

**FACTORS INFLUENCING UTILIZATION OF THE MEDIA BY  
WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN KENYA**

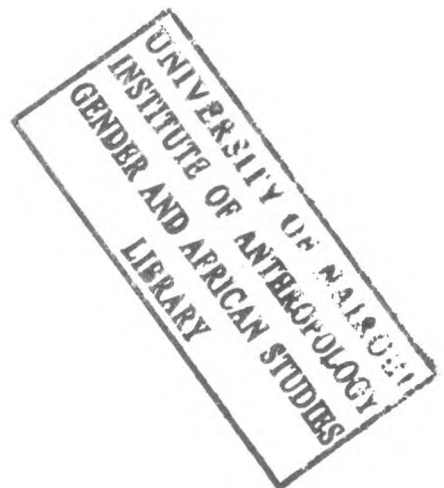
**BY  
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## DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Sign 

Date 24/11/2011

MILDRED P. BARASA

This research project has been submitted with my approval as the university supervisor.

Sign 

Date 24/11/2011

DR. SALOME A. BUKACHI

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project report to the women of Kenya. Particularly to those who aspire to venture in active politics not forgetting my understanding and precious daughter Edel Ambogo, who is the joy of my life.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AMWIK:	Association of Media Women in Kenya
AWC:	African Women and Child Feature Service
DTM:	Development Through Media
ICT:	Information Communication Technology
IRI:	International Republican Institute
KANU:	Kenya African National Union
MPs:	Members of Parliament
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
NSE:	Nairobi Stock Exchange
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UN:	United Nations



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## ABSTRACT

The media refers to the channels of communication such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, the internet, etc. that provide the public with news, education, entertainment, among others. In agenda setting by the media quality has a very powerful influence on everything that happens in our day-to-day life – the ability to tell us what issues are important. Thus the two important elements of the media: awareness and information. Given the importance of media as a powerful tool in development, it is imperative that both women and men access it and utilize it for their advancement. However, there is still a gap when it comes to women (especially political leaders) utilizing the media to push their agenda.

Literature gathered by the study strongly points out that the Kenyan media has a bias in reporting women's issues compared to men's. This prompted the need for this study to investigate the factors that influence utilization of the media by women political leaders in Kenya.

Using mainly in-depth and key informant interviews, the study sought the opinion of the current twenty two (22) women members of parliament, four (4) senior representatives of different leading media houses in Kenya and two (2) representatives of organizations supporting women involvement with media and leadership. In addition, one women MP gave a narration on her personal account on the subject of study.

The study results indicated that women political leaders have not gotten much prominence in media coverage as compared to their male counterparts. Also, it came out from the study that the media was an important factor in determining the success or failure of political leaders. The study pointed on factors such as; invisibility of women political leaders, media perception and stereotype, monetary inducement, lack of awareness of media governing policies, personalities of women political leaders like media shyness, few women representatives in media content decision making organs of media houses and reluctance by women political leaders to seek coverage as the main factors influencing utilization of the media by women political leaders.

It is therefore evident that women political leaders face numerous hindrances in their efforts to seek media coverage, many of which are beyond their control. This being the situation, a lot has to be done by not only women political leaders themselves, but the government, NGOs supporting women's leadership as well as media houses and journalists.

# CHAPTER ONE

## BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

The media refers to the channels of communication such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, the internet, etc. that provide the public with news, education, entertainment, among others. Quite often the media is intended to promote freedom of expression and participation in modern democracies (Faringer, 1991). Free speech has been universalized as a basic human right according to the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Freedom of expression is a fundamental right, which is indivisible from other human rights. The declaration of human rights has relevance not mainly because it corresponds to “natural” moral rights but because it expresses political demands, which are sensible in a particular social context. Pertinent to the role of the press as mediator of experiences between different counter public spheres, is the question of accessibility and representation, especially with regard to women and women issues (Verloo, 2001).

The media in its agenda setting quality has a very powerful influence on everything that happens in our day-to-day life – the ability to tell us what issues are important. There are two important elements of the media: awareness and information. The agenda-setting function of the mass media is thus an attempt to assess the relationship between the reality and what the media presents to the public. McCombs and Shaw (1985) concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign. Agenda setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media. Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting: (1) the press and the media do not reflect reality, they filter and shape it; and (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.

The media has been used in many instances as a voice for the voiceless hence uplifting the status of a population in one way or another. Such is an example of the role the media can play to highlight the plight of the down trodden or a marginalized group of people for their views and news to be heard by the public. It is evident that women Members of Parliament (MPs) too can use such a channel to disseminate information about their course. Verloo (2001) reveals that there is need for changes in goals, strategies and actions to ensure that

both women and men can influence, participate in and benefit from development processes. This requires changes in organizations' structures, procedures and cultures to create organizational environments, and the media that are conducive to the promotion of gender equality. This argument is further upheld by the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing that endorsed gender mainstreaming as a key strategy for promoting equality between women and men, as is exemplified by the Beijing Platform for Action (1995).

Given the importance of media as a powerful tool in development, it is imperative that both women and men access it and utilize it for their advancement. However, there is still a gap when it comes to women (especially political leaders) utilizing the media to push their agenda. This study aimed at establishing factors influencing utilization of the media by women political leaders in Kenya.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Increased emphasis of a topic or an issue in the mass media results in an increased relevance of that issue in the public domain. According to McCombs and Shaw (1985), when the media emphasize an event, they build consensus over the issue and therefore influence the audience to see it as important. As McCombs (1997) argues, the media can influence how a community regards itself, including its priorities and the factors that guide its views on particular issues. Thus, mass media tends to influence audience's perception about the importance of a topic based on the amount of attention it is given by the media. Therefore, the media is crucial in participation in decision-making processes.

Porter and Sweetman (2006) report that the media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. McCombs (1997: 182) takes this debate further by adding that "the media may not only tell us what to think about but also what to think about it, and perhaps even what to do about it". This is true of media in today's highly technologically convergent world that enhances interaction with the public to create a widely regarded agenda. Thus, the media's potential to precipitate public debate cannot and must not be underestimated. The question of accessibility and utilization of the press by women parliamentarians in Kenya is related to the role of the press as mediator of experiences between different public spheres.

Much as there are various media in Kenya that include the print media, broadcast media and internet and given the power of the media to shape political developments and careers, there is still limited utilization of the media by Kenyan women MPs as opposed to their male

counterparts (Gitau et al., 1994). This study, therefore, sought to investigate factors that influence utilization of the media by women parliamentarians in Kenya.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. What is the nature and extent of coverage of women parliamentarians by the media?
- ii. What is the level of awareness and perception of the media by women parliamentarians?
- iii. What aspects of the media influence their utilization by women parliamentarians?

### **1.4 Study Objectives**

#### **1.4.1 General Objective**

To find out factors influencing utilization of the media by women parliamentarians in Kenya.

#### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- i. To determine the nature and extent of coverage of women parliamentarians by the media.
- ii. To determine the awareness and perception of the media by women parliamentarians.
- iii. To find out aspects of the media that influences their utilization by women parliamentarians.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

To the academia, the study findings contribute to knowledge on factors that influence utilization of the media by women parliamentarians in Kenya. In addition, the study findings can be used by government for implementation of policies on gender and media; whereas to NGOs and other organizations supporting women leadership, the study findings form the basis for launching sensitization campaigns to the media stakeholders on the need to ensure that women leaders are given an opportunity to participate in decision-making processes and expression through the media.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The study concentrates on factors that influence utilization of the media by women parliamentarians in Kenya. This entails finding out the awareness and perception of the media by women political leaders; aspects of media such as media owners, type or form of media or cost implications; and policy constraints towards the utilization of the media by women

parliamentarians in Kenya. Therefore, a story covering a woman politician in her capacity as minister, assistant minister, parliamentary committee head or MP would qualify to be captured in this study. This way it is possible to determine whether women got attention as figures of authority or as women politicians. The geographical scope of the study was limited to Nairobi Province, and the study population was also limited to current (2010) women parliamentarians. Discussion of media in this study is limited to radio, television, and newspapers.

### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

One of the limitations of the study was the availability of the women Members of Parliament, bearing in mind that they are very busy people. The interpretations of the research findings in the various media houses (broadcast and print) were a challenge especially from the broadcast sector. In addition, the ranking of media houses was a limitation to the study since the broadcast (radio and TV) is immediate and more expensive to obtain and analyse unlike the print (newspapers) that is easier to find.

The findings of the study may be a bit biased since the subjects of study are not a fully homogeneous group. This is because they are from different socio-cultural backgrounds. Another limitation may arise from the perspective of the MPs on various media outlets such as costs, benefits, analysis among others. Some media outlets are expensive and yet are long lasting in impact. Thus interpretation of findings from diverse media outlets may lead to biased findings.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This section focuses on review of empirical and theoretical literature. The chapter discusses the role of media in Kenya, Africa and the world, media coverage of women MPs in Kenya and its contribution towards empowerment processes, and policy issues surrounding utilization of the media by women MPs. In addition, empowerment theory is operationalized to show how it guides the study, the conceptual framework to the study, the assumption and definition of terms as used by the study are also discussed.

#### 2.2 The Media in Kenya

The most common forms of the media in Kenya include broadcast media represented by TV and numerous radio stations, internet, and print media. The print media was most influential because of its lasting imprint on people's minds. The print media can be divided into four sectors: the regular daily newspapers, the magazines, the regional newspapers, and the printed sheets that also seek to pass for newspapers in the urban centre streets.

Kenya has four daily national newspapers in English and one in Kiswahili all published in Nairobi with a combined daily circulation of about 400,000. Relative to other nations, even those of Africa, the history of the press in Kenya is rather recent. Literacy started in Kenya following the arrival of Protestant missionaries nearly a century and a half ago. The missionaries embarked on teaching new converts how to read and write primarily so that the new converts could read biblical literature for themselves. The initial publications carried religious materials. To date, the church is still involved in some magazine publishing (Hachten, 1992).

