

**Topic: Contribution of Media towards the Progress of women's  
political participation in Kenya**

**A Case Study of AMWIK (Association of Media Women in Kenya)**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that this research is my original work and has not been submitted anywhere else for any academic award.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research project to the strong and inspiring women in my life - my mother Mrs. Keziah Njeri Njau; my sister Dorcas Muthoni Njau and my late grandmothers; Mrs. Florence Wanjiru Kago and Mrs. Dorcas Wanjiru Kabogo. These women have inspired me to rise above the norm and pursue my dreams. In every way their lives have been an example of a hardworking, persevering, loving and diligent woman that I aspire to be to my children.

I also dedicate this work to my father, Mr. Aggrey Njau Kamau, who has appreciated my dreams and supported all my educational endeavors. I am thankful that I was able to reach this far from the support accorded me.

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## **Abbreviations and Acronyms**

AMWIK – Association of Media Women in Kenya

DPMF - Development Policy Management Forum

IEBC – Interim Electoral & Boundaries Commission

FIDA – Federation of Women Lawyers

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

KWFT – Kenya Women Finance Trust

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

MP – Member of Parliament

NARC – National Rainbow Coalition

NCPD – National Council for Population Development

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

UN - United Nations

WEF/ WDF – Women Enterprise Fund/Development

EPP - Engendering the Political Process

## **Abstract**

The media is very important part of our society today having evolved to become one of the most effective tools of mass communication. The media plays a significant role in pushing the development agenda forward. One of these recognizable development highlights is the recognition of women's roles in our society today. Gender related topics must be a fore-front item of discussion in the country, despite the profit-driven goals of many privately owned media houses. With this in mind, the media fraternity needs a gatekeeper to push such agendas forward through holding these organizations to accountability. The Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) whose mission is "Seeks to use to the media to promote an informed and gender responsive society in Kenya and Africa" has been carrying out this agenda for the past three decades. This research seeks to conduct an in-depth analysis of AMWIK and the role it has played, through the media, in increasing women's political participation in Kenya today. How have their strategies worked to improve the status of women as far as leadership is concerned?

The study was carried out on a group of women who have participated in AMWIK programmes. Specifically 23 women were interviewed and analysis done to establish whether the media and civil society have played any role in influencing the attitude towards women in political leadership. The women were selected using quota sampling where a section of the target group were pointed out. The participants came from groups that have participated in AMWIK programmes and the location mainly the Eastlands area of Nairobi. This study was guided by two specific objectives: 1.) To evaluate the role played by AMWIK in promoting participation of women in politics 2.) To analyze media strategies that AMWIK has used in their program on gender and governance.

The research findings of this case study were found through administering semi-structured questionnaires and conversational interviews of small groups to gain both the quantitative and qualitative data. The findings of this study showed that women are aware about the role their civil obligation in the society but are much more distracted by personal and individual obligations to be able to participate in active politics. In addition, the media has a played a role in influencing some of their decisions which are gender related, however the self confidence and financial resources are major challenges in involvement in public office roles. The study also found that women are more positive about the growth of their agenda in leadership in lieu of the new constitution and therefore AMWIK and other stakeholders must continue with civic education on the said subject.

In conclusion, the study recommends that generally women are ready to take up leadership roles, but they are held back by cultural and societal expectations. Some of these are self-imposed hence they hold back from participation. Another study is recommended for women in the rural areas to understand their environment and whether their reasons for inadequate political participation are similar to the findings of this study.

## **Chapter 1 : Introduction**



## **1.0 Background**

Gender inequality still remains a persistent challenge not just globally, but more so in developing countries. Different societies have different social structures that work for or against gender equity (Women and Decision-making, 1997). In any case, women have been said to bring into leadership a new perspective that is unique to their gender. Women are known to be caregivers in the homes and great planners of households. While this has been argued to be small-scale management, the efficiency factors surrounding running a household can be complex. In this study, Women and Decision-making (1997), women are attributed to bringing into leadership and governance an ‘innate’ natural perspective that measures their social and cultural position. It is natural for women to care and protect within or out of their homesteads. States of war and conflicts usually affect women and children more (Women and Decision-making, 1997) and it would be natural phenomenon for women leaders to advocate for peace at all costs.

The contribution of women in the growth of the society is generally almost as equal compared to their male counterparts, whether recognized formally or informally (Women 2000 and beyond, Oct 2008). Studies have shown that empowering women to participate in decision-making translates to an improved society. The opportunities given to women have been scarce and therefore a more aggressive approach was coined to ensure affirmative action is taken up in countries globally. In Kenya, this was achieved in the new constitution that was passed close to three years ago. Although the fight for recognition has been going on for over two decades, this ‘one third’ placement rule for women on public office positions has been well received. The challenge now remains on implementation by the government which has recently taken office.

In the fight for women’s empowerment, there remains a lot to be done by various groups. The government can only do so much, such as to set up structures that will implement its policies to the letter. The gap that remains open is the participation of women in opportunities set aside for them. Kenya today hosts hundreds of organizations that run programmes for women empowerment. One such is AMWIK which is a professional body of women in the media. AMWIK runs several programmes namely:

- Campaign against gender-based violence
- Peace and respect of human rights
- Promoting women's rights and economic empowerment
- Sexual and reproductive health rights
- Gender and governance programme
- National civic education programmes
- Monitoring devolved funds
- Children's rights campaigns

This study will take an in-depth look at the Gender and Governance programme which was designed to encourage increased participation of women in leadership at all governance levels. The study will have a look at the progress the Association of Media Women in Kenya has made in the realization of the program's objectives in so far as advocacy and use of media is concerned and over the last three years.

## **2.0 Rationale and Justification of study**

In the past 10 years, Kenya has experienced a new era in democracy. There have been both positive and negative aspects of the new found political atmosphere. The empowerment of women has since progressed at a fast pace as evidenced by the growth in women organizations. However, there still remain gaps in the measurements of the effects of the programmes designed for women empowerment. There is especially a need for support on empowering women politically as a strategy for their overall growth and empowerment. In Kenya today, there are more opportunities for women than has ever existed before as evidenced by the provision in the current constitution which has drawn a lot of support from the women fraternity. The constitution promises great opportunities for women offering a conducive environment for growth. It has been over a decade of advocacy on matters surrounding the empowerment of women and the recognition of their significant role economically in our society today is a great milestone for women. The constitution also poses to be an important addition to the foundation of infrastructure for women empowerment. Kenya has recently elected new leaders in a very competitive general election. The new leaders

have promised to uphold the constitution and further pledged to give more women opportunities to lead as part of the agenda of gender equity and equality. There are ongoing debates about the implementation of the 'one third rule' of allocation of seats to women in parliament and the manner in which this would be made possible. As solutions to these debates continue to be discussed, it is important to note that there are possibilities of amendments that may affect the implementation of the bill. However, the aura of victory still lingers and this study looks at the perspective of women's political participation as influenced by gender programmes.

Studies have shown the significant role women have in the development of a country (Wakogi, 2010). This relation is attributed to the unique leadership that women bring into these influential positions. In addition, involving women in politics has been seen to also help in alleviating poverty and related problems. Several surveys have been carried out on the progress women have made in various fields. The World Economic Forum Gender Gap Report is a survey carried out every year focusing on gender disparity for various countries. The gap between men and women still remains big globally, in top leadership positions. The United Nations (UN) also carries out surveys in different gender related topics such as agriculture, decision-making positions, education, labour status among many others. In the UN report, World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, the relationship between empowered women and development is emphasized. Access to economic and financial resources gives more women an opportunity to make better decisions for their household and the society.

It is evident that the gender agenda is a global agenda and must be taken seriously. The media has a role to play in magnifying this agenda and disseminating relevant information to citizens. The role of educating women on their rights, privileges and responsibilities cannot be carried out without the use of the media. How has the women's agenda been carried in our media and how has this process influenced women to participate in political leadership? Has the Association of Media Women in Kenya played any role in influencing women's participation in politics? This study will have an in-depth look at AMWIK's role in this process.

### **3.0 Research Objectives**

The overall objective of this study was to present empirical evidence of change in attitude towards women's role in the Kenyan society, evaluate the factors that have contributed to these changes and assess the impact of programs offered to targeted women.

Specifically they are:

- To evaluate the role played by AMWIK in promoting participation of women in politics.
- To analyze media strategies that AMWIK has used in their program on gender and governance

#### **4.0 Hypothesis**

This study will test the following hypotheses:

- Media is critical in promoting participation of women in politics given that it is part of the society.
- Organizations have a role in promoting women participation in politics through their programming.

#### **5.0 Problem Statement**

Women have been marginalized for a long time but recent reports have shown progress in opportunities available aimed at increasing women's participation in influential leadership positions. Kenya is now governed by a new constitution which gives women an opportunity to participate in public service positions. An affirmative action followed the inclusion of 'one third' gender rule in the constitution to encourage more women to take up top leadership positions in the country. The question, are women actually taking these opportunities three years after the new constitution was put in place? This research study seeks to understand the contribution of the media in enhancing women participation in political leadership. Specifically the research looks at the contribution of the Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) in the political participation of women in Kenya.

#### **6.0 Theoretical Framework**

The research study involved an analysis of development communication theories in relation to the modern society. Advocacy was seen as the main theme in the theory building as this a tool of communication in most NGO settings. Many programmes involving women and empowerment have used advocacy to encourage behaviour change and adoption of new ideas. In the theory development, Advocacy, Development communication, Learning theories and Political socialization are used in comparison to show how behaviour change and adoption of new ideas is limited by the environment one is in. In this case, women's political participation can only be well understood in the context of these theories and within the confines of the cultural atmosphere surrounding the target group.

## **7.0 Research Methodology**

This research study used Case Study method of research where an in-depth analysis of the AMWIK's programmes and participants will be done. Both Quantitative and Qualitative techniques was used to carry out the study. Semi-structured questionnaires were used as data collection instruments to be administered to the sample group selected from the population of programmes participants. One on one interviews of 23 participants were done while a section of the questionnaires were self administered. Small group discussions and conversations were carried out to gain supportive in-depth feedback. This involved visiting the women at their places of work or where they are easily accessible. This was also because the participants needed as little interruption of their daily activities as possible. The study was carried out in Nairobi. The Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) will be the organization focus of study.

## **Chapter 2 : Literature Review**

### **2.1 Status of women's political leadership agenda in Kenya and globally**

After more than two decades of lobbying and activism on gender equality, the state of women's leadership in Kenya is still wanting. Close to three years after the inauguration of the new constitution on Kenya, there still remains a gap in women's political participation. The recent general elections in Kenya proved that women's participation in political leadership is still at a low level in the country. Although there were 47 seats set aside exclusively for women representatives still low compared to the 349 total National Assembly seats. However, the recognition of women as leaders in Kenya has come a long way and many factors have contributed to this. The Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) has been on the forefront in the use of media to highlight gender development for the past three decades. The perspective for women leadership is slowly changing although the socio-cultural issues related to women still lingers in the society. AMWIK embarked on putting together a strategic plan for five years (2012-2016) and one of the social issues noted is the "insensitive media culture towards women". What is the responsibility then of the media in creating awareness and changing perception of women in relation to political leadership?

