may

be interpreted in relation to the PEV that took place in the country and whose alleged key perpetrators are facing charges at the ICC. Having many interpretations of a photograph is in contradiction to the objective of using photographs as elements of social representation, which aims at providing a common understanding of a phenomenon within a social group.

4.2.2 Antinomies

According to Oxford Online Dictionary, an antinomy is a contradiction between two beliefs or conclusions that are in themselves reasonable. It is a terminology borrowed from Latin word *antinomia*, and from Greek words *anti* meaning ‘against’ and *nomos* meaning ‘law.’ Olausson (2010) asserts that one of the anchoring mechanisms employed by the media is anchoring in antinomies or in distinctions. It is a process whereby the unfamiliar is transformed into something familiar by constructing meaning when a distinction is made between two things. It often has the effect of creating sides where the audience is left to decide on which side they stand. Proponents of the SRT (Moscovici, 1984; Markova, 2003) also posit that the public often tend to relate to a new idea if it is delivered to them in opposites, where there are two opposing sides and they are made to choose a side they can relate to and support.

Correspondingly, this study also sought to find out whether the two newspapers in their endeavour to anchor the ICC process, might have used antinomies as representation elements. During the analysis and as shown in table 1.3 below, it emerged that 22 of the news articles that were studied used antinomies, while 16 of them did not.

Table 1.3 News articles that used antinomies

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
With antinomy	22	57.9	57.9	57.9
Without antinomy	16	42.1	42.1	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

The most common antinomy was the one that placed the defence or suspects' team against the prosecutor and his team, be it in the form of Uhuru versus Ocampo or Ruto versus Ocampo. This could eventually be perceived as a 'we' versus 'them' antinomy, where the 'we' may have represented anyone who was against the court process while 'them' represented those in support of the court process. For example, one of the newspapers had headline that read: "Ocampo, Ruto group clash at chaos hearing", (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011) or another that read: "Trial: Prosecution, Defence come face to face", (*The Standard*, September 2, 2011). In these two statements, the 'we' could be anyone supporting the accused and their defence team and 'them' those supporting the court prosecutor and his team.

For the antinomy of Kikuyus versus other tribes in Kenya, consider for example an article with the heading: "Muthaura witness says violence erupted after Kikuyus were evicted", and a part of the article that stated that: "There were attacks in Molo where mostly kikuyu were attacked.....in Nakuru where I lived there were attacks on kikuyu in Kaptembwa,the attacks were on kikuyu" (*Daily Nation*, September 27, 2011). This article cites the dispute between the Kikuyu tribe and other tribes in Kenya as the main cause of the violence. It is important to note that the president of the country came from this tribe and also two of the accused persons, Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta and Mr. Muthaura. Therefore, by using the antinomy of 'us' to represent members of the kikuyu tribe, and 'them' to represent members of the other tribes, the message was that the reader could identify with any of the sides and support them.

Mungiki versus the Kenyan police as an antinomy was also identified in articles where the defence teams attempted to prove the innocence of the suspects by showing how the Kenyan police, headed by one of the suspects, Mr. Ali, constantly disapproved and fought the 'outlawed gang'. For instance, one of the articles had the following statement that show the disharmony between the police and Mungiki: "Ali's defence teamargued that his client could not have had any dealings or soft spot for Mungiki because the police under his command had unrelentingly fought the outfit" (*The Standard*, September 22, 2011).

Another antinomy that emerged was the antinomy of Kenyan court process versus The Hague/ ICC court process. For example when an article in the *Daily Nation* (September 8, 2011) compared the two court process and highlighted the outstanding qualities of the ICC court

process with words such as “they do not possess the drama that we otherwise are used to with regard to local television programmes that depict court processes as stages of drama” and “even among lawyers, there is the view that the Hague-based court’s processes are very different from Kenya’s”. These statements bring out the distinctions of one court process, the Hague one, as being superior and effective than another, the Kenyan one, which is full of intrigues.

4.2.3 Thematic Anchoring

Themes refer to the central idea or the main message that an author of a text tries to convey in a written work. They can be single or multiple within any text. Identifying themes in a text involves looking for topics that repeatedly show up in the text. The SRT (Moscovici, 1984) posits that thematic anchoring can be achieved through the use of other representation elements such as photographs and antinomies used by the media in explaining a phenomenon. In order to identify the various themes that were used in representing the ICC process, the study considered the various sources that were repeatedly cited in the texts and what they had to say about the process and also how the other representation elements helped in enhancing the central opinion of the texts.

Proponents of the SRT (Markova, 2003; Moscovici, 2001) opine that for a social representation to be formed there should be a central theme emerging in a text and this in turn helps in promoting a common understanding of a phenomenon amongst a social group. In this regard, in the study, it emerged that out of the 38 articles that were analysed, 27 had thematic anchoring while 11 did not (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4 News articles with thematic anchoring

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
With thematic anchoring	27	71.1	71.1	71.1
Without thematic anchoring	11	28.9	28.9	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

The 11 articles were recorded as having no thematic anchoring because they did not have one central theme being promoted in them but instead they had more than one. For example, an article advanced the theme of war in the headline with the words; “ Uhuru clashes with Ocampo over Mungiki” while the accompanying texts expanded the theme of self-glorification with words such as: “ Mr. Kenyatta’s statements came at the end of a day in which he sought to cast himself as a nationalist and statesman.....dressed in a dark suit, light blue shirt and stripped purple tie to match, Mr. Kenyatta spent six hours offering evidence.....Mr. Kenyatta cited key moments in his political career when he said he went against the grain of expectations in his native Central Kenya” and other numerous statements of Mr. Uhuru refuting claims and at the same time praising his impeccable track record as a finance minister. (*Daily Nation*, September 30, 2011).

Various themes were identified in the news articles. The most recurrent theme however, was the theme of war/struggle that appeared in 27 of the 38 articles that were studied. This theme was amplified whenever the articles represented the ICC process as a war or struggle between the suspects and their defence team and the prosecution team led by Mr. Ocampo. These articles mainly discussed the ways in which the prosecutor and his team were fighting a legal battle with the suspects and their defence teams. For example, consider the following headlines that propelled the theme of war/struggle: “Uhuru clashes with Ocampo over Mungiki (*Daily Nation*,

September 30, 2011) and “Suspects to fight off retaliatory attacks charges” (*The Standard*, September 21, 2011). by using statements such as ‘clashes’ and ‘fight off’ the headlines advanced the theme of war or struggle between the defence team and prosecution team.

The theme of justice was also identified when the newspapers repeatedly quoted persons who expressed their faith in the ability of the ICC process to bring to justice those found guilty of perpetrating the PEV or instances when the accused persons felt that the process would provide justice by acquitting them of any wrong doing, thus clearing their names. For example, in one of the articles, a PEV victim is quoted as saying that they don’t have faith in the Kenyan justice system and as such the suspects should go to The Hague then justice will be found. (*The Standard*, September 26th, 2011). This quote shows the faith the PEV victims might have had on the ICC process’ ability to deliver justice because they felt that the Kenyan justice system had failed them by not bringing the perpetrators to book.

The theme of nationalism/self-glorification was manifested whenever the articles praised the Kenyan government’s commitment towards the ICC process and whenever the suspects who were top civil servants in the Kenyan government praised their exemplary works. For example, an article with the heading: “Muthaura says Ocampo does not understand Government” had a statement from one of the accused saying that: “I sat every morning without fail and the records and recommendations are there. I went to state house to facilitate meetings with foreign diplomats, Kenyan ministers, political leaders, religious and church leaders.” and another: “Activities that take place at state house are very formal and they could not have had Mungiki, a criminal gang, hanging around there.” (*The Standard*, September 22, 2011). In these examples the accused person is seen praising himself of an impeccable track record, thus, he could not have had time for and link with the PEV. The Kenyan government, represented by the state house is also cast as a serious institution that does not have time to mix with illegal gangs like Mungiki.

Injustice as a theme was fostered when the articles reported on the process or repeatedly quoted sources who accused the court of unfairly victimising the six Kenyans before it. For instance, an article had an headline that read: “Elders plan prayers for Ocampo three”, with a pull out quote: “we know that our God will help them succeed while there at The Hague as it happened before”

(*Daily Nation*, September 6, 2011) this insinuates that the process is an injustice that even God could intervene to save those accused unjustly.

The process was also thematically anchored as promoting human rights whenever the news articles recalled the injustices committed during the post-election violence and whenever they quoted victims of the PEV as supporting the process. For instance, the *Daily Nation* (September 9, 2011) had an article with the heading, “Nairobi lawyer a lone voice in the fight to secure justice for victims”. This article highlighted the various plight of the victims of the PEV and how their human rights were violated during the PEV and their right to have their grievances heard at the court.

The theme of crime was advanced when the news articles highlighted the criminal offences committed during the PEV and the need for the ICC process. Consider for example an article with the heading: “ICC: prosecution reveals horrific poll chaos details” and an in text that read; “ in one account, a perceived ODM supporter was attacked with a club covered with sharp spikes that pulled out flesh with each blow, according to the testimony of one witness” (*The Standard*, September 26, 2011) or another article that read: “in one incident, 19 people- including women and children- were burnt alive after being cornered by suspected Mungiki youth (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday, September 28, 2011).

4.2.4 Metaphors

The Oxford Dictionary and Thesaurus (1996) defines a metaphor as a descriptive term or phrase to an object or action to which it is imaginatively but not literally applicable. According to the SRT, metaphors can also be used to anchor and objectify a new phenomenon by representing it within well-known subjects of life and culture (Moscovici, 2000). In the process of identify elements of objectification and anchoring, the study found, as shown in table 1.5 below, that out of the analysed 38 articles, 21 had metaphors in them while 17 did not.

Table 1.5 News articles with metaphors

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
With metaphors	21	55.3	55.3	55.3
Without metaphor	17	44.7	44.7	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Metaphors were identified based on the Word Sense Disambiguation (WSD) approach that works on the notion that many words in natural language have more than one sense or meaning (Birke & Sarkar, 2006). Thus the aim of identifying the metaphors used in relation to the ICC process was to decode or disambiguate the sense of a word or how the word was used in the context of the ICC process. For example, consider an article whose headline read: “Suspects’ lawyers poke holes into Ocampo evidence” and an introductory statement that read; “Mr. Kosgeys’s lawyers resorted to a technical analysis of the evidence to tear it apart with what they say is rebutting evidence.” (*Daily Nation*, September 7, 2011). The words ‘poke holes’ and ‘tear apart’ can mean to disfigure or to destroy an object. However, based on the context in which they have been used in the article, they denote the concept of discrediting the evidence put across by the prosecutor against the suspects.

Similarly, mapping of concepts was also employed as a means of determining the idea or theme brought out by the use of the metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For example, an article in one of the newspapers stated that: “In the closing submissions, prosecutor Cynthia Tai went for a blow-by-blow attack on the evidence tendered by the three suspects in their defence (*The Standard*, September 9, 2011). A mapping of the concept of war is enhanced by the words ‘blow-by-blow attack’, thus the closing submissions are viewed in terms of a battle or fight.

This type of identification and analysis of metaphors is in line with Shutova’s (2010) assertion that processing of metaphors can be divided into two subtasks of first recognising the metaphor by distinguishing between its literal and metaphoric meaning in a text and second, metaphor interpretation to identify the intended meaning in a text.

