

**THE ROLE OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES ON TWO THIRD  
GENDER PRINCIPLE AWARENESS AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA: A  
CASE OF JUBILEE ALLIANCE**

**By**

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**October, 2016**

**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this research project proposal is my original work other than for source materials which have been acknowledged, closely related material has never been submitted for the samilar or different courses

**Signature:**

**Date**

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**Jacqueline Njambi Kamau**

**K50/74303/2014**

I hereby declare that this research project proposal has been submitted for consideration with my approval as the appointed University supervisor

**Signature:**

**Date:**

.....

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**Supervisor: Dr. Leah Muchemi**

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## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

AU - African Union

OFGD - Focus Group Discussions

JA - Jubilee Alliance

K24 - K24 Television Station

MCA - Member of County Assembly

MP - Member of Parliament

NARC - National Rainbow Coalition

RC - Republican Congress

SCM - Sponsored Communication Messages

TNA - The National Alliance Party

TTGP - Two Third Gender Principle

UK - United Kingdom

UKAID - United Kingdom Agency for International Development

UNWOMEN - The United Nations Entity for Gender and Equality United Nations Women

URP - United Republican Party

USA - United States of America

USAID - The United States Agency for International Development

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## **DEDICATION**

To my late grandfather Boniface Kamau Kimui for instilling in me the value of Education, Jubilee Alliance , Jubilee Party for offering young women opportunities to be leaders, Hon. Alice Muthoni Wahome for mentorship, Esther Wanjiku, Margaret Nyambura and Gracy Nyambura.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study explores the role of Sponsored Communication Messages in the success or failure of creating awareness of Two Third Gender Principle in Jubilee Alliance. The study has analyzed the nature of Sponsored Communication Messages placed on K24 TV and Daily Nation and the level of information among party leaders and members. In addition, the study establishes the impact of Sponsored communication Messages. Jubilee Alliance as a case study is used to measure the extent to which Two Third Gender Principle has been considered in formation of administration and management of the party, in the membership and party leadership. The study uses Spiral of Silence theory and Social learning theories to explain the impact of Sponsored communication Messages on the awareness of Two Third Gender Principle. Sampling was done using stratified and simple random sampling methods to come up with a sample of 94 respondents. Data was collected using Focus Group Discussion for party officials and questionnaire for other respondents. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics, SPSS for quantitative data while documentation, colour coding and numbering systems were used to analyze qualitative data. The response rate was 87%. Majority of the respondents were female at 52%. The study established that majority of the respondents had not watched or read Sponsored Communication Messages. However, majority of those who watched and read Sponsored Communication messages rated them to be highly informative and persuasive. The participants of Focus Group Discussion had a good understanding of Two Third Gender Principle. They explained the merits and a few demerits of creating awareness and implementing Two Third Gender Principle within structures of Jubilee Alliance member parties. The findings of the study indicate that Sponsored Communication Messages have not been effective in emphasizing the importance of implementing Two Third Gender Principle among political parties of Jubilee Alliance.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Overview**

This chapter gives background information to the study and a description of the problem statement that anchors the need for this research project. It also outlines the objectives of the study, the research questions, justification, and operational definition of terms.

#### **1.1 Background**

In both local and international level, women are restricted by laws and culture among other factors. In political Parties like Jubilee Alliance (JA), women are underrepresented as members and officials. This occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders and agents of change, and their right to participate equally in democratic governance. To address this challenge there are International commitments to women's representation. This include The Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) and The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEADAW) ( Kaimenyi, Kinya & Chege, 2013).

Gender equality is one of the Sustainable Development Goals. In Africa, there is a 50-50 declaration by African Union (AU) to be achieved by 2030. These are some of the global efforts on constitutional based reforms to make sure women are able to access to political leadership as voters, candidates and elected party officials (World Bank, 2014).

Recognizing this, The Constitution of Kenya (2010), domesticates these commitments to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedoms and entrenches the concept in article 81 (b), The Two Third Gender Principle (TTGP). However, despite the many communication messages sponsored by development partners, the implementation of this principle is yet to be fully realized (Gender Datasheet, 2013).

According Gender Data Sheet (2013), by Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Development traditional and cultural ideas about the roles of girls and women have always restricted their contributions in Kenya. In Kenya there is low representation of women in decision-making positions in political parties. However, the untapped potential of women and girls who are half of the nation's population has gained greater attention in Kenya too. The struggles in the women movements led to inclusion of women's rights at policy level. The country's new Constitution, passed in 2010, provides a strong framework for addressing women's participation in political parties. It seeks to remedy the traditional exclusion of women and promote their realization (Mufford, 2011).

To date, Kenya is a signatory to various international and regional policies. These include the, The African Union Protocol to the African Charter on Human, Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) and Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thus, the government has to advocate these policies and attain equitable gender representation (Melcote & Steeves, 2001).

Sponsored Communication Messages act as catalysts for awareness and implementation of Two Third Gender Principle in Kenya. According to Gender Datasheet (2013), local media is sponsored by Development partners to increase and promote the roles of Nominated Women Senators, Members of County Assemblies and Members of Parliaments who are nominated or elected under the Gender Principle, Cabinet Secretaries and Principal Secretaries.

The United Nations Entity for Gender and Equality United Nations Women (UNWOMEN), Action Aid, USAID and UKAID are among development partners who sponsor programs and live debates among other communication messages on Television, Radio and Newspapers (Lee 2014). They do this with an intention of creating awareness and emphasizing on the importance of implementation of TTGP in Kenya. However, this is one of the many projects they are conducting in Kenya (World Bank, 2014).

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The low proportional representation of women in political and governance structures in Kenya's political parties has brought about the introduction of gender quotas. In The National Alliance Party (TNA) one of the members of Jubilee Alliance (JA) out of 72 Members of Parliament (MPs) only 13 are female (Gender Datasheet, 2013). The Constitution of Kenya (2010), Article 81 (b) requires the electoral system to adhere to TTGP. Even though Article 177 that requires Article 81(b) and article 27 (8) of the Constitution of Kenya (2010), to be complied with, TTGP has not been attained both at the National Assembly and Senate and County Assemblies (World Bank 2015).

According to World Bank (2015), there is low representation of women in elective posts. In Kenya National Assembly there are 349 members only 86 are women 20.7%. The same problem is in the party under study, among the 12 top party officials in Jubilee Alliance one is a woman and she holds a member position in the secretariat. In The National Executive Board (NEB) only 3% are women (Mzalendo, 2015). The Women League in Jubilee Alliance has attempted to lobby for inclusion of the women as top officials of the party but in vain. UN WOMEN funded printing of Newspaper Adverts and Fliers for the Women League in order to persuade the Party Leaders to include more women in the administration and management of the party. Thus, development partners such as UN WOMEN, USAID and Action AID seek to alleviate this problem through sponsored communication messages. However, underrepresentation of women is still evident (Oakley, 1972).

It is important to seek for a solution to create awareness and enhance implementation of the Two Third Gender Principle in the party officials, National Executive Council, National Executive Board and The Party Secretariat. If this is not done, decisions by the Executive bodies may be overruled due to lack of women representation and the party primaries will be gender discriminative since women concerns will not be represented in the party (Mzalendo, 2015). This study therefore seeks to investigate the role of sponsored communication messages on creating awareness leading to implementation of Two Third gender principle.

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

To determine the role of Sponsored Communication Messages on Two Third Gender Principle awareness in Kenya.

#### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

1. To analyze the nature of Sponsored Communication messages on K24 Television Station and Daily nation Newspapers
2. To find out the level of information on the Two third Gender Principle among members of Jubilee Alliance
3. To determine the impact of Sponsored Communication Messages on Jubilee Alliance

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What is the nature of Sponsored communication messages on K24 Television Station and Daily nation Newspapers?
2. What is the level of information on Two Third Gender Principle among members of Jubilee Alliance?
3. What is the impact of Sponsored communication messages on Jubilee Alliance?



## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

This study will explore the changes that Jubilee Alliance is making in order to accommodate Gender Principle in the party structures after interaction with sponsored communication messages. Through this study, there will be increased awareness of the Two Third Gender Principle and the importance of implementing it. The study uses Jubilee Alliance as a case since it is a national coalition with membership in all the forty seven counties unlike other political parties that have regional strongholds and no representation in some areas of the country (Jubilee Alliance, 2012).

The results of the study will be important to the party since the Party officials will have information on the extent of understanding of TTGP among its members. This will be a political advantage during campaigns. The party will be able to evaluate its inclusion of women in the party management and include more women hence, be very popular among women voters who are likely to support parties that are women inclusive.

The study will enhance realization of Article 81 (b) on TTGP in political representation during and after the 2017 elections within Jubilee Alliance. Increased awareness of TTGP among MPs in JA through this study will lead to enacting of the law envisaged in Article 177 (1) (c) and 100 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010..

UNWOMEN, Action Aid, USAID and UKAID are among organizations that sponsor the messages. The study will use them to measure the impact of the messages. In addition, Kenyans especially members of Jubilee Alliance will get up to date information of the implementation of TTGP in the party.

The Sponsors of Communication messages advertise at K24 since it is a national television and it is objective in broadcasting political issues. Daily Nation Newspaper is selling the largest number of copies and is accessible online hence advertisements are placed in this newspaper largely compared to other stations and newspapers (Africa Woman and Child Feature Service, 2015).

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of this study**

This study seeks to understand the role of sponsored Communication Messages on the awareness and implementation of Two Third gender Principle. Its scope was pegged on messages aired on K24 and printed in Daily Nation and their impacts on Jubilee Alliance members and officials while its limitation was the use one Alliance, one TV station and one newspaper. It also does not include how other media such as blogs, radio and social media disseminate information Two Third Gender Principle. The study is also limited on the dynamics of Kenyan politics that keep on changing from time to time. However, the study is using Jubilee Alliance that has been in existence since 2012.

## **1.7 Operational Definition of terms**

### **Women**

This study used the United Nations General Assembly and World Bank definition of woman as an adult female human being (World Bank 2015).

### **Gender**

According to Oakley (1972), it is the qualities that differentiate masculinity and femininity. These qualities can include biological sex; the state of being male or female. based social systems such as gender roles and other social responsibilities and gender identity.

### **Advertisements**

Advertisements are a paid, non-personal communications through various channels of media from business firms, non-profit organizations, and individuals who are in one way or the other identified in the advertisements and hope to inform or persuade members of a particular audience (Krugmann, et al 1994).

### **Communication**

Communication is the purposeful role of information exchange among participants to convey or receive the intended meanings through a common system of semiotic rules. The steps of communication include the formation of communicative intent, message development , message encoding, and transmission, reception, message decoding and in the end interpretation of the message by the recipient (Berlo, 1960).

### **Messages**

Schramm (1954), defines a message as a discrete unit of communication projected by the source for consumption by some recipient or group of recipients.

### **Sponsored Communication messages**

Sponsored Communication messages refer to content on Newspapers, TV, Radio that has been paid for (Berlo, 1960).