One of the programmes that AMWIK runs called Gender and Governance aims at encouraging women to use the media effectively to profile themselves. Has this been effective in encouraging more women to participate in political leadership? AMWIK run a similar programme a few years ago before starting the gender and governance programme. This was called the Engendering the Political Process (EPP) and run before the 2002 general elections. The agenda has been similar and media has been seen to be a very significant tool that can be used to enhance women's agenda at a national level. What then is the contribution of the media in the progress of women's political participation?

According to Professor Maria Nzomo, Kenya was trailing far behind in women representation in political leadership at only 10 per cent by 2002 (Nzomo, 2003). The past decade has had lots of initiatives with activities globally and locally directed at gender equality. Some African countries have

risen to the occasion and now record some of the highest percentages of women representation in parliament. Rwanda is an example of a country that has given women an equal opportunity and leads globally with 56 per cent of seats for women in their parliament. Having recovered from genocide to leading by example offering women an equal chance to participate in policy matters and top leadership. Today we see a prospering nation that has healed from a ravaging war and blossoming into one of the best economies in Africa. The contribution of women in this growth cannot be trivialized.

Kenya has most recently become a country to watch out in innovation and technological developments. Being a leader in the East African region, it then raises the question of why women are not entirely seen to be part of the process of these developments at the significant public service leadership level. Why aren't women well represented in positions of strategic national policy making?

Recent activities in the Kenyan political arena have given us an idea of where women stand in leadership. In the just concluded general elections, we had only one woman presidential candidate among eight candidates who had committed to run for this office. Ms Martha Karua, a strong politician who has been nicknamed locally as 'iron lady' of Kenya, was the only female presidential candidate. Initially, Ms Charity Ngilu had expressed interest and formally launched her presidential bid, but dropped this to join an alliance with a popular group. As per the requirements of the current constitution, the presidential candidate was to pick a running mate whom they will run together and remain this way until their term is over. This is the first time the country has carried out an election under new terms. Among the eight presidential candidates, we only had one candidate, James Ole Kiyapi, who chose a female running mate, Winnie Kinywa. Of all the candidates in this race, only two women appeared in the race for the top most seats. The election campaigns were highly competitive and many women running for other offices were not seen to rally behind a female candidate. In spite of the democratic right of each citizen, women being the majority of registered voters country wide, are still far from supporting one of their own. Why is this so? This in itself raises the question of whether women leaders are really ready to take the top positions they run for.

With this scenario, women are seen to still shy away from top political leadership positions. Although the environment is conducive to the development of women leaders, there still seems to be a hesitation to join the top leagues. Perhaps there are more reasons that are still holding women back from engaging politically; hence this study will seek to find some of these reasons.

Although the new constitution lays a foundation for the development of women's agenda in Kenya, there remains a big gap in breaking down these provisions to the grassroots level. It has just been a bit over two years since the new constitution was passed and the effort in civic education of the same has not been fully realized. While a reasonable bulk of civic education has been carried out with focus on the general elections and new government structure, there is still a need to ensure the constitution is well broken down to the level of the local citizen. Many women in the grassroots levels are yet to see and understand the benefits of the new provisions. In any case, not many Kenyans understand the roles to be played by the various elected positions including the Women's Representative.

Where governments initially played a very important role in initiating development agendas especially at grassroots level, their roles have been taken by NGOs. The existence of NGOs took an important function of driving social policy change and provision of basic human rights and needs such as food, water, access to education among the poor and vulnerable. Today NGOs have spread their wings often taking up roles of implementing a global agenda in local communities. Such agendas in most cases would be enforced by a higher framework in the society and broken down to smaller groups to get the task done (Kingoro, Pg 28). Initially, this framework was designed and put together by the government. However in Kenya, the role of delivery of services shifted hands for a couple of decades; and due to the mistrust that donors had on the government institutions (Kingoro, pg 22). This was mainly during the Moi regime where misappropriation of funds was reported. The donor community however resumed channeling funds through the government in Mwai Kibaki's era under the NARC leadership where they saw institutions and public services revived to serve the citizens.



Governments still hold the responsibility of trickling down the agenda set by United Nations (UN) and other relevant international bodies. Women's empowerment is a global agenda and one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The goal number 3 states:

*“Promote Gender Equality and empower women”*

While this is a global agenda, member states of the UN body among other partners and civil societies are required to incorporate this goal into their own countries' development agendas. As much as this is so, many countries continue to trail behind in this goal, perhaps due to obstacles related to socio-norms or maybe due to the country's governance structures. (World Survey, 2009)

A government's policy regarding gender equality and equity will greatly influence the change in gender disparity. In addition, the commitment in implementing great policies remains a big challenge for many, especially with developing countries where patriarchal structures are still dominant. As these countries still struggle with poverty, disease and hunger, the priority is placed around fighting these, most times forgetting that women are the biggest victims of these ills. When women are empowered at the micro level, then solutions to these issues emerge as seen through the empowered decisions they make e.g. in healthcare and education of their children (World Survey, 2009).

In Kenya, Vision 2030 is a framework that was established to implement various national development goals and the provision of gender development is included. The Gender Mainstreaming Project is a flagship project under the Social Pillar. The Project profile is summarized as:

*“This project aims to mainstream gender issues in the National Development Process by ensuring that the needs and interests of each gender (i.e. women and men, girls and boys) are addressed in all government policies, plans and programmes.”*

The project is seen as one to increase gender equity in the country by the year 2030. This project compliments the current constitution in which women's participation has been accommodated through the “one third” gender rule. In this rule, one third of public service positions of any institution are set aside for women candidates. Although this is yet to be realized fully, frameworks and

institutions that have been set up to encourage the involvement of women in national leadership matters.

Kenya has created an atmosphere that women can thrive in leadership both in public and private sector. Women most often form the highest percentage in small business ownership although many fall in the informal sector as indicated in the publication, "*Women 2000 and beyond*". Without a doubt, their entrepreneurship skills are evident through the increasing number of women owned businesses both in the urban and rural areas. Reports from financial institutions show a growing interest in designing products targeting women that is meant to encourage them to engage in the financial facilities available. Although these facilities have increased in the past decade, women are still shy about taking up the opportunities available to them. Other factors such as high interest rates and collateral required may play a role in the slowing down of this growth. Rural women are a big vulnerable group whose obstacles go beyond those of urban-dwelling women. Illiteracy and low levels of education are part of the reasons that women do not participate in decision-making processes (World 2000, pg 35). These rural women's economic participation is undermined and ignored as their domestic farm roles and home management is not recognized nationally (Bose, Ahmad, Hossain, 2009). In addition, their male counterparts usually take up the decision-making roles while the women are working (World 2000, pg 35). There has since been some progress in these processes although other factors continue to slow it down. Participation in crucial agricultural process has given women a chance to be seen as active agents of economic growth. Factors such as high interest rates and security on loans are still big barriers to the progress of engaging in financial services offered by these institutions. Despite these obstructions, women in Kenya have shown a spirit of resilience and continue to strive for more whether in the urban settings or the rural settings.

The task of policy making has been greatly influenced by the donor community (Shivji, 2004). This often can skew the results of programs designed for particular agendas. Many local NGOs still depend greatly on international donors for funding to implement their projects. As part of the support offered, terms and conditions are drafted perhaps intended to ensure funds are well managed. While this is a genuine concern, certain programs may be limited to the terms offered and

therefore not as effective to the consumer of the programs offered. In order to implement an effective program targeting a certain group or community, there is a need for balanced input from all stakeholders who will benefit from the program. Many women who live in the rural areas are still concerned about basic needs which keep them from participating in the decision-making processes that affect them (Women 2000 and beyond, pg 23). Access to healthcare, education, land, water and sanitation remains major obstacles for rural women. The role of gender in economics is well discussed in the study done by Bose et al (2009) concluding that as much as women seek to participate in decision making, many of these roles are still dominated by men. Opportunities for women participation is still lagging especially in the rural setting.

Access to information has also been seen as an obstacle to women empowerment (AMWIK KAP Survey, 2009). Information is perceived to be able to equip with knowledge of development and accessibility to related tools. The survey mentions that overall the study revealed that traditional and cultural practices in male dominated communities account for low participation in public affairs (pg 41)

Kenya has enjoyed the growing democratic space since 2002 after the first opposition government took over in an overwhelming win during the multiparty elections. However, women's presence at the forefront was still wanting despite the creation of platforms to encourage women's empowerment politically through the Engendering the Political Process Programme (EPPP). Furthermore, only a handful of women's organizations were vocal in rallying their support of the candidates contesting. Women's presence was not felt in the years preceding the 2002 elections (Nzomo, 2003). Nevertheless, in the years that have followed the 2002 elections, women's voice has been shaped as evidenced by the current constitution. With this positive environment, there are more possibilities created for women to grow economically, socially and politically. To achieve this there must be proper advocacy programmes in place that will ensure the women in grassroots levels are well equipped with this information; and are empowered to embrace the great opportunities available to them. Such opportunities also include the Women's Enterprise Fund (WEF), a semi-autonomous government agency that was set up with a vision to socially and economically empower Kenyan women entrepreneurs for economic development. WEF is under the Ministry of

Gender, Children and Social Development and was established in August 2007 to provide accessible and affordable credit to support women start and/or expand business for wealth and employment creation. Although this is available to all women in Kenya, it is still yet to be accessed by women in all parts of the country especially in grassroots levels.

The country's economy has grown from 2002 -2012 registering positive change from the previous era and without a doubt women have contributed greatly to this growth. Despite this, women still need to be equipped and encouraged to go further and take up bigger roles in the society and face the challenge of top leadership both in the public and private sectors.

Women's development agenda is both a local and global issue and with these highlights, it is evident that there is a willingness to make it known to as many women as possible. Has this been well realized in the past few years? This question takes the project into finding the effects of the efforts that has been rallied internationally and locally to ensure women's empowerment is a reality.

## **2.2 Role of Media and Media Civil society in the advancement of women's political participation**

The role of the media in the society is very important especially in conveying messages to masses. Different forms of media and messages are associated with various attitudes and behaviour changes, although studies that have been done have a more complex approach to this (Tan, 1985). Media has been seen to vary in effectiveness depending on the communication modes used and the intended purpose. Although the role of the media is to highlight stories rather than advocate, it gives the public an opportunity to interact with certain highlighted issues. The audience then may act upon it depending on the weight of the information and the call to action. Tan (1985) argues that just as socialization is part of a person's life throughout since childhood, political beliefs and behaviours are also learned from childhood. Television is seen to be the most effective means of message delivery on political matters. A political affiliation is developed throughout a person's life as they are regularly exposed to campaigns and socialization in their surrounding (Tan, 1985). Political socialization is

seen as similar to social learning where social behaviours are learned in the same way (Pg 316). Although the power of media is evident, the reception of messages is met by other obstacles such as attention of receivers; motivations of listening or watching messages; opinion leaders; content of message; socialization, among many others. How then is the media playing a role in influencing behaviours?