Correspondingly, some other metaphors identified in the studied articles included an article with the headline: “Kenya bites the bullet and chooses to be cross examined as witness for two days by defence lawyers, prosecutor and judges.” (*The Standard*, September 15, 2011). In the literal meaning, ‘biting a bullet’ is to endure an unpleasant situation that is unavoidable. In the context of the ICC, this could denote taking a risk that could lead to the defendant’s downfall. Such a metaphoric phrase puts the reader on tenterhooks to want to find out the outcome of the process. It also portrays the ICC process as very difficult one where one needs to take risks.

Another article had the following pulled out quote: “No magical bullet to turn the case in Ocampo’s favour, says lawyers” (*Daily Nation*, September 7, 2011). Literally, a ‘magical bullet’ refers to something that solves a difficult problem by providing an effective solution. In the context of the ICC process, it would denote a case of hopelessness, because there is no possibility for the prosecutor to pin down the defendants and also shows that he is losing the case.

4.2.5 Personification

In objectification by means of personification, an idea or phenomenon is linked to specific persons. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), personification is a communication technique used by the media when representing unfamiliar issues in news by, attaching the issues to well-known public figures in order to draw attention and popularize courses of events. The media do this by using people who serve as objects for creating meaning and identification. To effectively employ this mechanism, the media often use personalities with whom their audiences can identify or are familiar with (Allern, 2002). In this study, personification was identified whenever an individual was repeatedly used in reference to the ICC process.

Table 1.6 shows that out of the 38 articles that were studied, 12 (32%) employed personification mechanism while 26 (68%) did not. An example of personification was when the newspapers kept on terming the case as Ocampo’s case, Ocampo’s evidence or Ocampo’s team (*Daily nation*, September 7, 2011; *The Standard*, September 2, 2011; *Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011).

Table 1.6 News articles with personification mechanism

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
With personification mechanism	12	31.6	31.6	31.6
Without personification mechanism	26	68.4	68.4	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

Some of the elements of personification identified in articles included the on the following headline: “Uhuru, Ruto out to trash Ocampo evidence on chaos hearing (*Daily Nation*, September 21, 2011). In this statement, Mr. Ocampo is attached to the evidence brought against the defendants. Also in the following headline: “Ocampo’s surprise” (*The Standard*, September 20, 2011), Mr. Ocampo is used to personify the ICC process and everything taking place in it.

Similarly in the following headline: “Ocampo’s case based on flawed probe, says Ruto.” (*Daily Nation*, Friday, September 2, 2011), the confirmation of charges is termed as Ocampo’s case, thus he personifies the court process. Considering that there were other prosecutors involved in the court process, Mr. Ocampo being the chief prosecutor may have been repeatedly used to personify the process because he was the only prosecutor the Kenyan reader was conversant with, him having visited the country previously.

4.2.6 Naming

According to the social representation theory (Moscovici, 1984), for a group to come to a basic understanding of an unfamiliar phenomenon, they need to name and attribute to it characteristics which eventually allow the phenomenon to be communicated and talked about. Similarly, in order for the Kenyan public to develop an understanding of the ICC process, it may have been necessary for the newspapers to name it and attribute to it familiar characteristics that their Kenyan audiences could relate to. Conversely, in the current study it emerged that out of the 38

news articles that were analysed, 15 used naming elements as opposed to 23 articles that did not have the elements (Table, 1.7).

For example, an article in the *Daily Nation* (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011) had the following headline: “Ocampo, Ruto group clash in chaos hearing”, that named the ICC process as chaos hearing, in reference to the fact that the six Kenyans facing charges at the court were accused of being perpetrators of the PEV that caused chaos in the country.

Consider also the following articles with the headlines: “Elders plan prayers for Ocampo three” (*Daily Nation*, September 6, 2011) and “Trio gets chance to fight charges” (*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011) where Mr. Kenyatta, Mr. Muthaura and Mr. Ali are referred to as ‘Ocampo three’ and ‘the trio’.

Similarly, in the *Daily Nation*, one of the articles with the headline: “Uhuru’s turn to take the stand in his own defence” had a statement that referred to the PEV as “the situation in Kenya” (*Daily Nation*, September 28, 2011), showing the way the case relating to the PEV is characterised by the prosecution team.

Likewise, an article in *The Standard* with the headline: “Suspects to fight off retaliatory attacks charges” had an introductory statement that read: “President’s men set to defend themselves against ICC charges of allowing and financing Mungiki attacks” and a statement that said: “a prominent name will be Mungiki ...said to have been used by the second set of the Ocampo six. (*The Standard*, September 21, 2011). In this article, Mr. Kenyatta, Mr. Muthaura and Mr. Ali are referred to as the ‘president’s men’ because of their linkage with the president’s political party and government. At the same time all the six Kenyans facing charges at the court are referred to as ‘Ocampo six’ because Mr. Ocampo is the seen as the one accusing them.

Table 1.7 News articles with naming mechanism

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
With naming mechanism	15	39.5	39.5	39.5
Without naming mechanism	23	60.5	60.5	100.0
Total	38	100.0	100.0	

It also emerged that most of the names used were those targeting the suspects by calling them ‘Ocampo Six’ at 15.7% (figure 1.1). For instance, a photograph in one of the articles studied had a caption saying; “post-election violence victims at Nakuru.....follow the confirmation of charges hearing against the first group of the Ocampo Six.....” (*Daily Nation*, September 20, 2011). The other names that emerged included: “The Trio” at 2.6%, in reference to the accused; “The Situation” at 2.6%, in reference to the PEV; “Chaos Hearing” at 2.6% in reference to the ICC process; “The President’s Men” at 2.6%, in reference to the accused persons who were in the government; “Battle-Hardened Team” at 2.6%, in reference to the experienced prosecution team; “Mungiki Scarecrow Gang” at 2.6%, in reference to the people who committed atrocities during the PEV; “ Mindless Robots” at 2.6%, in reference to the policemen who shot harmless civilians during the PEV and “Mungiki Theory” at 2.6%, in reference to the charges brought against the accused.

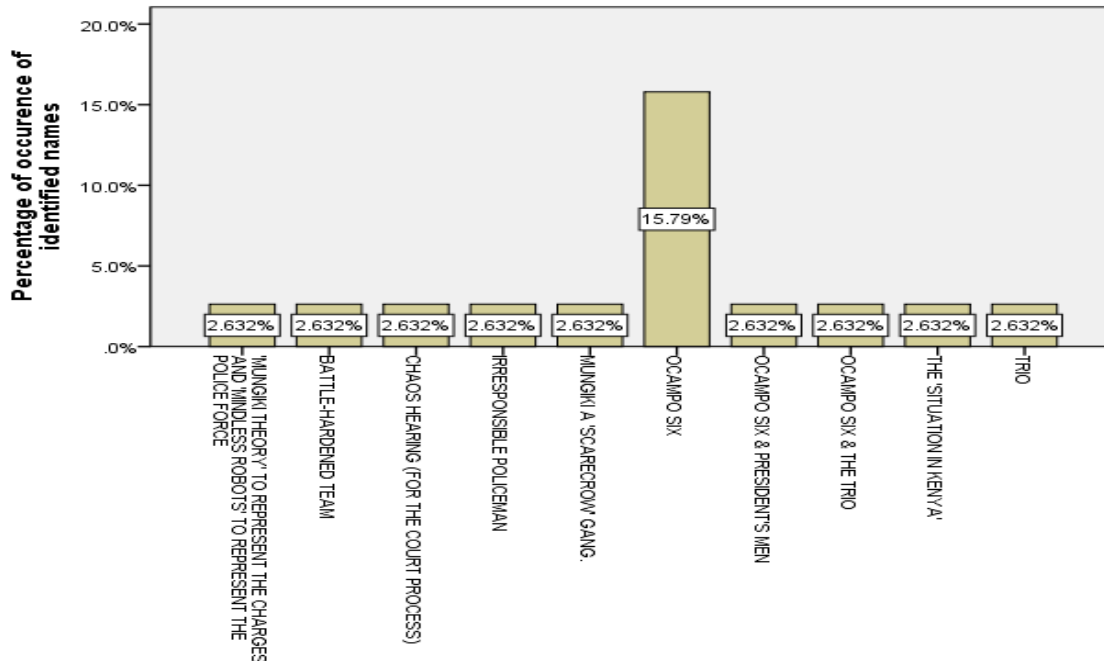


Figure 1.1 Types of names used by the newspapers when reporting on the ICC process

The SRT posits that the media when using the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring will often employ representation elements such as photographs, metaphors, antinomies, naming, thematic anchoring and personification. Subsequently, their identification in the studied media articles proves that the Kenyan media employed the two mechanisms in their reporting in order to develop social representations around the ICC process.

This analysis therefore accomplishes the first objective of the study that aimed to identify and describe elements of objectification and anchoring used in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC process in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. It further set the stage for the second objective that sought to find out how the mechanisms were used by examining their latent meaning in relation to the ICC process.

4.3 How the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspapers Exploited the Various Interpretations of the Identified Elements of Objectification and Anchoring in their Representation of the Kenyan ICC Process

In line with the second objective of this study, this section provides an analysis and discussion on how the two newspapers exploited the communicative power found in the various interpretations of the identified elements of objectification and anchoring used by the two newspapers when

reporting on the ICC process. The theoretical framework used in analysing the elements and interpreting the findings are based on the tenets of the social representation theory.

4.3.1 Photographs

The SRT theorizes that the media tend to use photographs to emotionally objectify and anchor a new phenomenon. Various psychological researches have also shown that these emotions may help in interpreting social situations and objects to understand them better (Bless, Fiedler & Struck, 2004). Photographs play an important role in newspaper texts, and as Engel (2008) posits, newspaper photographs are sometimes the most salient hooks that draw the reader to a particular story. Thus, newspapers don't merely use any photograph to accompany a text, but they use those that can draw the attention of the reader to the text or those that have significant messages in them (Engel 2008).

Similarly, media scholars (Hoijer, 2011; Markova, 2003) posit that photographs as elements of objectification and anchoring can evoke various emotions on a reader and it is these emotions that may form the basis on which the media message is interpreted and understood. In this study, analysing the various emotions evoked by the photographs identified in the articles helped in understanding how these emotions served in objectifying and anchoring the ICC process.

In the current study, in order to decipher the emotions that the photographs would evoke, the active states of the subjects in the photographs were considered. The analysis of these active states was based on the Facial Action Coding System (FACS) (Ekman et al, 2002).

Therefore as shown in figure 1.2, the most common emotion identified on the photographs was interest followed by joy or happiness, then compassion, fear and when the subjects had neutral facial expressions.