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Overview**

This is a description of what has been published on Sponsored Communication Messages and Affirmative Actions on leadership by recognized scholars and researchers. It also discusses theoretical consideration and reviews works by other scholars.

#### **2.1 Introduction**

According to Schramm (1954), sponsored communication Messages influence decision makers towards a particular point of view and to different perspectives of an issue. In this chapter the study will review literature and appropriate theoretical Framework relevant to the study.

Through regular production of sponsored communication messages by UN WOMEN, Action AID, UK AID and USAID in Kenya, Jubilee Alliance is conscious of two third gender principle in its administration and management (Jubilee Alliance, 2012).

It is important to note that TTGP is only a beginning, political will is required to enhance the expectations of the TTGP are implemented. Key participants include political parties, Non governmental Organizations, The Acting Registrar of Political Parties and Sponsored communication messages are very crucial in working together to enhance the achievement of TTGP (Ochiel, 2013)

#### **2.2 Sponsored Communication Messages**

Sponsored Communication Messages refer to content that is fully or partially paid for by development partners such as The United Nations Entity for Gender and Equality United Nations Women (UNWOMEN), Action Aid, USAID and UKAID (Lee 2014).

They include newspaper advertisements, articles, programs and live debates among other communication messages on TV, blogs, gutter press, social media, Radio and Newspapers.

Online sponsored content is available on, wikis, social networking web sites and individual Web sites. These sponsored messages include sponsored posts and advertisements (Berlo, 1960).

Sponsored posts have been defined by Nageshwar & Rajendra (2012), as articles which links to a webpage or specific product pages of the website. The developer of the content receives payment Unlike graphical adverts, the sponsored content has different varieties including feedback, reviews, or any other content (Minow, 1988).

Sponsored Communication Messages aim at persuading party leaders and officials to include women in decision making positions and elect women leaders for representation. This is through use of persuasion. All persuasion begins with capturing attention. Without attention, persuasion is impossible. Thus, the messages use very memorable images and words that are likely to generate attention (Nageshwar & Rajendra, 2012).

To enhance persuasion, Sponsored Communication messages are specific, easy to remember, expose expectations and goals. They provide targets for persons, households and community in order to be of use (Berlo, 1960).

On K24 UN WOMEN has been running a feature Thuluthi Mbili on Sundays after one pm news. The twenty minutes are shared between showing works of elected women MPs, Cabinet Secretaries and ends with H.E. President Uhuru call on Kenyans to support and respect women leaders. On Daily Nation there are weekly advertisements one page fully coloured with H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta, The president holding his signed placard message that states that he supports the implementation of two third gender principle. These advertisements are aimed at enhancing implementation of Two Third Gender principle especially in political parties.

### **2.3 Awareness of Two Third Gender Principle**

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) in Rwanda has the largest number of Women Party officials in Africa. 40% of the party Secretariat is composed of women. Democrats in the United States of America (USA) are known to be inclusive of women with Hillary Clinton as their presidential

candidate in 2016. Alliance Party in The United Kingdom has 10 % women representation in its National Executive Body (NEB) (Mufford, 2011).

The Constitution of Kenya (2010), in article 27(8) requires that the State to take legislative and other measures to implement TTGP. This provision has not been implemented (The Committee of Experts on Constitutional Review, 2010). The Attorney General in support of the Government of Kenya required direction from the Supreme Court of Kenya through an Advisory dated 8th October 2012. The subject presented before the Supreme Court for direction was whether the enforcement of TTGP was realizable instantly or progressively based on articles 27 and 81(b) of the Constitution (The East African Centre for Constitutional Development, 2014).

According to a critique by Ochiel (2013), The Supreme Court issued an Advisory Opinion No. 2 (2012), to the Executive and the Parliament that the achievement of TTGP would be progressive and dependent on the State's additional action. Further, the court held that public elective bodies are not confined to the National Assembly, Senate or County Government but to all public bodies in Kenya that participate in any form of elections. In conclusion, article 81 (b) could not be attained immediately (The East African Centre for Constitutional Development, 2014).

The Supreme Court further stated that the privileges under article 27 (6) and (8) could only be fully attained using legislative and other measures in spaced period of time through policy. The Supreme Court also advised that an outline giving effect to TTGP should be in place by 27th August 2015 (Supreme Court, 2012).

In February 2014, the Hon. Attorney General put in place a working group on the implementation of the Supreme Court Ruling on the achievement of TTGP to develop an outline for the realization of TTGP ahead of the deadline given by the Supreme Court. The working group collected several proposals and recommendations from different stakeholders, organizations and individuals. The process of legislation is ongoing. The laws under review include Political Parties Act 2012 and Elections Act 2011 (The East African Centre for Constitutional Development, 2014).

According to Gender Data Sheet (2013), From the time that Kenya got independence in 1963, 11 general elections have taken place, the last one was General Election in 2013 which was distinctive since it was the first one under the new 2010 constitution. The representation of women parliamentarians is still below 6% from 1963 to 2007. In the General Elections 2008 the numbers increased to 9.8% with 22 women parliamentarians (World Bank 2015). The 11th parliament that began its sessions in March, 2013, women have 19% representation. This came about through formation of 47 seats for women and policies necessitating nomination of women into parliament (The East African Centre for Constitutional Development, 2014).

Although the number of women representatives in parliament has improved, it is way below the required 33.3% if the TTGP is to be observed. In the last presidential elections 2013, there was Hon. Martha Karua a female candidate. In spite of this there have only been two presidential candidates since independence (Gender Data Sheet, 2013).

As stated by World Bank (2015), compared to other countries, Kenya is way behind in inclusion of women in leadership positions. The introduction of TTGP is a milestone but its implementation is way below the expectations. Kenya being a signatory to various global laws on women leadership, it is yet to implement TTGP (World Bank 2015).

According to Mzalendo (2016), in 2015, Members of Parliament made an agreement to withdraw a bill by Hon. Chepkonga calling for indefinite postponement of implementing TTGP and instead push for a bill by majority leader Hon. Aden Duale; The Constitution Of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 4) Bill (National Assembly Bill No. 38 Of 2015). However, in a voting session on 5<sup>th</sup> May 2016 The bill was not passed by parliament. The Duale bill was a compromise that amended relevant legislation to achieve TTGP requirement. It required additional women in leadership if the limit was not realized. The laws to be amended include the Elections Act, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act, the Political Parties Act (2012), the County Governments Act and the National Gender and Equality Commission Act.

The government will re-introduce the Bill in Parliament again. We can only look forward to our MPs put all their differences aside and protect all genders through voting for the bill. However,

women MPs have threatened go to court to have Parliament compelled to endorse a law on implementation of TTGP at The National Assembly, Senate and County Assemblies (Mzalendo, 2016).

## **2.4 Jubilee Alliance Structures**

Jubilee Alliance (JA) is a legal coalition registered under Political Parties Act (2012). JA belongs to men, women, youth and children from every part of this country, Kenya (Jubilee Alliance, 2012). The Alliance structures include Jubilee Alliance Interim National Executive Council, Party leaders are H. E. Uhuru Kenyatta and H.E. William Ruto Deputy President, Co-Chairpersons Hon. Noah Wekesa and Hon. Kiraitu Murungi. The Alliance has a National office and they plan to move to the counties to roll out the county programs (Mzalendo, 2015).

In 2013 JA was formed by coming together of The National alliance (TNA) and United Republican Party (URP) and Republican Congress (RC) and other parties, promised to implement TTGP in its party and in formation of its government. The first cabinet had five women and had met TTGP requirements. Its appointments and recruitments into Public Service Commission (PSC) have at least met the gender principle. In addition, the alliance has the most number of nominated MPs, MCAs and Senators (Africa Woman and Child Feature Service, 2015).

The National Governing Council has all elected and nominated Jubilee Governors, their deputies, MPs, Senators, while Speakers and Majority Leaders represents County Assemblies. The national representation of the party has set high standards of future politics of Kenya. The JA has a renewed resolve and dynamism to change the political history of the nation (Jubilee Alliance, 2012).

Constitutional gender quotas are the most effective and critical means of ensuring women are represented in political parties. Countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, South Africa, Tanzania and Rwanda have made very good progress in ensuring women's representation through constitutional gender quotas in the structures and running of political parties (World Bank 2015).



## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

According to Kombo & Tromp (2006), a theoretical framework is a reasoned set of prepositions that are supported and derived from data. It explains phenomena. Theoretical frameworks provide clarification of the reason and nature of the order of things as they are based on theories. This study used two theories namely; Spiral of Silence Theory and Social Learning Theory.

### **2.5.1 Spiral of Silence**

The Spiral of Silence Theory was proposed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. This theory insists that individuals have a fear of isolation, that comes from the fact that a social group may isolate members because of members' opinions (Neolle-Neumann, 1993).

According to Neolle-Neumann (1993), this fear of isolation as a result leads to remaining silent instead of voicing opinions. Media is an important aspect that relates to both the dominant idea and people's perception of the dominant idea.

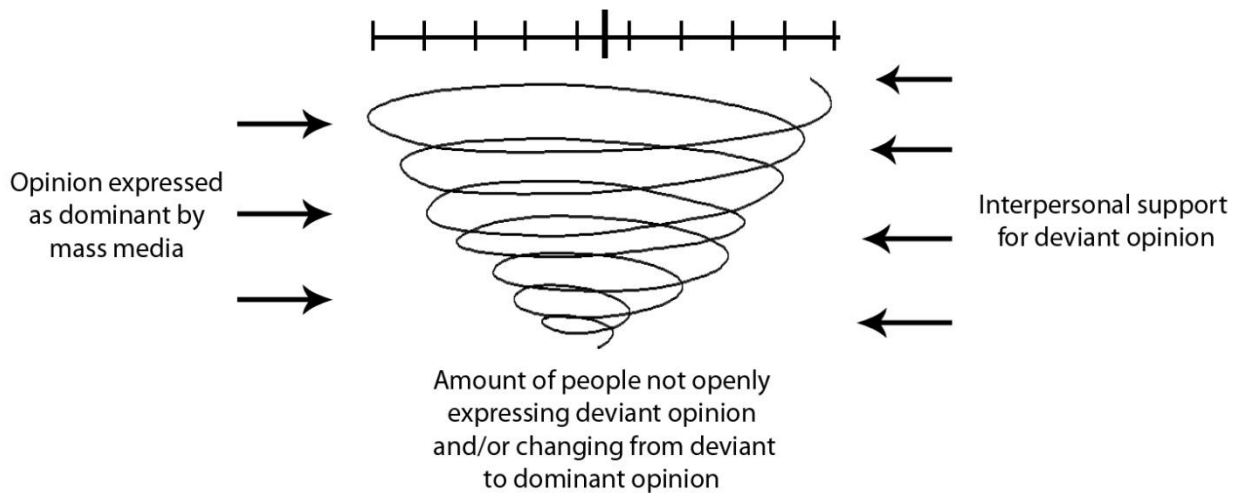
Lee (2013), shares that Spiral of Silence Theory is applied to establish the need to raise other voices for a specific agenda. The Sponsored communication messages are put in place to counter dominant voices and influence implementation of TTGP among political parties Jubilee party of Kenya.