The oldest mass circulating newspaper *The East African Standard* was founded in 1902 by a Parsee migrant, A. M. Jeevanjee. The British settlers who came to Kenya had brought in Indians to work on the construction of the railway line from the coast to the interior to open up the countryside for settlement. Most of the Indians settled in Mombasa and engaged in commerce. The *East African Standard* catered for these civil servants and business community. But two years later, Jeevanjee sold his interests to the partnership of Mayer and Anderson who renamed it *East African Standard* marking the beginnings of the European

press. The *Standard* became the largest and most influential publication in colonial East Africa (Hachten, 1992).

In the hands of Mayer and Anderson, it was a typical European people's paper concerned with the happenings in Britain and urging subservience to the settlers, a tune that for a long time remained the tone of other settler controlled media including *Mombasa Mail* and *Nairobi News* (Abuoga and Mutere, 1988). Change in the *Standard* to identify with the aspirations of Africans was painstakingly slow even after independence. Over the years the *The East African Standard* changed hands until Lonrho acquired it in 1967 (Faringer, 1991). Lonrho had a lot of business interests in Africa and the paper served more of a safeguard of these interests. Barton (1979: 51) notes that for Lonrho "newspapers were only a means to an end, the end being the much more profitable business of packaging, breweries, transport, mining and other ventures in different parts of the Continent."

Prior to the founding of the *Nation* published by the Nation Media Group (NMG), Kenya had a very vibrant nationalist press. Faringer (1991) categorizes media in Kenya at independence into a three-tier system with the European press at the top, the Indian in the middle, and African at the bottom. Although Ainslie (1966) says that the press in Africa was a European creation, which is true, African nationalists adapted the press very much to their struggle. By 1952 Ainslie (1966) reports that Kenya had nearly 50 newspapers. However, the specialty of these publications was not news as much as it was essays that agitated for freedom. Most of the contributors were nationalists, with no journalistic experience, who later became post independence leaders. All these papers folded up with the coming of independence, paving way for a more prolific period of growth of the media and freedom of expression in Kenya.

Apart from the print media, we have the broadcast media as well that comprises of radio and TV stations in Kenya.

### **2.3 Utilization of the Media by Women Parliamentarians**

The power of the media to shape political developments and career is widely acknowledged the world over. Political fortunes have been made or lost on account of media treatment of candidates and politicians. The media can give prominence and a profile and can also take the same away. This fact is in turn predicated on the fact that what is contained in the media is usually treated as gospel truth by readers, viewers and listeners therefore those candidates who get better treatment are seen as the more important political players, or those with greater prospects of succeeding (AWC, 2003). Thus media limelight and blackout plays a



significant role in determining whether a candidate succeeds or not. It is no surprise therefore that the most astute politicians seek to cultivate good media relations in order to remain visible and retain favorable popular sentiment.

In Kenya, the majority of the citizens depend on radio for information. Radio has the widest reach of over 90% of the entire Kenyan populace. However, depending on the editorial policy, the Kenyan media has a bias in reporting women's issues compared to men's. According to a report released by the International Republican Institute (IRI) in November 2002 based on a study conducted in 55 constituencies, the main source of information on politics for Kenyans were as follows: radio (68.2%), Newspapers (64.7%), and Television (35.9 percent). Others include political meetings (14.5%), family and friends (11.4 percent), and religious meetings (4.9 %) (AWC, 2003). In 2002 and 2007 elections for example, male politicians employed advertising consultants to convey their messages to the voters, which involved spending millions of Kenya shillings in the process (AWC, 2003). Many of the women candidates with their meager financial resources were no match for the male candidates in deploying such methods. To enable voters make a well-informed choice, they should have access to balanced information. They should be informed about the policies of different parties and candidates of both genders participating in elections at all the stages of the electoral system.

In addition, the media is the main source of information on politics. It is evident that media constitutes over 75 percent of the main source of information on political issues in Kenya and their continued bias towards the male gender is detrimental to the performance and advancement of women in politics (AWC, 2003). The government, however, largely controls the electronic media and this is detrimental to a free and balanced flow of information. The print media in Kenya provides, to a certain degree, balanced flow of information to the voters/citizens given that they are largely privately owned save for the *Kenya Times* which was owned by the former ruling party, KANU (AWC, 2003).

Furthermore, the male-dominated nature of the Kenyan society is to blame on poor women political leadership, as it makes journalists to believe that men make news and not women. This is one of the reasons why most journalists approach men for interviews unless they come across a few women who may be willing to be interviewed. Newspapers in Kenya are written for men, and about the affairs of men, whereas women remain invisible in relation to the serious issues of the day. But there have been efforts to cover women's issues, and to sell

newspapers to Kenyan women. However, there is no evidence of literature on how the media have been utilized by the women political leaders to further their own leadership careers.

## **2.4 The Role of the Media in Promoting Women Political Leadership**

Many politicians tend to believe that the media is biased. Two types of biases can be identified and they are ideological and structural bias. The ideological bias is rallied when an editor favors the idea of a candidate over the other, and therefore ends up skewing the news towards a particular angle. Structural biases arise out of a circumstance of news production where the editors want to publish sensational news that attracts a wider audience.

Media coverage focuses heavily on the personalities of political figures, which they believe interests the majority. They also focus on events that produce both drama and conflict. Structural biases have a huge impact on the way the government conducts itself. In gaining public support everyone has to cope with the growing role of the media. According to Harrigan (1996), the media has been a two-edged sword for the woman politician. On one hand it can influence opinion while on the other hand it can constrain her freedom of action. The media makes a powerful contribution to the government and they play a very important role in keeping the government honest and prodding to make sure politicians are doing their work well. There are however notable failings of the media all over the world. Negative portrayal of women by the media has contributed to the decline of confidence in the media by women politicians.

The failure to account for the role of journalists when the press mediates debates and knowledge is a rising problem (Prasad, 2003). When the press was developed in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century, newspapers made no pretence of objectivity and neutrality. Whereas the biased nature of the press was often perceived as an objective, value free mediator of reality, making news is not an objective, value free process but a process whereby the journalists interpret the world according to their own experience. Due to the journalistic process of gathering and reproduction, a news story represents a constructed vision of reality.

In many cases mass media has reduced politics to a horse race sidetracking important policy issues that may be of importance to the nation. Decisions seem to depend on the activities of spin doctors and not on arguments. Both politics and journalism have been searching for new ways to define their tasks and responsibilities. Prasad (2003) observed that journalists are frequently presented as trapped between the quest for audiences and the weight of public opinion on one hand and the powerful influence of professionalized political sources on the

other. Journalists thus appear as victims, condemned to purely reactive strategies in the face of a combination of forces, which are shrinking their professional and intellectual autonomy.

From another view point much research output portrays journalism as the villains of modern political communication (Fallows, 1996) or at least being responsible for an approach to full coverage which threatens democratic ideals and weakens the public interest in politics (Ure, 1974). Journalists are no longer the powerless victims of the professionalization of politics but rather their contribution to political communication needs to be re assessed in a relational framework which seeks to make the overall power balance between journalists, politicians, media owners, spin doctors among others.

When observing the relationship between the journalist and the politician, it is important to look at the audience and the public opinion. They are powerful actors whose judgments can be mobilized by journalists to criticize or even damage politicians. Most of the academic research since the 1960's has emphasized the potentially negative effects of its coverage of politics (Meril, 1974). The basic findings of this research can be summarized into four statements given by Meril (1974). Faced with more professional and expert sources, journalists tend to react to the threat manipulation through a more adversarial style of reporting, in which they take pleasure in unmasking staged photo opportunities and media events.

Coverage of politics gives more and more space to the private lives of politicians and to horse race aspects of political debate, while policies and fundamental issues are pushed to the margins of the media agenda. The trends have been more amplified by an increase in commercial pressures. All the changes combine to produce cynical and disparaging coverage of politics, which fuels voter's apathy and mistrust (Porter and Sweetman, 2006). For example, the best study on framing and bias in news coverage is not sufficient to allow one to draw a conclusion about its reception by audiences. The presence of one-sided approaches to journalism and media do exist in mainstream media.

The relationship between politicians and journalists has recently gone through profound changes, from a paradigmatic example of parallelism to open conflict (Ure, 1974). It is not clear whether the clashes between political leaders and reporters are signs of a conflict between different rationales which usually result from the modernization process (Porter and Sweetman, 2006).

## 2.5 Policy Issues and Utilization of the Media by Women Political Leaders

Ensuring that women leaders are represented in decision-making fora is an important task. Agarwal (2008) asserts that while representation of women is an essential element in participation in governance processes, increasing the numbers of women is not enough. The mainstream agenda can only be transformed when the perspectives of both women and men inform the design, implementation and outcomes of policies and programmes. This requires analyzing the gender perspectives in each and every area of development. It further requires examining the institutional mechanisms through which development is done, especially through the media.

However, women- or gender-specific activities are still required to address serious gaps which must be tackled to support women's empowerment and develop women's leadership capacities and to test ideas and approaches which may then be applied to the mainstream development process. Similarly, Benjamin and Brush (1996) note improving the implementation of gender mainstreaming at local community by member states require the strategic inputs of experts, working in a catalytic manner to deepen the awareness, knowledge, commitment and capacity of all professional staff. This requires an active role by the media.

Trying to bring the realities of both women and men – their contributions, perspectives, needs and priorities to bear on data collection, analyses, policy development, planning, implementation and monitoring in all areas of development, requires specific knowledge and capacity (Cagatay and Elson, 2000). There can be a need for changes in awareness (and in some cases even in terms of attitudes), in knowledge on gender issues and in methods and approaches. Attention in substantive work – both in more socially-oriented sectors or issues such as health, education, agriculture where the gender perspectives are relatively well understood and accepted, and in sectors and issues where the linkages to gender equality are less well recognized, such as economics, and natural resource conservation (Srilatha, 1993). Institutional development, in terms of clarifying roles and responsibilities, establishing accountability mechanisms, developing guidelines, utilizing gender specialists, providing competence development for all personnel, etc. is most important in enhancing the participation and expression of women leaders through the media.