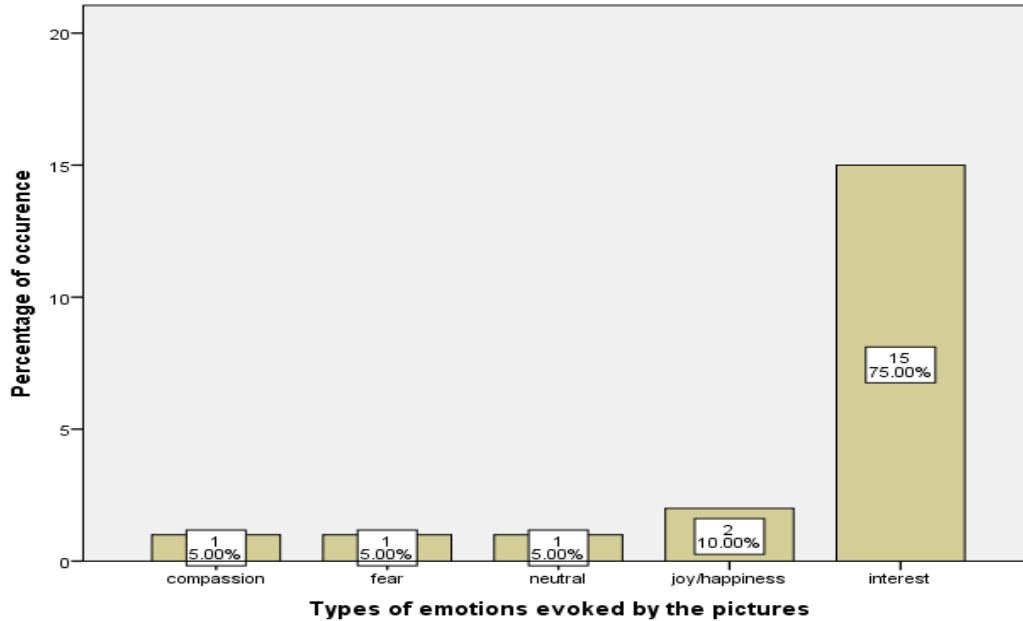


Figure 1.2 Various emotions evoked by the pictures used in the newspapers

For example, a story appearing on the *Daily Nation*, (September 20, 2011) titled “Uhuru group off for ICC hearings”, was accompanied by a photograph (*Extract 3*) of a group of men concentrating on something, probably a television according to the caption, following the proceedings at the ICC. This photograph evokes a number of emotions based on the FACS for instance, the emotions of compassion can be detected on the men because as they watch the proceedings their lips are pressed together and head tilts forward slightly as a sign of social engagement. These are features that Ekman et al (2002) advance to be synonymous with having compassion towards someone. In the same photograph, interest leading to anticipation can be detected based on the fact that the subjects’ heads are tilted forward slightly, with eyes focussed on the television.

The emotion of joy/happiness was deciphered when the subjects, like in *Extract 5* below, appeared to be smiling, based on the FACS that posits that when a subject is joyful, the mouth opens slightly and the muscles around it relaxed.



Extract 5

Sadness was detected as an emotion, for example in *Extracts 6 & 7*, where the subjects had their lips pulled down, inner brow raised, brow lowered, lip corner pulled straight down according to FACS. The same photographs evokes the emotion of fear based on the fact that the men's eyebrows are raised and lower eye lid contracts, lip corners pulled sideways, tightening and elongating the mouth. It is therefore important to note that some of the photographs could elicit many emotions therefore the reader's interpretation of them could be subjective.



Extract 6



Extract 7

4.3.2 Antinomies and Emerging Themes

According to Markova (2003), antinomies can lead to the formation of themes within a written text. Similarly, in the current study, it emerged that the antinomies used in the studied served in promoting various themes that eventually helped in creating social representations of the ICC process. As had been earlier discusses, the predominant antinomy was one that placed the defence team against the prosecution team under the category of ‘we’ versus ‘them’ respectively. From these antinomies the emerging theme was one that represented the court process as a war/struggle between the accused and the prosecution team as shown in figure 1.3 below.

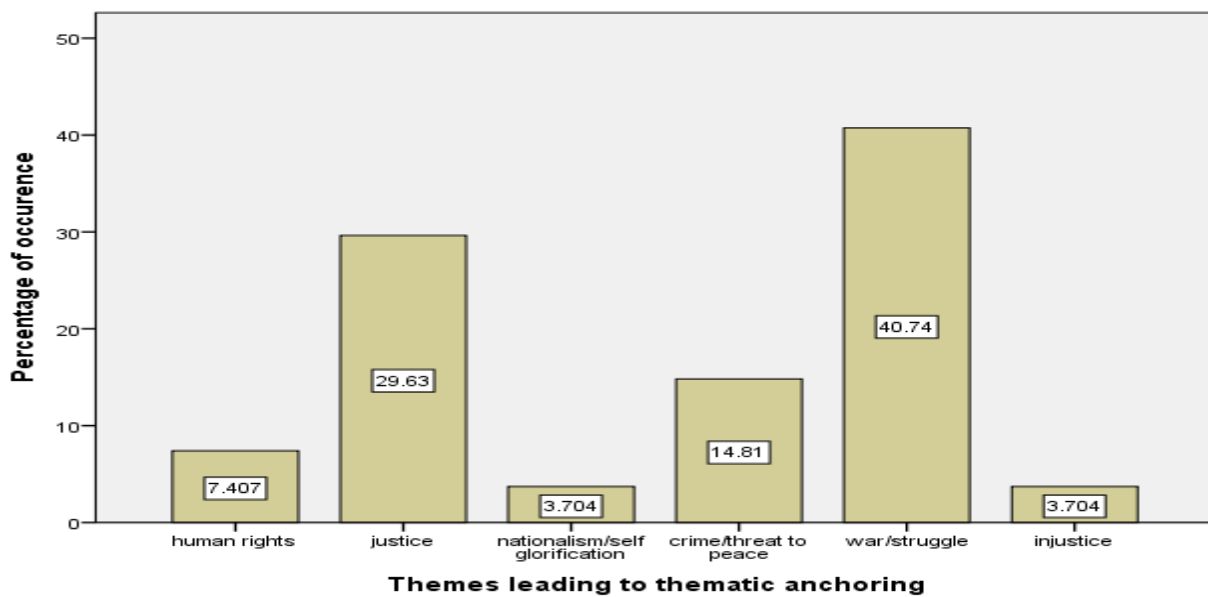


Figure 1.3 Emerging themes identified in the news articles

Thus the newspapers used antinomies to effectively promote various themes such as the themes of war or struggle, justice, crime or threat to peace, human rights, injustice and nationalism. These themes in turn helped in anchoring the ICC process within ideologies that the public could easily understand and relate to. For example, an article in *The Standard* (September, 6, 2011) titled “New line of defence”, had an introduction that read: “With seven lawyers on his side Kosgey tears at Ocampo evidence, as Sang too puts up a blow-by-blow criticism of prosecutor’s case.” Another article in the *Daily Nation* (September, 30 2011), had a title that read “Uhuru clashes with Ocampo over Mungiki”. These statements implied that the suspects are the ‘we’ who are at war with the prosecution team who are ‘them’.

Similarly, the theme of self-glorification was also enhanced by the antinomy between the suspects and the prosecution and whenever an article reported on the court proceedings where the suspects had to praise themselves so as to show their innocence. For example, these two articles with the following titles “Uhuru clashes with Ocampo over Mungiki” (*Daily Nation*, September 20, 2011) and “Face-off: Uhuru, Ocampo lock horns in court” (*The Standard*, September 30, 2011) had approximately 90% of their content praising the defendants by highlighting their good deeds.

The theme of injustice was enhanced by the antinomies between the suspects and the court, especially when the suspects were depicted as challenging the credibility of the court. For example, an article in the *Daily Nation* had the following statement: “the suspects opened with a challenge to the authority of the ICC to try PEV case” (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011). In this statement, the defendant is portrayed as challenging the right of the court to rule over the PEV. The ‘we’ in this case is represented as the suspects who are fighting for their rights not to be tried at the court, who are represent ‘them’

Likewise, the theme of justice emerged from the antinomies between the suspects and the prosecution team, whenever the suspects were shown to have been given opportunity to defend themselves against the prosecution’s allegations. For example, the *Daily Nation* had a headline that read: “trio gets chance to fight charges.”(*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011) while *The Standard* had an article headlined: “suspects to fight off retaliatory attacks charges.” and a pull

out quote that read: “President’s men set to defend themselves against ICC charges.” (*The Standard*, September 21, 2011). These statements depicted the ‘we’ as the suspects who are seeking justice by defending themselves against the charges brought against them by the prosecution team, who are portrayed as ‘them’.

The antinomies of ‘Mungiki versus the police’ also promoted the theme of crime or threat to peace, especially when the police was portrayed as fighting the illegal gang that was alleged to have taken part in the PEV (*Daily Nation*, October 10, 2011).

Through the antinomies, the ICC process is conceptualised as a ‘we’ versus ‘them’ where depending on the various interpretations of the media messages, the reader is left to identify with a side to support.

4.3.3 Metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphors facilitate thought by providing a practical framework within which abstract thoughts can be accommodated and understood. Borrowing on this line of thought, the metaphoric language used by the Kenyan media under study may have played an important role in transforming the abstract issue of the ICC process into a familiar concept by relating it to already known and understood concepts. In a court process, there are many parties involved, including the prosecution team, the defendants, the judges and the general public (Elsea, 2002).

Similarly, in the ICC process involving the six Kenyans, there were many parties involved whose role in the process needed to be highlighted, in order for the public to fully understand the process. In the analysis, it emerged that that within the 21 articles that used metaphors 13 of those metaphors targeted the ICC process in general, 4 of the metaphors were used in reference to the suspects and their defence team, 3 of the metaphors targeted the prosecutor and his team, while 2 targeted the personality traits of Kenyans who were not part of those accused.

Thus, the following examples show some statements that had metaphors targeting the ICC process:

- 1) The headline: “Kenya case draws in large crowd” and a pull-out quote: “We are not used to seeing this much drama in the court. Compared with other cases, this is fireworks (the *Daily Nation*, September 23, 2011). The metaphoric word ‘fireworks’ is use to represent the court process as a spectacular, where there are outbursts of anger or other emotion, a display of intelligence or energy.
- 2) The standard newspaper similarly had an article that stated: “in closing submissions, prosecutor Cynthia Tai went for a ‘blow-by-blow’ attack on the evidence tendered by the three suspects in their defence” (*The Standard*, September 9, 2011). The word ‘blow-by-blow’ attack represents the way the court process was combative when the prosecutor was issuing her submissions.
- 3) The *Daily Nation* through an article headlined: “suspects’ lawyers poke holes into Ocampo evidence” had a statement that read: “Mr. Kosgeys’s lawyers resorted to a technical analysis of the evidence to tear it apart with what they say is rebutting evidence.” (*Daily Nation*, September 7, 2011). To tear apart means to destroy. Thus in the context of the ICC process, it represents the process as a forum where the defendants are using a much strong force to destroy the prosecutor.
- 4) Likewise, *The Standard* newspaper also had an headline that read: “Face-Off: Uhuru, Ocampo lock horns in court battle” (*The Standard*, September 30, 2011), and an article stating that: “the 11 day process would not only be electrifying to Kenyans but all the four sides to it won’t be mincing words and intend to give their best to the case” (*The Standard*, September 2, 2011). By using the words ‘lock horns’ the court process is metaphorically represented as a battle between the defendant and the prosecutor. The process is also represented as being electrifying to mean that it is thrilling and causing a surge of emotions or excitement.