In this study, The Spiral of Silence Theory is of great value in explaining why the sponsored communication messages are used as alternatives to the dominant voice that is condemning women leadership. The study will use the theory to explain isolation of women in Jubilee Alliance and how a different voice is being used to enhance awareness and thereafter implementation of Two Third Gender principle within the party (Neolle-Neumann, 1993).

As in the diagram below the dominant voices in Mass Media in Kenya portray the weaknesses of women leaders especially those who have leadership positions in parties. The dominant messages are aimed at stalling awareness and implementation of Two Third Gender Principle. For example there are questions on achievement and roles of Women Representatives in Kenya National Assembly (Mzalendo 2015).

Thus, through The Spiral of Silence Theory the study will seek to understand the role of Sponsored communication messages as the silent voice that is being awakened to enhance awareness of Two Third Gender Principle. This is through interpersonal support for deviant opinion. Therefore, party leaders and members who interact with sponsored messages are likely to have a different opinion from the dominant voices of mass media (Miller, 2011).

**Diagram 1: Illustration of Spiral of Silence Theory**



**Elisabeth Noelle- Neumann’s Spiral of Silence**

Source: Adopted Partly from Elisabeth Noelle- Neumann’s (1993) Spiral of Silence

**2.5.2 Social Learning Theory**

The proponent of Social Learning Theory Albert Bandura (1977), believed that direct reinforcement could not explain all types of learning. His theory added a social element, stating that people can learn new information and manners by watching other people known as observational learning. According to Gong (2014), this learning can be used to explain a wide variety of behaviors.

Bandura (1977), stipulates three models of observational learning; A live model, which entail an actual individual demonstrating behavior. A verbal instructional model, involves descriptions of

a behavior. A symbol model has real or fictional characters displaying behavior in books, television programs, or online media (Bandura, 1977).

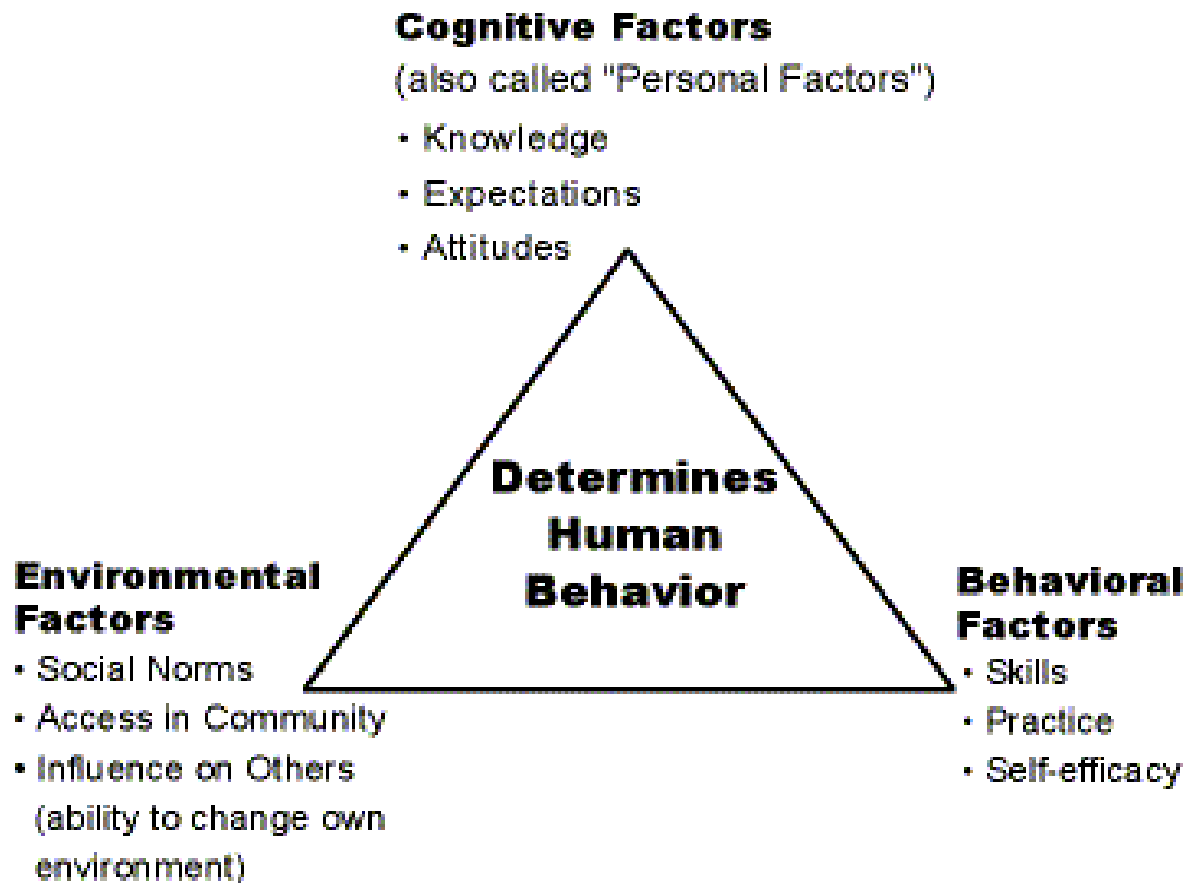
The two third gender principle will be known and implemented through change of beliefs towards women. These beliefs are acquired through observation, vicarious learning, and assimilation of cultural stereotypes (Kassilly & Onkware, 2010). Thus by providing sponsored communication messages that have consistent pictures, documentaries of women leaders, and current women leadership in other countries. It is expected that political parties will be able to understand and integrate women in the party structures. Social learning theorists state that the exposure and consistence stress will lead to implementation of TTGP by political parties.

The main goal of sponsored communication message is to influence and create awareness. According to Miller (2011), social learning theory suggests that SCM influences people via modeling. Modeled behavior is most likely to be adopted when there is attractive model whose behavior is rewarded. Therefore, Sponsored Communication messages create a positive image of women participation in political parties and thus increases the demand for more women in management of political parties (Kassilly & Onkware, 2010).

This theory is important to the study since it explains use of Sponsored Communication Messages to reinforce information on TTGP. Sponsored Communication Messages use this theory by highlighting achievement of female leaders and hence observational learning. Thus the study will use this theory in determining the degree of this observational learning and the impacts on implementation of Two Third Gender principle (Berlo, 1960).

As per the diagram below Sponsored Communication Messages provide information different attitudes and expectations on women leadership. Different skills of women are introduced and that challenge the social norms in the party. This determines the behavior of JA Party leaders and members and their attitudes towards women, their interpretation and implementation of Two Third Gender principle (Minow, 1988).

## Diagram 2: Illustration of Social Learning Theory

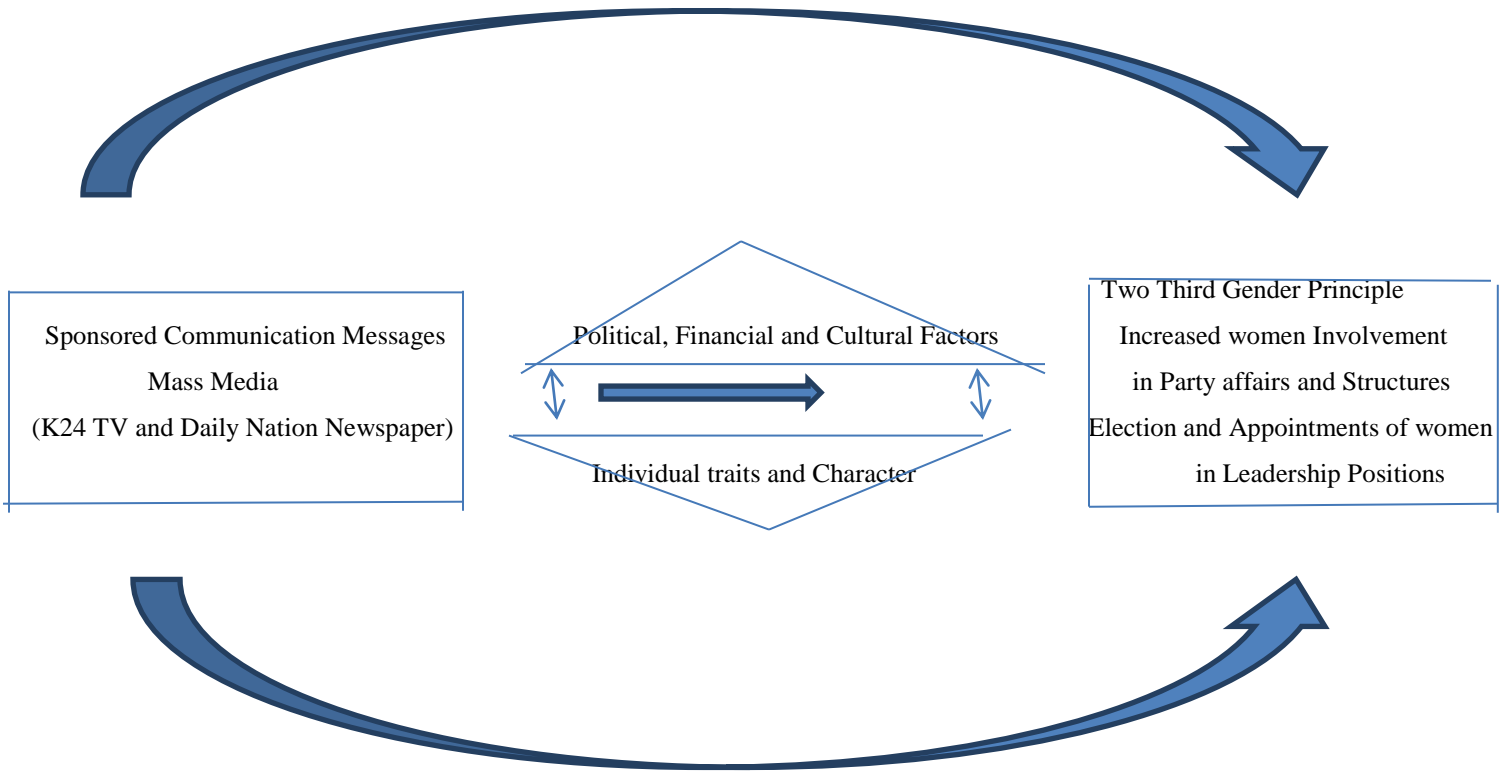


Source: Adopted Partly from Gong, Yue-Jiao (2014) Illustration of Social Learning Theory

### **2.6 Conceptual Framework**

According to Lindlof & Taylor (2002), a Conceptual Framework (CF) is the researchers own position on the problem and it outlines directions to the study. It shows the relationships of different constructs that are to be explored. It represents the researcher's synthesis of literature on how to explain a phenomenon. It maps out the actions that are important in the course of the study given the previous knowledge of other researchers' point of view and the observations on the subject of research (Kothari 2008).