Purposeful media messages target certain populations similar to advertising. Inclusion of specific highlighted stories can be used to capture the attention of certain groups. Mass media is relied on by the bigger population for information about current affairs happening in the country; much more so in the election years. In Kenya, election campaigns for the 2013 general elections run all through 2012 and parts of 2011. These elections marked as a turning point for the country as it was the first held under the new constitution enacted in 2010. The role of mass media was seen in over 50% news coverage of the election campaigns and processes thus attracting an interest by the public. This can be argued to be a public interest story where all participants are well informed before they make their choices through the ballot box. The Interim Election & Boundaries Commission (IEBC) was the institution charged with civil education on elections under the new constitution. The programs run on the media provided crucial information on the new processes the country was adapting, and was key in influencing the understanding of the election process. There was also a renewed interest in understanding the rights citizens have under the new constitution. Although some of these episodes had paid for airtime, the civil education was also merged into the media programming as part of a national agenda. The media played a big role in communicating this national agenda to the citizens. In addition, the civil society was at the forefront in support of peaceful elections through campaigns targeting different groups. After the 2007 elections skirmishes experienced in the country, there was need for national peaceful campaigns following the 2013 general elections. Indeed, the effect of these peaceful campaigns from various groups has been evident in the country.

The content of messages in the media during the election period was also great influenced by popularity of political parties and personalities. Polls were regularly carried out by various media monitoring organizations, to an extent influencing the expectation of the elections outcome. Although the elections results were not reflective of the pollsters' predictions, the national peace was

maintained as the new government transitioned into power. Throughout this period, the agenda on women was silenced under the thunder of 'male-dominated' politics. The 'women in politics' factor was not a highlighted subject much more than the role that was set aside specifically for them under the 'women representative' electable posts. The civil society interested in the agenda of highlighting the role of women had a complicated task of influencing positive perception of women leaders. Interested groups working to promote the election of women placed advertisements on television a few weeks before the general elections. Whether these influenced any opinion on the voting for women or not, the period of exposure to this message was considerably short. The role of civil society in influencing the media can be seen as a watchdog role, where the media fraternity is accountable to the society through responsible content for public consumption. Many media houses are privately owned and commercially driven to make profits. Inclusion of human stories affecting the society has been influenced by civil society where some have gone to the extent of rewarding with awards on certain themes. The mass media in this case becomes an agent of change through relaying information to the public.

The Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) has been at the fore front in advocating for gender related content in order to promote a gender responsive society. AMWIK's vision is to see a just society in which the media embraces and promotes equitable development, human rights and women rights. Among other gender related civil society organizations, AMWIK works with the media fraternity to increase visibility and awareness of women's role in Kenya. Through running several programmes targeting women, the organization seeks to educate the society through influencing the media on gender matters. This study looks at some of the ways this has been achieved specifically looking at the progress of women's political participation.

While the role of media is well emphasized, negative publicity can also undermine efforts to promote a gender responsive society. A study done in the Ukraine found that media and advertising can encourage stereotyping of certain behaviours related to a certain gender therefore building related perception in the public (Ukraine Women's Fund, Strategy Paper). Such media exposure can be used to justify different benefits for men and women such as a gap in wages for the same work position and responsibilities. The positive portrayal of women in political leadership can increase

their chances of getting voted in public offices (Women & Elections). The participation of various stakeholders in the advancement of women in political leadership requires more assertion in order to make more impact. International actors have a role to advice on legislation and train more women on the election processes with emphasis on how to use the media attention during the political campaigns. The civil society partners with several international organizations and their main role is seen in implementing this agenda on the ground. Where the donors and international bodies are unable to reach, the civil society has the ability to complete the process. Media civil groups have a role to advocate for more media coverage for women's issues and the need for women candidates to be given the opportunity for participation (Women and Elections). In this chain, the media completes the chain in information processing and dissemination. Their role is seen in the attention they give to women-related issues in all seasons whether during the elections period or not. Highlighting the positive change in the society brought about by women in leadership will push the political participation agenda further. This is a development goal that will benefit the society as a whole and can be well seen in the eyes of the media.

### **2.3 Scholarly works and Surveys on the state of women's agenda**

Studies done on gender disparity have shown that there is a direct link between women empowerment and development. Political analysts and researchers from different parts of the world have observed that when women get into leadership and management, they bring a different perspective of political leadership (Wakogi, 2010). In this study, Wakogi reiterates what experts have argued; that having women involved in politics will help solve poverty related problems as they are the groups affected the most.

The World Economic Forum Gender Gap Report (2009) positions Kenya at position 97 among 134 countries, whose basic data were analyzed for the report. Basically, the report gives an analysis of gender disparity in four key areas that shows progress in terms of gender equity. The four categories include economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, political

empowerment and health and survival. Compared to the 2008 report, Kenya has dropped in ranks by 9 positions and has been dropping since the first report was released in 2006. Kenya held the 73<sup>rd</sup> position in the first report. The 2009 Gender Gap Report overall indicates that economic participation disparity seems to be holding the highest percentage in addition to political involvement; and still calls for the closing of the gap on economic outcomes. The most current report of 2012 places Kenya at 72<sup>nd</sup> position clearly indicating that is still a small change as compared to other countries. While this is a study to check gender disparity comparing four key areas, the results indicate that Kenya remains behind in closing the gap between opportunities given to men and women. When women are given equal opportunities of participation, the country's growth is imminent.

Klaus Schwab, Executive Chairman, World Economic Forum states this in his remarks on the WEF Gender Gap Report (2012):

“...The key for the future of any country and any institution is the capability to develop, retain and attract the best talent. Women make up one half of the world's human capital. Empowering and educating girls and women and leveraging their talent and leadership fully in the global economy, politics and society are thus fundamental elements of succeeding and prospering in an ever more competitive world....”

These powerful words are still a mystery to some countries even though the reality of women's contribution to the growth of the society is obvious. In the series of reports since 2006, the economic empowerment between women and men in Kenya still differs by huge numbers. In the most recent report, primary education attendance has been seen to improve perhaps due to the free primary education offered by the NARC government. The trend in educating girls is improving, but more needs to be realized at a higher level.

Studies show that educated women are more likely to make informed decisions which improve their household's economic status (Katepa-Kalala, 1999). The factors surrounding women empowerment target at improving the lives of women economically. Availability of resources improves the living conditions of women and their families. Women have been positioned



significantly in the household contributing greatly to the improvement of living conditions. An educated and empowered woman is more likely to make informed decisions about her children and her life (Katepa-Kalala, 1999). This shows that the less the investment in women empowerment, the more the society continues to lag behind in development. Whether it's in education, agriculture (private sector) or public sector, the contribution of women has been noted to be significant and should thus be taken with a serious note.

States and government bodies have been tasked with implementing various treaties and goals that are part of the global agendas on development. Gender related goals have not been left out including the Millenium Development Goals (MDG) due to be reviewed in 2015. MDG Number three states: *To Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*. This goal is a direct target to improve gender disparity and is looking at all aspects of gender-related discrimination. Although this goal is specific to women empowerment, the other goals also affect women's development. Gender equality touches on education, labour, food security, healthcare, environment, children and the general society's development agenda. In this case, the MDGs set out by the United Nations (UN) is indeed gender related goals that seeks to correct the imbalance of development in poor countries; through improving the lives of women in these countries.

In a report published to promote the goals of the Beijing Declaration and the platform of action, it was recorded that the number of women in decision-making positions should be increased. In order to do this, an "affirmative action" was imminent (Women and decision-making, 1997). This was aimed at accelerating the participation of women in these strategic positions. In Kenya the one third allocations of seats for women as included in the constitution was a result of affirmative action, albeit over a decade after the UN report was published.

A report dubbed *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* addresses the issue of women's access to the economic and financial resources. The report argues out that empowering women financially and economically will have multiplier effects on other areas of the society. If gender equality is considered both at the macro and the micro level, then women can be

empowered both economically and financially. This will also give way to political empowerment where they are given opportunities to be involved in decision-making.

The report (World Survey, 2009) gives an overview of some of the effects of gender imbalance as far as access to economic and financial resources are concerned. It suggests that when women are given an equal opportunity to these resources, then they are able to empower the society in additional ways. At the micro level, the multiplier effects of empowering women financially and economically will be seen in enhanced abilities in decision-making that will improve children's health and education as well as personal development and involvement in community activities (page 85). At a macro level, the labour force and talent is enhanced and economies can draw from this to improve the national growth and productivity.

#### **2.4 Role of NGOs and government in the women's agenda**

While women's leadership can be treated separately considering different environmental factors, their participation in many countries is highly related to these socio-economic factors. The lack of access to financial and economic resources most often would delay the growth in other areas. In order to keep up with the global agenda of empowering women and gender equality, the process requires to be assessed within the borders of the country and other internal jurisdictions. The role of trickling down the global agenda usually lies with the government and inter-governmental bodies. However, this task has in the recent past been taken by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). NGOs' grassroots presence has been essential in initiating programmes that target women in rural areas, where a majority of the population live. These populations have been included in the minority groups due to their inability to contribute directly to the policy making and national decision making forums. NGOs have existed from the colonial period but have grown in their scale and capacities post 1990s during the era of multiparty politics (Mbote, 2002). The intensity and advocacy role of NGOs have been experienced in recent times and these organizations have acted as the link between the information world and the illiterate world in this case, women in the rural areas.

Although NGOs have been crucial in efforts to close the gender disparity gap as evidenced by an increase in women's NGOs having 23,000 women's organizations registered under the Ministry of Culture and Social Services by 1995 (Mbote, 2002), the problem of sustainability remains unanswered. Programmes run by some of these organizations have gone on for years resulting in more dependency than sustainability amongst the targeted groups. Advocacy programmes which have been adopted in latter years are intended at influencing policies and in turn benefit those who are affected by the issues, such as those women at the grassroots level. These programmes have not been fully exploited to function as designed and they result in other Information Education and Communication (IEC) tasks such as lobbying and community mobilization without informing the laws or policy makers. Long term and sustainable effects are still yet to be felt. The outputs of these programmes are vague and the reports that come out of the monitoring and evaluation may in most cases be used to gain more funding rather than improve the lives of those they target. A NGO's deliberation usually leans towards its source of funding and is shaped by their ideologies (Fowler, 1992).

It is not new that NGOs play a significant role in breaking down the communication to grassroots levels but it is evident that perhaps the programs designed are not effective enough. Shivji (2004) gives a perspective of the southern NGOs and its limitations. She mentions the influence of the 'elite' in the urban setting who run such NGOs, drafting and designing programmes for rural setting; forgetting that some approaches cannot be imposed on certain groups. While these programs are designed in boardrooms by the elite in urban areas; and possibly influenced by international bodies or agendas, the women at the grassroots levels may have little to gain. Their participation in the designing of these programs might be minimal leading to minimal involvement in making leadership decisions. Are these programmes designed effectively to influence these women to action especially in participating in political leadership contests? Shivji (2004) also talks about minimum accountability that usually influences the running of the organization as per the owner's or founders will. Another issue that has affected the NGO world is the continuous dependency on donors and therefore not at liberty to pursue what might be the real needs on the ground (Shivji, 2004). There are similar observations with Kingoro (2009) in evaluating the role of non-state players in the development of

Kenya. Although Kingoro (2009) undertakes a survey on 266 NGOs spread out in the country, her recommendations are similar to Shivji (2004) where NGOs are seen to be highly dependant on donors while their accountability is low. However, Kingoro (2009) points out that NGOs and civil society still play a significant role in the development of the country.

