

**MEDIA FRAMING OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: AN ANALYSIS OF PRINT MEDIA  
COVERAGE OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN KENYA**

**By**

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**DECLARATION**


I Jane Wambui Thuo, hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.

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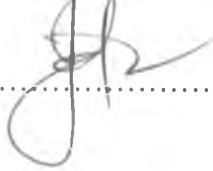
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stress, however, that I am utterly grateful to all these unmentioned names. Thank you very much!

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father and my mum, who inspired me and mentored me in my formative stages, and sacrificed to educate me; and to my three sons who are my source of inspiration.

## ABSTRACT

Scholars in media, gender and politics have interest in the apparent gender differences in media coverage and framing of those in politics. This study sought to explore how the Kenyan news print media have framed the twenty two women parliamentarians in the tenth parliament in their coverage. The objectives of the study are twofold. The first one is to examine the amount of media coverage and level of prominence given to stories on women in politics; and secondly, to identify the dominant gender frames used in news print media content. The theoretical underpinning of this study is borrowed from the media framing theory. The research approach of the study was qualitative in nature and employed content analysis and in-depth interview data collection techniques. The sample frame for the study included two main media houses namely Nation Media Group and the Standard Group and their newspaper publications published daily over a six months period from 1<sup>st</sup> January to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2011. The sample size for the content analysis included all the newspaper articles that mentioned any on the twenty two women aspirants. A total of ten senior editors and writers working for the Nation Media Group and the Standard Group were purposively selected for the in- depth interviews. A key finding was that news print media coverage of women in politics is low, their stories placed in the inside pages and rarely do their names hardly make it to the headlines making them ‘invisible’. The researcher concludes that ‘hidden’ influences such as cultural backgrounds of the media professionals, principles of what makes news and commercial interest contribute to the low coverage of women.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Elected:** A leader who was elected in democratic elections, both direct election and parliamentary election.

**Feminism:** ideologies, activities and policies whose goal it is to remove discrimination against women and to deconstruct the socially engineered male domination of society.

**Media Framing:** This refers to how media packages a story by choosing what aspects to highlight, give prominence, draw attention to, make salient, and what parts to regard unimportant and to exclude. These are the issues of focus for the content of coverage.

**Sex:** Biological differences between women and men.

**Gender:** Refers to the social meanings and roles assigned to biological differences between women and men. The assigned roles may vary both cross-culturally and over time.

**Gendered Media Framing:** Differences in the way media covers men and women based on the definition given above on media framing.

**Media:** This refers to various means of communication. For example, television, radio, and the newspaper are different types of media. The term can also be used as a collective noun for the press or news-reporting agencies.

**Media Content:** This refers to the message that is published or broadcast by the media.

**Media Coverage:** This will be used to imply media reportage.

**Media Effects:** This refers to how the media influences its audience.

**News Story:** An event focused article written as objectively as possible.

**Media House:** These are the media outlets that undertake mass communication through print for example by publishing newspapers and broadcasting houses that use radio and television to reach a target audience.

**Placement:** The position in which articles are arranged in a newspaper, such as the first column or the first page.

**Private Sphere:** The household, home or domestic space contrasted with the public sphere.

**Stereotype:** Composite images, traits, or expectations pertaining to a group or category of people.

**Women Political Leaders:** this will be used to refer to elected and nominated women performing public leadership functions such as president, members of parliament and ministers.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>DEFINITION OF TERMS</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>xiv</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study .....	<b>1</b>
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	<b>4</b>
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	<b>6</b>
1.4 Research Questions .....	<b>6</b>
1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study .....	<b>7</b>
1.6 Scope of the Study.....	<b>8</b>
1.7 Methodology.....	<b>9</b>
1.8 Chapter Outline .....	<b>11</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>13</b>
2.1 Women in Political Leadership: A Global Overview.....	<b>13</b>
2.1.1 Recent Trends in Women’s Access to National Parliaments .....	<b>15</b>
2.2 Factors Influencing Participation and Representation of Women in Politics.....	<b>16</b>
2.2.1 Political Institutions.....	<b>18</b>
2.2.2 Legislation and Policies.....	<b>18</b>
2.2.3 Social and Economic Factor .....	<b>20</b>
2.2.4 Cultural Factor .....	<b>21</b>
2.2.5 Media Effects.....	<b>22</b>
2.2.6 Perspectives on gender and media research in Africa .....	<b>24</b>

2.3 Women in Politics- Kenyan Situation .....	24
2.4 A Brief Historical Background on Kenya Women Leadership.....	26
2.5. Brief Profiles of Kenya Women Parliamentarians in the Tenth Parliament .....	30
2.6 Media Coverage of Politics .....	35
2.7 Media Coverage of Women in Politics .....	36
2.8 Media Framing of Women in Politics .....	39
2.9 Gendered mediation of politicians.....	40
2.10 Use of Gendered Framing by the Media .....	41
2.11 Gender Differences in Issues Covered by the Media .....	43
2.12 Influences of Media Reporters on Coverage of Women in Politics.....	47
2.13 Theoretical Framework .....	48
2.14 Conceptual Framework .....	53
2.15 Conclusions .....	55
<b>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>56</b>
3.1 Sampling Frame.....	56
3.1.1 Study Population .....	56
3.1.2 Sampling.....	58
3.2 Data Collection Techniques .....	59
3.2.1. Content Analysis .....	59
3.2.2 Use of Interviews with Editors and Sub-editors.....	60
3.3. Data Analysis.....	60
3.4 Ethical Considerations.....	61
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS.....</b>	<b>62</b>
4.1 Findings and Description of Quantity of Coverage.....	62
4.1.1. Amount of Coverage of Women MPs by the Standard and Nation Media Houses .....	62
4.1.2 Coverage of women MPs by month .....	64
4.1.3 Type of Story .....	66

4.1.4 Most Covered Woman MP.....	66
4.1.4 Sex of the writer .....	70
4.1.5. Tone of Media Coverage .....	70
<b>4.2 Findings on Level of Prominence Given to Articles on Women MPs .....</b>	<b>71</b>
4.2.1 Use of Women MPs names in the Titles of Article.....	71
4.2.2 Placement of Articles on Women MPs .....	72
4.2.3 Size and Amount of Space within an Article Given to the Women MPs.....	73
4.2.4. Event or Activity Covered.....	75
<b>4.3 Use of Gendered Frames by Media .....</b>	<b>75</b>
4.3.1 Descriptive Data on Issues of ‘Public Interest’ Addressed by Women Parliamentarians and Covered by the Media .....	76
4.3.2 Analysing Use of Traits by the Media to Describe Women MPs .....	79
<b>4.4 Findings from In-depth Interviews with Editors and Sub Editors.....</b>	<b>80</b>
4.4.1 Media Coverage of Women Parliamentarians.....	80
4.4.2 Relationship between Women MPs and the Media.....	83
4.4.3 Issues of Public Interest Covered by the Media .....	83
4.4.4 Media Stereotyping .....	84
4.4.5 Media House Editorial Gender Policy.....	86
4.4.6 Most covered women MPs by the media vs least covered.....	86
<b>4.5 Discussion of Findings .....</b>	<b>86</b>
4.5.1 Discussion of Findings on Amount of Coverage and Prominence Given to Stories on Women MPs by News Print Media .....	87
4.5.2. Discussion of Findings on Media Use of Gender Frames in the Coverage of Issues by Women MPs .....	89
4.5.3. Discussion of Findings on Media Use of Gender Frames in the Coverage of Women MPs Traits.....	90
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION.....</b>	<b>93</b>
5.1 Summary and Conclusions .....	93
5.2. Recommendations .....	96
5.2.1. Areas of Future Studies/Research .....	96

5.2.2 To Women Parliamentarians and in Politics ..... 97

5.2.3 To the Media Houses and Media Related Organisations ..... 97

**BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 99**

**APPENDICES..... 118**

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2.1: Women as National Leaders, 1960 to April 2012 .....	14
Table 2.2: Number of women in national parliaments globally as at December 2011 .....	15
Table 2.3: Women Representation & Participation in Kenya: 1st To 10 <sup>th</sup> Parliaments....	26
Table 2.4: Profile of Women Parliamentarians in the 10 <sup>th</sup> Kenya Parliament .....	31
Table 4.1: Type of story in which women MPs Received Coverage .....	66
Table 4.2: Media Coverage of Each Woman MP.....	68
Table 4.3: Tone of the article about the woman MP .....	71
Table 4.4: Women MP in the Title of the Story .....	72
Table 4.5: Page in the article story of a woman .....	72
Table 4.6: Gendered word used in article describing the woman MPs .....	76
Table 4.7: Issues Covered.....	78
Table 4.8: Trait used to describe the women MPs .....	79
Figure 2.1: An integrated process model of framing.....	52
Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framing Model for the Study .....	54
Fig 4.1: Coverage of Women Parliamentarians by Each Media Group .....	63
Fig 4.2: Coverage by the Standard Group newspapers .....	64
Figure 4.3: Print Media Coverage of Women MPs per month.....	65
Figure 4.4: Sex of the writer.....	70
Figure 4.5: Size of the article covering women MPs .....	74
Figure 4.6: Amount of space within the article on the woman MP.....	74
Figure 4.7: Event /Activity Being Covered.....	75

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AMWIK</b>	Association of Media Women in Kenya
<b>AWCFS</b>	African Woman and Child Features Service
<b>CCM</b>	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
<b>CIOC</b>	Constitution Implementation Oversight Committee
<b>DPP</b>	Director of Public Prosecutions
<b>IPU</b>	Inter Parliamentary Union
<b>KANU</b>	Kenya African National Party
<b>KENDA</b>	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
<b>KEWOPA</b>	Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association
<b>HON</b>	Honourable
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>NGOs</b>	Non Governmental Organisations
<b>NMG</b>	Nation Media Group
<b>NARC</b>	National Rainbow Coalition
<b>ODM</b>	Orange Democratic Movement
<b>PNU</b>	Party of National Unity
<b>UDM</b>	United Democratic Movement
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>USA</b>	United States of America

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

*“Media still write of the ‘pastel hues’ in women leaders’ wardrobes even when they are talking about defence policy making women suffer from the glass ceiling in politics” (Comment by Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton newspaper article titled “Clinton wants female US president in her lifetime, The Daily Nation: Tuesday May 8 2012)*

### 1.1 Background to the Study

The number of women in political leadership from the highest office, parliament and other elective leadership positions globally remain low. Since the first woman prime minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka in 1960 and the first president, Isabel Peron of Argentina in 1974 were elected, only around fifty women have since been elected as heads of state in the modern world<sup>1</sup>. Currently, of the about 197 self-governing countries in the world, seventeen (8.6 percent) have women heads of state or government in the form of a president or a prime minister<sup>2</sup>. Globally less than one in five members of parliament is a woman and the 30 percent critical mass mark for

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<sup>1</sup>[http://womenshistory.about.com/od/rulers20th/Women\\_Prime\\_Ministers\\_and\\_Presidents\\_20th\\_Century\\_Heads\\_of\\_State.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/rulers20th/Women_Prime_Ministers_and_Presidents_20th_Century_Heads_of_State.htm), (18 October 2012)

<sup>2</sup>[www.unwomen.org/.../michelle-bachelet-highlights](http://www.unwomen.org/.../michelle-bachelet-highlights) (18 October 2012)

women's representation in parliament has been reached or exceeded in only 28 countries<sup>3</sup>.