Statements with metaphors targeting the prosecutor and his team included:

- 1) A headline in an article in *The Standard* that read: “ICC: Ocampo to set ball rolling with his evidence” (*The Standard*, September 1, 2011). To set the ball rolling may mean to start doing something in order to encourage other people to do the same. In the context of the ICC process, this could have meant that the prosecutor had started the process of seeking justice for the criminal activities done during the PEV

- 2) An article with a pull-out quote that read: “ICC prosecutor pick battle-hardened team to counter tough defence of Uhuru, Ali and Muthaura” (*The Standard*, September 20, 2011). In this statement the prosecution team is represented metaphorically as a battle-hardened team to show their experience in handling court cases.
- 3) Another headline in *The Standard* read: “taking the bull by the horns” (*The Standard*, September 7, 2011). To take the bull by the horn may mean to do something difficult in a brave way, to confront a problem head-on or to forcefully attack a difficult situation. In this statement the prosecutor is metaphorically represented as a bull that represents a difficult situation for the suspects who must bravely confront him and the charges brought against them by him.

Metaphors targeting the suspects and their defence team were also identified. For instance, consider the following examples:

- 1) “The prosecutor has also raised several objections which if upheld might render the defence toothless” (*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011). Rendering something toothless means causing it to lack the necessary force for effectiveness thus not producing an intended effect. In the context of the ICC process, this represents the fact that if the prosecutor’s objections are upheld, the defence team may be subdued, thus lacking strategies to defend themselves.
- 2) “These are the lawyers who have been burning the mid-night oil since Moreno-ocampo released the document containing charges against their clients” (*The Standard*, September 2, 2011). To burn the mid-night oil may mean to work studiously, late into the night. Thus the statement portrays the defence team as working tirelessly on behalf of their clients.
- 3) “Kenyatta bites the bullet and chooses to be cross examined as witness for two days by defence lawyers, prosecutor and judges” (*The Standard*, September 15, 2011). To bite the bullet may mean to decide to do something difficult or unpleasant. Thus this statement represents Mr. Kenyatta as being brave and the prosecution team as the unpleasant situation he must tackle.
- 4) “Mr. Moreno Ocampo said celebrations in the defence camps were premature” (*Daily Nation*, September 22, 2011). A premature celebration refers to when people celebrate

too early. In this statement, it may portray the defence team as celebrating before being sure of the outcome, suggesting that they are overconfident.

Accordingly, the following examples show the metaphors that were identified as targeting the personality traits of the Kenyans in general. This goes to show that every aspect involving the process was metaphorically represented.

- 1) “Muthaura told the chamber that between January and February, 2008; he chaired meetings for national security advisory committee because the country was on fire” (*The Standard*, September 22, 2011). This statement means that because of the PEV, the country and its citizens were chaotic.
- 2) An introductory statement: “Today Muthaura and Uhuru begin fighting shocking claims by Ocampo through trusted witnesses as Kenyans grapple with weight of evidence” (*The Standard*, September 26, 2011). The word to ‘grapple’ as used in this statement represents Kenyans as struggling to understand the evidence brought against the suspects by the prosecutor.

Kövecses (2005) posits that metaphors can also be classified as universal or cultural or according to those understood by specific communities. Classifying metaphors can help in determining the public’s ability to understand and appreciate them. However, despite the fact that some metaphors are universal and as such, are easily understood because they form part of our everyday conversations, there are those that are complex with varied meanings to them (Ritchie, 2006). These latter ones might require the audience to have prior knowledge of them, either through reading. They may also include those that are jargon infused and may require the audience to be conversant with them. It is therefore important to consider the ability of the audience to understand the contents of metaphors before using them in a message (St. Clair, 2002).

Similarly, this study in seeking to determine which classes of metaphors were used in relation to the ICC process relied on Kövecses’ (2005) schemata for classifying metaphors. For instance, he postulates that a cultural metaphor has an activity or object with which members of a given culture can emotionally and cognitively identify with because they reflect the underlying values

of a culture (Kövecses, 2005). Thus, in the current study, some metaphors were classified as cultural to Africans because they made reference to objects or concepts that could resonated well with Africans, especially Kenyans who were the newspapers target audience.

On the other hand, Ma and Liu (2008) advance that universal metaphors are those that evoke a similar or uniform thinking pattern in different cultures. In this regard, when a person is compared to a lion, for example, the lion is universally known to be a courageous and strong animal, thus such a metaphor can be classified as universal. Similarly, in this study, metaphors were classified as universal metaphors when they made reference to objects that could be interpreted in almost a similar way by different audiences regardless of their geographical location. Other metaphors were also classified as westernized whenever the references used were those that were available in the west culture, thus resonating with the western or European audience or with anyone knowledgeable in their customs and culture (Kövecses, 2005). For example, in the statement, “it was a roller coaster”, the reader needs to be conversant with the ‘roller coaster’ which is an entertainment found in an amusement parks in the western countries.

Table 1.8 Classification of metaphor used in the news articles

	Frequency of occurrence	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Universal	7	18.4	33.3	33.3
Cultural to Africans	2	5.3	9.5	42.9
Westernized	12	31.6	57.1	100.0
Total	21	55.3	100.0	

According to table 1.8, the most common type of metaphors identified were those classified as westernized at 31%, followed by those that were universally understood at 18% and those that were cultural to Africans at 5%. Given that a majority of the newspapers’ readers are thought to be literate (Oriare & Mshindi, 2008; Simiyu, 2013), then using metaphors that were westernized may have made it easier for them to understand the court process because they had prior

knowledge of the western culture as opposed to those who could not understand the metaphors. For example when a Dutch journalist was quoted as terming the court process as being 'fireworks' (*Daily Nation*, September 23, 2011). Fireworks are devices that may be alien to the reader who doesn't know what they are or when they are used. Thus, such a metaphor can be understood well by a reader who is conversant with the western culture, where fireworks are used in celebrations.

On the other hand, by using universally understood metaphors, the media made sure that it cut across a wider audience. For example, when they quoted one of the suspects referring to himself as a 'fire-fighter' who was mistaken for an arsonist by a 'policeman', who was the prosecutor Mr. Ocampo (*The Standard*, September 22, 2011). In this example, it is assumed that everyone can relate to the fire-fighter and the crucial role he played in saving lives and that in his endeavour to perform his duty, he might have made a mistake and instead of appreciating his hard work, the policeman arrested him for the mistake. Such a way of understanding the two metaphors can lead to the reader either to support the accused person because it seems that he was wrongly incriminated. Another reader may support the prosecutor, claiming that all criminal acts should be punished.

Another article in the *Daily Nation*, (September 22, 2011), quoted Mr. Ocampo as terming the celebrations by the defence team as being 'premature'. It is common knowledge that something that is premature is something that is untimely, like a baby who is born before he is fully developed. In this case, the reader may understand the celebrations by the defence as being untimely because the prosecutor is sure of winning the case, or despite being sure of winning the case, the defence team should wait until the process comes to a conclusion.

The metaphors that were cultural to Africans may have served the purpose of further elaborating the process within cultural realms understood by a majority of the newspapers' African readers, since they could understand the process better by imagining it within those realms. For example, the headline in *The Standard*, September 30, 2011, read "Face-off: Uhuru, Ocampo 'lock horns' in court". An article in the *Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011, also termed the defence as 'toothless'. Locking horns is an act associated with bull fighting which many African tribes including Kenyans who are the newspaper's main target audience, can relate to, especially those

that keep cattle. On the other hand, calling someone toothless in the African culture amounts to referring to him as being harmless, like a dog that has no teeth to bite.

It therefore emerged that the newspapers used various metaphors to represent every aspect of the process, and their selection of the metaphors were those that their audiences could relate to, thereby understanding the process.

4.3.4 Personification Mechanism

Manning (2001) posits that the use of personalities as objects of identity is a news value that has been perfected by most western print and broadcast news editors to promote certain concepts. The media often use elite people to serve as objects of identification because of their importance and the ordinary people are not given a chance of representing themselves (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). This study borrowed from these lines of thought and found as highlighted in figure 1.4, that the most common personification was that of prosecutor Ocampo representing the court, the court process and the evidence presented against the accused.

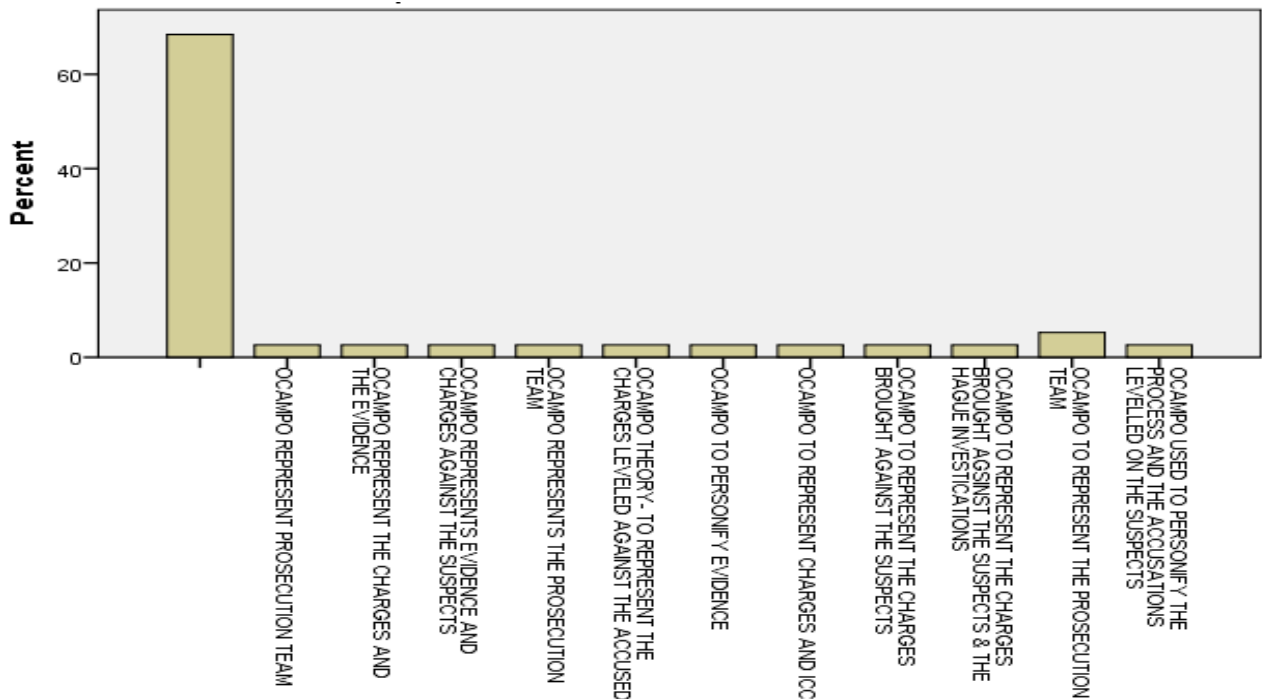


Figure 1.4 Types of emerging personification identified in the news articles

By repeatedly using Mr. Ocampo to represent the ICC process, the newspapers ended up promoting him as the face of the process. This implied that the reader could not think of the process without bringing up the image of Mr. Ocampo to mind. It also meant that the reader needed to use Mr. Ocampo's personality traits in reference to the ICC process in order to understand it. However, in the event that Mr. Ocampo ceased being the chief prosecutor and someone else took his place, the media may be faced with the need to promote this new face as a new representation of the process. Nonetheless, the newspapers' selection of prosecutor Ocampo to personify the process might have been appropriate, because according to a report by Follner (2011), the Kenyan public viewed him and the court process as providing justice and an end to impunity in the country.