Agarwal (2008: 38) argues that government support is needed in order to realize participation of women leaders in governance and policy processes: "Management levels should be responsible for developing accountability mechanisms to monitor progress with

mainstreaming”. One means of ensuring accountability is to establish clear indicators of progress, which can be monitored over time by management. This should quite often be done with the aid of media policy.

Kenya media industry is regulated by Information Communication Technology (ICT) policy that came into existence in 2006. A national ICT policy sets out the nation’s aims, principles and strategies for the delivery of Information and Communications Technology. The ICT policy was brought into existence in order to meet a variety of objectives that include providing citizens with a chance to access information so that they may further specify the quality of that access in terms of media, retrieval performance, and so on (Kandiri, 2010). However, there is no evidence of a study on how this ICT policy has improved women political leaders’ utilization of the media in Kenya.

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.6.1 Empowerment theory**

This study was guided by empowerment theory. This theory originated from sociology with the major proponents of social structure theory and feminism. An empowerment theory makes clear the interrelations among individual, community, and professional empowerment. Empowerment is a process of transition from a state of powerlessness to a state of relative control over one’s life, destiny, and environment. This transition can manifest itself in an improvement in the perceived ability to control, as well as in an improvement in the actual ability to control. Disempowering social processes are responsible for creating a sense of powerlessness among people who belong to groups that suffer from stigma and discrimination. A sense of powerlessness leads to a lack of self-worth, to self-blame, to indifference towards and alienation from the environment, beside inability to act for oneself and growing dependence on social services and specialists for the solution of problems in one’s life. Empowerment is a transition from this passive situation to a more active situation of control (Ritzer, 2000).

A community may therefore conceptualize empowerment processes as three interwoven processes which complement and contribute to one another: the process of individual empowerment, which actually can occur in an immense variety of circumstances and conditions, without any connection to the other two processes, but when it occurs in the course of active participation in social change processes in groups and organizations it has a

special value for both the individual and the environment; the process of community empowerment is a social change process which involves organizing and creating a community; and a collective with a common critical characteristic, which suffers from social stigmas and discrimination, acquires ability to control its relevant environment better and to influence its future (Ritzer, 2000).

The potential for empowerment, like one's very humanity, exists in everyone, and the ability to make a difference is a component of human existence. Systematic and permanent limitation of one's ability to exert power is a negation of one's very humanity. A human agency ceases to be such if it loses the ability to influence the world in some way (Giddens, 1997).

There is a fundamental difference between inability to act because one has no choice, and lack of ability to act. Not every case of inactivity may be seen as lack of ability to act (Mann, 1986). The contextual theory of empowerment confirms the connection between the private and the political. It analyzes individual issues in social life politically. The individual interprets the politics of her life on the basis of the knowledge available to her about political achievements in the social domain.

Empowerment creates a change in human behavior and in the social structure. The potential for community empowerment exists in every environment, just as the potential for individual empowerment exists in every person. In every process of individual empowerment there also exists a potential for community empowerment, and every process of community empowerment creates an environment that facilitates individual empowerment and at the same time also shapes and determines its form (Maton and Rappaport, 1984).

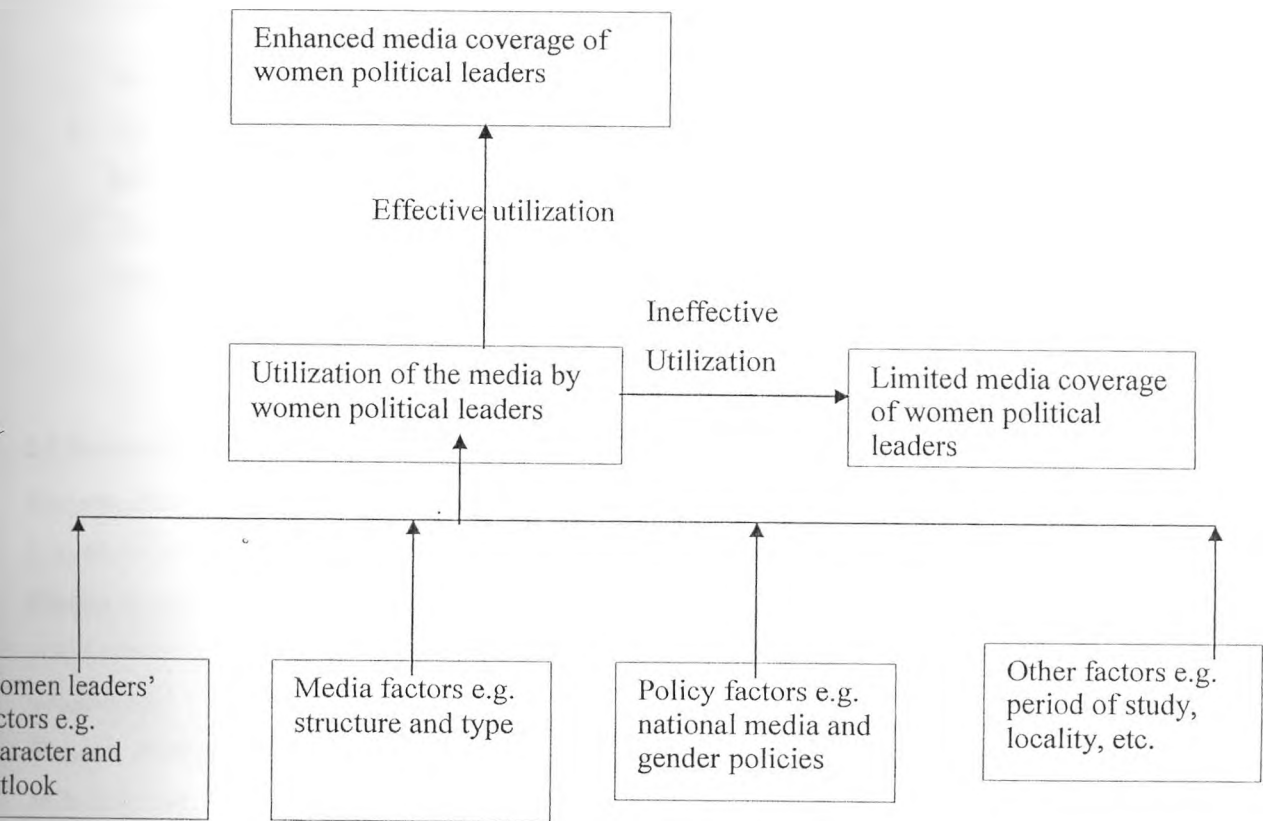
### **2.6.2 Relevance of the theory to this study**

The empowerment theory has been operationalized to guide this study in the sense that by women political leaders utilizing the media effectively, they are able to inform the public of what they stand for as leaders hence stand a bigger chance of being elected. This in turn assist them (women political leaders) in excelling thus being transformed from a state of powerlessness to a position of relative control over their destiny in the political arena and life at large. Women political leaders in the long run are viewed as being in a position to competently vie in national contests hence prove to the society that they are capable of serving the public just like their male counterparts.

## **2.7 Conceptual Framework**

There are several factors that influence utilization of the media by the women leaders and their subsequent coverage. If these factors are effective, the women parliamentarians can enjoy enhanced coverage. If these factors are ineffective, the women parliamentarians can receive limited coverage from the media. Figure 2.1 illustrates the position.

Fig. 2.1: Conceptual Framework



Key: arrows point towards the result of the specific variables



## 2.8 Assumption

- i. Women parliamentarians are covered by the media
- ii. The level of awareness and perception of the media by women parliamentarians influence their coverage
- iii. The existing gender policy in Kenya influences coverage by the media of women parliamentarians.

## 2.9 Definition of Key Terms

**Empowerment:** refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social, or economic strength of individuals and communities. It often involves developing confidence in their own capacities.

**Media:** communication channels through which news, entertainment, education, data, or promotional messages are disseminated. In this study, media stands for TV, radio and newspapers.

**Women parliamentarians:** current (2011) serving women parliamentary representatives/MPs in Kenya.

**Utilization of the media:** using the media for publicity purposes

**Policy:** a principle or rule to guide decisions and achieve rational outcome(s)

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the description of the study site, research design, population of the study, data collection and analysis, and ethical considerations.

#### 3.2 Description of Study Site

Nairobi Province has been purposively selected as the study site being that it is the capital city and all the organizations selected for the study are headquartered here. All Members of Parliament have offices in Nairobi at Continental House hence this makes Nairobi a central location and more convenient for this study. Also, Nairobi is home to most of Kenya's leading news and media organizations like The Standard Group, Nation Media Group, Royal Media Services and the state owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. Several multinational media organisations also have their regional headquarters in Nairobi. These include the BBC, CNN, Agence France-Presse, Reuters, Deutsche Welle and the Associated Press. The East African bureau of CNBC Africa is located in Nairobi's city centre, while the Nairobi bureau of the New York Times is located in the suburb of Gigiri.

The city is located at 1°17'S 36°49'E 1.283°S 36.817°E and occupies 696 square kilometres (270 sq mi). According to the 2009 national household census, Nairobi is the most populous city in Kenya with an estimate population of 3.1 million, half of which are women, hence having an influence on the findings of the study. The population density of the city is 4,509/km<sup>2</sup> (11,678.3/sq.mi) (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

Nairobi is one of the most prominent cities in Africa politically and financially. Home to many companies and organizations, including the United Nations Environment Programme and the UN Office in Africa, Nairobi is established as a hub for business and culture. The Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE) is one of the largest in Africa, ranked fourth in terms of trading volume and capable of making 10 million trades a day. The Globalization and World Cities Study Group and Network define Nairobi as a prominent social centre, with much more influence on women political leadership. Parliament is located in Nairobi, hence all legislators meet and work in Nairobi (United Nations University, 2007).