Women in Kenya have come a long way in penetrating through the male-dominated political arena but still the number is low with only 10.5 percent in parliament. According to Kamau (2010), the number of women seeking elective public office has gradually increased over the years since Kenya's independence in 1963 from seven to over six hundred in 2007. This saw the number of women elected and nominated to parliament rise to twenty two out of the two hundred and twenty seats in the 2007 elections, the highest since independence. These low numbers of women in politics globally have elicited debates and scholarly works attempting to investigate the reasons behind despite the wide differences in culture, types of society or category of regimes.

According to Murray (2010), theories of social development and culture have failed to give plausible reasons for this unsatisfactory performance. The prevailing traditional attitudes towards women and men's roles in countries such as Pakistani, Liberia, India, and Bangladesh have not prevented women in these countries to be elected for the political highest offices. Greater attention is now being paid to the role of media and the manner in which they represent women. Scholars in media, gender and politics have interest in the apparent gender differences in media coverage, construction and framing of those in politics and the effects they have on voters and women's participation in politics.

Norris (1997) questions the role of processes of political communications by the media in shaping the perceptions of women and men as political leaders. There

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.unwomenuk.org/world-leaderswomens-political-participation-is-fundamental-to-democracy> (9October 18th 2012)



appears to be general agreement that the media often frame women through stereotyped and traditional values. In the past, the media's starting point was that women belonged at home and were expected to marry and raise a family. Politics was seen to be reserved for men. Made (2008) is among several scholars who observe that women in politics and governance positions are constructed by the media as women who have stepped out of the gender norms of remaining in the private. According to Kahn (1994), gender biases disseminated by the media are significant because they have electoral consequences. At a time when politics is thoroughly mediated, voters respond to candidates largely in accordance with the information received from mass media.

As observed by scholars such as Nesbitt-Larking (1996), Rhodes (2001), political events and actors are mediated when journalists and editors use frames, stereotypes, and shortcuts to ensure the gist of the story is comprehensible to the audience. Gendered power dynamics are inflected when stories are done to fit legal standards, editors' and owners' prejudices, community culture and advertisement demands. In Kenya, as is the practice globally, the news media is said to give a lot of attention to politicians and political issues. A cursory glance of the print media in the dominant newspapers in Kenya namely the Daily Nation, the Standard, the Star and People dailies reveals that coverage of politicians and political issues dominate and stories placed prominently. In terms of gender differences in media coverage trends, male politicians have been said to receive more media coverage globally compared to the women politicians. It has also been argued that media uses gender stereotype frames. For example, when a former male MP was described as "the bull of Auckland" to describe his sexual prowess by the media, it was in a manner that

suggested that his behaviour was acceptable because he is a man. The media described Hon. Martha Karua as “the only man in Kibaki’s government” during the political negotiations after the Kenya post-election violence because of her tough negotiation skills (Oyaro, 2007). In both cases, the media fell back on use of gendered frames informed by stereotypes. Of interest to the researcher is how these gender differences in coverage plays out in the Kenya media.

The study sought to find out if the local general perception and debate is similar to the one at global level which advances the notion that that media gives less coverage, is biased and uses gender stereotype frames. Several questions thus arise on media framing in relation to coverage and packaging of women in politics. Do the media perceive women as politically important and hence promote their political participation in the public sphere? Do the media allow women in politics the right to communicate and be heard? What kind of ideas and ideologies are perpetuated by the media in relation to women in politics? Is there systematic evidence that framing provided in news coverage of women and men candidates for top political offices usually reinforces or challenges pervasive gender stereotypes? These questions provoked the researcher’s interest leading to this study.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

The increasing number of women participating in politics Kenya creates opportunity to explore not only the role of the media in shaping attitudes towards women politicians but also the style and how media packages them. According to Nzomo (2003), although many media houses in Kenya have developed professional guidelines that may have helped eliminate blatant sexism from news, they have not

ensured attention to women in politics is at par with that accorded to men. The Kenyan media is said to portray politics in male gaming terms. According to a senior media practitioner, Kwamchetsi Makhokha a contributor in Nzomo (Ed) (2003), media coverage of women has tended to trivialize the issues they represent, raised to one of numbers or seen as media's contribution to affirmative action<sup>4</sup>. The Kenyan society is becoming more gender sensitive and there have been debates among actors including women, civil society organisations, and general public calling for more gender sensitive and balanced media coverage. The Kenya constitution passed in 2010 calls for equal treatment of women and men including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres in article 27 (3) under the bill of rights and for balanced media coverage in article 34 (Republic of Kenya, 2010). There is however a notable increase in media visibility of women politicians but it needs to be asked "what kind of publicity has it been?"

It is thus of scholarly interest to explore the frames used by media in Kenya while covering women political leaders given the continent's unique social-cultural context. The core question of this study, is whether there is systemic evidence of framing provided by the news print coverage of women in politics that either challenges or reinforces pervasive gender stereotypes. There are twenty two women political leaders in the tenth Kenyan parliament, and whose news print media coverage was reviewed. Several studies of this nature, examining media coverage of women in politics have been done in Europe and the USA but not much has been done in Africa including Kenya. This study is important and aims at contributing new perspectives to the field of media, gender and politics by examining if media coverage

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<sup>4</sup> Makhokha, K (2003): Media Coverage of Women

of women in politics in Kenya is consistent or varies from how they are covered elsewhere. The study will use framing theory as its theoretical framework. This is a departure to most studies which tend to focus on media representation of women based on gender and feminist theories. As noted by Scheufele (1999) research on media frames is young and controversial and more studies are required to build on the theories of media effects.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the amount of coverage and prominence given to stories on women parliamentarians by the news print media.
2. To identify the dominant gender frames in news print media content in reference to coverage of women parliamentarians.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do the news print media cover women parliamentarians in terms of (a) quantity and (b) placement of stories?
2. What are some of the mainstreamed gender related themes and stereotypes that inform news print media portrayal of women in parliamentarians?

## 1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

Studies in political communication have tended to lack a gender dimension, and how media covers women while feminist studies on the media have tended to focus on entertainment formats. This study aims to explore the consistencies and inconsistencies that the Kenya media context presents in so far as coverage of women in politics is concerned. The findings contribute to what other scholars have done elsewhere and will help distinguish the conditions of stereotyping embedded across cultures. Hopefully, it will also inspire other scholars to undertake more studies on gender, media and politics in different countries globally. It would be interesting to compare the findings to those of studies carried out in the U S, European and Asian countries. Scholars like Gadzebo (2011) observe that there is limited literature on political communication and gender studies in Africa compared to other parts of the world. However given that this study has been conducted in Kenya, it does not conclude that the findings will represent an African media perspective and more of studies on media framing of women in politics require to be carried out in other African countries. Research on media frames is young and the theory of media framing has seen scholars discuss on its adequacy compared to media effects theories such as agenda setting and priming theories. The scholar thus hopes to contribute to this debate by exploring its efficacy in research and media studies and in relation to politics and gender. The findings will be shared with the media houses, organisations promoting use of media by women and the women in politics so as to help them develop strategies on media use and helping them to understand how the media works. The researcher also hopes that the findings can be used to lobby media players to ensure balanced media coverage of both women and men in politics.

## 1.6 Scope of the Study

As mentioned earlier, this study confined its self to analysing framing as reflected in the media content and did not attempt or analyse audience reactions, attitudes or perceptions due to framing in what they read, see or hear in the news media. The researcher recommends that analysis of effects of media content on audience could form a basis of other studies for researchers in field of media, gender and politics in future. The study focused only on the media coverage of the twenty two women parliamentarians in the Kenyan 10<sup>th</sup> parliament while acknowledging that there are more women political leaders in the Kenya politics at civic and political party levels. Newspapers to be analysed were those published by two main media houses namely; the Nation Media Group and the Standard. The duration of the newspapers for the study is six months between 1<sup>st</sup> January and 30<sup>th</sup> June 2011. The Nation Media Group publishes daily and owns the following newspapers: the Daily Nation published daily from Monday to Friday, and weekend editions namely Saturday Nation and Sunday Nation. The Standard Media group publishes the Standard from Monday from Friday, the Saturday Standard and Sunday Standard. The researcher selected print media because of factors such as one, availability material to be analysed as libraries keep copies of newspapers. The time period was selected because the country has witnessed several reform process and debates in parliament which presented opportunities for the women members of parliament to comment on issues of public interest at different forums. In the recent past the Kenyan society is becoming more gender sensitive and there have been debates among actors including women, civil society organisations, and general public calling for more gender sensitive and balanced media coverage. The Kenya constitution passed in 2010 calls

for equal treatment of women and men including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres in article 27 (3) under the bill of rights and for balanced media coverage in article 34 (Republic of Kenya, 2010). Also considered is the realistic time frame the researcher needed to conclude this study.

### **1.7 Methodology**

This study has used qualitative research approach. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that qualitative research is a situated activity which locates the observer in the real world of the research subjects and consists of a set of interpretive and material practices that makes the world visible. A number of scholars (Bryman 1988; Miles and Huberman 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Holloway and Wheeler 1996; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Gillham 2000; Patton 2002), in seeking to unravel qualitative research, have focused on key aspects of methodology as defining characteristics of qualitative research. These aspects include: the overall research perspectives and the importance of the participants' frames of reference; the flexible nature of research design; the volume and richness of qualitative data; the distinctive approaches to analysis and interpretation; and the kind of outputs derived from qualitative research. These scholars also identify specific data collection methods as appropriate for qualitative research. These include observational methods, in-depth interviews, group discussions, small numbers of questionnaires, case studies, narratives, and the analysis of documentary evidence and relies less on numbers and statistics.

As with such studies done elsewhere by scholars in media framing of women in politics, the researcher heavily depended on analysing documentary evidence through the content analysis conducted on newspapers published by two mainstream media houses namely; the Nation Media Group and the Standard Group. In addition, she sought to understand the reasons behind why the media covers women parliamentarian the way they do by conducting in-depth interviews with select editors and senior writers from the two media houses. Based on their opinions meaning was constructed from the points of view of the participants. In determining the suitability of using content analysis and the in depth interviews, literature on research methods was reviewed. In reference content analysis, the researcher came across a debate by a scholar, Berg (2004) as to whether content analysis is quantitative or qualitative. Scholars for example Berelson (1952) and Wimmer& Dominic (2000) argue that content analysis uses the principle of objectivity and is systematic hence it is quantitative. Others, for example Selltiz (1959) and Berg (2004) argue that over quantification in content analysis tend to emphasis the procedures of analysis, rather than the character of data available. This results to a limitation as it excludes all accounts of communications that are not in the form of numbers as well as those that may lose meaning if reduced to numeric forms. Smith (1975), suggest that some blend of both quantitative and qualitative analysis should be used because quantitative analysis deals with the form and antecedent -consequent pattern of form, while quantitative deals with duration and frequency. According to Russell (2001), in spite of their advantages and disadvantages, none of the methods of data collection provides fool proof means for achieving measure of validity, causal validity or



generalizability and this calls for combination with other methods. This study took cognizance of this debate.