4.3.5 Naming mechanisms

Naming helps in liberating a new phenomenon from secrecy and complexity by providing a social group with a code that they can use in reference to the phenomenon (Hoijer, 2011). Naming often appears in headlines and introductions in the media, and even a vague naming may liberate the unknown from total incomprehensibility. This study aimed at finding out how the two newspapers used the communicative mechanism of naming by analysing the different categories of names used in reference to the ICC process and the placement of the names in the text. It emerged, as shown in table 1.7, that out of the 15 newspaper articles that used the naming mechanism, 3 of the names used targeted the ICC process. This refers to names that were used in reference to either the judges involved in the case or the location of the court or the case brought before the court.

For example, the following statements show how the ICC process was named:

1. The Hague (*The Standard*, September 5, 2011) in this statement the ICC process is referred to as The Hague, based on the fact that the court is located in that area.
2. Ocampo, Ruto group clash in chaos hearing (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011). The process is also referred to as 'chaos hearing' because the Kenyan cases brought to the

court are as a result of the human rights violations committed during the PEV as a result of the chaos caused by the disputed election.

3. “The Kenya case” (*Daily Nation*, September 28, 2011). The process was also referred to as the ‘Kenya case’ because of the nationality of the six Kenyans facing charges at the court.

On the other hand, 9 of the names identified in the 15 news articles targeted the suspects and their defence team. The following statements show how the six Kenyans facing charges at the ICC were named, either as ‘Ocampo six’, ‘Ocampo three’, ‘the trio’, ‘The Hague six’ or ‘president’s men’.

1. “Oblivious to the raft of activities surrounding one of the Ocampo six suspects...” (*The Standard*, September 19, 2011).
2. “Although the trio are accused of having a common plan,” (*Daily Nation*, September 21, 2011).
3. “Trio gets chance to fight charges” and “the ICC accuses the Ocampo six of bearing the greatest responsibility for the violence” (*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011).
4. Ocampo six (*The Standard*, Monday, September 19, 2011).
5. “Three of the Ocampo six suspects will be in the dock...” (*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2011).
6. “Elders plan prayers for Ocampo three” (*Daily Nation*, September 6, 2011).
7. “In a bid to convince the judges to drop the two cases involving the Ocampo six” (*The Standard*, September 16, 2011).
8. “President’s men set to defend themselves against ICC charges of allowing and financing Mungiki attacks” (*The Standard*, September 21, 2011).

Similarly, the following names were identified as targeting prosecutor and his team:

1. “ICC prosecutor picks battle-hardened team to counter tough defence of Uhuru, Ali and Muthaura” (*The Standard*, September 20, 2011). The prosecution team is referred to as battle-hardened team, to denote their experience at the court.

While the following 2 names targeted Kenyans who were not among the six, but who were also mentioned in the statements:

1. “Ali accused ICC prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo of trying to portray the police as ‘mindless robots’ (*The Standard*, October 4, 2011). The Kenyan police in this statement are referred to as mindless robots that have no ability to think on their own.
2. “Prosecutor accuses MP of being commander of ‘murderous militia’ as lawyers for suspects tear into Hague investigations” (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011). In this statement the illegal gang, Mungiki, is referred to as ‘murderous militia’, because of the alleged murders committed by them during the PEV.

The placement of names within an article is also significant because as Schudson (2003) posits, this is what attracts the reader first to the article and can have an impact on their opinion towards the article. The introduction part of an article is also very important because it sets the tone for the story, thus also crucial in the formation of emotions. Conversely, in the studied articles, it was discovered that 4 of the identified names were placed in the headline while 5 of the names were placed in the lead part of the story. This served in introducing the story and drawing the attention of the reader to the rest of the story. The lead is an important part of the story for readers who don't have the time to read the whole story but instead prefer to peruse through it. In the current study, it was discovered that majority of the names, that is 10 of them, were found in the rest of the story. This also includes names that were placed in captions used on the photographs. These might seem as neutral placement of the names, but the names still served the purpose of representing the process and giving it characteristics that the readers could relate to in order to understand the ICC process.

4.4. Implications of Objectification and Anchoring Mechanisms on the Media Messages

The SRT advances that the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring, through their various representation elements, can influence how a message is understood, based on how the elements are interpreted. It is from these interpretations that people derive an understanding of a social phenomenon. This study by relying on the tenets of the SRT and research findings from existing

media studies, attempted to decode the inherent implications of the identified elements as a means of realising the social representations advanced by the elements.

4.4.1 Emotional Anchoring and Objectification

The SRT advances that emotional anchoring and objectification as representation elements are achieved when a new phenomenon is attached to well-known emotions (Moscovici, 1973; 2001). By this the unknown gets recognized through the emotions that the public can relate to easily. This notion is also supported by psychological researches which posit that emotions can help us to interpret and judge social situations and objects (Bless, Fiedler & Struck 2004). Social phenomena, events or courses of events may therefore be anchored in feelings of fear or an approaching threat, or in feelings of anger, pity or compassion. One way through which the media achieve these types of emotional anchoring and objectification is when they use visual and verbal representations to interpret and break down the complexity of an issue by attaching specific emotions to them (Hall, 1997). Höijer (2010) basing his study on the social representation theory, also found out that the media evoked emotions when they represented climate change in visual and verbal representations. This study similarly found that some of the photographs that were used could evoke various emotions on the reader. For example, a picture (*Extract 8*) in one of the newspapers under study shows a group of people demonstrating, carrying placards reading; “*resettlement for IDPS*” and “*justice for IDPS*”. The accompanying captions explains that they are victims of the post-election violence, and they are celebrating the decision of the ICC to throw out Kenya’s appeal challenging the trial of the Ocampo six at the Hague (Daily Nation, September 1,2011).



Extract 8

This picture may bring out different emotions for different categories of readers. The first category may comprise of those to whom such a picture could conjure the emotion of satisfaction and happiness towards the ICC process with the hope that it could provide justice for the crimes committed during the PEV. Given that the PEV is alleged to have been as a result of pent-up ethnic rivalry (KNCHR, 2008), this picture could evoke emotions of anger on a reader who is related to the accused persons; either by blood or tribe because they may feel that their people are being accused and victimized wrongfully. They may even feel resentment towards the IDPs who are in support of the process. This in turn could further alienate the two groups, thus becoming a threat to their peaceful co-existence.

More emphasis should therefore be put on the visual elements because according to Klaren (1996 in Elde, 2005) we see pictures in the same way that we view the world in general and we tend to accept what we see in the pictures as the truth. This is because visual persuasions, through pictures, provide a short cut to our emotions (Elde, 2005). For example, Michael Griffins after comparing the use of photographs in news magazines' coverage of wars like the 1991 gulf war and 2001 invasion of Afghanistan found that the magazines routinely supported Washington's official version of the event because the American president was prominent in the pictorial coverage, often appearing in pictures as a strong and confident leader.

This was also replicated in the two Kenyan newspapers under study, where some of the accused persons, for example in *Extracts 9 & 10*, who were also prominent leaders in the Kenyan

government often appeared calm, collected and sometimes smiling in the photographs they appeared in and which the media used in their news articles. This sends the message that they were confident of emerging winners in the court process. On the other hand, they also come across as arrogant and conceited, manifesting their superiority through their facial expressions that showed signs of arrogance, as indicated in *Appendix 2*.



Extract 9



Extract 10

Social psychologists while expounding on the SRT, also emphasize that we are more likely to accept a message as true if the text is accompanied by visual elements that support the message in the text (Crick, 1994). Research in this field similarly shows that we react emotionally to images before they reach our consciousness and they are kept in our memory as truth (Barry, 1997). Thus the combination of text and visual elements in the newspaper coverage of the ICC process played an important role in emotionally objectifying and anchoring the process. For instance, it was observed that whenever the articles were talking about the suspects challenging the charges against them, the accompanying photograph was of the suspects themselves either smiling or pensive like in *Extracts 11 and 12* respectively.



Extract 11



Extract 12

The newspapers also used photographs of the prosecutor and his team when talking about the court process and the charges levelled against the six Kenyans as shown in *Extract 13*. In this photograph, the ICC chief prosecutor, Mr. Ocampo is seen smiling while getting into his car. Based on his facial expression, he comes across as happy and confident, maybe of winning his case, because he is the one who opened the case against the six Kenyans.



Extract 13

Sometimes photographs of protesting Kenyans were used when talking about the need for the ICC process, for example *Extract 14*, where the protesters are shown carrying placards and wearing T-shirts with messages supporting the ICC process.



Extract 15

Words such as “Horror from the Hague” represented the court process as horrific and this may have promoted the emotion of fear on the reader because of what might be happening at the Hague, given that this was the first time Kenyan cases were taken to the Hague court.



Extract 16

Figurative statements such as “Prosecution, Defence come face to face” as shown in *Extract 18* (*The Standard*, September 2, 2011) and “THE BIG FACE-OFF” as shown in *Extract 16* (*The Standard*, September 30, 2011), bring up the emotion of anticipation and anxiety because the process has been reduced to a two-man challenge between the prosecution team and the defence team. The reader is thus made to find out who emerges the winner in the duel. This could also imply that the reader needs to consider supporting either team. For example, *Extracts 15 and 16* show pictures of Ocampo and the six accused, and Ocampo and Ruto respectively, and in all the two pictures, the two parties seem to be facing each other, like in a duel. This two-party layout

with each party ‘confronting’ one another on the page, fits into Lynch & McGoldrick’s (2000) war journalism dichotomy. The civilian population, in this case, the victims of the PEV and Kenyans in general are totally absent in the conflict.



Extract 17

Extract 17 above has a headline that reads; “Taking the bull by the horns” and a subhead that says “Like Ruto, Kosgey lawyers, Sang attacks Ocampo evidence and discredits his witnesses”. When used together, the sentiments represent the process as a confrontation where sang confronts his problem, who happens to be Ocampo and deals with it openly. Ocampo is represented as a bull, the problem that Sang is facing.

Therefore, despite the various emotions evoked, the way the newspapers used photographs and words to emotionally anchor and objectify the ICC process also ended up representing it as a war or struggle between the prosecution team and the defence team.

4.4.2 Emerging Antinomies

According to Markova (2003), the media when reporting on a social phenomenon, often tend to capitalize on the fact that the public sometimes make sense of certain situations better when they are represented in opposites or antinomies. The media thus, will anchor a social process in distinctions, where two parties are involved and eventually the social phenomenon will be seen

as a conflict or problem to be debated upon in the public sphere, depending on which side one is on. This study thus sought to understand the antinomies used by the two newspapers to anchor the ICC process, and the inherent messages within the antinomies in relation to the process.

As had earlier been discussed, the most recurring antinomy was the one that placed the ICC prosecution team led by Mr. Ocampo against the suspects and their defence team, be it in the form of Uhuru versus Ocampo or Ruto versus Ocampo. Other antinomies included: Kenyan court process versus The Hague/ ICC court process; Kikuyus versus other tribes in Kenya and Mungiki versus the Kenyan police.

The following are examples of some statements appearing on the newspaper that show how the mechanism of anchoring in antinomies or distinctions of “we” versus “them” was created. The “we” in this case could have been Kenyans supporting either party, be it the defence team of the prosecution team while “them” could have been the opposing party.