### **3.3 Research Design**

This study used both descriptive and explanatory research designs. A descriptive research design describes the situation the way it is; for instance, the experience of women parliamentarians with the media. The explanatory research design focuses on causal relationships; for instance, the factors that cause women political leaders to be covered by the media (Russel, 1994).

To get an insight understanding of the subject of the study, this study attempts to make qualitative, rather quantitative assessment of media utilization by women. One of the great flaws of qualitative survey is that they can be heavily subjective from the selection of the study material down to the criteria (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003). That subjectivity being limited largely to the conclusions, however, does not detract from the need to examine the incidents that inform these conclusions. Qualitative data were collected through key informant interviews guide (Appendix 2, 3 and 4) and narration guide (Appendix 5).

### **3.4 Study Population**

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define population as an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic. The target populations of the study were women MPs and senior representatives of major media houses and NGOs supporting women political leadership. The sample population was all the 22 women parliamentarians in the 10<sup>th</sup> parliament as of 2011. Seven key informants were purposively selected and interviewed. These comprised 4 senior representatives from major media houses that include Standard Media Group, Nation Media Group, Royal Media Group and Kenya Broadcasting Corporation; and 2 representatives from NGOs supporting women political leadership such as African Women and Child Feature Service (AWC), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) and Development Through Media (DTM) to validate the research findings.

### **3.5 Sampling procedure**

Purposive sampling was utilized by the study. It is a non-probability sampling procedure that starts with a purpose in mind and the sample thus selected to include people of interest and exclude those who do not suit the purpose. It is ideal for the study because of the limited sample and the more specific nature of the data required by the study. In this study, purposive sampling entails a census of all the women parliamentarians in the 10<sup>th</sup> parliament in Kenya and four (4) representatives of media houses and 2 representatives of organizations, mostly NGOs, championing the interests of women political leaders, including their media coverage.

### **3.6 Data Collection Methods**

The data for the study was collected qualitatively using in-depth interview schedules from women parliamentarians and interview guides for key informants from respondents from the media houses and NGOs promoting women political leadership.

#### **3.6.1 In-depth Interviews**

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research method that uses open-ended questions to uncover information on a topic of interest and allows interviewees to express opinions and ideas in their own words (Nachmias-Frankfort and Nachmias, 1996). In-depth interviews in form of conversations were conducted by the researcher to collect information from the women MPs to find out the factors that influence their utilization of the media. Tape recording was done with the consent of the respondents

#### **3.6.2 Key Informants Interviews**

A key informant interview guide is a set of questions guiding conversation between two people (the interviewer and the interviewee) where questions are asked by the interviewer to obtain information from the interviewee. The interviewee here is an informed person in the realm of media and women political leaders' utilization of the media. Key informant interview guides (Appendix 3 and 4) were used to collect data from two categories of informants: senior representatives of major media houses in Kenya and senior representatives of organizations, mostly NGOs, dealing with women and media. Tape recording was used in addition to recording responses on paper. However, consent for the tape recording process was sought in advance.

#### **3.6.3 Narrative**

A personalized narrative was conducted with one woman parliamentarian to get her story on the factors that influence her utilization of the media. A narrative guide (Appendix 5) was used.

### **3.7 Data Analysis and Reporting**

The data was analyzed qualitatively. This involved analyses to establish patterns and relationships among variables. The data was interpreted according to emerging themes and then presented in the form of verbatim quotations.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

For the purpose of this research informed consent was sought from all the respondents. The researcher ensured that all the respondents were informed in advance of the aim of the research. The respondents were also assured of their privacy and confidentiality in regard to the information they gave. In addition, they were assured of anonymity and that their real names will not be used. Research permit to undertake this work was gotten from the National Council of Science and Technology.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FACTORS INFLUENCING UTILIZATION OF MEDIA BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN KENYA

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the response rate for the study and also describes the socio-demographic characteristics of the informants.

#### 4.2 Response rate

Data for this study was obtained through interview guides designed for the different categories of informants. As the below table illustrates, the interview guides were administered to three categories of informants. Appendix 2 interview guide was used for in-depth interviews with women parliamentarians, Appendix 3 interview guide was used for key informant interviews with senior representatives of media houses while Appendix 4 interview guide was used for key informant interviews with senior representatives of Non-governmental organizations dealing with women and media issues. Appendix 5 interview guide was designed particularly to obtain a narration of a single woman parliamentarian on her views on the particular issues she perceives to have influence on utilization of media by women political leaders in Kenya. The response trend is presented in the table below.

Table 4.1: Response Rate

Response category	Target response	Actual response	Percentage response rate (%)
Women Members of Parliament	22	14	63.7
Senior representatives of media houses	4	4	100
Senior representatives of organizations that support women leadership	2	2	100
Narrative with one woman MP	1	1	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>72</b>

Source: Author's field data

The results indicate that the overall response rate was at 72% which is acceptable considering the type of respondents involved in the study as explained in the limitations of the study. A total number of (fourteen) 14 out of the targeted twenty two (22) Women Members of parliament participated in the in-depth interview to give their opinion on subject matter of the study. This represents a 63.7% response rate. On the other hand four (4) senior representatives of leading media houses were interviewed against a target of four (4). This gives a 100% response rate in that particular category of respondents. In the category of organizations supporting women involvement in media, two representatives from Association of media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) and Development Through Media (DTM) were interviewed and key information of great relevance to the study captured. The target was two (2) thus translating to response rate of 100%. One narration was gotten from one current woman Member of Parliament.

#### 4.3 Bio data

This outlines personal particulars of the respondents which for the purpose of this study was limited to election status for women members of parliament and highest level of education for all the respondents.

##### 4.3.1 Election status for Women members of Parliament

Among the fourteen (14) women members of parliament interviewed, Eleven (11) were elected members while three (3) were nominated members of parliament. This represents Seventy-nine (79) percent and twenty one (21) percent respectively.

**Table 4.2: Election status for Women members of Parliament**

Election Status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Elected women MPs	11	79
Nominated Women MPs	3	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Author's field data

### 4.3.2 Level of Education

Majority (29 percent) of the respondents indicated that they had master's degree qualifications, followed by diploma qualifications at 22 percent then doctoral degree at 21 percent. Those with a bachelors degree qualification was at 14 percent while the least was postgraduate diploma and certificate at 7 percent each.

Table 4.3: Level of Education

Election Status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Doctoral degree	5	21
Master's degree	6	29
Postgraduate diploma	1	7
Bachelor's degree	3	14
Diploma	5	22
Certificate	1	7
Total	21	100

Source: Author's field data

### 4.4 Response from Women Parliamentarians

A total number of fourteen (14) women parliamentarians participated in an in-depth interview, eleven (11) of which were elected while the remaining three (3) were nominated MPs. The responses given were recorded and used as findings of the study.

### 4.5 The nature and extent of coverage of women parliamentarians by the media

Fifty % of those interviewed indicated that they appear in the media on a weekly basis, 29 percent appeared monthly in the media while the remaining 21 percent responded that they appeared occasionally in the media. Seventy-two (72) percent of the respondents said that they sought media coverage every week; another twenty one (21) percent said they rarely sought media coverage whereas seven (7) percent never sought media coverage. The respondent who appeared in the media and those who sought coverage gave varied reasons



for their coverage in the media. Five out of 14 responded that they appeared in the media in relation to their official duties as government ministers or assistant ministers, 2 out of 14 appeared in relation to their constituency work, 3 appeared in the media while contributing in parliamentary debates, 6 appeared in the media in relation to their personal lives and 4 out of 14 appeared in relation to their political parties. A woman parliamentarian gave her personal account on media coverage by mentioning that;

*I have always been covered by the media when discussing women matters especially reproductive health, teenage pregnancies and abortion. We cannot bury our heads in the sand while the country is losing more than 4,000 teenage girls from back street abortions each month (nominated MP).*

Another informant said that they have always been quoted in the media condemning cases of rape and defilement as well as calling on the government to institute stiffer penalties for sexual violence offenders.

Asked whether the media do turn up when called upon for coverage, all the respondents said that they had good media response when they sought for coverage. They also said that their relationship with media is cordial. One informant stated that;

*In most instances, media houses call on me when they want information and to seek my opinion on certain issues. However, when it comes to reproductive issues, our expectations, hopes and fears, as women political leaders is not always painted well by the media. (Nominated MP)*

Further interview with a key informant revealed that the low levels of coverage of women parliamentarians would not be attributed to a single cause but rather twin blame both on the side of the media and also on the side of the women political leaders. The informant said that,

*I don't believe that the media should be blamed utterly for the low coverage of women political leaders but rather the women themselves should take a share of the blame for non-authoritativeness in voicing their ideas and achievements clearly in the public (nominated MP)*

For women parliamentarians to receive frequent coverage by the media, the respondent argue that they must embark on doing what appears to be giving solutions to public problems. As it

is confirmed by an informant who is also a woman parliamentarian this is somehow lacking among her colleagues. She says,

*Once we are in power, we face a lot of stigma from ruthless men who are out to get us out at the slightest mistake we make. Therefore, most of the time is spent trying to attain a certain standard recognizable by the men folk. It is this stigma that takes us away from problem solving to concentration on seeking male acceptability. (Nominated MP)*

#### **4.6 Contribution of media in Women political leadership**

The informants were asked to state whether there is any contribution the media makes to leadership success of women parliamentarians. Slightly more than half 53 percent of the informants agreed that their political careers can be a success depending on media coverage. The remaining 47 % maintained that the media had no bearing on their political destiny. On the other hand 70% agreed that the media reports aired to the public could lead to leadership failures of women parliamentarians. On the same point in-depth interview unearthed further findings that pointed to the direction that the media is crucial in equal measure to the leadership success and failure of political leaders in general not singling out any particular group. The informant supported the point by stating that,