The researcher conducted in depth interviews with editors and senior writers from the Nation Media Group (NMG) and the Standard. Editors decide what goes in to the newspaper after reporters compiling the story and it was therefore important to understand whether issues of ‘gender balance and diversity of voices’<sup>5</sup> inform their decisions. Data generated was both qualitative and quantitative. The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS (version20) package and presented in graphs, tables and pie charts to show trends while the qualitative data is presented in a narrative format.

## 1.8 Chapter Outline

This section outlines the structure of the thesis and highlights the content of the various chapters.

**Chapter One: Introduction-** This section of the dissertation contains the introduction and background of the study, statement of the problem, study’s objective, research question, hypothesis, and scope of the study, proposed theoretical framework and a summary of proposed the research methodology.

**Chapter Two: Literature review -** This section gives an over view on women in politics from a global level, regionally and in the Kenya context. It also provides a summarized description of the women parliamentarians in Kenya. In addition, the chapter discusses the framing and gender theories, framing of women in politics and summarises with justification and significance of this study.

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<sup>5</sup> Media Council of Kenya: Guidelines for Election Coverage Guide

**Chapter Three: Research Methodology** -This chapter provides information about techniques and data analysis methods.

**Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Interpretation and Discussions** - presents the analyzed results presented in tables, figures and narrative format. It also presents discussion and interpretation of findings.

**Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations** - This section provides a summary, conclusions and recommendation of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter gives an overview of women political leadership globally at the highest offices and at parliament. It also explores the factors that have impacted on women's participation in politics, recognising the role of media as one of the determining and critical factors. A brief analysis on the Kenyan situation of participation and representation of women in politics as well as summarised profiles of women elected and nominated to the Kenya parliament is given.

### 2.1 Women in Political Leadership: A Global Overview

The number of women vying for electoral positions from the highest office, parliament and other elective leadership positions has been on the rise globally. According to statistics by UN Women, globally women leaders make up less than 10 percent of world leaders and less than one in five members of parliament is a woman<sup>6</sup>. The first woman to enter a position of national leadership who was not a monarch was Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who became prime minister of Sri Lanka in 1960. Later in the same decade, two other prominent women, Indira Gandhi of India and Golda Meir of Israel, also rose to power as prime ministers<sup>7</sup>. However, it was not until 1974 that Isabel Perón of Argentina became the first female president. In general, the progress in the early decades was slow: three women became national leaders in the 1960s, followed by six in the 1970s, and seven in the 1980s. In contrast, dramatic change

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<sup>6</sup> F <http://www.unwomenuk.org/world-leaderswomens-political-participation-is-fundamental-to-democracy/> (6 March 2012)

<sup>7</sup> [http://womenshistory.about.com/od/rulers20th/Women\\_Prime\\_Ministers\\_and\\_Presidents\\_20th\\_Century\\_Heads\\_of\\_State.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/rulers20th/Women_Prime_Ministers_and_Presidents_20th_Century_Heads_of_State.htm), 2010 (6<sup>th</sup> March 2011)

began to occur in more recent decades: twenty six women first obtained positions of top executive leadership in the 1990s, followed by thirty six additional women through 2011 as summarised in the table below<sup>8</sup>.

**Table 2.1: Women as National Leaders, 1960 to April 2012**

Region	Number	Countries
Western Europe	18	Finland (3), France, Germany (2), Iceland (2), Ireland (2), Malta, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, Switzerland (3), United Kingdom
Eastern Europe	13	Bulgaria, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania (3), Macedonia, Poland, Serbia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Slovakia
Latin America	11	Argentina (2), Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Guyana, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Costa Rica, Brazil
Sub-Saharan Africa	12	Burundi, Central African Republic, Gabon, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe (2), Senegal, South Africa, Malawi
Central and South Asia	9	Bangladesh (2), Pakistan, India (2), Mongolia, Sri Lanka (2), Kyrgyzstan
East Asia	5	Indonesia, South Korea (2), Philippines (2)
Caribbean	6	Dominica, Haiti (3), Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago
Oceania	2	New Zealand (2)
Middle East	2	Israel (2)

<sup>8</sup><http://www.terra.es/personal2/monolith/00women.htm> (accessed 16 July 2012)

North America	1	Canada

*Source: "Women World Leaders, 1945–2012,"*

### 2.1.1 Recent Trends in Women’s Access to National Parliaments

Countries in Europe such as Finland, Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Netherlands, Germany, have reached the goal set by the 1985 Beijing World Conference on Women of having at least 30% women political representation in parliament<sup>9</sup>. In Africa, women political representation remains low and it’s only Rwanda has a 50% while a few countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa have set and achieved quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies (Kamau, 2010). Below is a summary of the percentage number of women in national parliaments globally compiled by Inter Parliamentary Union as at December 2011<sup>10</sup>.

**Table 2.2: Number of women in national parliaments globally as at December 2011**

Region	Single House or lower House	Upper House or Senate	Both Houses combined
Nordic countries	42.0%	---	---
Europe - OSCE member countries - including Nordic countries	22.6%	21.1%	22.3%

<sup>9</sup> European Commission, Database on Women and Men in Decision-making (EU 2005)

<sup>10</sup><http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> (March 2012)

<b>Americas</b>	22.6%	23.4%	22.7%
<b>Europe - OSCE member countries</b> - excluding Nordic countries	20.8%	21.1%	20.8%
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	20.4%	19.4%	20.2%
<b>Asia</b>	18.3%	14.3%	17.9%
<b>Pacific</b>	12.4%	34.8%	14.9%
<b>Arab States</b>	11.3%	7.3%	10.7%

Source: *Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU)*

## 2.2 Factors Influencing Participation and Representation of Women in Politics

According to Jalalzai, Farida & Mone, Lena Krook (2010), while the political playing field in each country has its own particular characteristics, one feature remains common to all: too few women are in positions of real power. Scholars continue to argue that women who want to enter politics often find that the political, public, cultural and social environments, media included, are unfriendly or even hostile to them. The domination of men, patriarchy, and institutional problems tend to be considered as potent barriers to women's political headship in different regions of the world (Jalalzai, Farida & Mone, Lena Krook, 2010). These issues are compounded by the media, which frequently draw on gender stereotypes in ways that appear to negatively affect women's chances of getting elected (Kahn, 1996). Undoubtedly, female leadership has increased, even despite all odds against them. As earlier mentioned, the low numbers of women in political offices have attracted studies seeking to find out the reasons behind the dismal performance of women politics.

Baxter (2003) discusses the explanations given by the feminist movements which include factors such as legal rights of women, economic and structural barriers, and more recently the everyday construction of gender in social relations. From the feminist perspective the under-representation of women in politics is a societal problem. Feminism can be defined as “those ideologies, activities and policies whose goal it is to remove discrimination against women and to break down male domination of society” (Dahlerup quoted in Lovenduski and Norris, 1996, p.4).

According to Phillips (1994), a male dominated political system cannot represent the experiences of women and therefore upholds male dominance.

Lovenduski and Norris (1996) identify three manifestations of how the dominance of men in decision making positions has gender effects: i) women can be disadvantaged by policies; ii) initiatives to redress inequalities experienced by women are at a financial disadvantage and are less prestigious; and iii) such issues are seen as marginal or are even absent from the policy agenda. Chang and Hitchon (1997) identified four factors for the under-representation follows: (i) Socialization in terms of how upbringing and surroundings encourage girls/womanless when it comes to political interest; (ii) Professional preparation shows that women, by having a different career path, often face barriers to a political career; (iii) Structural constrains meaning that the political institutions are shaped in a way that benefits men; (iv) Mass-media’s effect on voter response. Below is a further examination of a number of factors that influence women representation in politics.

### **2.2.1 Political Institutions**

Scholars such as McAllister and Studlar (2002), Reynolds (1999) and Salmond (2006) have found that countries with proportional representation electoral systems tend to have a much higher share of women in parliament than countries with majoritarian electoral arrangements. Proportional representation systems often have higher district magnitudes, which open the way for women to be included as the total number of members per district increases, and closed party lists, which enable political parties to place women in electable positions on party slates. Dahlerup, (2006), Krook (2009), Krook et al. (2009) cite New Zealand and Denmark where gender balance is put into consideration by the political parties. Also, three parties in Denmark – two of which still exist – used to have gender quotas but repealed these in the early 1990s. Combined, these factors appear to offer more opportunities for female candidates, because political parties may feel compelled to nominate at least a few women in order to balance their lists.

### **2.2.2 Legislation and Policies**

According to a study by Jalalzai and Krook (2010) on women's legislative representation, they identify the adoption of gender quotas aimed at increasing the numbers of women selected and elected as candidates to political office. They indicate that parties and national legislatures in more than 100 countries, have now adopted some type of quota, most within the last 15 years. These measures take three broad forms: reserved seats, which set aside seats for women that men are not eligible to contest; party quotas, which involve voluntary commitments by parties to include a proportion of women among their candidates; and legislative quotas, which require all



parties to nominate a certain percentage of women. These measures are distinct from other types of public policies, in the sense that they seek to influence who participates in policy-making itself. The scholars cite several examples such as Rwanda, Sweden and Argentina. In Rwanda where the constitution approved in 2003 reserves one-third of all seats in the lower house for women and a 30 percent quota apply to the upper house. Since the 1990s nearly all political parties in Sweden have had formal or informal policies of alternation, meaning that they include women in every other position on their party lists. The electoral law in Argentina states that all parties must nominate 30 percent women in positions which make their election possible. Kenya also belongs to this category in its new constitution dispensation<sup>11</sup>.

The adoption of gender quotas as a strategy aimed at increasing the numbers of women selected and elected as candidates to political office have come under scrutiny by scholars. There are arguments that gender quota policies do not necessarily achieve their intended effects. A case cited by a study by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2009a) and Jones (2004) is Costa Rica, where a 40 percent quota law was adopted in 1996. Initially, the percentage of women in parliament increased from 14 percent in 1994 to only 19 percent in 1998. However, after the highest electoral court clarified that parties must include 40 percent women in “electable positions,” this proportion jumped to 35 percent in 2002 and 39 percent in 2006, dropping to 37 percent in 2008. Another example of where quotas led to stagnation and even decreases in the proportion of female parliamentarians is France. Legislators amended the constitution in 1999 and the electoral law in 2000 to mandate that parties nominate 50 percent male and female candidates. Despite these reforms, women’s

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<sup>11</sup> The Constitution of Kenya 2010

representation in parliament barely rose from 11 percent in 1997 to 12 percent in 2002 and 18 percent in 2007 (Krook, 2009). According to Murray (2004), this phenomenon could be explained by the fact that some of the laws do not specify the districts in which female candidates must be placed and imposes a financial penalty for non-compliance that creates distinct incentives for compliance from small parties who are under greater pressures than large parties to maximize the amount of state subsidy they receive.