- a) “Fillings by Mr. Kenyatta’s British lawyers Steven Kay and Gillian Higgins indicate that sharp exchanges between the prosecution and defence can be expected as the high-ranking trio come face to face with the accusers” (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday September 21, 2011). In this statement, the court process is represented as a struggle between the prosecution and the defence. The ‘we’ could be the defence team and their supporters; while ‘them’ could be the prosecution team.
- b) ICC courtroom diary on Kenya”. Intro read: “Today Kenya turns a new chapter as the courtroom process that could end with full trial of Kenyans at The Hague begins” (*The Standard*, September 1, 2011). This statement represents the Hague court as targeting Kenyans, thus the ‘we’ could be Kenyans versus ‘them’ who represents the court.
- c) “President’s men set to defend themselves against ICC charges of allowing and financing Mungiki attacks” (*The Standard*, September 21, 2011). This statement brings out the antinomy between the accused who are the president’s men and the charges levelled against them at the ICC. Thus, ‘we’ can be interpreted as the accused persons and their supporters, against ‘them’ who are the prosecution team that took the charges to ICC.

- d) “The unusually sharp exchanges between suspect lawyers and prosecutors have become talk of town” (*Daily Nation*, September 23, 2011). The lawyers are represented as the ‘we’ versus prosecutors who are ‘them’.

According to Markova (2003), in specific socio-historical contexts, antinomies related to a social phenomenon may become a source of tension, conflict or problem and the phenomenon part of public debate. Thus, when the newspapers represented the ICC process as a conflict between the ‘we’ and ‘them’, where ‘them’ is seen as the problem, may have further polarized the readers in to groups depending on which party they were supporting.

Another outcome of the ‘we’ versus ‘them’ antinomy may have been the portrayal of ‘our’ side as moral, righteous and victimized, and ‘them’ as evil, aggressive and manipulative. Proponents of peace journalism (Galtung, 1998; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2000; Peleg, 2006), have highlighted the dangers inherent in such a representation, arguing that it can further escalate a tense situation into a full blown physical conflict or cultural violence that affects how one group thinks and talks about or see the other group for many years to come, even after the conflict has ended (Galtung, 1998).

Bar –Tal (1998) while expounding on the same, contends that since polarized ideas of conflict are so convincing and exert moral pressure to take sides, their effects continue to be felt long after the conflict itself has ended, eventually becoming basic societal beliefs. Therefore when the Kenyan media represented the ICC process in antinomies, they risked causing more conflict amongst their Kenyan readers.

The media reporting were therefore characterised by representation elements that foregrounded images of conflict and disagreement between the prosecution team and the defence team. According to Mandelzis (2007), when in such a situation, the parties involved in it will often want to know who the aggressor is and how he can be stopped. Similarly, in the Kenyan context, such a representation forces the supporter of either team to look for means of stopping the perceived aggressor.

4.4.3 Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that metaphors are among the most powerful tools for producing new knowledge, and that they can strongly influence how we conceive the world around us. Metaphors also help in rendering the less familiar more familiar, by stressing on certain aspects of the phenomenon, concept, or situation while hiding others (Wagner et al., 1995; Nerlich, 2010). For Example, in an analysis of climate change articles published in farming magazines, Asplund (2011) while using the SRT, found that climate change was metaphorically described in terms of a greenhouse, war, or game, each of which had different implications for how the readers made sense of climate change. Likewise, as discussed previously, various metaphors were used in connection with the ICC court process.

However, as earlier established, majority of the metaphors ended up representing the process as a war or struggle. The highlighted words in the following statements show the metaphors that advanced the concept of war or struggle between the defence team and the prosecution team.

- 1) “Mr. Kosgeys’s lawyers resorted to a technical analysis of the evidence to **tear it apart** with what they say is rebutting evidence” (*Daily Nation*, September 7, 2011).
- 2) “She also **poked holes** on photographs produced by Ruto to prove he was not at the December 30, 2006 meeting in Eldoret “(*The Standard*, September 9, 2011).
- 3) “Katwa **will be attacking** what he pointed out as contradictions of facts and figures” (*The Standard*, September 2, 2011)
- 4) “**No mincing** words”(*The Standard*, September 2, 2011)
- 5) “The lawyer outlined his difference of opinion with judge Trendafilova whose judgement **threw-out** the demand of Mr. Ocampo” (*Daily Nation*, September 21, 2011)
- 6) “Mr. Sang’s lawyer, Katwa Kigen **attacked the assertion** that 1.2 billion was raised to fund the clashes in the rift valley” (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011)

The metaphors used also objectified the process using religious legends that the readers could use in understanding the process. For instance, one of the studied news articles had an in-text heading that read: “*David versus Goliath*” and in the text that follows, the writer likens Sang to David and Ocampo to Goliath (*The Standard*, September 7, 2011). The process is thus

represented as a duel between a significantly weaker and disadvantaged Sang and a more powerful Ocampo, where going by the biblical duel, the weaker opponent ended up winning. Such a comparison can be understood from a religious angle, where Ocampo represents the evil Goliath and who according to the narrative, despite being the stronger one in the duel, was easily killed by the weaker David, through God's intervention.

Therefore, despite the various interpretations of the metaphors used, the study realised that they all promoted one social representation of the ICC process, as a war or struggle between the defence team and the prosecution team. This implies that it is this mental image that the reader is made to use in order to understand the process.

4.4.4 Personification

Personification of as an element of representation works by linking the abstract object to a person or a group, thereby providing the object with a more concrete existence through these association. These transmitted values help the recipient to experience great involvement in current events by identify his world with the image of the persona created by media (Markova, 2003). In the newspaper articles that were studied, it emerged that the media repeatedly referred to Chief ICC prosecutor Ocampo whenever they were talking about or referring to the process. This in turn made him serve as a personification of the process thereby linking him to various situations connected it.

Personifying the process as 'Ocampo's process', also portrayed the process as a one man show that is controlled by the Prosecutor. This representation further reinforced the contention between the prosecutor and the defence team. Karlberg (2005) opines that the way we perceive a subject influences the way we react to it. Therefore, the upshot of the newspapers' representation of the ICC process as controlled by Mr. Ocampo is that the reader is forced to relate to it based on how he perceives the prosecutor.

For instance, given that in most of the photographs used by the newspaper the prosecutor appears confident and studious, he sends the message of being in control of the process. This can have an impact on the way the reader understands and relates to the ICC process.

Similarly, some media analyses have also demonstrated that objects of social representation can also be personified in order to achieve emotive effects (Jaspal & Nerlich, 2013). This was replicated in some statements identified in the studied articles, examples of which include the following:

- a) *The Standard*, Tuesday, September 20 2011. “Ocampo surprise”
- b) *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, September 6 2011. “Kosgey takes war on chaos to Ocampo”.
- c) *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, September 6, 2011. “Elders plan prayers for Ocampo three”.
- d) *Daily Nation*, Wednesday, September 7, 2011. “Suspects’ lawyers poke holes into Ocampo evidence”.
- e) *The Standard*, Thursday, September 29, 2011. “Uhuru tears into Ocampo evidence”.

These statements were used to personify Ocampo as the face of the charges brought against the six accused Kenyans, for example as shown in ‘d’ and ‘e’ above; the face of the process, for example as shown in ‘b’ above; the prosecution team, as highlighted in example ‘c’ above and as the face of the outcome of the process, as shown in example ‘a’ above.

In these statements, Mr. Ocampo is portrayed as the face of the ICC process, as a solution to the problem faced by the victims of the PEV and as a problem to the defendants because it was him who initiated the cases against them. The consequence of these insinuations is that they can conjure emotions of support, liking or dislike for the ‘Ocampo’ personality. For instance, the victims of the PEV may have supported and looked up to Ocampo as the face of justice for the crimes committed against them, while those supporting the accused persons might have seen him as the face of injustice because he was the one ‘falsely’ accusing their people thus end up hating or disliking him.

The newspapers’ representation of the ICC process through the personification of Mr. Ocampo served the purpose of providing their readers with an object through which they could understand the process. However, a downside to such a representation would arise in the event that Mr. Ocampo no longer holds the office of the chief prosecutor. In case of such a scenario, the readers who were in support of the process because of the characteristics of the prosecutor risk losing faith in the new prosecutor if he or she fails to match up to their expectations or fails to match the

traits of Mr. Ocampo. The newspapers would also be forced to look for a new personality to represent the process, thereby leading to the formation of new social representation of the court process.

4.4.5 Naming

According to the SRT, the purpose of anchoring is classification and through this process, a new social object is fully incorporated into pre-existing structures of knowledge (Moscovici, 2000). This is done through the mechanism of naming where a novel ideal or object is given certain characteristics and tendencies. Applying this to the studied samples, the most recurring name was identified as the name 'Ocampo Six'. Because naming a new object of representation gives it a code for future reference, when the newspaper articles colloquially named the accused Kenyans as 'Ocampo Six', the reader is made to immediately call to mind the six Kenyans facing charges at the ICC. Prosecutor Ocampo is once again used in identifying the accused persons. Thus, they are characterized as being the 'victims' of Ocampo, that is, Ocampo is the connecting factor between them.

The six Kenyans were also referred to as 'The President's Men', because of their linkage with the president of the country. In the Kenyan context, the phrase 'President's men' is used to identify anyone who has close relationship with the head of state, be it because of tribal linkage or position held in the public service. In line with this, Lippman (1998) advances that the process of naming is strongly connected to the processes of stereotyping. According to him, some of the names used by the media to identify people, groups of communities are often loaded with preferences, affection or dislike. Similarly, referring to the accused persons as 'The President's Men' allows the reader to assign them stereotypes such as the 'untouchables' because of their connection to the office of the president.

Correspondingly, Hoijer's (2010) study found that whenever the media used the naming mechanism when reporting on climate change, the names usually appeared in the headline and leads. This is significant because according to Dor (2003), newspaper headlines are relevance optimizers that are designed to enhance the importance of their stories for their readers. Thus they become textual negotiators between the story and the readers. In line with this, it was

established in the current study that some of the names used by the newspapers in reference to the ICC process were placed on the headlines.

For example, an article in one of the articles had the following headline: ‘Elders plan prayers for Ocampo three’ (*Daily Nation*, September 6, 2011). This headline introduces the reader to two factors; one is that there are elders who may be supporting some of the accused Kenyans. Such a statement puts the reader on tenterhooks to want to establish who the elders are and from what tribe or clan they are. Secondly, it also introduces the reader to the fact that the suspects have sought divine intervention on their behalf so as to win the case. This may appeal to a religious reader who might want to find out the religious outfit that conducted the prayers and where they were conducted. Thus the headline will have served the purpose of enticing the reader to the story.

Another article had the following headline: “ICC prosecutor picks battle-hardened team to counter tough defence of Uhuru, Ali and Muthaura” (*The Standard*, September 20, 2011). By naming the prosecution team as ‘battle-hardened’ they are represented as having been toughened by their experiences of warfare and therefore effective at fighting battles. Nonetheless, this headline draws the reader’s attention to the fact that the process entails a serious struggle where battle-hardened teams are needed because of their expertise in such situations. The reader is therefore spurred to find out who this team comprises of and the outcome of the struggle.