*Media often shapes how a person, group or a thing is socially perceived by not only reflecting the values of the society, but also by shaping them. The contribution of women politicians to solving societal problems, their presence and engagement in the political equation needs to be weighed against the attention they receive in the media. Ultimately, media attention affects public perception of their performance on their jobs, and capturing the issues they voice, constitutes the total picture of women's depiction to the society. Such depiction determines who among these women politicians can be taken seriously, or how much influence they command; which among the issues they raise are considered important; and how effectively they perform as holders of public office. (Senior editor)*

#### **4.7 Aspects of Gender and Media governing Policies and utilization of media by women parliamentarians**

Regarding awareness of existing national gender policies in the country, 90 percent of the respondents interviewed showed a good knowledge of gender policies existing in Kenya. On

the other part 10% displayed ignorance on the existence of gender policies in the country. A majority of those who knew the existence of national gender policies mentioned that they knew of activity policies such as;

*Decision by editors' guild to support the sexual offences act helped create awareness on the bill for it to become act". (Elected MP)*

Among the informants who stated that they are aware of gender policies, 60% of them agreed that these policies have influenced their utilization of the media. One of the informants stated during an in-depth interview that;

*I now know that if I want quality coverage of an issue I have to convince the editors' guild then the reporters will cover it without further enticement. (Elected MP)*

The other remaining 40% said that they have not been influenced by the gender policies to utilize the media more.

Findings on respondents' awareness of existence of media governing policies showed that a majority 93% of the women MPs informants were not aware of media governing policies. This can be attributed to low engagement with the media by women political leaders. Furthermore, those aware of existence of media governing policies (7%) could not succinctly state the policies clearly.

A further probe on the response whether the existence of media governing policies have influenced the utilization of media by women political leaders, one the informants said that.

*I am a political strategist so I prefer one on one relationships with journalists and I am not interested in excessive coverage but strategic coverage therefore, I am not interested to know much deeper about the media, and its governing policies but I will when that time comes. (Nominated MP)*

#### **4.8 Aspects of the media that influence utilization by women parliamentarians**

A bigger proportion of the informants 36% expressed that they receive media coverage mostly because of availability, followed by monetary inducement 22%, another 16% stated that media perceptions on women political leaders are an influencing media aspect. The remaining 24% were indifferent on what media aspects influenced utilization. These factors

as responded to by the women parliamentarians interviewed are discussed further in the following sub-sections.

- **Money factor in media coverage**

The women interviewed in this study noted that for one to be reported, money has to change hands, especially if they think they will give you some political mileage. This compounds the financial challenges that women seeking political leadership face.

One woman observed during the interview that:

*Money is a very necessary factor for frequent coverage by media. Before I declared my candidature, I used to be given free air time by some of the local radio Stations to talk about my work. But once they know you are a politician, you have to pay for 15 minutes maybe 50,000 shillings, no matter what agenda you are going to talk about. There is a lot of financial commitment for members of parliament and I am just realizing this now that I am in politics. (Elected MP)*

- **Biasness by male media practitioners**

The informants listed biasness as a factor that influences media utilization by women political leaders. They stated that there is no fair gender portrayal in the media as regards the political arena. Male politicians are given more coverage as compared to the female parliamentarians. This gives rise to imbalance in media coverage and invisibility of women parliamentarians.

The informants further noted that besides being in business and corrupt deals, the media has its own agenda and serves certain interests. Even the reporters in the field seem to have little control about what finally gets published or aired. Decisions are made at the head office. Since most media businesses are owned by men and even the women who work there may be gender blind, it becomes more difficult for women's positive issues to be seen as important issues worth reporting.

- **Few women opinion leaders in parliament**

It was also important to get from the informant whether more number of women in parliament was necessary for increased media utilization by women parliamentarians. The

response was that higher numbers of women in parliament would help push more women agenda and make them more visible in the public domain.

#### **4.9 Perception of senior representatives of media houses with regard to the utilization of the media by women parliamentarians**

##### **4.9.1 Media coverage of women parliamentarians**

The key informants interviewed in this category acknowledged that women political leaders were rarely covered by the media as compared to their male counterparts especially on news regarding politics and leadership. One of the senior representatives of media houses indicated that;

*The reason why women leaders are not frequently covered by the media might be because in most instances there are very few women in decision making positions that can influence content of our media houses. (Senior editor)*

This they say contributes to some extent to the low frequency of stories on women leaders in media. Another media representative interviewed also confirmed the point of low coverage of women political leaders stating that;

*Women political leaders don't appear in our media coverage as often as male political leaders unless they are ministers or assistant ministers talking about an issue in regard to their ministry or if they are attending an official government function in their capacity as ministers. In addition, sometimes women MPs tend to get ignored, even when they appear in their own constituencies. (Editor)*

On relationship between women parliamentarians and the media, the informants confirmed that women political leaders have had a warm relationship with the media. One of the respondents said that;

*Women political leaders have had a chance to appear in the media especially on live shows to talk on issues that affect the society. I would therefore say that the women political leaders have had a cordial relationship with the media. At least one good thing is that they are approachable and hardly turn down interviews. (Senior editor)*

A varying opinion from one media representative informant however, stated that;

*Women leaders fear the media apart from maybe one or two. They don't fully use the media to highlight on their political agendas and sometimes when the media reports what they say they claim to have been misquoted. This has brought about bad relations with the media since the media term them (women political leaders) as petty and without focus. Those who have come out strongly have been given good coverage. (Senior editor)*

The informants are of the opinion that coverage of women political leaders is mainly when there are controversial issues touching on women as stated by one media representative

*Women political leaders usually get covered by the media when they air their voice in a controversial issue. A good example is the clause in the new Constitution that shows women representation in Government. When there were attempts to change the clause, the women joined hands to demand their rights and were equally given good coverage by almost all the media houses. Also, somebody like Martha Karua, has proved she is a force to reckon with in Kenya's political terrain and the media cannot ignore her. Unfortunately, in Kenya, we have very few women political leaders who are like her. This explains why many others get ignored by the media. At the same time, at political party level, you find that it is the men who run the show". (Senior editor)*

#### **4.9.2 Contribution of media in Women political leadership**

The response was that media contributes to a great extent 80% to success and to a less extent 20% to failures of women political leaders. The only missing link mentioned by the informants is fewer number of women representatives in the senior leadership positions in leading media houses to allow for constant pushing for women political leaders' agenda frequent inclusion in media content. One informant in an in-depth interview mentioned that;

*Women leaders continue to portray characters of honesty, visionary leadership, competence, and doesn't misuse power. When such virtues are given airtime in the media they contribute to a greater extent in raising the stars of women MPs. This to me is a media contribution factor to success of women political leaders. (Editor)*

Some media representatives mentioned that they have constantly given women political leaders forum and space, for example the Gender Agenda column that appears in leading local newspaper on a weekly basis. Through such, women political leaders have been appreciated for the great work that they are doing. Also, newspaper pullouts have constantly featured many women political leaders.

The 20% section of informants who indicated that to a lesser extent media contributes to failures of women political leaders stated the reason for negative portrayal of women leaders by the media is because of the women leaders themselves not playing in the mainstream political field. In some instances, the informants meantioned, that when women parliamentarians are covered in issues to do with family chaos and incompetence, this taints their images in the public's eyes. This may make these leaders loose public intersest thus, eventually contributing to their down fall politically. The informants mentioned that the media prominence given mostly to men parliamentarians while neglecting their women counterparts works as a spoiler for the women political leaders. This is viewed in the public eye as incompetent and as subsidiary to the male political counterparts. A representative of a media house said;

*In certain instatnces especially in government media houses women political leaders who present opinion that conflicts the state are given a total blackout while those who are in the government are given preference but still not as much as the men. (Senior editor)*

#### **4.9.3 Aspects of Gender and Media governing Policies in media utilization by women parliamentarians**

Senior representatives of media houses overwhelmingly at 100% confirmed that in their media houses there was existence of gender related policies such as a policy on gender equality, a policy on sexual harassment, a policy on maternity leave, a policy on paternity leave, women getting same jobs back when they go for maternal leave, offering child-care assistance. This however has not yet practiced in most media houses and offering educational training for women. These policies they confirmed have encouraged more female media practitioners to join media house thereby influencing the reporting pattern from a male dominant coverage to a more gender balanced coverage.

#### 4.9.4 Factors influencing media utilization by women parliamentarians

The informants stated that media portrayal of women parliamentarians is one of the most influencing factors to media utilization by the women MPs. One informant indicated that media coverage of women parliamentarians is often concentrated on controversies and scandals. The media representatives also mention availability and quality of contribution by women parliamentarians as crucial factors considered for enhanced media coverage of women parliamentarians.

#### 4.10 Response from senior representatives of organizations supporting women leadership

##### 4.10.1 Media coverage of women parliamentarians

The informants' opinions were sought mainly through key informant interviews. In response to the question on extent of media coverage for women parliamentarians a representative of one of these organization in an interview said;

*Women leaders in Kenya have not been given enough space in media coverage and in most instances when they do so, they are often negatively portrayed'. (Senior editor)*

This confirms the points brought up by previous informants that there exists a skewed coverage of women parliamentarians by mainstream media houses as compared to the coverage accorded to the male political counterparts.