### **2.2.3 Social and Economic Factor**

A third set of variables are social and economic. Initially, research by McDonagh (2002) and Rosenbluth et al., (2006) found that women's overall levels of education and labor force participation were closely correlated with levels of female parliamentary representation. As such, women rarely achieved the higher socioeconomic status that forms the "eligibility pool" for elective office, because practices of sex segregation in most countries channel women into female-dominated, low-paying occupations such as nursing and education and men into male-dominated, high-paying occupations like law and management. Inglehart and Norris (2003) note that these patterns are anticipated to be less prevalent in countries at higher levels of socioeconomic development, where processes of modernization enable women to gain access to education and the paid labor force, thus moving them into higher-status social and economic roles, which in turn can lead to greater influence in politics. However, other work by Matland (1998), Moore and Shackman, 1996 has cast doubt on these findings, uncovering weak and sometimes even negative correlations between women's education and labor force participation and the proportion of

women in elected office. Some account for this by suggesting that improvements in women's status may serve only as facilitating conditions. Matland (1998) noted that these factors may operate differently in developed versus developing countries: women's participation in the labor force, for example, appears to have a positive effect on women's representation in the former but no effect in the latter. Indeed, several developing countries have witnessed dramatic changes in the absence of these assumed developmental "prerequisites" according to studies by Bruhn (2003) and Dahlerup & Freidenvall, (2005).

#### **2.2.4 Cultural Factor**

Another group of explanations focus on cultural factors. Studies of the Nordic countries attribute the relatively high proportion of women in parliament in this region to a political culture that places strong emphasis on social and economic equality (Bystydzienski, 1995). Other scholars such as Reynolds, 1999 explore the impact of religion and find that Christian countries tend to have more women than countries with other dominant religions. Inglehart and Norris (2003) and Tripp (2001) further explain that these effects stem from the ways in which religion may intersect with cultural prohibitions on women's political activity, forbidding women from speaking in front of men, seeking political office, or attending political meetings. These norms, are rooted in the public-private divide, which plays a major role in socializing women and men into prescribed gender roles, calling into question the legitimacy of women's political engagement and conferring private sphere responsibilities on women that prevent them from pursuing public office.

Scholars such as Lawless and Fox (2005), Kittilson (2006) and Niven (1998) argue that these effects endure long after shifts in women's social and economic status by negatively influencing women's decisions to run as well as elites' evaluations of potential female candidates. Furthermore, voter stereotypes may favor female candidates when feminine qualities are viewed as desirable at particular moments in time (Swers, 2002). In fact, in some countries arguments making reference to women's roles in the private sphere have served as powerful arguments for political inclusion (Inhetveen, 1999).

#### **2.2.5 Media Effects**

The researcher's focus in this study is on the role that media plays in shaping attitudes towards women politicians by exploring the frames it uses while covering women political leaders. According to Ross (2010), the news media routinely and regularly perform an affirmatory function in reinforcing dominant norms and values to the public. News coverage generally goes beyond mere reporting of facts by offering analysis and evaluations. Nesbitt (1996) portends that political reporting involves filtering, selection, and emphasis as no political event can be described in its entirety given the space and time demands of news organisations. Nesbitt adds that political events and actors are mediated when journalists and editors use frames, stereotypes, and shortcuts to ensure the gist of the story is comprehensible to the audience. Other scholars such as Khan (1996), Norris (1997) amongst several others introduce the concept of gender in media coverage. The gender system concept is central to feminist theory. Gayle Rubin (1975) coined the term sex/gender system and defines it as "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological

sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied" (pg 159).

According to Hirdman (1990) the gender system is built on two logical assumptions; the separation of the sexes (difference); and the male dominance or norm (hierarchy). These logics are then upheld by what Hirdman (1990) and Norlander (2003) metaphorically calls the gender contract, stating that women and men are born into and formed by the gender system. These scholars allude to a debate over terminology about how gender differences in media representation should be described. Khan (1996) uses the concept 'sex stereotypes' which she defines as "a cognitive structure of inferential relations that link personal attributes, behaviors and beliefs to the social categories male and female" (pg 6). Norris (1997) use the concept 'gender frames' to describe how journalists make use of the conventional context to "simplify, prioritize, and structure the narrative flow of events when covering women and men in public life" (pg.6).

Chang and Hitchon (1997) developed the idea of 'gender schemas' to refer to the conceptual cognitive structure people use to understand "traits, activities and behaviours traditionally associated with men or women" (pg. 35). All these concepts are useful in different ways; 'stereotypes' can be used to describe the social categories male and female, 'frames' better describes how journalists and media make use of these categories, and 'schemas' is useful to understand how the individual builds up an understanding of male and female.

### **2.2.6 Perspectives on gender and media research in Africa**

According to Gadzekpo (2011), research on gender and media in Africa emerging from these varied sources has exhibited a range of preoccupations, although academic inquiry has been largely dominated by studies on representation in print and broadcast news, film, and, increasingly, new media content. There have been relatively few articles produced on audience reception, newsroom production practices, journalism epistemology and hidden histories. Gadzekpo further goes on to explain that the body of research on gender and media in Africa has been predominantly on representation, participation, audience reception, uncovering hidden histories of women's contributions to the field, and, on occasion, has dwelt on the political economy of media industries. She further notes that research on the subject of media and gender has come from both within and outside the academy and that as yet, no dedicated academic journals on gender and media in Africa only a few books have been published which specifically address gender and media in this region. There is notable contribution however by civil society organisations and papers presented in conferences. Zoonen (1994), in explores the ways in which feminist theory and feminist research in areas such as media production, media texts and media reception have informed knowledge on the relationship between gender and media in contemporary societies.

### **2.3 Women in Politics- Kenyan Situation**

Women in Kenya have come a long way in penetrating through the male-dominated political arena. According to Nzomo (2003a), the number of women who got party nominations that allowed them to participate in the elections as

parliamentary candidates has risen from zero in 1963 to forty five in 2002. In the 2007 elections the number rose to one hundred and twenty women (Kamau 2010). The number of women seeking elective public office has gradually increased over the years since Kenya's independence in 1963 from seven to over six hundred in 2007 (Kamau 2010). The late Professor Wangari and Charity Ngilu, the current Member of Parliament for Kitui Central were among the first Kenya Woman to vie for the presidency in the 1992 general elections. Martha Karua, the Member of Parliament for Gichugu and leader of Narc-Kenya party has declared her interest in running for the presidency in the 2012 general elections (Mburia, Thuo, & Nyambala, 2011).

According to Kamau (2010), Kenya's political history has recorded great women who went through many difficult and humiliating conditions while agitating for equality and participation in politics. She highlight some of these difficulties to include the electoral violence of female candidates, male power play (dominance of men in political parties, manipulating and possibly rigging women out), stereotyping media coverage, and the lack of funds for women politicians. The table below summarises women representation in Kenya's parliament since independence in 1963 to the last general elections held in December 2007.

**Table 2.3: Women Representation & Participation in Kenya: 1st To 10<sup>th</sup>****Parliaments**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total No. of constituencies</b>	<b>To no. of women candidates</b>	<b>Elected members</b>	<b>Available nomination slots</b>	<b>Parliamentary nominations</b>	<b>Total No. of women in Parliament</b>
1963	158	7	0	12	0	0
1969	158	13	1	12	1	2
1974	158	11	4	12	2	6
1979	158	15	5	12	1	6
1983	158	7	2	12	1	3
1988	188	7	2	12	0	2
1992	188	19	6	12	1	7
1997	210	53	4	12	5	9
2002	210	44	10	12	8	18
2007	210	269	16	12	6	22

*Source: Kamau (2010)*

#### **2.4 A Brief Historical Background on Kenya Women Leadership**

In order to understand the position of Kenyan women in the modern political dispensation, it is necessary to briefly look at how it has evolved over time. According to (House-Midama, 1990), although women were to some extent subordinate to men under the African Customary Law, in many respects the roles of men and women were complementary in nature. Onsogo (2005) noted that the status of Kenyan women deteriorated during colonial rule because colonial laws disrupted and displaced women's gender roles through introduction of cash crops, formal education and the



monetary economy. Onsogo goes on to explain that while some men secured employment either in large cash crop farms or as clerks in government offices, many women remained in rural areas producing subsistence food and their work classified as non-work since it did not fit into the colonial system's economic criteria.

This new division of labour according to Kamau (2010) seems to have created male breadwinners with women dependent on them, a situation that created a sense of powerlessness among women, which continues to affect their participation in public decision making. Colonialists also introduced formal education, which had a different impact on men and women as it was mostly available to men and there was a concern that education would turn girls into prostitutes (Kamau, 2010). This according to Kanogo (2005), meant that the majority of women remained illiterate and, therefore, could not participate in modern economic transactions as well as in leadership and for those who went to school, they got jobs as nurses and teachers which were said not to interfere with their marriage lives. Maathai (2006) adds that these contradictions have continued to affect women's careers and indeed how workplaces and politics are structured in addition to creating conflicts for women who venture in politics. According to Kamau (2010), the first decade of Kenya's independence was characterized by economic growth, diversification and availability of job opportunities left by the British colonialists. However, she further explains, given that many women had not enjoyed as good an education as men, most of these positions were taken up by men and this extended to parliament such that the first Kenyan parliament did not have any woman elected or even nominated. The fact of women's low representation in political positions notwithstanding, it is worth noting that a number of Kenyan women have played a significant role in keeping the women's

agenda alive. Though there are many women who have not held political positions but have played very significant roles in keeping women's issues in the national and international agenda.

Some of the pre-independence political women figures highlighted by Kamau (2010), in Kenya include: Menyaziwa wa Menza (*aka* ole Mekatilili), a freedom fighter from Coast; Wangu wa Makeri, a freedom fighter from Central; Mang'ana Ogonje Nyar Ugu, the first African female colonial chief in Western Kenya; Moraa Moka Ngiti, a female freedom fighter from Nyanza (Kisii); Field Marshall Muthoni, a freedom fighter from Central; Eiokalaine O-M'barugu, an Assistant Chief in pre-independent Kenya in Eastern; Jemima Gecaga, the first woman to be nominated in the Legislative Council (Legco); Priscilla Ingasiani Abwao, the woman who attended the Legco in Lancaster House, among others. There have also been a number of women political players in the post-independence Kenya, and who have played some significant role in shaping the landscape of women's political leadership in Kenya. The women include those who either became members of parliament, have served as parliamentarians, or remained active in national politics even after their term in parliament. These include, Dr Julia Ojiambo and Nyiva Mwendwa, Phoebe Asiyu, Grace Ogot, Prof. Wangari Maathai, Charity Ngilu and Martha Karua (Nzomo 2003).

Writing on the experiences of Kenyan women and access to political positions (Nzomo M. , 2003a) notes that there are a number of factors from within the social, political and economic environment that militated against women's participation in politics and public leadership manifested in different forms which she outlined as follows: (i) the persisting social resistance and or lukewarm acceptance of women's leadership participation in political leadership; (ii) culture of electoral violence that

tends to be harsher towards female candidates; (iii) feminization of poverty that renders women more financially constrained to manage a campaign than men; (iv) lack of adequate political socialization for leadership that manifests itself in women's exclusion from access to strategic political information and general inability in the art of public oratory and populist campaign; (v) women's marginality in mainstream political party hierarchy and hence inability to shape rules of engagement which are defined and organized around male norms and values; and (vi) media coverage of women that has tended to oversimplify the issues they represent and accentuating women's role in a stereotyping language. The media works against the interests of women when it fails to give importance to matters that concern them and their achievements, and also when it focuses only on their weaknesses as leaders.