Therefore the implication of using the naming mechanisms to represent the court process was that besides providing a code of reference in relation to the process, the defendants and the prosecution teams, the names also portrayed the process as a war or struggle between the two parties. Thus, this is what the reader is made to use as a point of reference in order to understand the process.

4.4.6 Thematic Anchoring

The SRT posits that themes can emerge from antinomies, metaphors and pictures used in a story or from the way a topic has been discussed or introduced. Moscovici (2000; 2001) uses the concept of theme to refer to the structural in-depth or hidden levels of social representations used to promote an ideology. In this study, it was found that the emerging antinomies as when as

some choices of metaphors and pictures used in representing the ICC process enhanced the theme of war or struggle, where the defence team was at war with the prosecution team led by Mr. Ocampo.

The following examples of headlines best illustrate how the court process was thematically anchored as a war or struggle;

- a) *The Standard*, September, 30, 2011: The big face off. The words ‘face off’ denote a situation where one party is preparing or beginning a confrontation with another party. Thus, these words anchor the court process as a violent confrontation between the defence team and the prosecution team.
- b) *The Standard*, September 7, 2011: Taking the bull by the horns. Based on the idea that holding a bull by its horn is a brave action, this statement represents the court process as a confrontation. One party, the defence team, is depicted as confronting a difficult problem, by forcefully attacking. The problem in this case is the prosecutor, Mr. Ocampo.
- c) *The Standard*, September 30 2011: Face-off: Uhuru, Ocampo lock horns in court. Based on the literal meaning of two fighting animals, like how the stags or bulls use their horns to fight, the words, ‘lock horns’ denotes a scenario where Mr. Uhuru and Mr. Ocampo are embroiled in a violent conflict.
- d) *The Standard*, September 21 2011: Suspects to fight off retaliatory attacks charges. The words, ‘fight off’ represent a situation where one party is defending its self by attempting to harm or gain power over another. it can also mean a physical conflict between two or more individuals. Thus, in the context of the ICC court process, it represented the confrontation between the defence and the prosecution team as a war, where the suspects had a chance to fight back after being attacked by the prosecutor.
- e) *Daily Nation*, September 2 2011: “Ocampo, Ruto group clash in chaos hearing” and *Daily Nation*, September 30 2011: “Uhuru clashes with Ocampo over Mungiki”. The word, ‘clash’ denotes a violent confrontation between two or more people. Thus, by using this word, the article represents the ICC process as a violent struggle between Mr. Ocampo and Mr. Ruto.
- f) *Daily Nation*, Wednesday September 21 2011: Uhuru group out to trash Ocampo evidence on chaos. To ‘trash’ something or someone denotes to damage or wreck it. This

statement therefore depicts the defence team lead by Mr. Uhuru as keenly striving to destroy the prosecutor's evidence. Although this can be typical of a court process, this statement can also mean that they are bent on using all forces to achieve this.

However, as Dor (2003) opines, newspaper headlines are designed to optimise the relevance of news stories for readers. They therefore guide individual readers to specific stories which would be worth their while to read. This is attributed to the fact that readers regularly scan the headlines and only occasionally stop to read the actual story. Thus, when a reader is presented with the above headlines and the information therein, for example, these are the social representations of the court process that the reader is made to use as a point of reference to the court process.

4.4.7 Overall Representation

Despite the fact that the newspapers employed the various elements of objectification and anchoring with the intent of making the ICC process understandable to their readers, they also attempted to explain the reasons for the ICC process, often delving into the PEV and its effects.



Extract 18

For example in *Extract 10*, the *Daily Nation* (September 28, 2011) under the headline, 'Uhuru's turn to take stand in his own defence', had an in text box talking about why the suspects are in

The Hague. *The Standard* newspaper in *Extract 18* (*The Standard*, September 2, 2011), also under the headline, ‘Trial: Prosecution, defence come face to face’, had an in text box where they explained what the confirmation of hearing was and the same paper (*The Standard*, September 5, 2011) highlighted the implications of the ICC process, both negative and positive. Thus, this study also found that the newspapers used a neutral tone to report on the process.

It is important to note that the neutral tone occurred despite the fact that the articles anchored the process on the theme of war/struggle. This could be due to the fact that they tried to talk about both parties involved in the conflict, at times highlighting their strong points in the case, for example with words such as; ‘The unusually sharp exchanges between lawyers and prosecutors have become talk of town’ (*Daily Nation*, September 23, 2011), ‘Prosecutor accuses MP of being commander of murderous militia as lawyers for suspect tear into Hague investigations’ (*Daily Nation*, September 2, 2011), ‘ICC prosecutor picks battle-hardened team to counter tough defence of Uhuru, Ali and Muthaura’ (*The Standard*, September 20, 2011). The fact that the newspapers use a neutral tone doesn’t absolve them of objectifying and anchoring the ICC process as a conflict, where the defence team is constantly at war with the prosecution team. The reader is always left to decide who amongst the two will emerge victorious, based on whether the accusations are true or false. The newspapers thus risk portraying one party as the enemy to be watched out for, and as Mandelzis (2007) opines, such a portrayal can have an impact on how the reader reacts to the ICC process, either negatively or positively.

4.5 Conclusion

The above presentations and analysis has shown that the two newspapers that were studied used various mechanisms of objectification and anchoring in their representation of the Kenyan ICC process including the use of photographs, metaphors, antinomies, naming, thematic anchoring and personification

In order to understand how the two newspapers used the various elements of objectification and anchoring, the above discussions highlighted how the parties involved in the ICC process were named and where the names placed and why, the types of metaphors that used and their various interpretations. The study also considered the emerging antinomies and how these helped in the

development of various themes that were used to anchor the process. How the media personified the process was also analysed and discussed. It emerged that majority of the photographs used in the news articles promoted the emotions of anticipation and anxiety on the reader and that most of the names used targeted the defence team, followed by the court process then the prosecutor and Kenyans. Majority of the names appeared inside the news story as opposed to being in the introduction part of the stories or on the headlines. The antinomies that were used by the newspapers helped in thematically anchoring the ICC process as a struggle between the defence team and the prosecution team.

It was also established that through the various elements of representation such as emotional anchoring and objectification, emerging antinomies, use of personification, metaphors and naming mechanism, the newspapers repeatedly focused on two parties, that is the defence and the prosecution teams, depicting them as being at war with one another. The chief prosecutor at the ICC, Mr. Ocampo, was also repeatedly portrayed as the main link between the accused persons and the court and its prosecutors. He eventually emerged as the personification of the process, thus being used by the newspapers to represent the process.

Although the newspapers attempted to maintain a neutral tone in their reporting, by not delving into who was winning the case or who was losing, the representation mechanisms eventually served in representing the ICC process as a war or struggle between the prosecution team and the defence team.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine how *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers used the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring to represent the Kenyan ICC cases. Using the methodology outlined in chapter 1, the study gathered data that has been used in the discussions in the previous chapters. This chapter therefore provides a summary of the findings discussed in these chapters, draws conclusions from these findings and makes recommendations and suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective of this study was to identify the elements of objectification and anchoring used in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC process by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. It was found that the two newspapers used various mechanisms of objectification and anchoring in their representation of the Kenyan ICC process, including the use of photographs, metaphors, antinomies, naming, thematic anchoring and personification. The most occurring elements were photographs and thematic anchoring with 36 and 27 news articles respectively using these elements. Antinomies and metaphors were also preferred and used in 22 and 21 news articles respectively. Naming and personification mechanisms were sparingly used in 15 and 12 newspaper articles respectively.

The second objective was to examine how the two newspapers exploited the communication power inherent in the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring used in the coverage of the Kenyan ICC process. It emerged from the study that the newspapers' editors may have considered the hidden communicative powers of the mechanisms they chose to use in their news articles. The photographs were not just selected for the sake of it, but the editors may have considered the active state of the subjects in the photographs with the possible intention of

evoking various emotions on the reader. The common emotions evoked by the photographs were the emotions of anticipation and happiness.

The naming mechanism that was used mostly targeted the suspects and most of the names were placed inside the story as opposed to on the headline or introduction. Majority of the metaphors that were used targeted the ICC process and most of them were westernized and as such, resonated well with the literate who might have had prior knowledge of them or of the western culture. The most recurrent antinomy was the antinomy of ‘we’ versus ‘them’, which placed the defence team against the prosecution team. This in turn thematically anchored the process as a struggle between the prosecution and the defence teams. Prosecutor Ocampo was also repeatedly used to personify the whole process.

The third objective sought to assess the implications of objectification and anchoring mechanisms on the message. This study found that through their choice of photographs and use of metaphors, the newspapers ended up anchoring and objectifying the process in emotions of fear, anticipation and anxiety. The antinomies used in representing the ICC process served in promoting the theme of war or struggle between the prosecution and the defence teams and the newspapers’ usage of prosecutor Ocampo as a personification of the ICC process served in portraying the process as a one man show controlled by the prosecutor. Naming the suspects as ‘Ocampo six’, also aided in providing the readers with a code for referring to the accused persons. Thus, by using the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring, the two newspapers succeeded in transforming the abstract idea of the ICC into a concrete material, by representing it within familiar realms of societal understanding.

5.3 Conclusion

This study argues that the aim of social representations is to make a phenomenon understandable by providing points of reference through the various interpretations of elements of representation such as naming, metaphor, personification, antinomies and emotional objectification and anchoring. In line with the first objective of the study, the data that was analysed showed that the two newspapers used various elements of representation such as naming, metaphors, personification, antinomies, emotional objectification and anchoring that served in objectifying

and anchoring the ICC process within known spheres that their audiences could relate to, thereby promoting knowledge of the process.

As per the second objective of the study, it was established that the elements that were used in representing the ICC process had various interpretations to them and it is these interpretations that served in creating social representations of the ICC process that the reader could use to enhance their knowledge of the ICC process.

In keeping with the third objective of the study, it emerged that despite the various interpretations to the elements, the elements were fused with ideological undertones that served in representing the ICC process as a struggle or war between the prosecution team and the Kenyans who were facing charges at the court. Nonetheless, media scholars have contended that crime and court process reporting is often susceptible to sensationalism as a means of getting an edge (Mc Neely, 1995; Dowler, 2003). Sensationalism refers to media reporting that is controversial, shocking, attention grabbing and graphic. Thus, these reports are fundamentally designed to arouse strong emotional reactions in readers. In the current study, it emerged that the ICC process was sensationally presented to the newspaper reader. This was achieved through the various photographs and metaphors that evoked emotions on the reader, as well as being divisive through the antinomies that depicted the process as made of two side only.

Correspondingly, other scholars have argued that the media's representation of court processes has always been distorted, thus, it has encouraged an invalid understanding of the court's work and the behaviour of the justices (Elsea, 2002, March, 2014). Similarly, in the context of the Kenyan ICC process, portraying the lawyers as engaging in physical or violent verbal arguments with each other is not a true depiction, because in real life, the lawyers do not address each other, but they address the presiding judge(s), directly and any lawyer who disrespects another lawyer or witness is often not heard but made to leave the court (Elsea, 2002). This goes to show that there is order in the court room, albeit the intellectual engagement that takes place between the prosecution and defence teams. In line with this, an article in one of the newspapers under study is in fact noted as stating that the ICC proceedings were conducted in a fairly regulated circumstances and that they did not possess the drama that the public are otherwise used to with regard to the local television programmes that depict court cases as stages of drama (*Daily*

Nation, September 8, 2011). Yet when one looks at the headline, it still depicts the court had having drama and full of uncertainties with the words: “Hague court processes keep many guessing on outcome of hearings”.