There is some concern on the use of the phrase “women empowerment” perhaps not communicating the idea as should (Karlekar, 2004). Empowerment is seen as a means to increase capacity on one group but necessarily take power away from another; in this case women and men respectively. Karlekar (2004) reflects on the use of empowerment over decades in the Indian society, concluding that empowerment has evolved over the years as the needs have also changed; thus a change in perspective.

Advocacy programmes are designed to influence a certain group to action through continuous lobbying and social participation. Is it perhaps possible that the global agenda has not been well communicated to the communities at the grassroots levels? What are the challenges women are facing both at the urban and rural areas in terms of participation in leadership roles at national level? Are NGOs still effective in this role in the development process? Are they influencing policy and law making in any way? Are they empowering the targeted groups for sustainability and long term growth? Are women empowerment programmes really changing the status of the women who interact with them? This research study seeks to answer these questions and find evidence of growth in women leadership in recent times while recognizing the role of NGOs and civil society in influencing women’s recognition as significant players of this society.

## **2.5 Women and Political Leadership in Kenya**

Nyokabi Kamau an expert on gender and in partnership with Heinrich *Böll Foundation, Nairobi* conducted a research on women and political leadership in Kenya. The main objective of the study was to find out if women brought in a different kind of leadership in politics. Women’s contribution in the top leadership of Kenya is observed to be very minimal as per a survey carried out by the

Ministry of Gender in 1999 where only 30.9 per cent of those in public service were women (Kamau, 2010). By that time, only 10 per cent of parliamentary seats were held by women. The agenda on women empowerment has been ongoing for over two decades as noted by Dr. Maria Nzomo (Kamau, 2010) and yet the number of women in top political leadership positions has barely grown to effectiveness. The question asked here is what is stopping the growth of women politically? Why are there still fewer women seeking for leadership at the top level.

It is with this back drop that the study looks at ten women individually who have been political leaders over Kenyan history and weighs their contribution in various areas. Kamau (2010) recognizes that although these women have been through the Kenyan Parliament and have had opportunities to contribute in national policy making, their contribution is barely recognized. She continues to explain further and say that the reason some of these contributions have not been felt in big magnitudes is perhaps because they were projects done outside of their national duty. In which case can be recognized as a contribution to the growth of women agenda. While it is not easy to measure the extent to which their contribution out of the work circle can be, they still form a big chunk of the foundation of Kenyan women's empowerment process.

The study reiterates the issues and obstacles that may have stopped women's political participation including but not limited to: persistent poverty, lack of equal access to health, education, training and employment; cultural barriers; political structures and institutions that discriminate on women; conflict and natural disasters. These obstacles affect women in countries across the continent. However, it is noted that there are countries in the region that have risen from disaster to thrive on women leadership. Rwanda recovered from genocide that saw over 800,000 killed and yet today leads globally as one with the highest number of women in Parliament. In 2007, they held 48.8 per cent of positions in parliament (Kamau, 2010). Despite the tragedy, the country now enjoys peace and development, which can be attributed to the equal contribution of women at the national leadership level.

Kamau (2010) in her findings shows that women develop their vision and leadership from experiences they go through growing up. Different environmental and cultural factors contribute to

shaping them as future leaders. In their leadership, they will use their experiences to bring in equality and more opportunities for those who lack, just like they did. The study reveals that women political leaders face challenges that include competing family demands, inadequate resources, politics of exclusion in political parties, lack of security and lack of positive media coverage. Perhaps more reasons as to why women have shied away from these positions. However, the study also identifies options that will give support to women wishing to pursue political careers. Some issues noted that called for a long term kind of solution include:

- Need for well organized mentoring programmes to help female politicians better understand media relations and getting acquainted with issues of local, national and international concern.
- Need for women to re-negotiate their gender roles so that there is more equitable sharing of domestic responsibilities between men and women.
- Need to educate society to change their views of effective leadership.
- Need for political parties to embrace policies of inclusion where gender forms a central part of this inclusion.
- Need for civic education condemning all forms of gender-based violence and especially those targeted at women during political campaigns.
- Need for re-socialization of people of gender equity principles starting at an early age where young boys and girls are encouraged to aspire for political leadership.

Generally in this study, Nyokabi (2010) notes that the women interviewed were given interviews similar to conversations about their life's experiences, showing how much their leadership roles were shaped by these. The women interviewed for this study came from different parts of the country and culture greatly influenced their growth. Also, in one way or another, they had an encounter with persons in politics (male or female) and this added to their pursuit of political interests.

The recommendations made from the study highlights some strategies that several stakeholders can adopt to ensure more women are elected in parliament. Those highlighted for NGOs include:

- Organize trainings and networking forums for women aspirants like efforts made by Rift Valley Women Empowerment Network did in getting women aspirants from Rift Valley into the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament. Other provinces can replicate this.
- Give logistical support to women aspirants in their campaigns noting that campaigns are usually expensive to run and women are mostly disadvantaged compared to their male counterparts. In addition, employ community mobilizers for the women candidates as well as assist with transport and security for them that will protect them from politically-instigated violence during campaign periods.
- Continue working with communities to sensitize voters against vices that work against fair and transparent elections e.g. voter bribery, election violence and nomination malpractices. Also sensitize voters to look beyond gender when choosing candidates for political office and focus on character of the aspirants.
- Aggressively disseminate information from studies that show women bringing a different perspective to leadership that works for the good of society. They also need to carry out more studies to strengthen the case for women's leadership.

This study gives some direction into the significance of NGOs in pushing the agenda forward. Question is, what roles are they playing today in building this agenda?

## **2.6 Northern NGO Advocacy: perceptions, reality, and challenges**

Ian Anderson in his article: **Northern NGO advocacy: perceptions, reality, and challenge**, gives a round-up of the results and conclusions from a survey carried out among Northern NGOs advocacy programmes (1998-1999). Anderson highlights the challenges that face these NGOs programmes while giving direction on ways to make them more effective.

In perception of NGOs, Anderson (2000) mentions the progress that NGO advocacy programmes have made citing the poor beginning in the 1970s. He adds that NGOs have found a way of getting

involved in the political processes and institutions that influence change at a higher level. Major improvements in policy and implementation of the same have been recognized and realized by the IMF, World Bank, UNDP, Amnesty International, Save the Children Fund (UK), UN, World Trade Organization (WTO) among other organizations. In his article, Anderson (2000) talks about the various areas that have seen this improvement including gender policies.

However, with the great efforts experienced and recognized globally, there remain challenges that according to the author, is pointed from the literature (Anderson, 2000) that are critical of the NGOs advocacy. Among the areas of criticism are:

- Relationships with official donors – NGOs are seen to be complacent with these groups due to their reliance on the funding.
- Absence of a clear advocacy strategy.
- Limited allocation of resources to advocacy programmes – There is pressure to be seen to have more tangible results from their work which is humanitarian and development projects.
- NGOs failure to demonstrate effectiveness and impact of advocacy through evaluation.
- Failure to build alliances needed to broaden and strengthen their advocacy voices.
- Failure to develop credible alternatives to neo-liberal economic growth-oriented orthodoxies, which requires a more involving role of research and a conscious merging of field experience and development models.

Northern NGOs relationships to the Southern NGOs have also been criticized with each having various agendas, while the concern for real development agendas is questioned. Anderson (2000) quotes Oxfam International citing the challenge Northern NGOs face in implementing ‘strategies that maximize effectiveness and impact’ while being able to ‘address the structural causes of poverty and related injustice’.

In a bid to establish relationships between donors funding and resources allocated to advocacy, Anderson (2000) established that there was no correlation in these two. Further, he established that



the NGOs policy orientation influenced the level of its advocacy activity rather than donor funding. These conclusions were taken from the policy research study of Oxfam International, done by Anderson during his doctoral research with data obtained for the period 1981-1996.

Another conclusive result from the study mentioned was the advocacy allocation of resources as a proportion of total NGO spending. He found that the levels of expenditure on advocacy was quite low and indicated that the NGOs themselves did not believe in their own programmes enough to allocate sufficient resources. These programmes are seen to be important but not urgent and therefore are often pushed aside as other activities take priority.

Further area of concern in the study was in having a proper advocacy strategy and staffing alliances. Anderson (2000) notes that advocacy has not been embraced fully as strategy on its own that NGOs can adopt. There was also very little advocacy partnership relationships with other organizations. Generally, there was a gap in the staffing and re-sourcing with other NGOs. Although there was an awareness of advocacy in the various NGOs that took part in the study, there were no clear strategies in place specific for advocacy purposes. Even though this shows progress in advocacy programming, Anderson (2000) notes that there is still a need for an evaluation to measure impact and effectiveness of this progress.

The evaluation of advocacy programmes was recurrent in the study, according to Anderson (2000). There was need for a thorough, rigorous and objective evaluation of advocacy programmes and the publishing of the same to ensure there was transparency. This will ensure more donor support on the programmes. Very few NGOs were found to carry out and release advocacy evaluations in the study.

In conclusion, the article indicates that with an effective way to evaluate advocacy programmes, the challenges of advocacy programmes will be reduced. This is because it will provide an efficient way to monitor progress and increase resources allocation as per the needs and results of the

programmes. There will be an increased confidence in this essential role to transform policies and laws that sustain poverty and powerlessness.

## **2.7 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.7.1 Advocacy and Development Communication**

Development communication theories have developed over the years since the 1950s evolving the communication process used by various groups. Both behavior change and participatory theories have evolved offering dynamic approaches to communication while adding new ideas that have converged with new technologies.

Early theories of development communication suggested that adoption of behaviour change models would help bring development to the developing countries. In this case, ‘development’ lacking in these countries was interpreted as lack of information among populations. With this argument, introducing new ideas to people would lead to behaviour change and therefore improve their lives. However, theories introduced later opened up the idea of involving the target groups where participation was key. This argument brought up the cultural and environmental factors that were ignored by the behavior change theorists. Participation was argued to bring more effective change as the participants design their own solutions to problems they have.

Advocacy programmes are aimed at attitude and behavior change at an individual level, which may also result in mobilization of community and eventually policy level influence through reforms recommendations. Theories surrounding advocacy programmes argue that the participation of individuals in decision-making or design of programmes results in more effective adoption of ideas than those ‘imposed’ to them by an outside source. In an analysis of development communication theories, (Waisbord, 2001) argues that participatory approaches was sensitive to the environmental factors surrounding the participant which plays an important role in an individual’s decision-making; especially involving new ideas. This thus undermined the initial behavior change approaches of modernization and diffusion theories.

Basic communication requires that there is a source, a message and receiver present. Additional studies have broken down these concepts further including other elements in communication that are significant in ensuring that the communication process is complete. However, as the study of communication progresses, the elements of communication also become dynamic changing the course and meaning of communication. In development communication, the whole process evolved to different interpretations moving away from just the transmission of messages. The new concept of development communication was interpreted as passing on a message that will eventually bring about change in the receiver's life (Waisbord, 2001). Advocacy programmes can be compared in this case to show the receiver as a reference point where some sort of value must be reaped once the message is received. The message is also designed initially with the receiver participating in the process.