Elaborating on the role of media, Nzomo (Ed), 2003, the media often shape how a person, group or thing is socially perceived by not only reflecting the values of the society, but also by shaping them. Media is chronicler of events, an informer, entertainer, and educator but also serves as a tool of change. The presence of women in politics is important and so is the attention they receive in the media as this influences public perception of their leadership as highlighted by a media expert, Kwamchetsi Makhoha quoted in Nzomo (2003) as follows:

“The presence of women politicians in the political equation is, in the Kenyan case, an attempt to capture the aspirations, support and goodwill of 52% of the population. The media space given to creating or unmaking these women's images as individuals, assessing or reporting their performance on their jobs, and capturing the issues they voice, constitutes the total picture of women's portrayal to the society. Such portrayal determines who among these women politicians can be taken seriously, or how much influence they command; which among the issues they raise are considered important; and how effectively they perform as holders of public office.” Pg 95

## **2.5. Brief Profiles of Kenya Women Parliamentarians in the Tenth Parliament**

This section gives a brief summary of profiles<sup>12</sup> of the twenty two women parliamentarians in the tenth parliament that came to office in 2008 after the December 2007 general elections.

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<sup>12</sup> Adopted from “Journey to Leadership: Women Legislators in Kenya’s Tenth Parliament”(Mburia, Thuo, & Nyambala, 2011)

**Table 2.4: Profile of Women Parliamentarians in the 10<sup>th</sup> Kenya Parliament – 2008- 2012**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Position</b>
Hon Amina Abdalla	KANU (Kenya African National Party)	Nominated MP Member of the Parliamentary Justice and Legal Affairs Committee and the Chairperson of the Delegated Legislation.
Hon Beatrice Kones	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	MP for Bomet since 2009, Assistant Minister for Home Affairs
Hon Beth Mugo	Party of National Unity (PNU)	MP for Dagoretti since 1997, and Minister for Public Health, has previously served as an Assistant Minister for Education.
Hon Cecily Mbarire	Party of National Unity (PNU)	MP for Runyenjes and Assistant, since 2008, Minister in the Ministry of Tourism, has served as an Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Transport, Secretary to KEWOPA
Hon Charity Ngilu	National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)	MP for Kitui Central since 1992, Minister for Water Services, has served as a Minister in the Health ministry.
Hon Esther Murugi	Party of National Unity (PNU)	MP for Nyeri town since 2008, Minister for Special Programmes, has served as a minister for Gender, Children and Social

		Development
Hon Elizabeth Ongoro	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	MP for Kasarani, since 2008, Assistant Minister for Nairobi Metropolitan Development, sits on the parliamentary committee for Constitution Implementation Oversight Committee (CIOOC) and is the National Vice Chairperson of the ODM party
Hon Prof Hellen Sambili	United Democratic Movement (UDM)	MP for Mogotio since 2008, former minister in the Ministries of East Africa Community and Youth and Sports, chairperson African Parliamentary Network Against Corruption, Kenya Chapter
Hon Dr. Joyce Laboso	ODM	MP for Sotik since 2009, a member of the Speakers Panel, Vice Chairperson of CIOOC and a member of the Departmental Committee on Education, Research and Technology
Hon Linah Jebii Kilimo	KENDA (Kenya National Democratic Alliance)	MP for Marakwet, since 1997 Assistant Minister, Cooperative Development and marketing, chairperson of Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA)
Hon Maison Leshomo	PNU	Nominated MP, 2008
Hon Prof Margaret	ODM	MP for Eldoret East, since 2008, Minister

Kamør		for Education, Science and technology, has served as an Assistant Minister for Environment and Mineral Resources.
Hon Bishop Margaret Wanjiru	ODM	MP for Starehe, since 2008 Assistant Minister for Housing
Hon Martha Karua	PNU	MP for Gichugu since 1992, a minister in the Ministries of Water and that of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, a member of CIOC in Parliament, member of party of the drafters of the National Accord after the post election violence in 2008 presidential aspirant 2013
Hon Millie Odhiambo	ODM	Nominated MP, Vice Chair Parliamentary Committee on Legal and Justice
Hon Dr. Naomi Shaban	KANU	MP for Taveta since 2002, Minister for Gender, Children and Social Development and Minister for Special Programmes
Hon Peris Siman	ODM	MP for Eldoret South, 2008 member of the parliamentary committee on Agriculture, Livestock and Cooperatives as well as the land and Natural Resources committee.
Hon Rachel Shebesh	ODM	Nominated MP 2008, Vice chairperson of KEWOPA and a member to the

		Committee on Standing Orders and Rules and is in the Library Committee.
Hon. Dr. Sally Kosgei	ODM	MP for Aldai since 2008, Minister for Agriculture, member of party of the drafters of the National Accord after the post election violence in 2008
Hon Shakila Abdalla	ODM	Nominated MP, 2008
Hon Sophia Abdi	ODM	Nominated MP, 2008, member of the Parliamentary Committee on Legal and Administration of Justice and served as a member of CIOC.
Hon. Wavinya Ndeti	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	MP for Kathiani, 2008, Assistant Minister for Youth and Sports

*Adopted from "Journey to Leadership: Women Legislators in Kenya's Tenth Parliament" (Mburia, Thuo, & Nyambala, 2011).*

The focus of this study is on the framing of these women members of parliament by the news print media. Concerns over how women in politics globally are portrayed by the media and the possible effects that has had on women's participation in politics have been raised and have attracted several studies. Studies indicate that perceptions of female and male candidates are influenced by gender influences in media coverage as discussed in this chapter. Gender differences in candidate coverage is said to influence voters' evaluations of male and female candidates, candidates' choice of campaign strategies, and ultimately, people's views regarding women's role in the political arena. Studies carried out on how the news



media frames women leaders reveals that they are framed in gender-specific and culture-specific ways. This chapter is a review of existing scholarly work related to media coverage and portrayal of women in politics.

## 2.6 Media Coverage of Politics

According to scholars such as Oates (2008) and Corner (2003), societies communicate, share and attempt to come to terms with political events through the mass media. They observe that the media have become the public sphere in which the identity of the politician as a “person of qualities” is constructed and the strength of these media-performative criteria are often such as to disqualify certain candidates either from becoming public political figures at all or at least from competing for high office. News coverage generally goes beyond mere reporting of facts by offering analysis and evaluations. According to Nesbitt-Larking (1996), political reporting involves filtering, selection, and emphasis as no political event can be described in its entirety given the space and time demands of news organisations. Ross (2010) adds that the news media routinely and regularly performs an affirmatory function in reinforcing dominant norms and values to the public.

With regards to political elections, the media influence how voters think about issues and also how they think about candidates running for election (Ramsden, 1996). The most documented effect is the learning process that takes place among the public. It has been found that news coverage provide people with words and phrases they can use to defend a [political] point of view including the reasons why they would prefer certain candidates (Noelle-Neumann, 1973). Several scholars have demonstrated that voters exposed to a ‘hard fought’ race, which makes larger volumes

of information available, are more engaged and cast better-informed votes (Kelley, 1990). According to Popkin (1994), voters do make inferences about the candidates' personalities based on what they see and read. There is also strong evidence that the way the media describe a candidacy can shape the tone and focus of a political campaign. For example, if a newspaper describes a female candidate's attire or comments on her marital status, the reader may have less of an understanding of where she stands on public policy issues or whether or not she is qualified to hold the office she is seeking (Devitt, 1999). Thus, what the media say or do not say about a candidate is of vital importance for the electorate. Political events and actors are mediated when journalists and editors use frames, stereotypes, and shortcuts to ensure the gist of the story is comprehensible to the audience (Nesbitt-Larking, 1996). Framing is thus a central aspect of mediation as news frames determine what is included, what is excluded, what is seen as salient, and what is regarded as unimportant (Vreese, 2005). Scholars such as Murrays (2010) however point out other apart from media coverage, other critical factors that come into play when looking at the electability of politicians and which include the political party one belongs to, ethnicity, gender, and financial clout.

## **2.7 Media Coverage of Women in Politics**

Since Gaye Tuchman (1978) and her colleges published one of the first studies of women's representation in popular media, several studies have been conducted globally on media framing of women in politics. The studies have come up with divergent findings but generally conclude that there is a gender difference in media coverage and construction. Tuchman (1978), observed that women were subject to

“symbolic annihilation” by the media because they are often absent from news discourse but when they are made visible, then they are often rendered childlike and or in need of men’s protection, or else consigned to the homes as their only legitimate domain.

According to Made (2008) women in politics and governance are constructed by the media: i) as women who have stepped out of the gender norms of remaining in the private’ and they become news when involved in a controversy or scandal; ii) when fighting each other; iii) when they are identified with a ‘man of power’; and iv) when they do something that is ‘out of the ordinary’ often interpreted by the media as ‘being tough’ like men instead of ‘soft’. This name-calling discourages other women from getting into politics she concludes. Some of the studies carried out in the U.S and Europe by scholars such as Bysrtom & Banwart (2001), Carroll& Ronnee (1997), Devitt (2002), Khan (1992) etc. found that media stereotypes women, question their viability as candidates, gives them less coverage and focuses more on the women’s personal and social traits than on their issue positions. According to Lithgow (2002), Bartholomeusz (1999) and Crisostomo (1986) news media in Asia also constructs women leaders in gender and culture-specific ways. They are presented as fulfilling expectations based on duty, destiny and devotion, fuelled by bereavement and widowhood, (in the case of daughters or wives of assassinated political men). Others are presented in the ‘Mother Goddess’ image, which propels these women forward by valorising their feminine traits, to the exclusion of their political experience or suitability for the job. However as observed by Murray (2010) scholars take cognizance of the that the success of some of the women candidates was not synonymous with the absence of gender stereotyping and though gender

stereotyping can pose barriers it can also create opportunities depending on other features of the political context.

Gidengil and Everitt (1999) identify three phases in the study of women, politics and media, beginning with visibility/invisibility then moving to the narrow focus in coverage of women politicians, and finally into “gendered mediation”. The latter “shifts the focus to the more subtle, but arguably more insidious, form of bias that arises when conventional political frames are applied to female politicians” (p. 49). Despite their suggestion, these phases should not be regarded as distinct. The invisibility of women has been explored in front-page news stories (e.g., Hernandez, 1996, 1994), newspaper sports pages (e.g. Fountaine & McGregor, 1999; Brown, 1995) and coverage of politics (e.g. Norris, 1997), and the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2000). Overall, and as in the 1995 GMMP study, when the first study took place, women remain underrepresented as news subjects. In a study by Spears, Seydegart and Gallagher (2000) women comprised 18% of news subjects, a miniscule increase from 17% in 1995. Tuchman’s (1978) suggests that changes in society would eventually result in more equitable media coverage although a period of “culture lag” would first need to be endured. McGregor (1996), Lemish and Tidhar (1999) assert that aspects of Tuchman’s omission, trivialization and condemnation remain key reference points for contemporary studies of women, media and politics. Framing theory, adopted more recently by researchers interested in media coverage of gender politics provides a useful conceptual tool to examine how political women are covered.