**Diagram 3: Conceptual Framework Diagram**



*Source: Researcher 2016*

Sponsored Communication messages through mass media raise awareness and shape the implementation of Two Third Gender Principle in Jubilee Alliance. This is influenced by factors such as political, economic and cultural factors, individual traits and character such as ego or male chauvinism. The result of this is inclusion of more women in party structures and party affairs, election and appointments of women in leadership and decision making positions when party leaders are reached by the sponsored communication Messages.

According to Kombo & Tromp (2006), the relationship between variables is outlined in a CF. In this study, the independent variable are mass media, sponsored messages, TTGP, then the

intervening variables are political, economic and cultural factors , individual traits and character. While the dependent variable are increased women participation, election and appointment of women

Thus, Sponsored Communication Messages aired on K24 is shaped by interest of media owners and editorial policies. These factors result in lack of awareness on implementation of Two Third Gender Principle and hence less participation in political party decision making positions (Oakley, 1972).

## **2.7 Research Gap**

This study has identified a research gap in the impact of Sponsored Communication Messages on the implementation of Two Third Gender principle among political parties. Literature review indicates that implementation of Gender Principle has been analyzed at National Assembly, Senate and County Assemblies leaving out political parties despite political parties nominating candidates for election (Mzalendo, 2016).

Therefore, it is important to determine the implementation of Gender Principle within party structures. They have impact on the number of women candidates nominated depending on the representation of women in the party (Kassilly, & Onkware, 2010). This study has identified Sponsored Communication Messages and political parties for investigation on the implementation of Two Third Gender Principle. This study seeks to understand relationship between Sponsored Communication messages and the implementation of Two third gender principle by Jubilee Alliance.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Overview**

This chapter looks at the specific methods that will be used in data collection and data analysis in addressing the research questions including research site, study population, research design, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection methods, and data analysis and data presentation.

#### **3.1 Research Site**

The research site will be Jubilee Alliance Headquarters at King'ara road, Lavington. Nairobi, Kenya and offices of UNWOMEN at UN Gigiri Complex, UN Avenue Block M, Ground Floor and USAID office at Village market.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

Kothari (2008), describes research design as the structure of a research. Research design constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. This study will use mixed method approach. This means it will have both qualitative and quantitative data. This will eliminate limiting view of qualitative or quantitative research method that may be misleading. Mixed method approach will provide different paradigms and help to gain a holistic perspective. In addition, there are gains in breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

A case study of Jubilee Alliance will be used since it is a national party with membership throughout the country and has well established party structures. This case will make the study excels at bringing an understanding of a complex issue and add strength to what is already known through previous research. According to Skate (1995), case studies put emphasis on a detailed contextual scrutiny of a specific number of actions and the way they are related.

### **3.3 Study Population**

A population can be defined as including all people or items with the characteristic one wish to understand (Smith, 1993).

The target population of this study is both male and female aged 20-75 years since they can relate with and understand the Two Third Gender Principle and its implementation. They include National Party Officials who are 17 in number, 1500 members of National Executive Council, 100 members of National Executive Body, 30 Staff Members of Communication Departments of Sponsoring organization. Total Study population is 1647 persons.

### **3.4 Sampling Frame**

According to Kombo & Tromp (2006), a sampling frame is the source material out of which a sample is drawn. It is a list of all people or items in a population which can be sampled. In this study, sample population was drawn from Party records and membership databases. In addition, the sponsoring organizations provided lists of staff members in their communication departments.

### **3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure**

#### **3.5.1 Sample Size**

According to Yamane (1967), the following formula will be used to calculate the final sample estimate if the population size is known at 90% confidence level

$$N_y = N/(1+Ne^2)$$

Where:

$N_y$  = the desired sample size

$N$  = population size.

$e$  = alpha level

The sample size therefore will be:

94

Calculated as follows:



$$\begin{aligned}
N_y &= N/(1+Ne^2) \\
&= 1647/(1 + 1647 (0.1)^2) \\
&= 1647 / 1 + 16.47 \\
&= 1647/17.47 \\
&= 94
\end{aligned}$$

### 3.5.2 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is the process of highlighting units such as people and organizations from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we can generalize our results back to the population from which they were chosen (Smith, 1993).

This research will use Stratified Sampling and Simple Random Sampling methods. Stratified sampling, the populations apply a number of distinct categories that are organized into separate "strata." In this study include party officials, Members of National Executive Council, Members of National Executive Body, and staff members Communication Departments of Sponsoring organization. All the strata will have proportional male and female members.

Each stratum will then be sampled as an autonomous sub-population, out of which each elements will be selected in a random way. According to Smith (1993), splitting the population into distinct, independent strata will assist this study to draw inferences concerning certain subgroups which can be lost in a random sample. In addition, using a stratified sampling method will enhance efficient statistical estimates.

A simple random sample is a subset of persons; a sample selected from a larger set a population. Each person is chosen randomly and entirely by chance, in a way that each individual has the same chance of being chosen at any level in the sampling process, and each subset of k person has the same probability of being chosen for the sample as any other subset of k person. This method gives equal probability for all party officials and women members of parties (Smith, 1993).

The principle of simple random sampling is that each object has the same probability of being selected. Ratio of 1.2: 85: 4.1:3 will be applied to have 5:71:12:6 out of 17:1500:100:30

In this study out of 17 Party officials only five will be used. This tickets of 1-3 five times will be picked and the lucky who will pick number 3 will be selected without replacement. This will be applied to all other stratifications.

The final sample will be five party officials, 71 members of National Executive Council, 12 members of National Executive Body, 6 staff members Communication Departments of Sponsoring organization.

**Table 1: Sampling Table**

<b>Study Population</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b>Ratio</b>	<b>Selected Sample Male</b>	<b>Selected Sample Female</b>	<b>Total Selected Sample</b>
National Party Officials	17	1.2	5	0	5
National Executive Council	1500	85	64	7	71
National Executive Body	100	4.1	11	1	12
Staff Members	30	3	4	2	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	1647	1.2: 85: 4.1:3	83	10	94

*Source: Researcher 2016*

### **3.6 Data Collection Methods**

The Study data will be collected through Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and use of questionnaire. Questionnaires will be used for the National Executive Council, National executive Body and Staff members of Sponsors. The main advantage of the questionnaire method is that it will avoid the embarrassment of face-to-face dialogue and complete anonymity is assured. Lindlof & Taylor (2002), say that the use of self-administered questionnaires is effective in the collection of data on sensitive topics. Another merit of self-administered questionnaires, according to Lindlof & Taylor (2002), is that they are appropriate approach of obtaining data from literate populations. In this case, the study population is literate.

Focus Groups will be used on party officials. These are the people who provide hands on services to members of the party. Focus Group will give them an opportunity to provide further details. A focus group is a form of qualitative research in which several people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a product, service, concept, advertisement, idea, or packaging. Questions are put across an interactive group setting where participants can talk with other group members (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). There will be one Focus group will be of five members, made of party officials.

According to Lindlof & Taylor (2002), focus group discussions avail some quality controls on data collection. They can assess the extent to which there is relatively consistent and common perspective of TTGP among participant.

### **3.7 Pretesting of Questionnaire**

Lindlof & Taylor (2002), argue before implementing a study it is important to ensure that the measurement procedures and the measurement instrument had acceptable levels of reliability and validity. Validity is the capacity of an instrument to measure what it ought to measure. Reliability as the degree of consistency of an instrument to measures the attribute it is designed to measure. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaires, it is necessary to pretest it before actually using it. Pretesting helps to establish the strengths and weaknesses of your

questionnaire (see appendix 2) concerning question format, wording and order (Kombo & Tromp, 2006).

Kothari (2008), explains that there are two types of participating pretests and undeclared pretests. Participating pretests require that the respondents be informed that the pretest is a practice run; rather than asking the respondents to simply fill out the questionnaire, participating pretests usually involve an interview setting where respondents are required to explain reactions to question form, wording and order. This kind of pretest helps in determining whether the questionnaire is understandable. In an undeclared pretest respondents are not informed that it is a pretest. This kind of pretest gives room for the researcher to check your choice of analysis and standardization of questionnaire (Smith, 1993). This study will apply both participating pretests to five people and undeclared pretests to five people among the study sample.

### **3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation**

Kombo & Tromp (2006), argue that data analysis entails evaluation of what has been collected in a survey and making deductions and inferences. It entails scrutinizing the acquired information and making inferences. Data will be analyzed using descriptive statistics which will involve use of frequencies and percentages for quantitative data.

This research will also use SPSS data analysis approach for quantitative data. It allows for tabulation of data and representation in pie-charts and graphs.

Qualitative data will be analyzed through documentation, then use a colour-coding and numbering system to select text about the different themes, grouping together ideas and gathering evidence about views on each theme (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

Upon defense of my research proposal, The University of Nairobi School of Journalism and Mass Communication provided a Certificate of Fieldwork (see Appendix 4) on the study allowing the researcher to embark on data collection. The certificate had an explanation that was given to the respondents on the purpose of the study and seek their consent (see Appendix 1) to participate. The respondents were guaranteed of confidentiality regarding the information they

are to give. Before each session, respondents were asked to sign a consent form. All respondents were allowed to ask any clarification they need. There was a Declaration of Originality (see Appendix 5) of my work that was approved by the university after plagiarism results of 12% (see Appendix 6). I appeared before a panel of scholars at the university and pass defense with a few corrections. Thereafter I made all the corrections and I was issued with Certificate of Correction (see Appendix 7).

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS**

#### **4.0 Overview**

According to Smith (1993), findings are statements of authoritative decisions reached after investigations and examination. This chapter shows the study's findings on the role of sponsored communication messages on the awareness of two third gender principle in Jubilee Alliance. It begins with a summary of social demographic information, followed by a presentation of findings according to the objectives of the study.

#### **4.1 Analysis of the Response Rate**

Response rate is the percentage of subjects who respond to questionnaires. A response rate of 50% is considered adequate for analysis and reporting (Mugenda, 1999). The researcher had selected a sample of 94 respondents for the study. The questionnaires were distributed among party members, NEC, NEB and Party officials formed the Focus Group Discussion.

This was done through approval of the Political Parties after the researcher wrote to the political parties under Jubilee Alliance (JA), TNA, URP, RC and NARC requesting for permission to conduct research in their party organs. The request was approved and the researched was given a letter in order to access National Delegates Congress for the parties that were taking place at The Bomas of Kenya and Safaricom Kasarani stadium. This gave the researcher a chance to distribute questionnaires to a sample of 94 respondents. The questionnaires were distributed among party members, NEC, NEB and Party officials formed the Focus Group Discussion. However, only 82 of the selected respondents participated in the study. This gives a response rate of 87%.