A general Model of Communication by Westley and Mclean (Tan, 1986) suggests that communication can pass through a gatekeeper to the receiver apart from a direct communication from the Source to the Receiver. There are also stimuli in the environment that may interact with the source, the gatekeeper or the receiver directly, passing on the communication. In turn, feedback is important for a complete communication process, and this may come from the receiver to the gatekeeper and then to the source or from the receiver to the source directly. For advocacy on women empowerment, the environment changes with different communities. In Kenya, the society has been patriarchal for decades. The recent inclusion of women's affirmative action of one third involvement in public service positions allocation in the new constitution has given women an opportunity to fully participate in top leadership of the country. However, there remain a lot more obstacles on the way before women can fully enjoy this right. The political environment is not conducive to women in leadership as such are not applauded well enough. In addition, the gatekeepers that block advancement of women in Kenya are mostly the men who are husbands or fathers to these women. The socialization around women still confines them to the kitchen and female roles as defined by the society. Women are thus forced to work twice as hard to make it in the man's world. Her expectations are that she will still take her responsibilities at home seriously.

As such, advocacy programmes that push for social mobilization are an important avenue to educating both men and women in the grassroots level; where this socialization is part of the culture.

Advocacy programming involves mobilizing civil interest groups, NGOs, communities and individuals into designing and passing on a message to receivers (such as law makers and government bodies) who will need to respond in a way that will address the issues in question. Some sources of advocacy programmes may include international organizations and donors, who initiate certain projects intended to benefit the community or individuals in a certain way. However, with the argument on participatory approach of development communication, if an idea is introduced from an outside group without considering the environmental factors surrounding the receiver, then the expectations will not be fully realized. The programmes may be skewed due to the restrictions or demands made such as funding on the basis of positive reports on the progress. As much as monitoring and evaluations are important concepts of any programme, the focus on the results may take away the real value of the program on the individuals or communities which may be short-term or long-term.

The communication process of an advocacy programme may result in a cycle where source-gatekeeper-receiver-gatekeeper-source (donor-NGO-target group-NGO-donor) is in a continuum as adapted from Westley and Maclean(1957); where the effect of communication loses its intended value. Other factors in the process of advocacy are important in ensuring that not only does the message reach the receiver, but that the message is well decoded and feedback given to influence other levels of the programme. The response from the targeted audience should not only target the international organizations and donor community, rather other influential players in the subject area such as policy makers. The transactional model of communication provides for this feedback to ensure an effect (Tan, 1986).

### **2.7.2 Advocacy and Learning theories**

Learning theories of communication are often used in psychology and they are based on behavior change resulting from a stimulus in the environment (Tan, 1986). The theories suggest that an organism will associate a given response to a stimuli and therefore get conditioned to it and therefore learning. Hovland et al (1953) discuss the Instrumental learning theory in the publication, *Communication and Persuasion* (as cited by Tan, 1986). Known as instrumental theory of persuasion, Hovland et al suggested that attitudes can be changed by changing related opinions that a person may have about something. One way that an opinion can be changed is by persuasion where a person is exposed to a persuasive communication which argues the acceptance of new opinions. According to this study, persuasion then acts like a stimulus that raises questions while seeking answers to new ideas. They (Hovland et al) see persuasion communication as instrumental learning as the process leads to a response in many different ways to a stimulus in the environment. The limitation for the study was lack of evidence or explanations for reinforcement for the acceptance of new opinions,

Mass media involves persuasion because this is one of the main objectives of communication. Persuasion is affected by various characteristics such as culture, beliefs, message packaging, source of message among others, determining the effectiveness of the communication. However, researchers have found a relationship between more exposure to a persuasive message and liking the message (Tan, 1986). The argument is that the more one is exposed to this message, the more one will like and become aware of the object of message. (Pg 153). It can then be argued that advocacy can be effectively carried out through mass media by increasing frequency of exposure on certain topics. Gender education and advocacy can be effectively done on this platform.

Advocacy programmes not only seek to change the opinions but also influence the targeted group to action. These actions may include changing behavior and attitudes. They may also include influencing policy change at a higher level through lobbying for greater numbers to support a certain change in the community. Once an individual's attitude and behavior is influenced with positive results, the

community and society will be more supportive of the ideas they are receiving from an outside source

Even with the perceived change on inducing stimuli, other factors are also considered that may hinder the communication process to be completed. Issues such as culture, traditions, clarity of the message, credibility of the source and relevance to the target group are part of the 'noise' that may require proper handling to complete the communication process. With an ineffective advocacy programme, the resulting feedback may end up skewed. With this in mind, other development communication concepts have included modern technologies and ideas to reinforce the messages. Waisbord (2001) looks at a few adoptions that pushed social campaigns to influence behaviour change at individual level. These include: Social Marketing, Health promotion/education and Entertainment education. Although these new concepts worked with the old dominant paradigm, they were seen to add value to the overall development communication campaigns at the time. The participatory approaches also adopted Media advocacy and Social mobilization in the process of finding more effective avenues to pass messages across.

Advocacy programmes often target specific groups and for specific reasons. An understanding of the target groups antecedents and consequences that may influence their compliance, identification and internalization of the message. Maximal feedback will depend on the ability of the communicator to comply, identify and internalize the message all conditions considered. Tanya Jakimow and Patrick Kilby (2006), in their article, seek to re-conceptualize 'women empowerment' to 'empowering women' and define this as: the reduction or removal of constraints that reduce the ability of women to pursue their interests. In this article, Jakimow and Kilby (2006) argue that there are three areas of constraints which should not be separated; rather treated as mutually dependent processes constraining each action. They are namely internal, institutional and social constraints. The ability to move beyond these constraints will determine their reception of the message and behaviour change.

A democratic space may add to the surrounding factors that may influence attitude and behavior change. Following the 2002 multiparty elections in Kenya, Kenyans began to embrace the freedom

of expression through the political gain. This also presented an opportunity for women to vie for top seats in the country, and following the formation of the NARC government in 2003, for the first time in 40 years, women received 6 ministerial posts (Nzomo, 2003). Democracy presented an opportunity to make powerful decisions regarding the governance of the nation and women's presence began to be noticed especially with an emergence of a top woman presidential candidate, Charity Ngilu, before the NARC umbrella was formed. Although according to Dr. Maria Nzomo, there was an opportunity that women had to make a bigger impact, but there was a lag in participation by women. In 2013, the situation does not seem to carry much weight as the general elections saw only one woman running for presidency. Only one candidate among the male had a woman running mate. Although the elections were held under the new constitution, women's presence was mostly felt in the positions set aside for Women County Representatives. As per the percentage of women participation, this is smaller than before considering the additional Assembly positions under the new constitution. Owing to the fact that there were no women elected for governors' nor senators' positions, those elected make up a fifth (87 out of 416) of total members of the national assembly.

### **2.7.3 Advocacy and political socialization**

Political socialization is concerned about how we acquire or learn political cognitions, affect and behaviours (Tan, 1986). Mass media has been seen as an important socialization agent. Tan (1986) argues that we learn political behaviours daily in the same way that we learn social behaviours. Most of our life we are exposed to political socialization and therefore remain a part of our lives all through. Mass media as an agent of socialization in one way or another influences the political reasoning of audiences. In a country like Kenya, stability of political orientation is still low and wave of political hype often overtakes loyalty to certain political preferences. The last general election held in March 2013 was gauged in tribal and party coalition affiliations. Gender leadership communication was submerged in 'dynasty' uproar and political hype. The country's political system is still very much patriarchal and women candidates were isolated as 'women representatives' away from other top leadership positions. What role has the mass media in Kenya then played in increasing women's political leadership awareness among the audiences and

especially among the women voters? It is clear here that even in this era, Kenya still has a lot of hurdles to remove for women to fully participate in significant leadership roles in the society. The political space, patriarchal society, financial strains are environmental obstacles that keep women away from participation in leadership in Kenya (Kamau, 2010)

In the twenty first century, societies have changed their cultural patterns and perhaps adoption of new ideas is not as sordidly resisted as before. Governments systems have adapted to the global agendas as drafted by international bodies. The innovation in information technology is far beyond what would be imagined and information passing is far less complicated that it was before. The magic-bullet theory of the power of mass media is not as simple as it was over six decades ago. The nature of messages is now constructed to fit different platforms that reach various target groups. Communication is more complex that it was before and development communication is now being merged with commercial communication (Waisbord, 2001). However, women empowerment is largely a need in the rural areas and simple communication avenues still remain significant. A combination of various development communication approaches is necessary to reach different groups of women in the society in order for the empowerment agenda to be fully realized. As Waisbord (2001) argues, there is no one way of approaching development communication as various societies are composed of different structures and cultures influencing their adaptability to new ideas.



# **Chapter 3 : Research Methodology**

## **3.1 General Overview**

In the most basic explanation, research is the process of asking questions and finding answers (Keyton, 2001). Research is everywhere and everyone is one way or another affected by research either as a consumer of research or a key researcher. Keyton (2001) mentions four results that are sought in the process of research: a description of behaviour, a determination of the causes of behaviour, the ability to predict behaviour, and an explanation of behaviour. Every researcher is keen on answering a question that is related to these results (pg 7-8). Without research we are not able to fully understand the processes of life. To carry out credible research, a proper process must be followed as per the scientific requirements. Only by following this process that information or data acquired from research can be believable and usable further. The scientific approach is used because it is objective, problem-oriented, hypothesis-guided, theory-directed and self-corrective (Tan, 1985). This research will rely on these elements to be able to ensure accuracy and credibility of the results.

## **3.2 Research Method & Design**

This study was carried out as a Case Study which involves an in-depth analysis of a subject matter. This case study involved two methods of research namely – Quantitative and Qualitative research. The choice of this research design was chosen in order to get a well rounded picture of the topic in discussion. The study was seeking to answer the questions surrounding the Gender and Governance programme run by AMWIK in the selected population. The research project is guided by the principle objectives to understand the factors (if any) that have led to and supported the women's empowerment agenda in Kenya. The study interviewed a section of women who have interacted with targeted women empowerment programmes with specific goals and review the impact it has had on them.

### **3.3 Research Data Collection**

The methodology used in this study involved both qualitative and quantitative research using semi-structured questionnaire as the main tool of data collection. Small group discussions and conversations were also carried out informally to understand the participants' view of the programmes. The research study was seeking to make as little disruption as possible in these participants' lives in order to create a safe environment to openly share their thoughts. The questionnaires were administered to all participants involving both the team leaders and the programme beneficiaries. The data collection required a level of trust and therefore the researcher carried out the research alone visiting as many of the respondents in their most accessible areas. The three main variables that guided the research are: 1.) Awareness of opportunities for women; 2.) Participation in political leadership affairs; and 3.) Actively taking up leadership roles.

### **3.4 Validity and Reliability**

The case study method of research not only relies on the collection of data from interviews, rather also compiling data from the organization. The researcher ensured an accurate collection of information to ensure the findings of the study is genuine. Care was taken to ensure that the data collected is valid and reliable. Interviews were conducted in both English and Swahili as the population of study had varied in education levels. The scope of the project was limited to a small group of women with specific characteristics mainly participants of the “*Tuvuke 2013*” programme. In narrowing down the population, the research was seeking to establish a point of initial contact with AMWIK. The number of questionnaires administered were 31 but 23 were returned and valid for analysis.