## 2.8 Media Framing of Women in Politics

According to Gamson & Modigliani (1987), the way media covers women could be attributed to how the journalists are socialized towards women leadership and they use this frame of mind to perceive and report on women. Several studies have been conducted on print media framing and coverage of women in general and women in politics and the researcher has reviewed some of these studies relevant to this study. Terkildsen & Schnell (1997) conducted a content analysis of weekly print media's coverage of the women's movement. They examined news coverage in *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report* of the women's movement between 1950 and 1979. They found five unique frames that were used to describe the movement in the coverage: (i) traditional gender roles, which framed women as the weaker sex and in terms of their physical appearance; (ii) antifeminism, which framed emerging feminists against the norms of society; (iii) women's political roles, which was dominant during the campaign for women's suffrage, and later when women sought public office; (iv) feminist, which framed feminism as disrupting the status quo, and evolved to include sexism, gender discrimination, and the idea that feminists were lesbians; and (v) economic equality, which included themes of women seeking higher wages and eventually general employment rights. The findings were that overall; the economic equality and feminism frames dominated coverage of women's rights, followed by women's political roles and traditional gender roles, anti-feminism, and divisions within the women's movement (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997).

In another study by Phalen and Algan (2001), a content analysis of the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* coverage of the 1995 Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women was carried out before, during and after the event to

examine how journalists framed the event. The study found that the journalists focused on incidents and problems related to logistics rather than on the issues that the conference was about. Journalists tended to frame the conference as an American foreign affairs problem between the United States and China, not on women's issues. The theme of western country vs. communist country dominated the news coverage along with a focus on the people with power to affect outcomes. In addition, journalists associated women's issues with radicals and failed to portray women's rights as a substantive issue. It was argued that the way the event was framed distanced readers from the issues concerning women. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the issues, but the way the media covered the event could have deterred readers from learning about the issues (Phalen & Algan, 2001). The section below examines literature on use of gendered frames by the media while covering women in politics.

## **2.9 Gendered mediation of politicians**

Feminist textual analysis has long been concerned with how women are represented in the media. Tuchman's "symbolic annihilation" refers to the media practice where women's experiences are recurrently effaced, trivialized and marginalized. Aspects of this symbolic annihilation remain key issues for contemporary studies of women, media and politics. Feminist scholars have looked at the marginalisation and trivialisation of women both in terms of quantity and quality. Gidengil and Everitt (1999, 49) see three phases in the study of women, politics and media, beginning with the question of visibility/invisibility, then moving to examine the coverage of women politicians, and finally looking at "gendered mediation". In

this last phase the focus is shifted “to the more subtle, but arguably more insidious, form of bias that arises when conventional political frames are applied to female politicians”. In the third phase, researchers have widely adopted framing theory to examine how political women and men are covered.

There has been concern that the modern bias facing women in politics is that the media simply use traditional frames built around the dominance of men in coverage of women, which makes it difficult for women to be portrayed as anything other than outsiders. The new celebrity culture in politics does not seem to offer an alternative frame for women. Rather, as van Zoonen (2005, 95) suggests, the celebrity attention paid to female politicians functions “as a continuous reminder of their odd choices as women and their odd position in politics”. The only unproblematic position for women that the territory of politics allows for is one of support; support of the wife for the husband in politics or support of the female colleague for the male leader (van Zoonen 1998). Some feminist scholars have pointed out a new trend regarding symbolic annihilation, namely the tendency for women themselves to contribute to trivialisation in the media (e.g. Aslama & Jaasaari 2004).

## **2.10 Use of Gendered Framing by the Media**

To help understand how gendered framing sets in some scholars for example Rhodes (2001), Mills (1997) and Christmas (1997) argue that gendered power dynamics are inflected when stories are done to fit legal standards, editors’ and owners’ prejudices, community culture and advertisement demands. Feminist scholars such as Carter & Steiner (2008) point out to the cultural circulations of gender discourses in society in the media content. This implies that news decisions and

productions do not necessarily follow the values of what qualifies to be a news story such as newsworthiness, exclusivity, and timeliness. According to Bysrtom, Terry A. Robertson, & Banwart (2001) “the attention paid by the print media to women candidates’ marital status and children reflects the double standards still in place in society when evaluating the ability of women to balance their professional and personal/family roles” (p. 2009). Lynda, K. (2008) is of the opinion that journalists often ask women politicians questions they don’t ask men and describe them in ways and with words that emphasize women’s traditional roles and focus on their appearance and behavior.

Women are more likely to be subjects of “negative gender distinctions” – where sex is described as an obstacle or barrier to political office – whereas men are more likely to be described in “gender-neutral” terms. Media framing based on personality traits have also been identified in studies on gender media and politics where traits have been categorized as “male” and “female” traits (Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Diekman and Eagly 2000; Fox and Oxley 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Sczesny et al. 2004). According to these scholars, female traits include: gentle, honest, weak, weak leader, attractive, passive, emotional, uninformed, unintelligent while male traits include hardworking, untrustworthy, strong leader, strong, vital, competitive, effective, tough, intelligent, aggressive, knowledgeable, independent, and ambitious.

Research on stereotypes and use of gendered terms suggest that men, generally, are perceived as possessing agentic traits, such as being bold, rational, and unemotional, whereas women, generally, are perceived as possessing communal traits, such as sensitivity, empathy, and passivity (Banaji, Hardin and Rothman 1993;



Diekman and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004). This type of coverage reinforces traditional public/private distinctions by implying that personal appearance and family are most prominent for female candidates instead of coverage on political issues that shows they have the knowledge to participate in politics. The research sought to find out the media gendered frames used while covering the women parliamentarian in Kenya and find out if they are consistent with those used as identified by scholars in this field. This study analysed the news print media to find out the extent of use of such frames by the media in Kenya when they cover women parliamentarians.

## **2.11 Gender Differences in Issues Covered by the Media**

In an attempt to understand the obstacles that women in politics confront in relation to amount and prominence given by media have attracted several studies. To examine gender frames in issue coverage of women in politics, the researcher relied on gender stereotyping and definition of “male” and female issues. Male issues normally include economy, politics, business, taxes, energy/oil, trade, employment/jobs, defense, international organizations, nuclear arms control, treaties, and foreign affairs, while “female” issues as women’s rights, gender quotas, abortion, HIV/AIDS, violence against women, gay rights, women in elected office, education, health, welfare, environment, care for the elderly, child care, parental leave, and pensions (Kahn 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991). Furthermore, these stereotypes lead people to view men and women in politics as having distinct areas of policy expertise. Women in politics are framed as being more competent at handling “compassion” issues, such as poverty, education, the environment, child care, and health-care policy, whereas men are framed as being more competent at dealing with

“male” issues, such as the economy, foreign policy, and other defense issues (Leeper 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Sapiro 1981–82). From these studies, one can capture debates indicating that some scholars strongly suggest that there are major differences in the amount of media coverage women compared to their male counterparts. On the same breadth, there are those scholars who believe that the differences are exaggerated and are actually not there and that media gives equal treatment to both men and women. Both these views are captured below.

*Significant gender difference in media coverage:* A number of studies in the United States describe gender differences in news media coverage of candidates, suggesting that the news media play an important role in shaping women’s efforts to achieve elective office. Pioneering research, based on elections in the 1980s, demonstrated that women candidates received less coverage and less prominent coverage relative to male candidates. Kim Kahn’s (1991, 1992, 1994b), research on the campaigns of women running for statewide offices suggests that some of the complaints about differential treatment by the press may be well founded. She found that women candidates for the U.S. Senate consistently received less campaign coverage than their male counterparts and that the coverage they received is likely to be negative, emphasizing that they are unlikely to win. In addition, the substance of coverage differed for men and women candidates. Coverage of policy matters corresponded to men’s and women’s stereotypical strengths. The issues of foreign policy, defence, trade, and the economy were more likely to be discussed for male candidates, whereas women candidates, in their campaign coverage, were more frequently linked to issues of poverty, education, and health care (Carroll & Ronnee, 1997), (Kahn K. F., 1996). In addition, coverage of the men and women candidates

corresponded with common gender stereotypes. For example, the news media tended to focus on expressive strengths such as honesty and compassion when describing women candidates, whereas instrumental traits, such as experience and leadership, were more commonly used to describe male candidates (Kahn K. F., 1996). Gender differences in press treatment appear to be more dramatic for presidential candidates. In particular, studies of Elizabeth Dole's run for the 2000 Republican nomination for president find that Dole received less coverage than some of her male opponents and more gendered coverage (Aday & Devitt, 2001), (Piper-Aiken, 1999b) (Bystrom D. G., 2006).

Both television and print media coverage focused more on the appearance, sex, and viability of Dole, compared to her male counterparts. She received even less coverage and less positive coverage than those men who were consistently behind her in the polls (Piper-Aiken, 1999b). In a cross-national investigation of gender differences in media coverage of heads of state, Norris (1997), finds that women receive less coverage than their do male counterparts. According to one of the most comprehensive baseline study on Gender in the Media, "Women and Men Make the News, The Gender and Media Baseline Survey (GMBS)" carried out in twelve Southern Africa countries in 2002, a quarter of all the over 25,000 news items monitored during the one month study, in the print and broadcast media, related to politics and economics. Although at the time of these studies women constituted 18% of the members of Parliament in the twelve countries, they constituted only 8% of the news sources in the category of politicians. In 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) coordinated by the World Association of Christian Communications (WACC) in which seventy eight countries worldwide took part in a one-day

monitoring of the news on both print and broadcast media, only 14% of the sources on politics and government were women compared to 86% men. Maria (2003a) notes that in Kenya, media coverage of women has tended to oversimplify the issues they represent and accentuating women's roles in a stereotyping language.

*Insignificant gender difference in media coverage:* Research examining more recent electoral cycles suggests that gender differences in news coverage may have become less pronounced. An analysis of the 2000 Senate and gubernatorial primaries indicates that women candidates received more coverage than men (Bysrtom, Terry A. Robertson, & Banwart., 2001). However, they continue to find that certain issues are more likely to be linked with male candidates (e.g., taxes) and other issues are more likely to be linked with female candidates (e.g., education). Moreover, women candidates receive more attention regarding their marital and family status when compared to male candidates. Similarly Devitt (1999) examined news coverage in six state-wide races and found that male and female gubernatorial candidates received about equal amounts of news attention. However, the news media were more likely to focus on the women candidates' personal life, appearance, and personality, while male candidates received more news attention for their policy positions and policy priorities. According to Bysrtom, Robertson, & Banwart, (2001) and Devitt (1999), the press continues to distinguish between male and female candidates in terms of their policy priorities and their personal qualities, including their appearance and marital status.

In sum, research suggests that some differences in press treatment for men and women candidates may have become less dramatic in recent election cycle but The magnitude of gender differences in press treatment appears to be affected by the

electoral office (e.g., governor, senator, president), the political context (e.g., the health of the economy, the presence of war), the status of the candidate (e.g., incumbent, challenger) as observed by Carroll & Ronnee, (1997) and Kahn (1992). This thus study seeks to examine patterns of coverage to find out the amount of coverage, issues and traits that news print media in Kenya focused on in their coverage of women parliamentarians.