The informants noted that;

*There has been a steady increase in the number of women professionals and particularly women political leaders over the past 10 years since NARC come into power more noticeable the increase in number of women parliamentarians from 17 in the 9<sup>th</sup> parliament to 22 in the 10<sup>th</sup> parliament. Moreover, a mass genesis has been witnessed of women coming out of the kitchen and acquiring leadership positions in the government and the political arena. Worth mentioning is that despite all these changes taking place, most mainstream press coverage continues to rely on men as experts in most fields especially business, politics and economics. Women political leaders in the news are more likely to be featured in stories about fashion or domestic violence than in stories about their political opinion on national matters, professional abilities or expertise. (Editor)*



This, the informant laments, amounts to belittling of women political leaders. It is therefore necessary, she recommends, that the media changed its coverage to point out positive stories by women political leaders.

The informant also observed that women parliamentarians' coverage by media was to some extent demeaning, one informant stated that;

*Views of women political leaders were solicited mainly in the framework of wananchi wa kawaida meaning "average citizens" in English and rarely as experts, and that political or economic success stories were overwhelmingly masculine. Citing a case in point on soliciting for political leaders views after reading of the budget in parliament, you find that most political leaders sought after by reporters are always men. (Editor)*

This confirms the point that women leaders are considered inferior when it comes to matters economics and finance which are matters of great national interest that requires balanced opinion. During the in-depth interviews with the informants it came out that the number of women parliamentarians interviewed frequently by the media was disproportionate to their number in Parliament; nor, was this deficiency in any way compensated for by the depth and quality of coverage.

#### **4.10.2 Role of organizations interviewed in assisting women in their quest for political leadership in Kenya**

The representatives from the organization supporting women leadership acknowledged that women are increasingly challenging men for executive positions including administrative ones such as chiefs, district officers and regional education officers. She emphasized that;

*We, as women leaders, have a strong belief that an election or appointment of one of our own is meant to turn around the service delivery. My organization in its support to both aspiring and serving women political leaders ensures that we maintain an up to date data bank of all active women leaders and organize for fora where these women leaders interact freely and exchange ideas and also strategize on various issues touching on women leadership agenda. We thus create a one-stop shop containing all relevant information on active women leaders for use by the aspiring women leaders and other interest groups including the media. (Representative of an NGO)*

The informant further appreciated the fact that the media has not to a great extent given women enough coverage; however their organizations are working closely with the media to design a strategy that will see more involvement of women political leaders with media to highlight their undertakings in the society.

#### **4.10.3 Benefits of organizations supporting women political leaders.**

Informants from these organizations in an in depth interview reiterated that most women political leaders have shown profound support and appreciation on what the organizations are doing to support women in politics and enhance their visibility in the public arena. They mentioned that they have encountered so many road blocks given the fact that they are operating in a field mostly dominated by men and male chauvinists. However, they said that they are employing every strategy to get to their set goals of making women leaders be appreciated from all quotas including the media.

#### **4.10.4 Role of the organizations in helping women leaders to utilize the media in order to further their leadership agenda**

Most of the representatives of the organizations mentioned that people generally have become very sophisticated with the media and are highly dependent on it to acquire the skills that are needed to survive in this world. A representative from one organization said;

*Media is the most effective mode of conveying information to the public because it gives each party an opportunity to respond directly to other. Disagreement, fear, tension and fury can often be eliminated by solving a problem on the spot. The media has in a big way helped women leaders to make the right decision when it comes to politics; it has been easy for them to decide which party they can rely on when they need to acquire political power. (Representative of NGO)*

The other respondent stated that media has been used by women political leaders as a tool to convince the public on the best leader to choose or elect, by looking at the popularity of different candidates. They further state that the media has worked as senders and receivers of information that have an image or concept of others. In the situation and attach certain values to these others as people.

#### **4.10.5 Factors influencing utilization of media by women political leaders from NGOs supporting women's political leadership**

The informants on answering this question mention a number of factors which they believe had a bearing on utilization of the media by women parliamentarians. These factors as mentioned by the informants include; the need to connect, the need to be visible, role of inferiority complex exhibited by some women parliamentarians, lack of awareness of media governing policies, personalities of women political leaders like being media shy, lack of enough women representatives in media content decision making organs in the leading media houses and also reluctance by women political leaders to seek coverage always.

In addition some informants stated that Competition among the political leaders has equally jolted out women political leaders into action and they have taken the bull by the horns in ensuring that what men can do they can do better. Therefore, an increasing number of women political leaders no longer take the media for granted and are getting the media involved in their activities as they want to be visible in what they are doing in society.

#### **4.11 Narration by a woman Member of Parliament on women, media and leadership**

This is a personal account of one single woman member of parliament. This interview was undertaken by the researcher to get a narration regarding women in politics and media utilization by women parliamentarians. The researcher probed the respondent by asking her questions relating to education history, her leadership journey, her piece of advice to aspiring future women political leaders, her view on media utilization by women political leaders, and finally what she considers as the factors that would make women political leaders gain more coverage in the media. Here below is a transcription of what she had to say.

*Success battle in political arena in this country requires an embodiment on media perspective in your political strategy. That is why during national campaigns you witness presidential runners incorporating media specialist in their campaign teams. On our part as women parliamentarians though we have not utilized media to the fullest, I have personally witnessed blatant biasness towards women political leaders in coverage by media houses. Our male counterparts have stolen the show from us and thus always receive much airtime in both politics and media. They call press conferences every time to issues to deal with the country development but in real sense and truly speaking women leaders in instances have outperformed them even in management of constituencies. I have to say this that personally I*

*rarely watch or read my views I expresses at various fora, including Parliament. You can therefore see clearly the kind of media biasness witnessed by most of my fellow women colleagues elected and who don't have ministerial positions in the government where they may be covered while undertaking official duties.*

*I would therefore like to conclude my story by urging that the gap in coverage between male and female political leaders should be addressed by instituting media policies that are more gender sensitive. In addition I would like to add that women political leaders themselves should also rise to the occasion and showcase their tract record in championing for issues affecting our societies. (Elected MP)*

In the narration, the respondent answers a number of the research quotations regarding low coverage of women parliamentarians. Also, the respondent acknowledges that gender policies should be conjoined in editorial policies to allow for more coverage of women stories by the media. She further says that women parliamentarians should avoid the above stereotypes and equally seek coverage just as their male counterparts.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results and findings of the study. It further compares the findings of the study to other studies in similar field that have been undertaken by other researchers in various parts of the world. The discussion will be done in such a manner that answers the research questions raised by the study and satisfies the objectives of the study which were: to determine the nature and extent of coverage of women parliamentarians by the media; to determine the awareness and perception of the media by women parliamentarians; and to find out aspects of the media that influences their utilization by women parliamentarians. A conclusion is drawn from the discussions and recommendation put forward.

#### 5.2 Socio-demographic status of the respondents

The respondents interviewed by the researcher in this study were drawn from women parliamentarians, senior representatives of mainstream media houses, and senior representatives from organizations supporting women leadership. Similar studies by other authors reviewed however had not used such a combination of respondents. A paper by Makhoha, (2003) on media portrayal of women politicians takes a perspective of media houses to understand the subject. Another study on ten women politicians (Kamau, 2010) took the perspective of women parliamentarians to investigate why women politician contribute more than often acknowledged. The study finding revealed that all the three categories of respondents involved in the study had converging opinion on underutilization of media by women politicians. It is revealed that the respondent were almost unanimously in agreement that media coverage was more skewed towards male political leaders. (Nzomo, 2011) in her paper on Women in Kenya's Political Leadership: The Struggle for Participation in Governance through Affirmative Action, confirms that the media and the role of women in politics rarely make headlines news.

The studies aforementioned however, fall short in highlighting with precision the factors hinder coverage of women political leaders in Kenya. The finding of this study advances further and determines these factors as perceived by the three different categories of respondents.

### 5.3 The nature and extent of coverage of women parliamentarians by the media

Women parliamentarians, as clearly brought out in this study are in most instances sidelined in respect to media coverage. There was clear existence of skewness in coverage of women parliamentarians by mainstream media houses as compared to the coverage accorded to the male political counterparts. The women parliamentarians themselves also confirmed that they have not been accorded enough space in media coverage. These findings confirm the assertion by Professor Maria Nzomo that:

*Save for the well known incumbents, such as.....Charity Ngilu, Mrs. Beth Mugo, Ms Martha Karua, the majority of the women parliamentarians remain invisible (Daily Nation, Nov. 11, 2002)*

Most of women parliamentarians agreed they rarely seek coverage. In most instances where they sought coverage the main reasons as highlighted by the study finding for the coverage was mention to be in relation to their official duties, or their constituency work, in parliamentary debates, in their personal lives and in relation to their political parties. However, much as the reasons may seem to be positive as highlighted in the study, some authors who have carried analysis of media coverage of women parliamentarians in Kenya with respect to the content of such coverage came up with interesting findings that in parliament particularly, the media coverage sometimes ridicule the women members by showing the legs, the type of shoes they put on and the dresses (Makhoha, 2003).

However, one media representative among the interviewees had a varying opinion. She did not see media as a challenge. She felt that as long as one talks about issues in an informed way, the media will actually seek you out. She noted that sometimes people complain about the media because they do not know how to engage with them.

Media coverage is extremely important in shaping public opinion. Repeated coverage of women parliamentarians in the positive light is very important in enhancing visibility of women parliamentarians in the public. As highlighted by in study by McCombs, (1997) Increased emphasis of a topic or an issue in the mass media results in an increased relevance of that issue in the public domain. According to this author, when the media emphasize an event or an issue, they build consensus over the issue and therefore influence the audience to see it as important (McCombs and Shaw, 1985).