### **3.5 Location of Study**

The study was carried out in Nairobi, Eastlands area involving small groups from Eastleigh, Huruma, Umoja, Kaloleni and Dandora. AMWIK runs many programmes across the country. The study was keen to look into the participants of Gender and Governance programme offered. The programme

is being carried out in different parts of the country and Nairobi being one of the key locations was chosen due to accessibility and proximity to the city.

### **3.6 Population of Study**

Keyton (2001) defines population as all units –people or things – possessing the attributes or characteristics that interest the researcher. The population forms the initial unit where a section is selected for study. The study was restricted to the participants of Gender and Governance programme namely “*Tuvuke 2013*” as population of interest. The population was further defined by:

- Bias to women participants
- Have participated in the AMWIK Gender and Governance Programme within the past one year.
- Enjoy organized agenda per calendar year in form of activities.

This sample group also participated recently in an AMWIK organized seminar under the Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) programme.

### **3.7 Sample size and sampling design**

A sample is a subset or portion of the population (Keyton, 2001). The sample for this study was selected from the Gender and Governance programme (*Tuvuke 2013*) run by AMWIK. In this Case Study, the sampling method used was quota sampling where certain characteristics will be restricted to the subgroup including location (Keyton 2001). The selected location for study was Nairobi, Eastlands area and therefore the sample chosen among the several programmes run countrywide.

### **3.8 Data Analysis**

Data analysis was guided by the objectives of the research study seeking to answer questions within these boundaries. The variables guiding the study also guided the analysis of the data. An interpretation of these follows to complete the study using basic research analysis for Quantitative and Qualitative studies.

## **Chapter 4 : Research Findings and Analysis**

### **4.1 General Overview:**

The data collection was seen as successful having collected data from 23 participants out of the targeted 30. The questionnaires were administered to the participants having been briefed on the objectives of the data collection. The questionnaires contained 40 questions which included both structured as well as open-ended questions. The feedback from each participant is invaluable in the evaluation of this research paper. The data collection for this research took a period of 3 weeks owing to a few unforeseen dynamics of the population.

### **4.2 The Sample and Population of Study**

The sample of study was drawn from a group of women who had interacted with AMWIK through participation in their programmes. The initial point of contact was the pre-election programme on peace dubbed “*Tuvuke 2013*” which was an initiative of AMWIK to empower women on their role in peace keeping during and after the election period. The population of study was characterized by the participation in the activities planned in this programme. The programme used an already established structure to access the participants and train them. Several groups from Nairobi participated in this programme and therefore the sample was drawn from these groups. Four groups were selected randomly with members drawn from different parts of Nairobi eastlands area namely:- Dandora, Huruma, Eastleigh, Kaloleni and Umoja. The sample size of 23 women represents the population of the target group.

### **4.3 Participants Demography**

The study was carried out on groups and individuals who have participated in AMWIK programs. The groups were already structured drawn from already existing programmes run by Kenya Women Finance Trust (KWFT). These were financially related where women come together and form “Merry-go-round” or “Chamaa” for the benefit of acquiring financial skills and accessing funds in form of loans offered by the bank (KWFT). The participants interviewed were 83% business women while the rest 17% were employed. Although the members mixed well in their occupations, the education levels differed widely. Most members only attained their o-level certification and did not continue further in their education. However, there are a few members who have college qualifications. The age brackets also varied among the groups spreading from (20-50) but most members fell within the (31-40) age bracket. 48% of the participants admitted that their husbands was the main bread winner, however in contributing to the total household income, 61% of the participants acknowledged that they also contributed to the household income. Business was mentioned as the main source of income for the family use.

### **4.4 AMWIK Programmes**

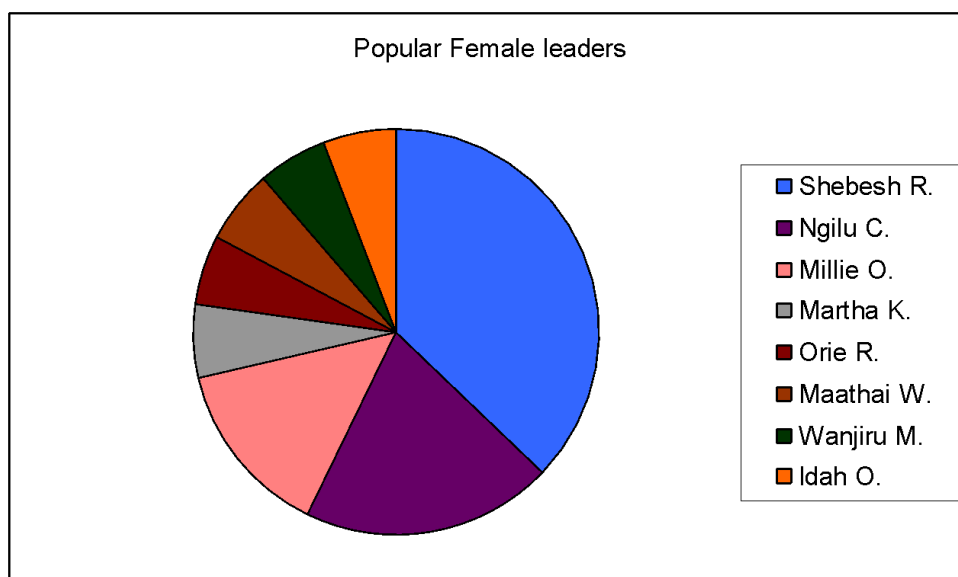
This study was guided by the participation of certain groups in AMWIK programmes and therefore understanding their awareness level of the programming was essential. The groups were selected from an already existing structure with programmes running under KWFT. 100% of the participants had some knowledge about AMWIK and had participated in some of the programmes or activities in the *Tuvuke* campaign. In addition, they had also participated in the seminar organized to empower them on Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) which took place after the elections. The response to the question of changes experienced after going through these programmes were positive and they also expressed the desire to participate in more of these educative and informative activities. Some of the feedback received regarding the benefits of the programme include:-

| <b>How has this programme benefited you?</b>  |
|---|
| The programme has really changed my lifestyle. I have come to realise how important is a woman in the community   |
| Zilinitoa kwa ujinga na uzembe. I was informed a lot about women and our rights.  |
| It has empowered me in terms of knowing my rights as a woman and a voter generally. I have learned the opportunities that exist for women in the new constitution.                        |
| Knowing what devolved government means; How to promote peace amongst communities that were once enemies; it has empowered me as a woman in this country that my voice has been heard.     |
| I have been empowered economically and have known what are my rights in the society and am promoting peace everywhere I go.   |
| Ilinisaidia kwa kunifundisha vita sio muhimu wakati wa uchaguzi.  |
| It has enlarged my knowledge in empowering women in different groups and to bring peace in different communities as well as to help young children especially girls to know their rights. |
| Peace, peace  |
| I know I can participate in politics as long as I have the qualities and skills that are required.  |
| Known my rights and economic empowerment.   |
| Enlightening about women rights and general teaching about the new constitution plus allowing interaction with the general community through the radio listening program.                 |
| It made me aware of rights of women in society.   |
| It made me understand my rights as a woman and it educated me how to maintain peace.  |
| Knowing my worth as a woman thus coming election I will vie for a parliamentary seat.   |
| It has promoted peace amongst our neighbourhood thus there was no post election violence.   |
| I know my importance as a woman therefore I can be what and whom I want to be and therefore what a man can do, I can do better.   |
| It has empowered me to become a leader.   |
| I have socialized with many people and through that I have been able to teach community about employment.   |
| To know my rights and how to do business  |
| Imetusaidia kufundisha kueneza amani  |

#### **4.5 Community Engagement**

In trying to establish the engagement level of the participants, it was important to study their community participation. Many people may carry around knowledge but may not necessarily translate it into action. In this section, the study looked at the level of engagement of the participants

in various issues in the society. The study was also carried out to find out the extent of women’s political participation from the female voters’ point of view. 100% of the participants were registered as voters and therefore had a civil obligation to vote for leaders of their choice. In understanding their civil duties, the participants were also aware about the women leaders although national leaders seemed more popular and easy to recall. Most of the women were unable to mention their local community female leaders apart from those in their own ‘Merry-go-round’ groups. However, the popularity of female national leaders was overwhelming and received positive responses from the participants. The chart below represents some of the popular female leaders mentioned.



*Table 1.1. A pie chart representing the popularity of female national leaders*

In plugging into the community activities, participating in these two activities was particularly common among the participants.

1. Community cleaning exercises
2. Tree planting exercises.

However, in vying for political posts, most of the participants shied away from involvement due to different reasons. 13% aspire to vie in future although 70% do not aspire perhaps due to their

detachment from political leadership. The rest did not have any answers. The findings show that the participants are well aware of the female national leaders in the country and they also have an idea of qualities these leaders must possess to get to the top. In their participation within the community, the definition of leadership seems to differ from politics. They seem to prefer church leadership and participation in community activities rather than involvement in politics.

Community engagement findings also involved understanding the perception of leadership in regards to qualities attached to those leading. The participants listed top leadership qualities that they believed female leaders should have in order to run for political posts. The top twelve qualities in order of popularity according to these participants are seen on the table below together with the number of mentions.

| <b>Desired Attribute</b> | <b>Votes</b> |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| Well educated            | 7            |
| Sociable                 | 6            |
| Courageous               | 4            |
| Respectable              | 3            |
| Well-groomed             | 3            |
| Honest                   | 3            |
| Intelligent              | 3            |
| God-fearing              | 2            |
| Integrity                | 2            |
| Aggressive               | 2            |
| Self-discipline          | 2            |
| Peace-maker              | 2            |

*Table 1.2. Top 12 qualities perceived to be attributes required for female leaders*

The participants greatly attached the attribute ‘well-educated’ and ‘sociable’ to political leadership and perhaps the reason for distancing themselves from involvement. Some reasons given in challenges faced both in public and in the household included financial constraints and intimidation by spouses and also the public. The attribute of being ‘courageous’ comes in handy to face many people without fear and therefore the participants saw this as one of the most essential before running for public office.



When asked their opinions on how more women can be encouraged to participate in political leadership, participants gave these responses:

| <b>What do you think would encourage more women to participate politically?</b>  |
|--|
| If given more responsibilities   |
| More civic education to women on the ground.   |
| Should acquire more leadership skills through trainings and seminars; and discrimination and insults considered to be crime.                     |
| Strict laws to protect them and financial support to enhance their marketing themselves local and nationally.                                    |
| Kuelimishwa na kuiniliwa   |
| No criticism and favoritism  |
| Learn and understand the constitution and exercise their rights.   |
| If they are respected, more women educated and empowered to get the self confidence.   |
| Encouraging them by highlighting their success for those who are already in and exposing their strengths and also following their track records. |
| If they are educated, respected and given a chance   |
| Through associations like AMWIK  |
| Through education on the importance of women.  |
| Encourage men not to neglect women and allow them to do what men are capable of doing.   |

The perception of leadership in the community leans towards church leadership for many of the participants seemingly a place more accepted for them. Generally the awareness level and move to action seem to have parallel directions.

#### **4.6 Government role and Legislation on Women**

The participants were asked about their awareness of legislation on women and whether they feel the government was doing enough to empower women to take up political leadership roles. Overall, they perceived that the action from the government was fairly effective and needed to do more. The pie chart below represents the findings on the perception of effectiveness of the government in supporting women's political leadership participation.