## **2.12 Influences of Media Reporters on Coverage of Women in Politics**

A possible explanation for differences in news coverage is the link between news content and the reporter's gender. For example, Aday & Devitt, (2001) found that male reporters were about half as likely as female reporters to include issue-framed content in stories about Elizabeth Dole and were significantly more likely to use personal frames to discuss her than to discuss her male contenders. However, other research has generally shown that a journalist's gender has little effect on his or her reporting. Liebler & Smith (1997) concluded that women and men reporters did not treat female and male sources differently based on gender. Similarly, Piper-Aiken, (1999b) found that female and male journalists did not cover subjects differently with regard to gender of sources and in making gender distinctions. According to Gans (1079) and Shoemaker & Reese (1996), similarities in coverage may be best explained by organizational pressures and professional values that encourage uniform reporting. In contrast, feminist scholarship presents another interpretation. According Ross (2002), women in the media have to compete in a man's world, and they often have to play by the big boys' rules if they are going to survive. This inevitably means

adopting the male-orientated ethos of the newsroom and taking on a determinedly masculine gaze when writing about women.

This study attempted to explore factors that influence media practitioners- editors and senior writers- to frame women in politics the way they do. The study limited itself to the news print media and acknowledges that there are other forms of media through which political communication takes place.

### **2.13 Theoretical Framework**

Media construction of women in politics continues to attract scholarly research globally. As Bathla (1998) noted, that there is no single or coherent framework which can explain the reasons for marginalisation of women or women's issues and concerns in media coverage. According to Reese (2005), the notion of media framing has gained momentum in the communication disciplines, giving guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion. According to scholars such as Scheufele (2007) and McQuail (2005), the emerging body of research on framing, agenda setting and priming has signaled the latest paradigm shift in political communication research. McQuail (2005) traces the history of research on media effects through four stages beginning with the early hypodermic needle and magic-bullet models of the 1920s and 30s where media messages were seen to have strong effects on attitudes. The second stage saw the revision of the strong media effects to personal influences as the main influence on attitude change. The 1970s marked another paradigm shift in research on political communication with Noelle-Neumann (1973) proclamation about the return of the powerful mass media and the focus changed from attitude change to cognitive effects

of mass media. Also, the 1970s was the birth of agenda-setting research in political communication. The last stage started in the 1980s brought in what McQual (2005) labeled as social constructivism or “negation models”, approaches like priming and framing based on the idea that mass media had potentially strong attitudinal effects, but that these effects according to Scheufele (2007) also depend heavily on predispositions, schema and other characteristics of the audience that influenced how they processed messages in the mass media.

Pan & Kosicki (1993) traces the roots of framing in both psychology and sociology. According to Shoemaker & Reese (1996), framing refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience. Facts alone have no meaning of their own. It is only through being placed in some context through emphasis or focus as part of a frame that facts take on relevance (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). Gans (1979) hastens to add that framing does not mean that the journalists try to spin a story or deceive their audiences but framing for them is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime (Gans, 1979). Etman (1993) further explains how media provide audiences with schemas for interpreting events and he highlights two essential factors as selection and salience. According to him, to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treat recommendations. The emphasis on selection and salience of particular aspects of an issue rather than to the issue itself is what differentiates framing research from agenda setting and gate-keeping

approaches (Scheufele D. A., 1999). Etman (1993) argues that frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture.

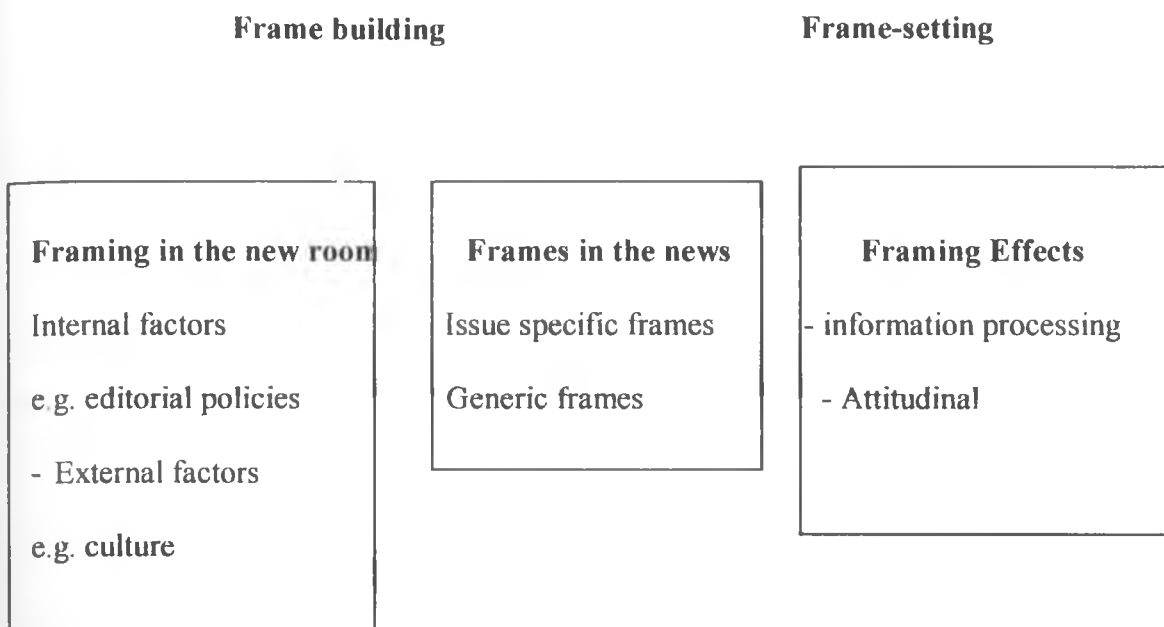
Examining news frames in media content, Etman (1991), points out that frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them. He further explains that these news frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images influenced in a news narrative. Through placement and repetition, the media increase the salience of certain ideas while decreasing the salience of others. Gitlin (1980) adds that frames provide, repeat and reinforce words and images that reference some ideas and not others. This emphasis on or exclusion of information may be either intentional or unintentional and the information that is de-emphasized or omitted can be just as important as the information that is presented in an article (Etman R. M., 1993). In addition, several frames may appear in a single news article. According to (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987) a single news story can contain more than one frame because frames are elements that appear within a news story.

On the effectiveness of framing, there are arguments that it is so effective because it is a heuristic or mental shortcut (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Fiske et al explain that human beings are by nature cognitive misers, meaning they prefer to do as little thinking as possible. They explain that frames provide people with a quick and easy way to process information. Hence, people will use the previously mentioned mental filters (a series of is called a schema) to make sense of incoming messages. This gives the sender and framer of the information enormous power to use these schemas to influence how the receivers will interpret the message. From a political perspective,



framing has widespread consequences. For example, the concept of framing links with that of agenda-setting: by consistently invoking a particular frame, the framing party may effectively control discussion and perception of the issue. The impact of these frames on public perception is termed framing effects. Scheufele (1999) explains that people tend to favor the facts that are brought to their attention through frames, and the way an event is framed by the media can affect how audiences understand the event. There is an argument by Druckman (2001) that since frames put the complexity of the world into context to help individuals make sense of the world around them, framing effects occur because citizens do not seek out additional information, but instead look to credible sources for answers.

According to the researcher, Vreese (2005) explanation of media framing summarises the framing concept in terms of frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions. Frame-building refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames while frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions. Vreese (2005) adds that the consequences of framing can be conceived at the individual and the societal level. At individual level consequence may be the altered attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. He explains further that at the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions. Vreese (2005) developed what he calls an integrated process model of framing capturing both the frame building and frame setting processes illustrated below.



**Figure 2.1: An integrated process model of framing**

Gender theorists have used this concept of framing to explore the framing of women politicians and women issues offering what Sreberny-Mohammadi & Ross (1996) refer to as a nuanced way of understanding gendered media presentations. To help understand how gendered framing sets in the media, some scholars for example Vrees (2005) argue that news decisions and productions do not necessarily follow the values of what qualifies to be a news story such as newsworthiness, exclusivity, and timeliness but media nuances are derived from other external factors. This argument is supported by other scholars such as Rhodes (2001), Mills (1997) and Christmas (1997) who observe that gendered power dynamics are inflected when stories are done to fit legal standards, editors' and owners' prejudices, community culture and advertisement demands. Carter & Steiner (2008) also alludes to these cultural circulations of gender discourses in society in the media content. Scholars such as Heldman, Carroll, and Olson (2005); Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart (2001); Devitt

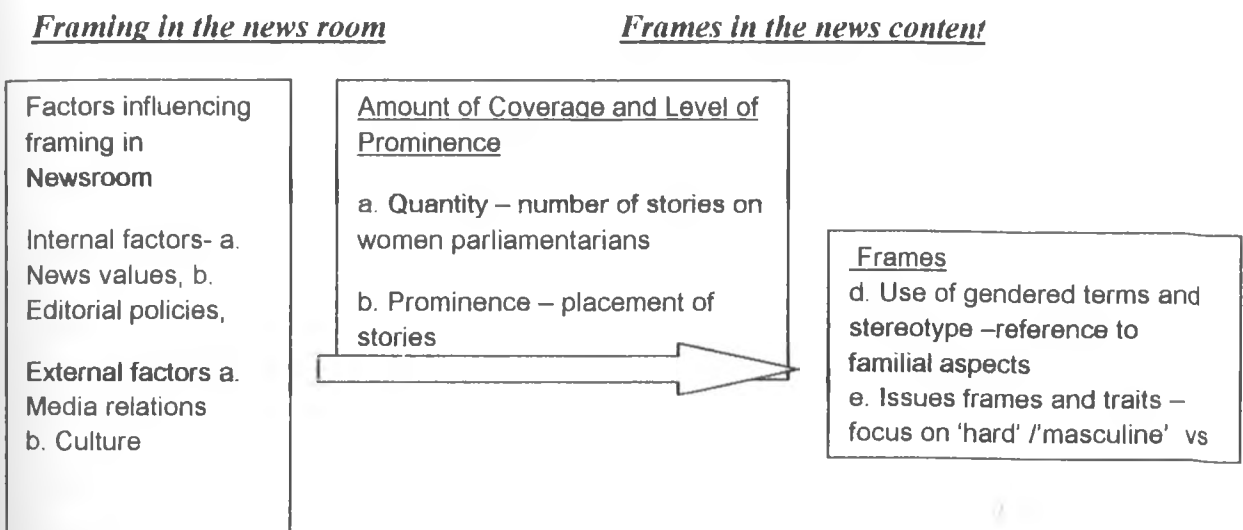
(1999); and others argue that media in their framing tend to distinguish between male and female politicians in terms of their policy priorities, personal qualities, including their physical appearance and marital status.