Therefore, while the newspapers’ coverage of the ICC process may have contributed to creating awareness of the process, it portrayed it as highly combative and violent by using various elements of representation such as metaphors that enhanced the theme of war, antinomies that forced the reader to pick a side to support; photographs that evoked various emotions and thematic anchoring that propelled the theme of war as a representation of the court. However, as Moscovici (1993) posits, an idea, no matter what form it assumes, has the power of making us come together and modify our feelings and behaviour. Consequently, since the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya, for which the six Kenyans are accused for being key perpetrators, is alleged to have been as a result of pent-up ethnic rivalry in the country (Mutua, 2008; KNCHR, 2008), such a representation could further derail the country’s national cohesion efforts, given that the accused persons come from ethnic tribes that are alleged to have been at war with one another during the PEV.

5.4 Recommendations

In line with its first objective, this study has ascertained that one of the ways through which the media can promote knowledge of abstract issue is by employing the mechanisms of objectification and anchoring as advanced by the SRT (Moscovici, 1998). Based on the current study findings that revealed that elements of representation can be used to anchor and objectify a phenomenon in ways through which newspaper readers could easily relate to and understand a phenomenon, this study thus recommends for adoption and continued use of these mechanism as alternative means of representation.

In keeping with the second objective, this study has highlighted that elements of representation can have various interpretations to them and that it is these interpretations that lead to the formation of social representations. However, the good and bad news about social representations is that they are difficult to change once they have been established (Moscovici, 1998). Thus, media practitioners should be careful not to use representation elements that are

infused with language and imagery that could potentially be misleading. This is due to the fact that false or misleading analogies can create potentially permanent impressions on their audiences' imaginations, thereby affecting their subsequent discourse and behaviour regarding a social phenomenon.

After studying the various implications of using representation elements in the newspaper articles in accordance with the third objective of the study, this study recommends that, whilst emotional anchoring and objectification in the media is a good way to enhance a reader's engagement in an issue (Hoijer, 2004), it is important to consider the possibility that the reader may be disillusioned by emotionally loaded information or messages because of their various interpretations that may in turn affect how they understand and relate to a phenomenon (Olausson, 2005).

5.5 Suggestion for Further Research

This study focussed only on the two leading newspapers in the country. However, given that there are at least five mainstream newspapers in the country, future research could build on the current study by analysing the other newspapers or conducting in-depth interviews with journalists so as to get first hand perspectives on their knowledge and experiences with using representation elements in their news articles.

In addition, this study could also be expanded by looking beyond printed forms of media to focussing on broadcast media such as television and radio and exploring the social representations of court processes that emerge in Kenyan television or radio programmes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

CODING SHEET FOR NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS

1. **Paper:** 1=Daily Nation; 2= The Standard
2. **Month:** 1= September; 2= October
3. **Date:**
4. **Day of week:**
5. **Type of article:** 1= news article; 2= editorial article; 3= commentary; 4= others
6. **Section of paper:** 1= national news; 2= african news; 3= international news; 4= business news; 5= opinions; 6= sports news; 7= others
7. **Size of article by number of words:** 1= 1-150; 2= 151-500; 3= 501 or more
8. **Picture include in the story:** 1=yes; 2= no

If No skip to question 9.

If yes;

- a) **Human Subjects in picture:** 1= individual; 2= group 2-5 people; 3= group 6-10 people; 4= group 11+; 5= celebrity/leader
- b) **Human subjects in the picture and their active state:** 1= happy/smiling; 2= sad; 3= neutral; 4= crying; 5= calm/placid; 6= focused/concentrating; 7= laughing; 8= injured, no treatment; 9= injured, being treated; 10= dead; 11= speaking; 12= Illustration; 13= 'historic' illustration; 14= praying; 15= demonstrating; 16= others
- c) **If 16 (others), which one?**
- d) **Non human subjects in the picture:** 1= single building; 2= multiple building; 3= civilian vehicle; 4= military vehicle; 5= books/documents/computer; 6= weaponry; 7= landscape; 8= map; 9= forestry/ foliage; 10= newspaper text; 11= 'urban life'; 12= 'rural life'; 13= food; 14= graphs; 15= Graves; 16= animal(s); 17= Ballot box; 18= machinery; 19= crash wreckage; 20= flag; 21=placard; 22=others
- e) **If 22 (others), which one?**

f) **What emotion is evoked by the picture?** 1= shame; 2= compassion/sympathy; 3= fear; 4=politeness; 5= anger; 6= disgust; 7= sadness; 8=interest; 9= joy/happiness; 10=surprise; 11=embarrassment; 12=contempt; 13=pain; 14= neutral; 15=others

g) **If 15 (others), which one?**

h) **Is there a caption explaining the picture:** 1=Yes; 2=No

If yes, what is it?

9. Use of antinomies in the story (Refers to a contraction/opposition between two apparently equally valid principles or between inferences drawn from such principles that tend to create a conflict, e.g us/them):

1= Yes; 2= No

If yes, which one?

10. Thematic anchoring (Anchoring may take place at more basic thematic levels by the use of underlying categories of meaning, antinomies such as life/death or culture/nature etc., or by the use of metaphors. Themes may be conceived of in ways that come close to the concept of ideology regarded as common sense thinking or taken-for-granted ideas in a society or among groups for example democracy, human rights or equality):

1= Yes; 2= No

If yes, which one? 1= democracy; 2= human rights; 3= justice; 4= nationalism/self glorification nationalism; 5= politics; 6= corruption/misuse of power; 7= crime/threat to peace; 8= individualisation; 9= war/struggle; 10= injustice

11. Use of metaphors in the story (Metaphors make things and phenomena comprehensible by imagining them as something else, for example “life is a journey” or “time is money”.):

1= Yes; 2= No

a) If yes, which one?

- i. Targeting the ICC/court process: 1=yes; 2=no
- ii. Suspects and their defence team (either mentioned in general or by name): 1=yes; 2=no

- iii. The prosecutor (either mentioned in general or by name): 1=yes; 2=no
- iv. Personality traits: 1=yes; 2=no
- v. Any other: 1=yes; 2=no

b) If 4, which one?

- i. Kenyan public: 1=yes; 2=no
- ii. Suspects / defence team: 1=yes; 2=no
- iii. Prosecutor: 1=yes; 2=no

c) What is the metaphor used?

d) If 5, which one? (Write verbatim)

e) Is the metaphor used: 1= universal; 2= cultural to Kenyans; 3= cultural to African; 4= Westernised

12. Use of personification mechanism in the story (Through personification an idea or phenomenon is linked to specific persons such as when Freud personifies psychoanalysis or Gandhi political struggle through non-violence):

1= Yes; 2= No

If yes, which one?

13. Use of naming mechanism in the story (A most common way of giving the foreign or unknown phenomenon a more well-known face is to name it. A new political group may be named as terrorists, a new ill-health is called the Black Death of our age, and the complex scientific phenomenon climate change may shortly be labeled as the weather):

1= Yes; 2= No

If yes,

- a) Targeting the ICC/court process? 1= Yes; 2= No
- b) The suspects and their defence team? 1= Yes; 2= No
- c) The prosecutor? 1= Yes; 2= No
- d) Kenyans? 1= Yes; 2= No
- e) Any other? Which is? (write verbatim)

f) **Which name(s) is used?**

Placement of naming mechanism in story:

- a) **Headline?** 1= Yes; 2= No
- b) **Introduction?** 1= Yes; 2= No
- c) **Rest of story?** 1= Yes; 2= No

14. Overall representation of the ICC process: 1= political; 2= western machinery; 3= enemy of African states (Kenya included); 4= manipulative; 5= targeting African states; 6= legal process; 7= war between the prosecution and the defence

15. Overall tone of the article: 1= accusing the suspects & their lawyers; 2= accusing the prosecutor; 3= accusing the judges; 4=supporting the process; 5=supporting the prosecutor; 6=supporting the suspects & their lawyers; 7=accusing Kenyans or government; 8=neutral

16. Personal analysis of the whole story based on the following: (write verbatim)

- a) **Theme**
- b) **Antinomies used**
- c) **Metaphors**
- d) **Emotional tone of the picture or story in general**
- e) **Personification**

APPENDIX 2

FACIAL ACTION CODING SYSTEM (FACS)

(Ekman, 1972; Izard, 1977; Ekman & Friesen, 1977; Ekman, Friesen, & Hager, 2002; Cohn & Ekman, 2005; Ekman & Rosenberg, 2005)

EXPRESSION/EMOTION	FACIAL ACTIVITY
Neutral face	A neutral face is a relaxed face without contraction of facial muscles and without facial movements. It is the state of a person's face most of the time, i.e., it is the facial appearance without any dramatic expression.
Joy/Happiness	The main feature of happiness/joy is the movement in the mouth. The corners of the lips are drawn back and slightly up. Raised cheek and inner brow, nasolabial deepened. The lips can remain together in a smile. Optionally the jaw may be dropped and lip corner depressed.
Anger	Brow lowered, lid tightened, upper lid raised, lip tightened. Optionally: Upper lip raised, chin raised, lip pressed
Surprise	Inner and outer brow raised, jaw dropped
Fear	Eye brows' muscle contracts to pull eyebrows up and in. Lower eye lid contracts and upper eyelids raised slightly. Lip corners pulled sideways, tightening and elongating the mouth (upper lid raised, lips parted and stretched, jaw dropped and mouth stretched)
Embarrassment	Gaze averted, head moved down and to the side, exposing neck. Lip press together tightly,

	reflecting feelings of restraints.
Shame	May look like embarrassment, but when ashamed, the head moves straight down, not to the side and there is no smile.
Pride	Involves signs of dominance. The corners of the lips rise slightly, signalling that the person is happy. But what distinguishes it from happiness is that the head tilts back with a slight jaw-thrust. These are classic signs of power and dominance. They suggest that one is feeling strong.
Contempt	Close to pride because they both involve a backward head tilt, but contempt doesn't involve a slight smile, instead with contempt, the lip movement is asymmetrical-only one side tightens. That is, the lip tightens on one side of the face and head tilts to the side.
Disgust	Involves rising of the upper lip and the bridge of the nose wrinkles, narrowing the eyes. Upper lips raised. Sometimes the mouth opens and the tongue comes out as if one wants to throw up. One experiences disgust about noxious things. Optionally: Lip corner depressed, lower lip depressed
Pain	The eyes close tightly, eyebrows lowered, lips tighten and press upwards. This is because the facial muscles move in ways that contract the face and protect us from harm.
Compassion	The corrugator muscles pull the eyebrows in

	and up, the lips press together and head tilts forward slightly as a sign of social engagement.
Sadness	Slightly the same as compassion but in sadness the lips are pulled down. Inner brow raised, brow lowered, lip corner pulled straight down
Amusement	Head thrown back, eye muscles tighten around the eyes, mouth opens with muscles around the mouth relaxed.
Interest	Head tilt forward slightly, eyebrows raised straight up, lip corners pulled up in slight smile.
Politeness	Has a non-Duchenne smile, that is, a smile that doesn't signal true happiness. It rather suggests that the person is trying to seem polite and cooperative but not genuinely happy.