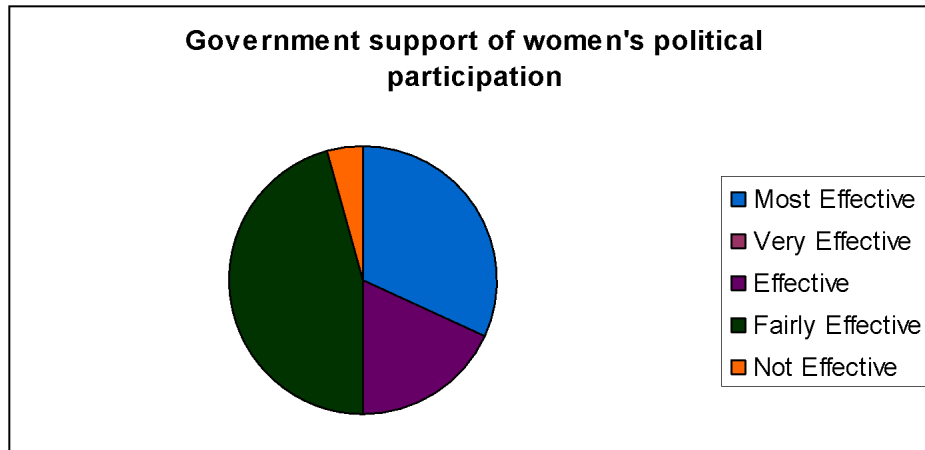


Table 1.3. A pie chart showing the perception of government support on women's political participation.

The top women's organizations that have played a positive role in the participants' lives is seen in the bar graph below.

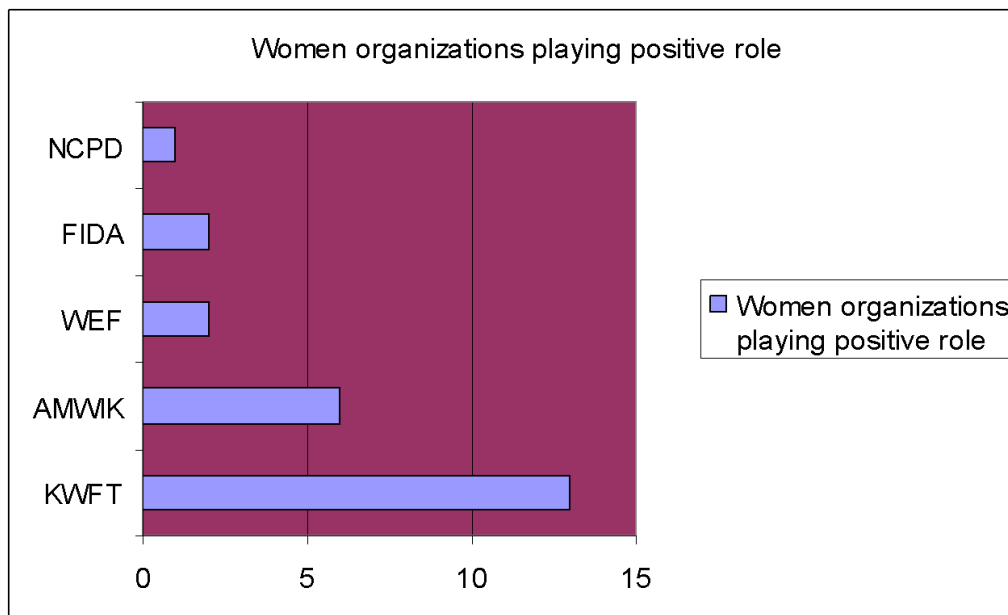


Table 1.4. A representation of top organizations impacting positively in the participants lives

The participants were asked how these organizations have played a positive role in their lives and their responses are listed below. With this feedback, highest number of responses is seen to be an easier access to financial facilities as well as acquiring some form of knowledge that improved their lives.

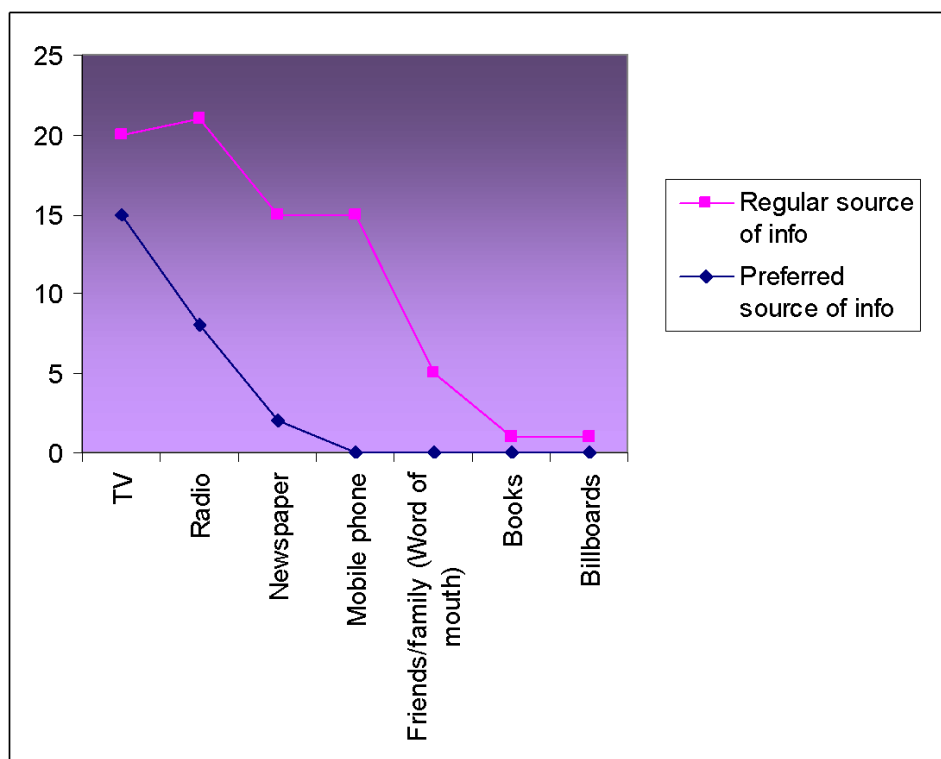
| <b>How have these women's organization played a positive role in your life?</b>  |
|--|
| I opened an account for the first time; learned about loans for women and also learned internet banking especially on loan repayments. |
| Through civic education and financial empowerment  |
| KWFT have empowered me financially and with business skills  |
| Economic empowerment   |
| KWFT giving loans for business   |
| By giving loans to expand our business   |
| By engaging women that I belong to in educational programs and providing funds for individual business projects.                       |
| By giving us financial and though in loan form and KWFT recommended us to the seminar with AMWIK hence we learned a lot.               |
| By providing funds to women to uplift their business   |
| Civic education on FGM   |
| Educating women on dangers of the cut (FGM)  |
| Through educating women about their worth  |
| Giving us financial aid through loan and through seminars  |
| By supporting me financially through loans and changed my life from nothing to something.  |

KWFT is the umbrella organization of the groups that the participants are members of. The findings show an expected trend in responses associated with the organization having learned about the initial relationship formed between KWFT and the 'Chamaas'. In this case, the benefits accrued by the participants are best seen in the financial empowerment.

#### **4.7 Media Interaction**

This study intended to understand if the media had any kind of influence on the decision making of women in voting for or participating in political leadership as candidates. In this case, the participants were asked questions regarding their media interaction to better understand their source of information and whether they translated this information into action.

On the usage of media, radio was found to be the highest source of information followed by television and then newspaper and mobile phones. However the most preferred source of information was found to be the television due to the all rounded nature of messages. Accessibility to radios is highest especially during working hours for most of the participants as most of them are involved in business as their economic activities. The graph below shows the usage of different media as source of information comparing the accessibility and most preferred source of information.



*Table 1.5. Media choice in most preferred and most used for access to information.*

Generally television is the most preferred and frequently trusted media used to get important information on politics.

The participants of this study were asked to mention some of the programmes relating to women or covering women topics they have watched or listened to in the media. The table below shows the programmes mentioned and why this was outstanding for them.

| <b>Programme on media</b>   | <b>Reasons why it was outstanding</b>  |
|---|--|
| Women Without Limits hosted by Pst Kathy Kyuna on NTV                               | Testimonies and Guests invited are inspiring   |
| Feature on FGM and wife inheritance   | The voices and cries of The women  |
| Strength of a woman - Citizen TV  | They encourage women not to lose hope despite the challenges we undergo in life. A woman is a good manager and less corrupt. |
| Strength of a woman - Citizen TV, The Chamaa -Kiss TV), Shamba shape-up (Citizen TV | The advice and skills they give through discussions and practice.  |
| Feature on FGM and wife inheritance   | The seminar we were trained made me aware of the programme.  |
| AMWIK   | Women leadership and rights  |
| AMWIK   | I learned about women and gender governance.   |
| Feature on FGM and wife inheritance   | The disadvantages we learned about FGM   |
| Strength of a woman - Citizen TV  | Because it highlights the achievements and marks some women have been able to gain or lived to share with others.            |
| Feature on FGM and wife inheritance   | The pain caused by FGM practices and the backward culture of wife inheritance.   |
| The Woman's Show  | It shows how women have come from low profile to high profile  |
| The Woman's Show, Women Without Limits  | How women have come from nothing to something and are now known in the society.  |
| The Woman's Show, Women Without Limits  | What women go through and encouraging that as a woman I can do anything  |
| The Woman's Show  | Seeing and hearing women talk about success  |
| Strength of a woman - Citizen TV  | Because they always teach about women leadership.  |

Generally, programmes watched are spiritual related, inspiring and educative. Women Without Limits was noticeably a popular programme among the participants. The driving factor among most of these programmes is the practical content that the participants related with while interacting with them. This is an indication of various ways in which groups acquire knowledge and skills and the motivating factors that lead them to action.

The findings of this study showed a general interest in some women's related programmes, and 56% of the participants believed that the media has given enough airtime to women's related topics. Although this is so, 26% said that a lot still needs to be done because men still dominate in most coverage of issues especially in political campaigns.

#### **4.8 Conclusion of findings**

The study was successfully completed and the findings indicate that the hypothesis initially recorded is tested and true. The hypothesis guiding the study was:

- Media is critical in promoting participation of women in politics given that it is part of the society.
- Organizations have a role in promoting women participation in politics through their programming.

# Chapter 5 : Summary Conclusions and Recommendations

## 5.1 Summary of Study findings

This study was guided by the following research objectives:

- To evaluate the role played by AMWIK in promoting participation of women in politics.
- To analyze media strategies that AMWIK has used in their program on gender and governance

In seeking to answer questions relating to media and women participation in political leadership, the study found out that there is still progress yet to be made in increasing women's political participation.

Generally speaking, the awareness level of women in leadership is high among women. For those who have participated in 'empowering' programmes and activities have began to associate themselves with leadership but shy away due to perceived lack of specific qualities of leadership. As mentioned in the findings, women distance themselves with political participation as candidates due to a perception that they don't have the right qualities to get involved. On the same, some participants noted that women are often intimidated by men and the public and so need extra courage and strong will to make it politically. Although the programmes and activities they have participated in were useful to them, they still felt they needed more civic education on women's rights in order to gain more knowledge and teach other women. They also felt more women in the rural areas can reached with the kind of activities they had been engaged in through various women's organization such as AMWIK and KWFT.