The media plays a key role in shaping opinion and as gatekeepers of information. The media portrayal of women parliamentarians through consistent coverage in the positive light is lacking. Most women politicians have always been portrayed as assistants not that these women are timid or ignorant. It is not that they are silent. It is just the perception of the media; they look good as assistants, and are never given the opportunity to outshine their bosses, even when they are more authoritative and knowledgeable. This image persists all the more when it is reinforced by television and press pictures of ministers accompanied by the women assistant ministers. Such media coverage has only succeeded in undermining women's authority (Makhoha, 2003). The author further notes that there is a great challenge for the media to report more on women, especially for those who have not questioned their own internal policies and their views on women and their political participation; from regularity to the quality of coverage women politicians receive. (Makokha, 2003)

This study appreciates that there has been some improvement in frequency and quality of coverage of women parliamentarians over the last 10 years. This coverage has seen more women come into public lime light for their contributions in societal development and to take up political leadership positions. Comparing the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> parliament shows an improvement in the number of women MPs from 18 to 22. However, (Nzomo, 2011) advises in her study that the media needs to enhance their recognition of women politicians, their voices, and their contributions in decision, in their capacities as representatives of communities. She adds that the current portrayal of women only as beneficiaries of affirmative action, people who are disinterested in politics must be demystified.

Other studies (AWC, 2003) confirm too that lack of media visibility also works against women. It has been noted that the power of the media in building credibility and influence in politics is formidable and yet women struggle to receive media coverage and legitimacy in the eyes of the public (Women Direct Service Centre, 2006: 10). This may have to do with the fact that the media may not regard women issues as newsworthy. The media works against the interests of women when it fails to give importance to matters that concern them and their achievements, and also when it focuses only on their weaknesses as leaders

#### **5.4 Awareness and perception of the media by women parliamentarians**

The findings of the study reveal that some women parliamentarians are media shy; they therefore never seek coverage from the media unless captured in other events. They treat the media with contempt since it's their belief that the media always portrays them negatively.

On the other hand most of the women parliamentarians reckon that they have a very cordial relationship with the media and they seek coverage from them when need be. One woman Member of Parliament even mentioned that she has had no problem with the media at all. In fact, the media often look for her to comment on issues. Sometimes it is politicians who mess themselves and then they blame the media.

Most women parliamentarians interviewed however believe that the media can contribute to their success or failure depending on the type of coverage they are given.

There is a hypothesis that the media “mirrors” already-existing social norms and behaviours. In contrast, some say the media is important in creating or shaping those norms and behaviours. Whichever side of the argument one takes, the media plays a central role in shaping and influencing people’s attitudes and behaviours. It has a profound impact on people’s attitudes and perceptions. In the case of women parliamentarians, the media plays a major role in making women leaders who may never have been known nationally to become national figures. Even though she has at times had problems with the media, Martha Karua, for example, still owes a lot to the media as it is through it she got to be known as a leader worth paying attention to. Mass media in Kenya has over the years devoted significant time reporting issues specific to women’s rights’ abuses and intervention strategies (Association of Media Women of Kenya, 2006: 1). Such media attention has at times positively influenced responses to the circumstances under which Kenyan women find themselves.

This findings are supported a study by AWC, 2003. The study asserts that media can give prominence and a profile and can also take the same away. This fact is in turn predicated on the fact that what is contained in the media is usually treated as gospel truth by readers, viewers and listeners. Therefore, those candidates who get better treatment are seen as the more important political players, or those with greater prospects of succeeding (AWC, 2003). Thus media limelight and blackout plays a significant role in determining whether a candidate succeeds or not. It is no surprise therefore that the most astute politicians seek to cultivate good media relations in order to remain visible and retain favorable popular sentiment.

Contrary to the perceptions painted in this study on the media, (Ure, 1974) still believes the media is no longer the powerless victim of the professionalization of politics but rather its contribution to political communication needs to be re assessed in a relational framework



which seeks to make the overall power balance between journalists, politicians, media owners, spin doctors among others.

Political careers are built on public opinion and the media holds a key to this. Media can make or break an individual's public look; they shape the public opinion and perception of an individual. When a story is aired in the media that portrays a political leader in a negative perspective, public trust in that particular leader is lost. The media is always responsible for agenda setting, what the media reports always inform public opinion. Therefore, success or failure of political leaders greatly depend on the type of coverage a leader is accorded. The findings further revealed that the media is widely appreciated as a channel for advocacy. Women leaders who want to buy in public support on certain issues will seek the use of media. In certain instances, respondents agreed that the media give capacity and will to rally both men and women to a common goal and persuaded people to participate willingly and enthusiastically towards the achievement of common national goals. A case in point is when the media was involved in the campaign for Kenyans for Kenya to help raise funds for the starving Kenyans.

### **5.5 Aspects of the media that influences their utilization by women parliamentarians**

- **Financial aspect in coverage**

The aspect of money is witness in every sphere of the society, as elaborated by the study findings; media coverage is not an exception to this. The findings reveal that in some instances women parliamentarians don't seek media coverage because they don't have the financial resources to pay for such services. It is true that the media houses are in business and a part from stories that capture media headlines that are automatically covered; other stories are not of much interest if they don't capture public attention. These stories are meant to increase viewership hence enhancing their revenues. In 2002 and 2007 elections for example, male politicians employed advertising consultants to convey their messages to the voters, which involved spending millions of Kenya shillings in the process (AWC, 2003). Many of the women candidates with their meager financial resources were no match for the male candidates in deploying such methods. This therefore locked them out of frequent media coverage.

Kamau , (2010) confirms the money aspect in media coverage noting that it compounds the financial challenges that women seeking political leadership face. The scenario worsens when

the media learns that you are a member of parliament because they will ask for money for coverage.

- **Media biasness**

Women political leaders are believed to be treated with biasness by the media as compared to the male counter parts. The study findings point an indicator to same direction since most women parliamentarians interviewed mentioned the same point of biasness. Also, representatives from media houses and organization supporting women leadership confirmed the same point. They stated that there is no fair gender portrayal in the media as regards the political arena. Male politicians are given more coverage as compared to the female parliamentarians.

The media as noted by an informant has its own agenda and serves certain interests. Even the reporters in the field seem to have little control about what finally gets published or aired. Decisions are made at the head office. Since most media businesses are owned by men and even the women who work there may be gender blind, it becomes more difficult for women's positive issues to be seen as important issues worth reporting. The continued biasness towards male political leaders by the media is seen as detrimental to the performance and advancement of women in politics (AWC, 2003).

- **Political authority**

The media always tend to give coverage to those political leaders who tend exercise power and authority, most women parliamentarians who are Ministers and Assistant ministers don't seem to wield this authority and power except for Ms Martha Karua who has exerted political authority everywhere she has served.

Makhhoza, (2003) in his paper ...'most women politicians have always been portrayed as assistants not that these women are timid or ignorant. It is not that they are silent. It is just the perception of the media; they look good as assistants, and are never given the opportunity to outshine their bosses, even when they are more authoritative and knowledgeable. This image persists all the more when it is reinforced by television and press pictures of ministers accompanied by the women assistant ministers. Such media coverage has only succeeded in undermining women's authority'.

Authority is necessary for visibility in the eyes of the media, this can be where women civic leaders and party leaders' authority has traditionally been regarded as insufficient to enable them command attention in the mainstream media.

- **Stereotypes**

It is noted that politically active women are often disparaged and stereotyped by the media. The East African Journalists Association (EAJA), 2008 confirms that where gender stereotypes are propagated in and through the media, they reinforce inequalities in gender power relation and provide justification for the perpetuation of discriminatory practices based on gender. Journalists should advocate for fair and balanced representation of both men and women political leaders in the mass media in recognition of women's human rights.

A report by the Association of Media Women of Kenya (AMWIK, 2006) points out that the media has encouraged negative perceptions and stereotyping of women. Most of the times, the media covers women either as victims or when they fit into the stereotypical roles associated with the female gender. It is on rare occasions that the media goes out of its way to present women as able leaders who contribute positively to national development.

Omtatah (2008: 60) questions "What good can come out of a media that constantly portrays women as consumable sex objects?" Such portrayal can be picked from most media reporting in Kenya. Onyango-Obbo (2010), although writing about Obama as the first Black President of the United States and the challenges he faces for being a pioneer of what he refers to as 'curse of novelty', compares this with the first women parliamentarians in Kenya and Uganda. Of interest is the choice of words to describe these women. The women 'struggled to be seen as something more than a set of breasts, headscarves, and golden earrings to lend colour to institutions long dominated by graying, balding, pot-bellied men'. He further notes that the only thing these women were expected to do was to 'push for women's issues', which he gives an example of sexual offences and that success of women parliamentarians beyond these issues has been rare, which he gives an example of sexual offences and that success of women parliamentarians beyond these issues has been rare. (AMWIK, 2006: 1).

- **Media Editorial governing policies**

The media editorial policies will have influence on the coverage of women parliamentarians. Most media organizations seem not to have well defined policies and programmes (EAJA, 2008). There is also no existence of policy guidelines on the portrayal women in the media and what policy says on fair and balanced reporting on gender issues. Thus, it's clearly evident that women parliamentarians are most likely to receive balance coverage neither are they able to utilize the media in absence of such policy guidelines.

In the findings of this study however, media houses confirmed that they had comprehensive gender related policies embodied within their programmes. Absence or presence of such policies is likely to have a bearing on the extent to which women parliamentarians will utilize the media. It is therefore imperative for the media organizations to consider instituting such policies to ensure balanced coverage.

- **Few number of women in decision making position**

The general scenario as espoused by this study is that the occupation of senior decision making position is greatly male dominated leaving women a voiceless position. In parliament in particular, the number of women parliamentarians is still way below the 30 percent threshold set by gender equality policy. Kamau, 2010 asserts that lack of critical mass of women in political institution has significantly constrained women politicians from effecting meaningful, gender equitable transformations to the male dominated culture politics, public policy and resource allocation.

Lawless and Fox reached to a different conclusion in their study of women candidates in Kenya; the suggestion that electing women candidates would generate a woman's agenda is precarious in Kenya case. The women candidates interviewed demonstrated neither favour nor affinity for forwarding women's issues (Lawless and Fox, 2001).

Many Kenyan women activists and female MPs hold the view that women have made a significant difference in shaping and advancing the gender agenda, not necessarily because of numbers, but despite them (Kamau, 2010).