## 4.2 Social Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The respondents indicated their demographic information, gender, age, position in the party, disability and party they belong to.

### 4.2.1 Gender

Table 4.1 : Gender

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Male	40	48.8
Valid Female	42	51.2
Total	82	100.0

*Source: Researcher 2016*

Out of all the respondents 40 (48.8%) were male while 42 (51.2%) were female. This shows that women are majority in party membership despite the few leadership position offered to them within Party leadership structures.

### 4.2.2: Age

Table 4.2: Age of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Valid 20-30	36	43.9
Valid 30-40	16	19.5
Valid 40-50	14	17.1
Valid 50-60	4	4.9
Valid 60-70	12	14.6
Total	82	100.0

*Source: Researcher 2016*

Majority of the respondents (43.9%) were aged 20-30 years, 19.5% were aged 30-40years, 17.1% were aged 40-50 years, 14.6% were aged 60-70 years and 4.9% were aged 50-60 years.

#### 4.2.3 Position in the party

**Table 4.3: Position in the Party**

	Frequency	Percent
Valid 1.National Party official	5	6.1
2.National Executive Council	61	74.4
3.National Executive Body	10	12.2
4.Party Member	6	7.3
Total	82	100.0

*Source: Researcher 2016*

Respondents were asked to state their position in the party. 74.4% of the respondents were members of the National executive council, 12.2% were members of the National executive Body, 7.3% were staff members of Jubilee Alliance and 6.1% were National Party Officials. This shows that the majority of the respondents (74.4%) were members of the National Executive Council.

#### 4.2.4 Disability

**Table 4.4: Disability**

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Yes	12	14.6
No	70	85.4
Total	82	100.0

*Source: Researcher 2016*



Respondents were asked if they had any disabilities. 85.4% said that they had no disabilities, while 14.6% said they had disabilities.

#### 4.2.5 Party Affiliation

**Table 4.5: Party Affiliation**

	Frequency	Percent
Valid TNA	32	39.0
URP	35	42.7
RC	6	7.3
NARC	5	6.1
Others	4	4.9
Total	82	100.0

*Source: Researcher 2016*

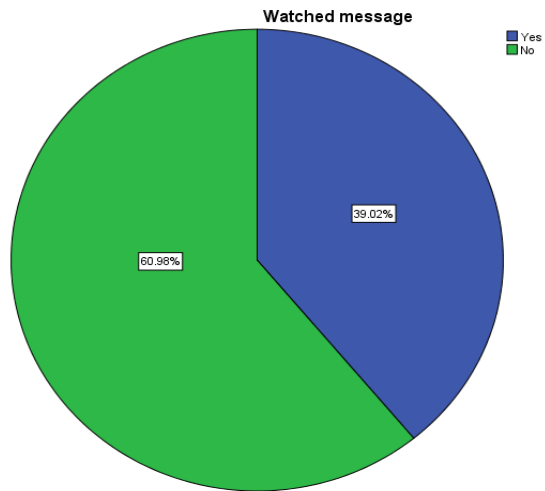
The study sought to find out the party that the respondents belonged to. 35 (42.7%) respondents were members of URP party, 32 (39.0%) were members of the TNA party, 6 (7.3%) were members of RP, 5 (6.1%) were members of NARC and 4 (4.9%) were members of other parties in the Jubilee Alliance. Majority of the respondents were therefore members of URP party while the minority were members of other parties.

#### 4.3 Nature of Sponsored Communication Messages (SCM)

The study sought to find out the nature of sponsored communication messages.

### 4.3.1 Sponsored Communication Messages on K24 TV Station

Figure 4.1: SCM on K24 T.V Station

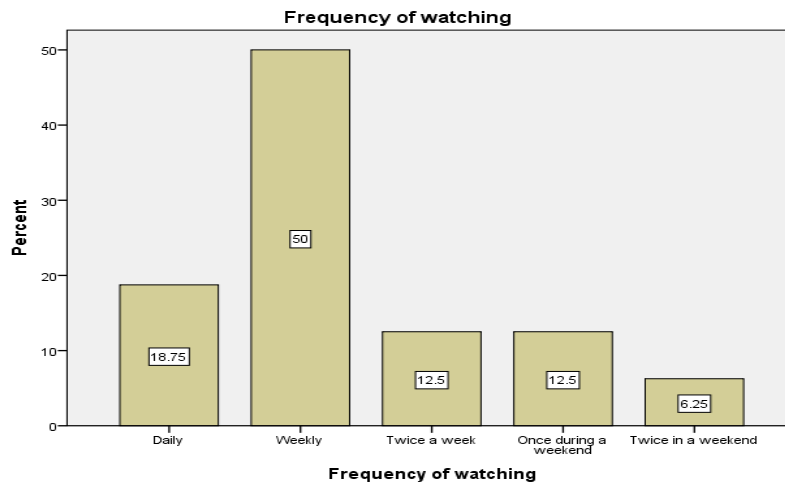


Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked if they had watched sponsored communication message on K24 T.V station. The majority of the respondents (61%) said that they had not watched the message 39% said that they had watched the message.

### 4.3.2 Frequency of Watching SCM

Figure 4.2: Frequency of Watching SCM

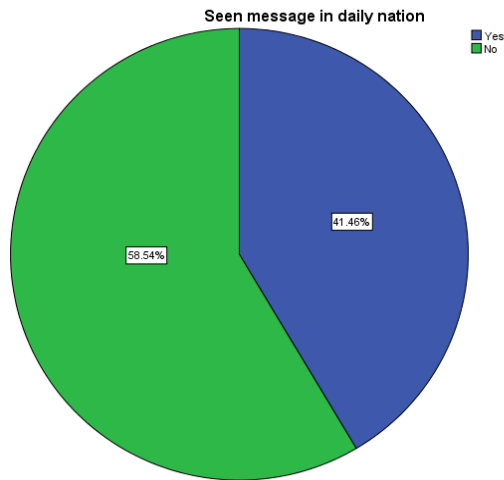


Source: *Researcher 2016*

The study sought to find out how often respondents watched sponsored communication message on Two Thirds Gender Principle. 50% of the respondents said they had watched the message weekly, 18.8% said they had watched it daily, 12.5% said they had watched it twice in a week, another 12.5% said they watched it once during a weekend and 6.3% said they watched it twice in a weekend. Thus majority of the respondents had time to interact and understand Sponsored Communication but only a few had ample time. This is an indication that the respondents watched Sponsored Communication Messages frequently.

### 4.3.3 Sponsored Communication Messages in Daily Nation Newspaper

Figure 4.3: SCM in Daily Nation

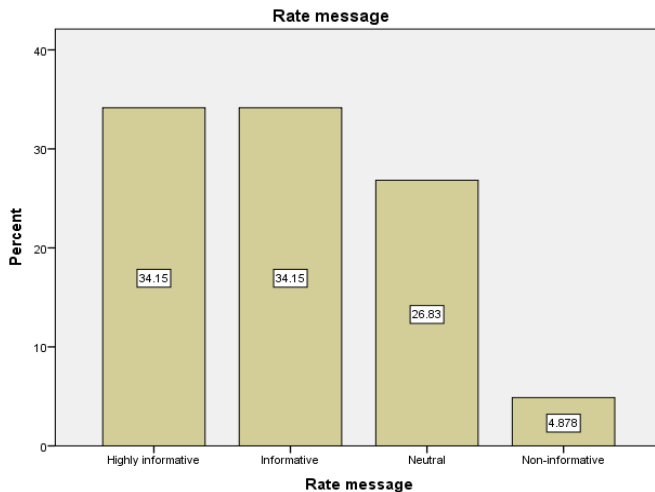


Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked whether they had come across a sponsored communication message on Two Thirds Gender Principle on Daily Nation newspaper. 41.5% said that they had come across the message while 48.5% said that they had not seen the message. The majority of the respondents had therefore seen the message on Daily Nation newspaper. Focus Group Discussion (FDG) participants indicated that they had come across Sponsored Communication Messages on newspapers. Thus, they had interacted and understood the content of Sponsored Communication Messages.

### 4.3.4 Informative Nature of Sponsored Communication Messages on Two Third Gender Principle (TTGP)

Figure 4.4: Informative Nature of SCM on TTGP



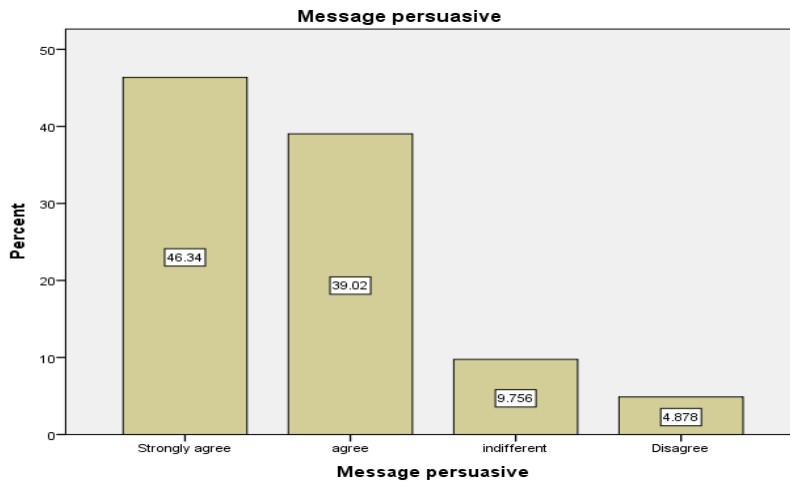
Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked how they would rate the informative nature of the sponsored communication message on Two Thirds Gender Principle. 34.1% rated the message as highly informative, another 34.1% rated it as informative, 26.4% rated it as neutral and 4.9% rated it as non informative. No respondent rated the message as highly non-informative. Majority of the respondents therefore rated the message as highly informative and informative.

The Center for Gender Advocacy (2016), recommends that SCM should be highly informative and should persuade the viewers to support women leaders. Majority of the respondents rated the SCM as highly informative and informative. Thus the SCM used were effective in promoting implementation of TTGP within party structures of Jubilee Alliance. Majority of the participants in the FGD described the messages as being very informative. This shows that SCM had very important information that could be used by the participants to inform their decisions of the membership and political party structures based on gender among other factors.

### 4.3.5 Persuasion of SCM to vote, support or nominate women

Figure 4.5: Persuasive Ability of SCM

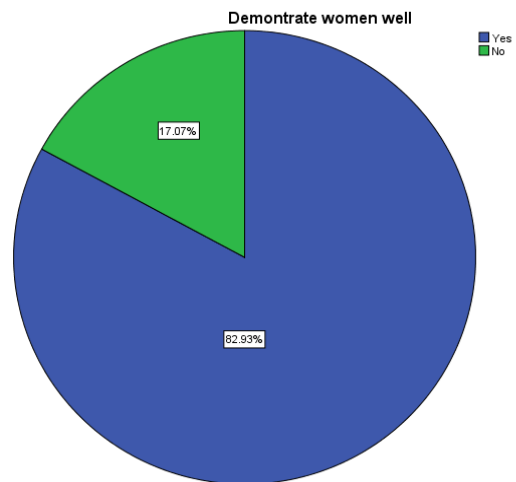


Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked to state the extent to which they agreed with the statement ‘The sponsored communication message I have watched or read has persuaded me to support, vote or nominate women leaders’. Majority of the respondent (46.3%), strongly agreed, 39% agreed, 9.8% were indifferent, 4.9% disagreed while and no respondent disagreed. This means that SCM were persuaded the respondents to support or nominate women leaders.