This study was looking into three levels of involvement of women in political leadership matters. The analysis of the levels will be done by measuring these variables

1. Awareness of opportunities for women;
2. Participation in political leadership affairs;
3. Action by taking up leadership roles

### **5.1.1. Awareness of opportunities for women**

The findings as analyzed in the previous chapter clearly indicate a big awareness level of opportunities existing for developing women's agenda through various organizations. AMWIK has been seen to play a positive role in creating awareness of the roles women play in the society especially in their contribution to development. The findings of the study show that the programmes initiated by AMWIK in which participants were trained on peace and FGM (Tuvuke 2013, FGM Seminar) had a positive impact on them. The participants expressed more interest in trainings and activities that will continue to empower them on their rights and obligations. Although this group of women is willing to interact with more AMWIK programmes, there is need to take them to the next level of plugging in the society and action this into leadership.

### **5.1.2. Participation in political affairs**

The study findings showed that a growing number of women are beginning to get involved in the political arena than has been before. There was interest raised among some the participants to vie for political leadership in future. Those who expressed interest were very few as shown in the findings. However, the challenge still remains in the sustaining of this idea until the next elections. Although many women are generally aware about the new constitution and the provision made for women, they are still not confident enough to take the next step into participating fully in politics. Positively, more women are seen to participate through voting as 100 per cent of the women interviewed were registered voters. The civil obligation of choosing leaders seems to have been well communicated by the Interim Electoral & Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The involvement of women in the voting process may also be contributed by the programmes and activities that ran before the general elections held in March. AMWIK programme, *Tuvuke 2013*, was among those that contributed to the empowering women in keeping peace during the elections period.

### **5.1.3. Actively taking up leadership roles**



The findings of this study showed only two respondents vied for leadership roles and yet these were not related to politics. In addition, the number of those who felt they would vie for political leadership in future was three among all the respondents. Although this may seem like some progress, the interest in actual participation as a leader is still low. The study found out that there are many factors that women consider before they could decide whether or not they want to political leaders. These factors range from financial inability to perceived qualities that women must possess to run for any political post. The participants of the study seemed to distant themselves from the political leadership process when it came to taking up the leading role. They preferred to be on the other side of the room where they voted and encouraged others to be leaders.

One of the main challenges that might be seen to affect the perception and response to this question of actual leading is the fact that financial resources are important in the planning process of election campaigns. As these women strive to make ends meet daily through their businesses, the thought of politics is less of a priority especially when they have not benefited from good leadership. Perhaps this is yet to change as the study also showed that there is positive expectation with the new constitution and the increased number of women candidates in the past general elections. An increase in media content covering women's topics and issues was also seen as a positive addition to the empowerment of women in Kenya.

This study shows that women are stuck at awareness level albeit positive. A lot more needs to be done to move them to participation with intent to take up leadership roles in politics among top positions in the country.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Generally speaking, the study was successfully done and the objectives were met. The cross section of participants interviewed represents a good number of women in the country and challenges they face daily. The main recommendations are:

- Keep the process of empowering women going through training them more on their rights and obligations as women.

- Encourage more content in the media which increase the confidence in women leaders.
- Identify potential leaders from within the already trained groups and begin to groom them for future posts. Many of the women interviewed seemed to lack the self-confidence in the abilities and would do well with encouragement from a third party.
- Create relevant programmes and activities in which there is a clear design on ‘call-to-action’ at the end of each programme/activity.
- The tendency towards spiritual and inspirational examples of women who have made it in a tough environment can be used as a model for civic education in order to inspire many more.
- The various informal platforms in the media that attract the attention of women can be used by AMWIK among other women’s organizations to penetrate the demography and encourage many more women to take up political leadership roles.
- Early preparation and gathering of resources in support of women candidates ahead of general elections. This means building up communities across the country in readiness for the next opportunity to elect women leaders.
- AMWIK among other women’s organizations can continue with advocacy among donors to raise awareness and funds that will support the women’s agenda in building a network of women leaders in the private and public sectors.
- The government is seen to play a back seat role in creating a conducive environment to encourage more women to take up leadership roles. AMWIK and other civil society must hold the government accountable in ensuring the constitution is upheld to the letter, especially where women are concerned.
- Another study can be done on a rural area setting to understand if the same findings are similar for rural women.

Some of the recommendations for the future can be summarized by the findings in relation to the participants’ thoughts on how AMWIK and the media can continue to improve the status of women in political leadership. The table below gives a summary.

| What would you change about AMWIK progs.  | What would you change in the media content?   |
|---|---|
| I would not change anything instead to add and train us more  | Give more time to express themselves and teach more about our rights in case of leadership.   |
| We need to be trained more frequently.  | They should be open about issues  |
| Try to reach a wide range of people especially in Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu, Mombasa and Nyeri.   | Give more airtime to programmes regarding women to create more awareness for a better future.   |
| I would set training institutes to empower women with leadership skills and I would promote adult education to women.   | Create more women programmes  |
| Promote awareness through sporting activities, banners, t-shirts etc to get more people involved directly or indirectly.  | Increase interaction and make the programmes live.  |
| Yes I would advise the programmes to be aired on TV and Radio to enable all Kenyans to hear and change their life.  | To highlight more issues so that more women are encouraged to take up leadership roles.   |
| Allow it to continue for longer with more women and youth engaging programs instead of running them for short periods of time.  | The media should air about domestic abuse and even advise on what to do whenever a case like that happens.  |
| Have more seminars in the community.  | To cover issues on women in the village, single parents, illiterate women and how they can manage their challenges and get support.   |
| More on women's rights  | To air programmes at the times when women are not in the kitchen or still at work so that many women can benefit.   |
| Add more time to learn more.  | Have a hotline number for informing women specifically regarding issues or any funds available. Pass information about marginalized communities in remote villages and how they can gain from women programmes and funds. |
| I would advise the programmers to add more effort on talking about women's rights, their ability i.e. what they have done to the society and what they can do given the chance. | Add more time allocated to women issues, report positive stories about women and celebrate success in women   |
| They should give more time so that we may learn more about it.  | Advertise women rights more frequently and add more women programmes.   |
| Teach about living standards and education system   |   |

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## **QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Introduction:** This is a questionnaire to collect data for a project as part of fulfillment of a Masters Programme. You are not required to submit your names or contacts. Kindly answer the questions as accurately as possible. Your time and input is highly valued and final report will be available to the organization (AMWIK) for future reference. This study targets women and therefore all interviewees will be women.

**A. GENERAL INFO**

1. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_
2. Education level \_\_\_\_\_
3. Age Group: 20-30 \_\_\_\_\_ 31-40 \_\_\_\_\_ 41-50 \_\_\_\_\_ Over 50 \_\_\_\_\_
4. Total household income per month in Kshs:
  - Below 10,000
  - 10,001 – 20,000
  - 20,001 – 30,000
  - 30,001 – 40,000
  - Over 40,001
5. Who is the main bread winner in your household? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many household members contribute to this income? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is the main source of income for your household? \_\_\_\_\_

**B. AMWIK PROGRAMMES**

8. Do you know Association of Media Women in Kenya? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
9. AMWIK runs several programmes to empower women, which of these do you know or have participated in? (Kindly tick appropriately)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Campaign against gender-based violence            |  |
| Peace and respect of human rights                 |  |
| Promoting women’s rights and economic empowerment |  |
| Sexual and reproductive programmes                |  |
| Gender and governance programmes                  |  |
| National civic education programmes               |  |
| Monitoring devolved funds                         |  |
| Children’s rights campaigns                       |  |

10. How did you get to know about AMWIK?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

11. How long have you participated in AMWIK programme activities? \_\_\_(Yrs/Months)

12. How has this programme(s) benefited you?

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13. If you were given an opportunity to change anything to the programmes, what would you change?

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14. How effective have these programmes been in influencing your opinion about women and leadership? (Choose from the scale where 1=Least effective and 10 = Most effective.

| <b>Program</b>                                    | <b>Effectiveness (Scale of 1-10)</b> |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Campaign against gender-based violence            |                                      |
| Peace and respect of human rights                 |                                      |
| Promoting women's rights and economic empowerment |                                      |
| Sexual and reproductive health rights             |                                      |
| Gender and governance                             |                                      |
| National civic education                          |                                      |
| Monitoring devolved funds                         |                                      |
| Children's rights campaigns                       |                                      |

### **C. COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT**

15. What are some of the local community activities you are engaged in?

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16. Which of the local female leaders do you know?

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17. Which national female leaders do you know?

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18. How did you get to know about them?

- Television
- Radio
- Political Rally
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

19a. Are you a registered voter? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

19b. If NO, why not?

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20a. Have you ever vied for a leadership position? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

20b. If YES, which position and what challenges have you encountered that are gender related?

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21. What advantages have you seen gained by women leadership whether locally or nationally?

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22a. Do you aspire to vie for a national elective post in future? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

22b. If YES, What specific positions would you be interested in and why?

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23. What qualities do you think a woman leader must possess to be elected locally or nationally?

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24a. In your opinion, are women adequately represented in political leadership? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

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24b. Why do you think that is so? \_\_\_\_\_

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25. In your opinion, what do you think can encourage more women to participate in political leadership in Kenya? \_\_\_\_\_

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26. Apart from politics, what other areas of leadership do you think women can be involved in?

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27. What are some of the challenges you have faced personally because you are a woman within the household or community?

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**D. GOVERNMENT, CIVIL SOCIETY & LEGISLATION ON WOMEN**

28. In your opinion how effective has been the government been in supporting women's political participation?

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Most Effective   |  |
| Very Effective   |  |
| Effective        |  |
| Fairly Effective |  |
| Not effective    |  |

29. What other groups or organizations targeting women have played a positive role in your life?

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30. How have they done this?

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31a. Do you know any laws that govern the rights and privileges of women? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

31b. If YES, which ones? (You can rephrase as you understand)

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32a. Are you a member of any women's group(s)? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

32b. If YES, please name them \_\_\_\_\_

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32c. If NO, why not \_\_\_\_\_

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33. Apart from the local women's groups mentioned above, which other groups do you participate in \_\_\_\_\_

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**E. MEDIA INTERACTION**

34. Do you use any of these in the house regularly for information? (Please tick in the box appropriately according to priority 1-4)

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| TV                   |  |
| Radio                |  |
| Newspapers           |  |
| Mobile Phone         |  |
| Others (please name) |  |

35. Which of the medium of news listed above is your most preferred source of information in the media?

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36. During the last general elections campaigns, how useful were these media in informing your decisions about candidates? Please choose 1=Most Useful 5=Least useful

|               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| TV            |   |   |   |   |   |
| Radio         |   |   |   |   |   |
| Newspapers    |   |   |   |   |   |
| Mobile phones |   |   |   |   |   |
| Others        |   |   |   |   |   |

37. Which programmes or news items relating to women have you seen/heard aired in the media?

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38. What made it outstanding to you?

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39a. In your opinion, have the local media given women enough airtime to express their views? YES

\_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

39b. What are your reasons for saying so?

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40. What would you like to see change in the media content in regarding coverage of women issues?

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Thank you for your time!

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