## **5.6 Gender and Media governing policies and their influence on media utilization by women parliamentarians**

Gender policies have elevated women leaders to various high ranking positions that they currently sit at. The advancement of the gender agenda right from the parliament has seen the political and leadership change from one that is male dominated to one that is fairly balanced. The findings of this study reveal that the utilization of media by women parliamentarians is to some extent influenced by gender policies that are in existence.

A separate study (AWC, 2005) points out that, as the number of women in parliament began to rise (especially in the ninth and current tenth parliament), some key policy and legislative changes in favor of women have been sponsored by female MPs and enacted. These include tax waivers for sanitary towels and baby diapers, and the passing into law of the sexual offences Bill, the children's Act of 2002 and the political parties Review of the employment act 2007. The latter increased maternity leave to four months (three months actual maternity leave and one month annual leave). There has also been an increased focus on gender issues, HIV and Aids – especially by the Minister for health, a woman who has held that position since 2003. Also attributed to female MPs has been the notable paradigm shift in gender responsive parliamentary debates, some of which have resulted in policies favorable to the gender agenda. These include the sessional paper No, 2 of 2006 on gender Equality and Development, the national Land policy, the National Reproductive Health policy, the Gender policy in Education of 2007 and the national Policy for abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation of 2008-2012.

These policies have increased visibility of women parliamentarians especially when debate these bills in parliament and advocating for the same in cabinet.

## **5.7 Summary**

This study sought to establish the factors that influence media utilization by women parliamentarians. In order to carry out the study and come up with findings three categories of responses were sought from women parliamentarians, representatives of media houses, and representatives of organizations supporting women leadership.

The findings of the study were analysed with respect to each category of the responses; from women parliamentarians, media houses and organizations supporting women leadership. The findings were discussed as per the research questions and conclusion and recommendations drawn from them.

Regarding media coverage of women parliamentarians, the findings across the three categories of responses indicated that women parliamentarians have not been given keen attention by the media as compared to their male counterparts. This has contributed to portrayal of women parliamentarians as lacking authority and incompetency regarding their contribution to the national development agenda. The women parliamentarians were often covered in while undertaking in relation to their official works as ministers or assistant ministers, in relation to their constituency work, in relation to their parties and also while contributing to debates in parliament.

Awareness and perception of the media by women parliamentarians revealed that the media is an important element in shaping the public opinion. Therefore, women parliamentarians are in agreement that the media can make or spoil for a leader thus, maintaining a cordial relationship with the media is necessary for success in the political arena.

The study found a number of factors that influence utilization of media by women parliamentarians. Among the noticeable factors were monetary enticement, political authority, media biasness, stereotypes, gender and editorial policies, number of women in decision making positions and political ideologies of leaders.

## **5.8 Conclusion**

Inadequate women's coverage seems to be a worldwide phenomenon. In 2000 the Association of Women Journalists (Association des femmes journalistes – AFJ) studied news

coverage of women and women's issues in 70 countries. It reported that only 18 per cent of stories quote women, and that the number of women-related stories came to barely 10 per cent of total news coverage. News talk shows are equally problematic. A small percentage of women called in to discuss nation issues that mostly affect the economy and quality of life, and even when they are given the opportunity, they only speak 10 per cent of the time—leaving 90 per cent of the discussion to the male guests. It is thus prudent to note that the lack of representation for women political leaders will have profound consequences on whether or not women leaders are perceived as competent leaders, because "authority is not recognized by these shows. It is created by these shows" said a senior representative of the organization dealing with women leadership. It is further noted that politically active women are often disparaged and stereotyped by the media.

These issues are confirmed through in-depth interview with women parliamentarians and also the other representative of the media houses and the organizations supporting women leadership. Women parliamentarians in their responses acknowledge that they have been overshadowed by the male politicians in media coverage.

However, there is the general feeling among organizations supporting women leadership that this scenario will shift when gender agenda is fully entrenched in the political institutions and the media institution.

To address the under utilization of media by women parliamentarians the study notes that concerted efforts from all direction should be directed towards pushing for more women representation in decision making organs of organizations that serves the public so that women leaders can get a chance to be judged on their performance records rather than on stereotypes and media perceptions.

## **5.9 Recommendations**

In view of the finding of this study some recommendation are put forward to various institutions and stakeholders in the policy making circle including media organizations, non-governmental organizations supporting women leadership, women parliamentarians themselves and the government.

### **Media houses**

- Media houses should create more time for women leaders in their content in equal measure to that given to their male counterparts.
- Media houses should encourage more women to take up senior leadership positions in these organizations so as to correct the imbalance that is brought about by lack of women in media content decision making organs of the organizations.
- Editorial policies for the media houses should have an aspect of gender sensitiveness so that coverage on women parliamentarians can be improved to give the women leaders authority and good public opinion. Those holding higher ranking decision making positions should be urged to give equal treatment to stories both on male as those women political

### **Organizations supporting women leadership**

- Organization involved with empowerment of women should intensify their advocacy through the media and other channels to encourage more women leaders to participate in national debates and champion for issues touching on Kenyans through the media.
- The organization should also forge tripartite a working group between media, women parliamentarians and themselves so that visibility of women in politics could be enhanced through increased media coverage.
- These organizations should create a pool of mentors for the aspiring and new comer women parliamentarians so that they can get appropriate guidance from these mentors.



## **Women parliamentarians**

- They should engage the media more frequently and assert authority in the various positions of authority they hold
- Women parliamentarians should try to forge a good working relationship with media so as to receive positive portrayal in coverage by showcasing whatever they are doing to help the society develop
- They should push for more gender-related bills and policies and ensure they are entrenched in institutional policies of the organization that seem not to have adopted a gender equality perspective

## **Government**

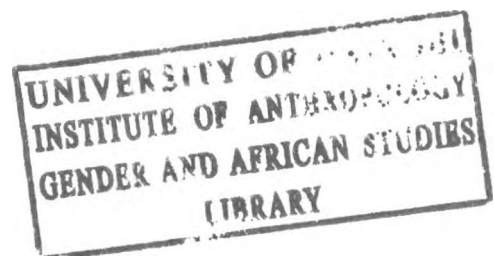
- The government should actualize areas in media policies that touch on women empowerment and active involvement in leadership.
- The government should compel media organizations to give as much coverage to women parliamentarians as that which has been given to their male counterparts

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1: Consent Form**

I.....of P.O. BOX.....has agreed  
of my own accord to participate in this study with the understanding that the findings from  
the study are purely for academic purposes at the University of Nairobi, and that I was have  
no claim to the products of the study other than acknowledgement by the researching student.

Informant:

Signature.....Date.....

Researching Student:

Signature.....Date.....

Mildred P. Barasa

## Appendix 2: Interview Schedule/ Questionnaire for Women MPs

How do you do? I am Mildred Barasa, a Master of Arts degree in gender and development studies student from the University of Nairobi. I would like to find out factors that influence utilization of the media by women political leaders in Kenya. I look forward to your co-operation. All responses from you will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

1. Would you mind telling me your level of education and other characteristics that best describe you and your political career?
2. How often do you appear on the media (TV, Radio, newspaper)?
3. What made you to be covered by the media?
4. How often do you seek media coverage? Do they turn up?
5. Do you think the media is responsible for your leadership successes or failures?
6. How do you relate with the media?
7. In your view, what makes the media cover women political leaders?
8. Are you aware of the existing gender policies in the country?
9. How have gender policies in the country influenced your utilization of the media?
10. Are you aware of the policies governing the media in Kenya?
11. How have the policies governing utilization of the media in Kenya influenced your utilization of the media?
12. What other factors have influenced your utilization of the media throughout your political career?

### **Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Senior Representatives of Media Houses**

How do you do? I am Mildred Barasa, a Master of Arts degree in gender and development studies student from the University of Nairobi. I would like to find out factors that influence utilization of the media by women political leaders in Kenya. I look forward to your co-operation. All responses from you will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

1. In your view, how often do women political leaders appear in your media?
2. What were the reasons responsible for their coverage by the media?
3. How does your media house contribute to women political leadership successes or failures?
4. How do women leaders relate with the media?
5. In your view, how do media policies affect utilization of the media by women political leaders?
6. What other factors have influenced utilization of the media by women political leaders?
7. What has your organization done to ensure utilization of the media by women political leaders?



#### **Appendix 4: Interview guide for Senior Representatives of Organizations Supporting Women Leadership**

How do you do? I am Mildred Barasa, a Master of Arts degree in gender and development studies student from the University of Nairobi. I would like to find out factors that influence utilization of the media by women political leaders in Kenya. I look forward to your co-operation. All responses from you will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

1. What is your role in assisting women in their quest for political leadership in Kenya?
2. How many women have you worked with, for how long and what is your next plan of action?
3. Of what benefit has your organization been supporting women political leaders? What are your successes or challenges?
4. Given your work around women leadership, is there reason/s for of women political leaders to use the media as a tool for them to excel in their work?
5. How has your organization helped women leaders to utilize the media in order to further their leadership agenda?
6. Do you think the media is responsible for women political leadership successes or failures?
7. How have gender policies in the country influenced utilization of the media by women political leaders?
8. What other factors have influenced utilization of the media by women political leaders?

## **Appendix 5: Narration interview guide for a Member of Parliament**

How do you do? I am Mildred Barasa, a Master of Arts degree in gender and development studies student from the University of Nairobi. I would like to find out factors that influence utilization of the media by women political leaders in Kenya. I look forward to your co-operation. All responses from you will be handled with utmost confidentiality.

1. May you please tell us about your education history?
2. Please tell about your leadership journey?
3. How would you advise aspiring future leaders?
4. What would you say about women political leaders' utilization of media?
5. What are the factors that you consider important to enabling women political leaders gain enough coverage in the media?