### 4.3.6 How SCM Portrays Women

**Figure 4.6: Portrayal of Women**



*Source: Researcher 2016*

The study sought to find out whether the sponsored communication on Two Thirds Gender Principle clearly demonstrated women as good leaders. Majority of the respondents (82.9%) said that the message portray had read or watched portrayed women as good leaders while 17.1% said that the message did not portray women as good leaders.

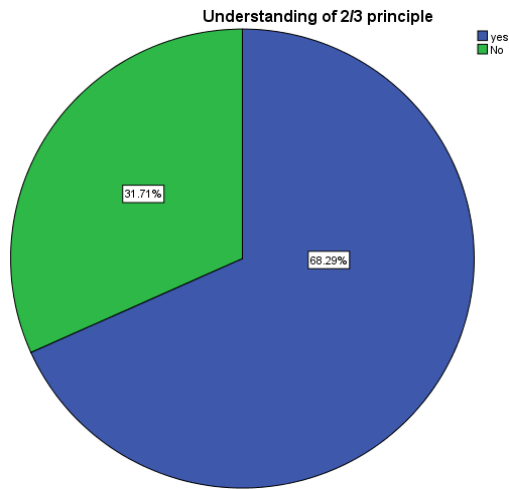
In Gender advocacy messages women should be portrayed as skilled and competent leaders (Donatella, 2013). This has been achieved by SCM since majority of the respondents felt that SCM portrayed women as good leaders.

### 4.4 Level of Information

The study sought to find out the level of information on the Two third Gender Principle among members of Jubilee Alliance.

#### 4.4.1 Understanding of the TTGP

**Figure 4.7: Understanding of the TTGP**



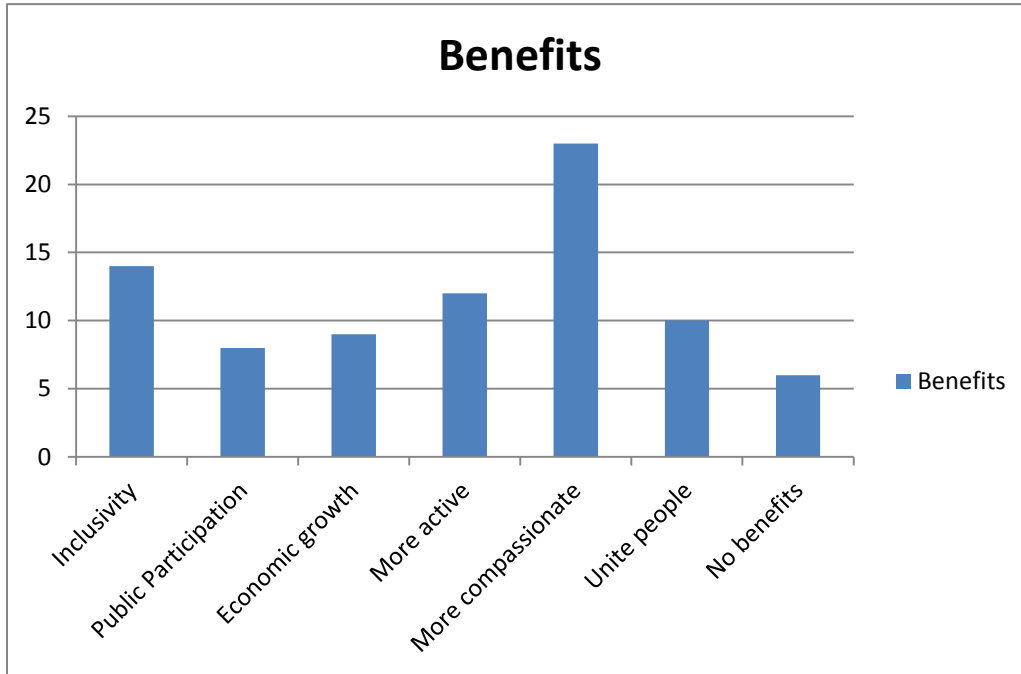
*Source: Researcher 2016*

Respondents were asked whether they understood the Two Thirds Gender Principle. Majority of the respondents (68.3%) said that they understood the Principle while 31.7% said that they did not understand the Principle. Participants in FGDs were very impressed with the SCM as they had elaborate information about the TTGP. This shows that they understood TTGP and its requirements in the party structures..



#### 4.4.2 Benefits of Implementing the TTGP

Figure 4.8: Benefits of TTGP

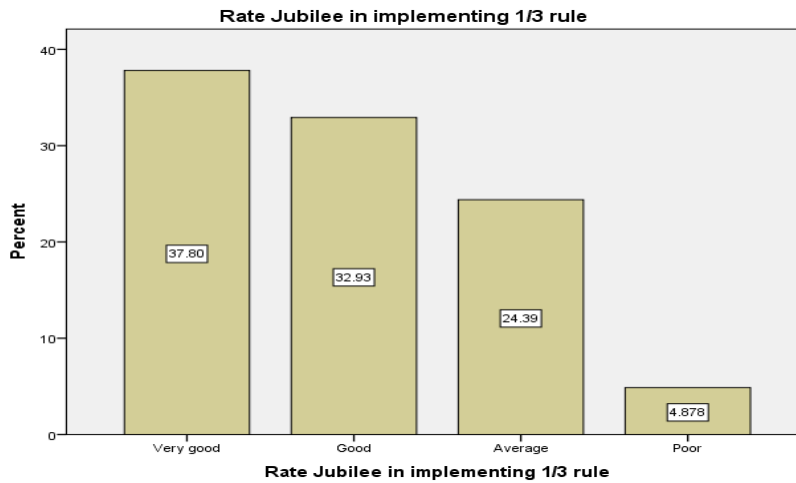


Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked to state the benefits of implementing the Two Thirds Gender Principle. 23 (28%) respondents said that women were more compassionate leaders than men, 14 (17.1%) said it would ensure inclusivity, 12 (14.6%) said women were more active than men, 10 (12.2%) said women unite leaders unite people, 9 (11%) said it leads to economic growth, 8 (9.8%) said it increases public participation and 6 (7.3%) respondents said that it had no benefits. In the Focus Group Discussions (FGD), it was clear that the parties benefited in many ways by implementing TTGP. Therefore, these results show that the parties become more popular, gain more membership and are inclusive after implementing TTGP.

### 4.4.3 Jubilee Alliance Implementation of the TTGP

Figure 4.9 Implementation of the TTGP

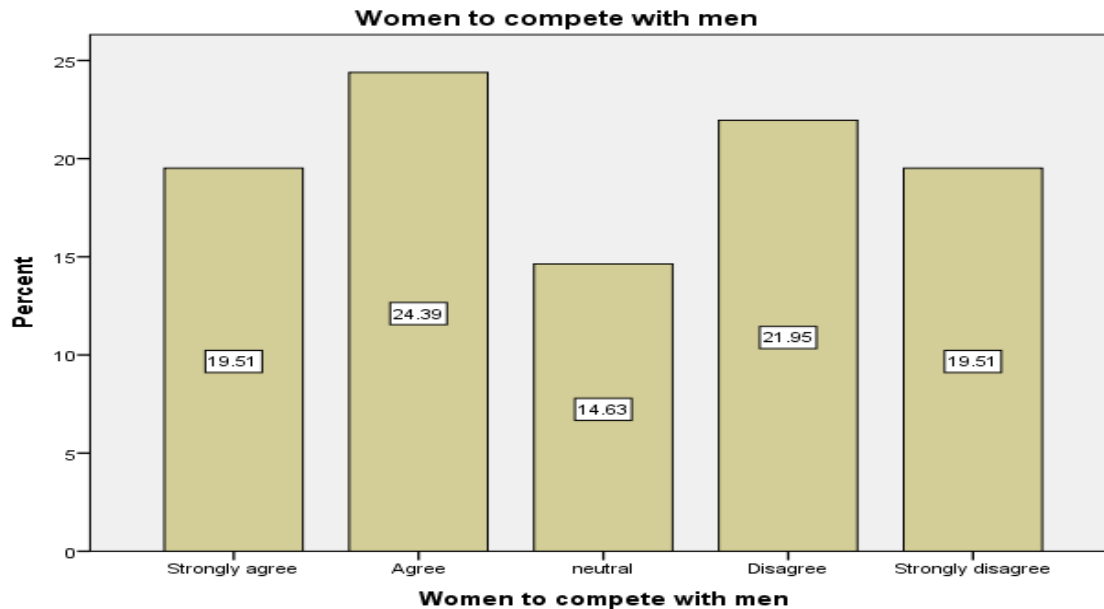


Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked to rate implementation of the Two Thirds Gender Principle. 37.8% rated the Jubilee Alliance very good, 32.9% rated the alliance good, 24.4% rated it average and 4.9% rated it poor. The majority of the respondents rated Jubilee alliance very good in the implementation of TTGP.

#### 4.4.4 Opposition of TTGP Implementation

Figure 4.10: Opposition of TTGP



Source: Researcher 2016

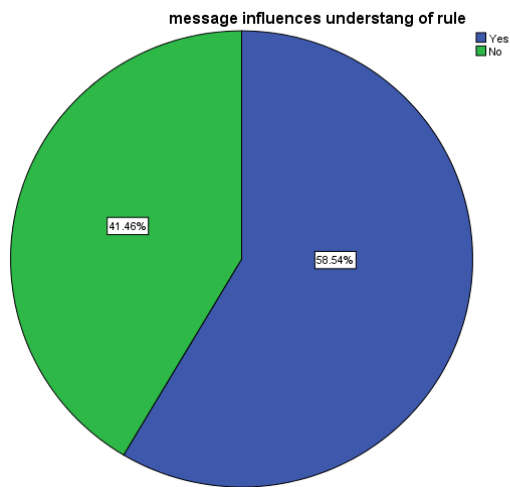
Respondents were asked to state the extent they agreed with the statement 'The Two Thirds Gender Principle should not be implemented, women should compete for leadership with men'. 24.4% agreed, 22% disagreed, 19.5% strongly agreed, 19.5% strongly disagreed and 14.6 were neutral. From the findings, majority of the respondents agreed with the statement. This is an indication that the respondents feel that women should compete for leadership with men. Therefore, TTGP should not be implemented.

#### 4.5 Impact of Sponsored Communication Messages

The study sought to determine the impact of Sponsored Communication Messages on Jubilee Alliance.

#### 4.5.1 Influence of SCM on the understanding of the TTGP

**Figure 4.11: Influence of SCM**

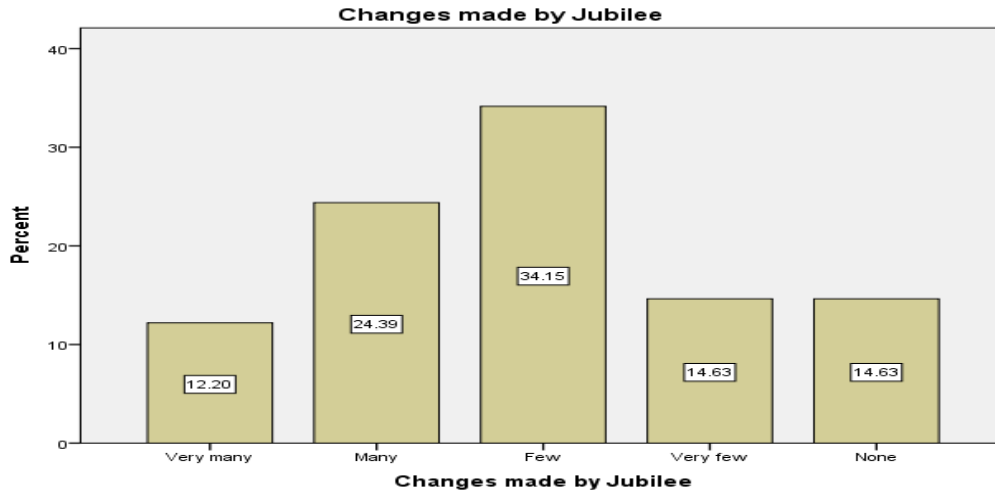


*Source: Researcher 2016*

Respondents were asked whether sponsored communication messages had influenced their understanding of the Two Thirds Gender Principle. The majority (58.5%) said it had influenced their understanding of the Two Thirds Gender Principle and 41.5% said it had not influenced their understanding. This shows that majority of the respondents were influenced by SCM and had a better understanding of TTGP.

## 4.5.2 Changes made by Jubilee Alliance after Interacting with SCM on TTGP

Figure 4.12: Changes made by Jubilee Alliance



Source: Researcher 2016

Respondents were asked to state the changes that had been made by Jubilee Alliance after interacting with sponsored communication messages on Two Thirds Gender Rule. Majority of the respondents (34.1%) said that the alliance had made few changes, 24.4% said it had made many changes, 14.6% said it had made very few changes, 14.6% said it had made no changes while 12.2% felt that it had made very many changes. This is an indication of little effort to implement the TTGP within Jubilee Alliance Structures.

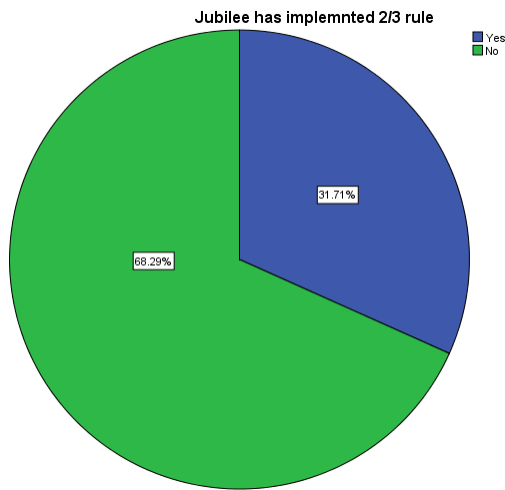
## 4.5.3 Positions Created within Jubilee Alliance to Accommodate Women

Respondents were asked to state the positions created within Jubilee Alliance to accommodate women leaders within the coalition's structures. They said that the Jubilee Alliance had created the following positions: Ministry of Gender, UWEZO Funds for women. The following positions were created within the parties, Women League, Deputy Secretary General. Waremba na

Uhuruto was formed in all parties affiliated to Jubilee Alliance. This shows that Jubilee Alliance had created a few positions to accommodate women leaders.

#### 4.5.4 Implementation of the TTGP within Jubilee Alliance

**Figure 4.13: Implementation of the TTGP**



*Source: Researcher 2016*

Respondents were asked whether Jubilee Alliance Implemented Two Thirds Gender Principle. The majority (68.3%) said that the alliance had not implemented the rule while 31.7% said it had implemented the rule. This shows that had not implemented TTGP in all their party structures.

#### 4.5.5 Female Candidates nominated by Jubilee Alliance for different position

**Table 4.6: Female Candidates nominated by Jubilee Alliance**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Total Number</b>	<b>Number of Women</b>	<b>Percentage of Women</b>
Senator	30	7	23.3
Member of Parliament	143	19	13.3
Governors	18	0	0
Deputy Governors	18	3	16.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>13.9</b>

*Source: Mzalendo 2015*

The study sought to find out from the national party officials the percentage of female leaders in the positions of senator, Members of parliament, governor and deputy governor. This included both elected and nominated leaders. 23.3% of senators were women, 16.6% of deputy governors were women, 13.3% of members of parliament were women and there were no women governors. The findings therefore show that the Two Thirds Gender Principle was not adhered to in among leaders who were members of the Jubilee Alliance.

#### 4.6 Qualitative Data Analysis

##### 4.6.1 Benefits of Implementing TTGP

As per the questions asked, the researcher managed to have a focused group discussion with a TNA and URP party official at party headquarters. Majority of party officials are aware of TTGP as it is in the constitution. The participants responses outlined the benefits of implementing Two Third Gender rule as follows. First, there is increased representation of women. Decisions

concerning women issues in the party are arrived at from an informed perspective since information about women is availed by both men and women. TTGP is also included in Political Parties Constitutions. Thus, implementing TTGP means implementing party constitution to that allows for affirmative action. There increased membership since more women are recruited and they register and become active members of the political parties.

In addition, there increased public participation within the party since both women and men participate in the party activities. This also gives women representation of women within administration and management of the parties.

#### **4.6.2 Nature of Sponsored Communication Messages**

The participant responded indicating that leaders they had seen in Sponsored Communication Messages include;

Hon.Wangari Mathaai, Hon. Phoebe Asiyo, Hon. Julia Odhiambo, Hon. Alice Muthoni Wahome, Hon. Prisilla Nyokabi, H.E First Lady Margaret Kenyatta, H.E Racheal Ruto and Prof. Olive Mugenda. This means that party officials party felt that strong women leaders who are performers and have set best standards have been used to promoted women leadership

#### **4.6.3 Level of Information**

The part officials have a good understanding of Two Third Gender Principle as provided for in the constitution. The respondents also indicated that members of their political parties had very minimal levels of understanding of Two Third Gender Principle. They indicated that parties had intentions of creating awareness of TTGP among their members before the 2017 general elections.

The respondents described the implementation of Two Third Gender Principle within Jubilee Alliance using he following examples of positions created within the political parties Deputy Secretary General position reserved for women, Party women representative in the NEC. TNA had a female Executive Director Winnie Guchu. It is a requirement within JA to have Young women groups in the parties such as Warembona Uhuruto. Further efforts towards



implementation of TTGP include having bloggers and social media partners that have complied with TTGP requirements.

#### **4.6.4 Impact of Sponsored Communication Messages**

The participants indicated that SCM had a great impact on the leadership of Jubilee Alliance. The implementation of TTGP has been great considering that 30% of the staff members in the four parties are women. It was noted that women had been given the deputy positions and this was likely to change as the parties implemented TTGP fully.

The participants observed that parties within Jubilee alliance had become stronger and membership increased by accommodating and promoting women leaders. The Party Officials also noted that party nomination fees for women persons with disability and youths was reduced by half during party nominations in 2013 and majority of the party members appreciated and took advantage of the waiver.

The only disadvantage of implementing TTGP stated by the participants was that sometimes women have conflicts within themselves and this leads to disagreements in making decisions. Thus, the participants had interacted and understood SCM and had made changes within the parties after implementing TTGP. In addition, participants stated that women are more united and are committed to the development of the parties compared to men.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Overview

This chapter looks into discussions, conclusion and recommendation of the study

#### 5.1 Discussion

The study sought to determine the role of Sponsored Communication Messages on Two Third Gender Principle Implementation in Kenya. After the analysis of data, the following inferences were drawn:

##### 5.1.1 Nature of SCM on K24 Television Station and Daily Nation Newspaper

According to the findings, majority of the respondents had not seen the sponsored communication message on K24 T.V station and majority of those who had watched the message had only watched it once in a week. Majority of the respondents (58.5%) had not seen the message in the Daily Nation newspaper.

Majority of those who had seen the message found it either informative or highly informative. Majority of the respondents who had seen the message were persuaded by the message to support, vote or nominate women leaders. Most of the respondents were of the opinion that the sponsored message they had read or watched clearly portrayed women as good leaders.

##### 5.1.2 Level of information on the TTGP among members of Jubilee Alliance

A 68.3% majority of the respondents understood the Two Thirds Gender Principle and were able to describe the principle correctly. The respondents who understood the principle gave benefits of implementing the principle. Majority of the respondents said that implementing of the principle would be beneficial since women were more compassionate leaders. The study has established that only 7.3% of those who have interacted with Sponsored communication Messages were persuaded that implementing Two Thirds Gender Principle was not beneficial. This shows that majority of the respondents found it beneficial to implement the Two Thirds Gender Principle thus having more women in leadership. This direct reinforcement using women

leaders in Sponsored Communication Messages can be used to account for the learning the importance of implementing TTGP as identified through Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977).

Majority of the respondents rates the Jubilee alliance as very good in the implementation of TTGP and the minority rated the Alliance poor in terms of implementing the Two Thirds Gender rule.

However, 24.4% of respondents agreed and 19.5% strongly agree with the statement that the Two Thirds Gender Principle should not be implemented and women should therefore compete for positions with men. These findings are consistent with Noel-Neumann's (1993) claims that fear of isolation leads to remaining silent instead of voicing opinions. Due to the minimal number of women in the structures of Jubilee Alliance there is isolation and the messages passed by alternative voice through sponsored communication messages has not been successful since majority of the respondents think it is not important to implement the Two Third Gender Principle.

### **5.1.3 Impact of SCM on Jubilee Alliance**

The study sought to find out the impact of sponsored communication messages on Jubilee Alliance.

Majority of the respondents (58.5%) said that the sponsored communication messages they had read or watched influenced their understanding of the Two Thirds Gender Principle.

Majority of the respondents indicated that Jubilee alliance only made few changes after interacting with Sponsored communication messages on Two Thirds Gender Principle. The alliance had however created new positions to accommodate women leaders. The positions included the Ministry of Gender, UWEZO Funds for women, Women League, Deputy Secretary General (TNA and URP) and Waremo na Uhuruto.

Most (68.3%) respondents indicated that Jubilee Alliance had not implemented the Two Thirds Gender Principle in their alliance. This was confirmed by finding out the percentage of women leaders who were members of the alliance. Of all senators, governors, deputy governors and

members of parliament who were members of the alliance, only 13.9% were women. This falls way short of the 33.3% proposed by the Two Thirds Gender Principle.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

According to Lindlof & Taylor (2002), a conclusion is a deduction or inference that a researcher can come up with based on the findings of the study. From the findings of the study, the researcher concluded that Sponsored Communication Messages were not popular among respondents since most of them had neither seen them on television nor in Daily Nation newspaper. However, the messages were informative and persuasive and demonstrated women as good leaders.

The level of information given by the sponsored messages was adequate to enable a better understanding among respondents. However, respondents were not in support of the Two Thirds Gender Principle and were of the opinion that women should compete for leadership positions with men.

Sponsored communication messages influences the understanding of the Two Thirds Gender Principle among respondents. However, it did not have a significant impact in the Jubilee Alliance since it had not implemented TTGP.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

Smith(1993), defines recommendation as what the researcher suggests should be done in future in order to improve or clarify the results of the study as well as what should be done to solve the problem. The following recommendations were suggested based on the findings of the study:

The government should develop policies and laws to ensure that no more than two third of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. These policies should be made within The National Assembly to cater for national government and The Senate to cater for county governments.

Political parties to implement the Two Third Gender Principle in their party structures, party list for nominations, elective positions nominations, national party officials, National Executive Council, National Delegates Congress and National Governing Council. This will ensure that

women are given better opportunities for election since they will get nominations of political parties in their strongholds.

Political Parties to be funded in order for them to develop SCM, conduct civic education among their members and create awareness on the Two Third Gender Principle (TTGP). In Addition, amounts allocated by development partners to Non-Governmental Organizations to be increased so that they can develop more content for SCM and make them persuasive and available on both weekdays and weekends.

The government should also to come up with policies and enhance capacity building and create awareness on The Two Third Gender Principle n Article 81 of The Constitution (2010). This should be done by the private sector and organizations such as churches, corporates, women and youth groups.

#### **5.4 Future Research**

In future researchers can consider conducting study on Sponsored Communication Message (SCM) that is aired on radio, blogs, wikis and social media. This could add information of distribution of SCM among vernacular and national radio stations. A study could be conducted on other coalitions such as Coalition for Democracy and Reforms (CORD), Amani Coalition and any other political parties.

Other areas of future study include content development for SCM and implementation of Two Third Gender Principle in other organizations such as corporate, schools, universities, hospitals, churches and government institutions.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM

Dear Respondent,

My name is Jacqueline Njambi Kamau. I am a student at the University of Nairobi pursuing a Master of Arts in Communication studies. I am collecting data for my thesis titled: The Role of Sponsored Communication Messages on the Implementation of Two Third Gender Principle among Political Parties: A case of Jubilee Alliance. I kindly request you to participate in this study.

The information you will give shall remain private and confidential. By participating in this study and answering the questions, you will help to increase my understanding of role of Sponsored Communication

Your participation in this study is voluntary.

#### **Declaration of the respondent**

I have understood the purpose of this study and therefore voluntarily agree to participate as a respondent.

Signature of the respondent\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

**APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Instructions:** Tick one box per question to indicate your answer

**SECTION 1: SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHIC**

1. What is your gender?    Male ( )    Female ( )

2. How old are you?

20-30 ( )

50-60 ( )

30-40 ( )

60-70 ( )

40-50 ( )

70 and Above ( )

3. What is your Position in the Party/ Organization?

National Party Official ( )

National Executive Council ( )

National Executive Body ( )

Party Member ( )

4. Do you have any disability? Yes ( ) No ( )

5. Which Party do you belong to?

TNA ( ) URP ( ) Other Parties \_\_\_\_\_

SECTION 2: THE NATURE OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES

**Instruction:** Choose at least one answer

6. Have you watched a Sponsored communication Message on Two Third Gender Principle on K24 TV?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If Yes, describe the message (If no go to 7)

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7. How often have you watched a Sponsored Communication Message on Two Third Gender Principle?

Daily ( )

Once a Week ( )

Once during a weekend ( )

Twice a week ( )

Twice during a weekend ( )

8. Have you come across a Sponsored communication message on Two Third Gender Principle in Daily Nation?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If Yes, describe the message (If no go to 9)

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9. How would you rate the informative nature of the Sponsored Communication Message on Two Third Gender Principle?

- Highly informative
- Informative
- Neutral
- Non- informative
- Highly non-informative

10. The Sponsored Communication Message on Two Third Gender Principle I have watched and or read has persuaded me to support, vote and or nominate women leaders

I strongly agree ( )

I disagree ( )

I agree ( )

I strongly disagree ( )

Undecided ( )

11. The Sponsored Communication Message on Two Third Gender Principle I have watched and or read clearly demonstrated women as good leaders?

Yes ( ) No ( )

SECTION 3: LEVEL OF INFORMATION

12. Do you understand the Two Third Gender Principle?

(Yes ( ) No ( )

If Yes describe the Two Third Gender Principle (If no go to 13)

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13. What are the benefits of implementing Two Third Gender Principle?

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14. How would you rate Jubilee Alliance implementation of Two Third Gender Principle?

Very good ( )

Good ( )

Average ( )

Poor ( )

15. The following is a statement that people make about Two Third Gender Principle.

The Two Third Gender Principle should not be implemented, women should compete for leadership with men.

To what extent do you agree with the statement?

I strongly agree ( )

I agree ( )

Undecided ( )

I disagree ( )

I strongly disagree ( )

SECTION 4: IMPACT OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES

**Instruction:** Choose at least one answer

16. In your view how has Sponsored Communication messages influenced your understanding of Two Third Gender Principle implementation of Two Third Gender in Jubilee Alliance?

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17. What are the changes made within Jubilee Alliance after interacting with Sponsored Communication Messages on Two Third Gender Principle?

Very many ( )

Very few ( )

Many ( )

None ( )

Few ( )

18. What new positions have been created within Jubilee Alliance to accommodate women leaders within Jubilee Alliance structures?

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19. Has Jubilee Alliance Implemented Two Third Gender Principle?

Yes ( ) No ( ) (If no go to 20)

If Yes describe the Implementation of Two Third Gender Principle within Jubilee Alliance

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20. How many female candidates did Jubilee alliance nominate for the following positions?

- (a) President ( )
- (b) Governors ( )
- (c) Member of Parliament ( )
- (d) Women Representative ( )
- (e) Senators ( )
- (f) Member of county Assembly ( )



### **APPENDIX 3: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE**

The discussion will be one sitting 30-45 minutes long with each member's opinion and response to a question recorded on a notebook and voice recorder.

Questions to be asked during the discussion

#### **NATURE OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES**

1. Which leaders have you seen in the Sponsored communication messages on Two Third Gender Principle?


#### **LEVEL OF INFORMATION**

1. What is the extent of information on Two Third Gender Principle among members of Jubilee Alliance?
2. Describe the implementation of Two Third Gender Principle within Jubilee Alliance

#### **IMPACT OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES**

1. What is the impact of Sponsored communication messages on Jubilee Alliance?
2. What are the advantages of Implementing Two Third Gender Principle?
3. What are the disadvantages of Implementing Two Third Gender Principle?

**APPENDIX 4: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK**

  
**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
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**SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

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Email: [director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke](mailto:director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke)

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Kenya

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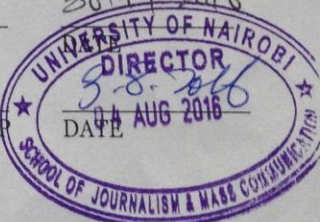
**REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK**

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 13/05/2016 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50/74303/2014

Name: JACQUELINE NJANGI KAMAU

Title: THE ROLE OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES  
ON 2/3 GENDER PRINCIPLE IMPLEMENTATION Among POLITICAL  
PARTIES IN KENYA : A CASE STUDY OF JUBILEE ALLIANCE

<u>LEAH MUCHEMI</u> SUPERVISOR	<u>[Signature]</u> SIGNATURE	<u>18/7/2016</u> DATE
<u>Dr Samuel Singi</u> ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR	<u>[Signature]</u> SIGNATURE	<u>30/7/2016</u> DATE
<u>Dr. Neetu Ndati</u> DIRECTOR	<u>[Signature]</u> SIGNATURE/STAMP	 DATE <u>04 AUG 2016</u>

## APPENDIX 5: DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

### APPENDIX 5: DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Declaration of Originality Form

This form must be completed and signed for all works submitted to the University for examination.

Name of Student FRANCIS NDIRANGI KAMAU

Registration Number K5A/74307/2014

College OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Faculty/School/Institute OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Department \_\_\_\_\_

Course Name M.A. COMMUNICATION STUDIES

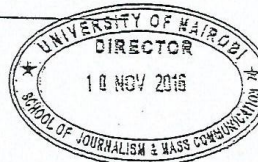
Title of the work \_\_\_\_\_

#### DECLARATION

1. I understand what Plagiarism is and I am aware of the University's policy in this regard
2. I declare that this PROJECT (Thesis, project, essay, assignment, paper, report, etc) is my original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for examination, award of a degree or publication. Where other people's work, or my own work has been used, this has properly been acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Nairobi's requirements.
3. I have not sought or used the services of any professional agencies to produce this work
4. I have not allowed, and shall not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his/her own work
5. I understand that any false claim in respect of this work shall result in disciplinary action, in accordance with University Plagiarism Policy.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date 10/11/2016



# APPENDIX 6: PLAGARISM RESULTS

## APPENDIX 6: PLAGARISM RESULTS

11/10/2016 Turnitin Originality Report

Turnitin Originality Report  
THE ROLE OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES ON TWO THIRD GENDER PRINCIPLE  
AWARENESS AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA: A CASE OF JUBILEE ALLIANCE by  
Jacqueline Njambi Kamau K50774303/2014  
From Project Final & Corrections (MA Communication theory)

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## APPENDIX 7: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS



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Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi  
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P.O. Box 30197-00100  
Nairobi, GPO  
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REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 31/10/16 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

Reg. No: KS0/74303/2014

Name: JACQUELINE NJAMBI KAMAU

Title: THE ROLE OF SPONSORED COMMUNICATION MESSAGES ON TWO THIRD

GENDER PRINCIPLE AWARENESS AMONG POLITICAL PARTIES IN KENYA: A  
CASE OF JUBILEE ALLIANCE

DR. LEAH MUCHEMI  
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE

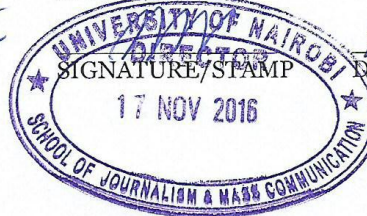
11/11/2016  
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE

17/11/2016  
DATE

Dr. Ndete Ndete  
DIRECTOR



17.11.2016  
DATE