Research on stereotypes suggest that men, generally, are perceived as possessing agentic traits, such as being bold, rational, and unemotional, whereas women, generally, are perceived as possessing communal traits, such as sensitivity, empathy, and passivity (Banaji, Hardin and Rothman 1993; Diekmann and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004). Women politicians are portrayed as being more competent at handling “compassion” issues, such as poverty, education, the environment, child care, and health-care policy, whereas men are seen as more competent at dealing with “male” issues, such as the economy, foreign policy, and other defence issues (Leeper 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale (1988); Sapiro (1981–82). In terms of coverage, scholars such as Pippa Norris (1997) found that women receive less coverage than do their male counterparts, that news stories on female leaders commonly mention gender-related themes and stereotypes for example, employing frames such as “first woman”. This study analyzed if the news print media in Kenya uses similar frames as discussed in this section and if there are other unique to the Kenyan context. It will focus on the frame building process specifically examining frames in news content and which are a result of framing within the media houses and not on framing effects. The study’s conceptual framework is thus examined in the subsequent section.

## **2.14 Conceptual Framework**

Based on the media framing theory, the researcher has developed a conceptual framework to investigate the research problem and respond to the objectives of the

study. The study will be investigating the following variables: i) media coverage of women in politics by examining the amount of coverage and level of prominence given to stories; and ii) use of gendered themes and stereotypes and reasons behind the frames. As mentioned earlier, the study will focus on the frame building process specifically examining frames in news content and not on framing effects. These can be summarised as follows:



**Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framing Model for the Study**

The researcher analysed newspaper content so as to identify key words and concepts to identify the news frames. In addition, the quantity of coverage, placement and tone will be analysed as these give an indication of what the media considered salient through placement and repetition. To the researcher, was important to analyse because as pointed out by Etman (1993) framing takes place when media repeats and reinforces intentionally or unintentionally and the information that is de-emphasized or omitted can be just as important as the information that is presented in an article.

This entailed analysing the quantity and placement of stories of women parliamentarians by the print media, use of gendered terms to describe the women parliamentarians, issues and traits that the media repeated and gave salience. The researcher identified issues and traits to be analysed based on public interest issues according to the Kenya context.

## **2.15 Conclusions**

In light of the above literature review, the researcher has identified areas that require more studies especially in Africa as most of the existing studies have been done abroad. From the review done, the debate on how media reports women in politics acknowledges that media gives less coverage to them. However, as to whether media uses gendered terms, the discussion reveals that scholars are divided on this with some based on their research works arguing that use of gender frames is significant while others argue that is declining and insignificant. For the researcher, it will be interesting to find out the situation in the Kenyan news print media.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter discusses the research approach employed in this study.

Specifically, it presents the research type; data collection techniques and tools and data analysis approaches employed in the study. The study incorporated what Bryman (2008) refers to mixed methods that integrate both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection. The researcher used content analysis to make sense out of newspapers articles and conducted in depth interviews on editors and senior writers.

### **3.1 Sampling Frame**

This section describes the population and sampling methods used in the study.

#### **3.1.1 Study Population**

The population for the study included articles published by two media houses namely; Nation Media Group and the Standard. In addition, editors and writers from the same media houses were also part of the study population selected purposively for in depth interviews. Newspapers analysed included: (i) the Daily Nation published from Monday to Friday, (ii) the Saturday Nation, (iii) the Sunday Nation, (iv) the Standard published from Monday to Friday, (v) the Saturday Standard and, (vi) the Sunday Standard. The newspapers from the two media houses were selected for the study because they are more easily available, well established and have been consistently published for over forty years, have a wide national readership, and are published in a national language, English. Combined, they have an estimated

circulation of over 300,000 copies and are read by approximately six million daily nationwide<sup>11</sup>. The researcher was able to access all the newspapers copies of the six months duration from Daystar University Library which has archives of bound copies. According to Oates (2008), the identification of the relevant content for analysis is determined by availability. Newspaper archives are relatively easy to access compared to TV footages and radio transcripts which are subject to copyright restriction and length of time within which they are stored.

This study analysed coverage of the twenty two women parliamentarians by newspapers published by Nation Media Group and the Standard over six month's duration between 1<sup>st</sup> January to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2011. The focus on the women parliamentarians was informed by the fact that the tenth parliament represents the highest number of women. Media in Kenya is said to give a lot of coverage to politics and political players, consequently the researcher was curious to find out the kind of coverage given to the women in politics and specifically the parliamentarians. In addition, there have occurred notable newsworthy events of national importance to which the women parliamentarians could have made their contribution. These include the promulgation of the constitution in August 2010 which required enactment of legal, policy and institutional frameworks to support its enactment. The next general election are expected to take place in 2013 and campaigns started in earnest in 2011 with several women parliamentarians declaring their interests in elective positions. These are some of the highlights that presented opportunities to the women parliamentarians to draw media attention.

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<sup>11</sup> [www.mediaethicsmagazine.com/index.php/browse-back-issues/131-fall-2010/3967127-whose-reality-ethical-reflections-on](http://www.mediaethicsmagazine.com/index.php/browse-back-issues/131-fall-2010/3967127-whose-reality-ethical-reflections-on) (March 2012)

The researcher narrowed down to press coverage over a six months' duration from January 2011 to June 2011 given the time required to review the large number of articles within one newspaper, resource and time constraint of the study. The unit of analysis comprised of every newspaper articles that mention any of the twenty two women parliamentarians. The pages of the newspapers are normally divided into sections organised as follows: national news mainly placed in the first twelve pages, a one page editorial, opinion cum commentaries, political analysis, letters to the editor, parliament proceedings, world news, specialized sections which cover areas like business, features section, and lastly sports. The researcher read through all the pages of the 364 newspapers published over the six months searching and coding all articles that mentioned any of the twenty two women parliamentarians. This exercise took the researcher a period of two months from mid May to mid July 2012.

### **3.1.2 Sampling**

Purposive sampling was conducted in selection of the media houses to be included in the study namely Nation Media Group and Standard Media Group. The two media houses are the most established and oldest in Kenya and use print, electronic and digital media to reach their audience. They are the oldest with over a combined one hundred and fifty years of operation in Kenya. Recently, they have established branches in the East African region and digitally broadcast internationally on-line through internet. For the in-depth interviews, purposive sampling of ten editors and senior reporters holding the positions as section editors, sub-editors and senior writers were selected to participate in the study. From the Standard Newspapers, the following were interviewed: a managing editor- daily edition, an



associate senior editor, a feature editor, a bureau chief and a senior writer. From the Nation Newspaper, the following were interviewed: the parliamentary editor, a features sub- editor, a bureau chief, a news sub editor and a senior writer.

### **3.2 Data Collection Techniques**

This section discusses the data collection techniques and tools used by the researcher for this study. Primary data was collected through content analysis of newspapers articles and from in depth interviews with editors and senior writers guided by an interview guide (see appendix 1 and 2).

#### **3.2.1. Content Analysis**

According to research scholars Weber (1995) such as content analysis proceeds through several stages: (i) identification of population of documents or other textual sources for study; (ii) determination of the units of analysis; (iii) selection of sample from population; (iv) designing coding procedures for the variable to be measured; (v) testing and refining the coding procedures; and (vi) base statistical analysis on counting occurrences of particular words, themes, or phrases, and testing relations between variables. To conduct the content analysis, the researcher developed a code sheet (see appendix 1) for the capturing the following variables: amount of coverage in terms frequency of coverage and size of space, placement of stories, tone of coverage, type of issues associated to women in politics and use of gendered frames in the description of traits of the women parliamentarians. Different themes relevant to the Kenyan context were identified, classified and used to investigate media content in the newspapers. These were referred to as issues of ‘public concerns’

that dominate public discourses in the country and captured by the media. These included issues relating to economy, governance and democracy, foreign affairs, reforms, corruption, health, politics, security, development, women's rights, cohesion and education to mention some. The code sheet was shared with the supervisors for their input and thereafter adopted. Pre-testing of the code sheet was done to establish whether the tool would capture the appropriate required data. This was done by administering the code sheet to newspapers published for one week in the month of April 2012 and necessary adjustments made.

### **3.2.2 Use of Interviews with Editors and Sub-editors**

To explore further the gendered media frames used while covering women in politics, the researcher conducted face to face interviews (see appendix 2) with a combined total of ten editors and senior writers, five from each media house as described in section 4.1.2 above. Editors and sub-editors decide what goes in to the newspaper after reporters compiling the story and it was therefore important to understand whether issues of 'gender balance and diversity of voices'<sup>14</sup> inform their decisions. It took a month and a half for these interviews to be finalized. Some of these in depth interviews had to be conducted over the telephone due to the time and physical availability by the respondents.

### **3.3. Data Analysis**

Data generated from the content analysis was both qualitative and quantitative. The quantitative data was analysed with the help of appropriate computer package,

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<sup>14</sup> Media Council of Kenya: Guidelines for Election Coverage Guide

the SPSS (Version 21) package and presented in descriptive statistics. Data collected from responses by the editors and senior writers was analysed qualitatively and presented in a narrative format.

### **3.4 Ethical Considerations**

In pursuit of this research, deontological, teleological and relativistic ethical theories were considered. The rights and dignity of the respondents were observed though keeping their responses confidential. The right to decline to participate as a respondent during the in-depth interview and freedom to present views were respected. The purpose of the research was clearly explained to the respondents without necessarily divulging details of the study, in order to avoid respondent bias or pre-formed opinions. The data collected was used strictly for research purposes. The confidentiality of the collected data has been maintained throughout the research process.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS**

This chapter presents the findings of the study and interpretation of the findings. The study sought to answer the following questions: (i) How do the news print media cover women politics in terms of (a) quantity, and (b) placement of stories?; and (ii) what are some of the mainstreamed gender themes and stereotypes that inform news print media portrayal of women in politics?

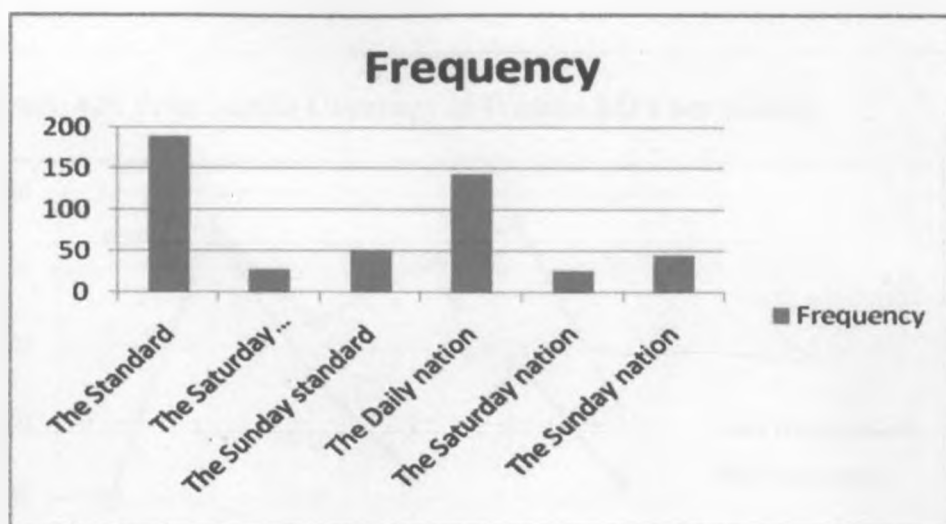
### **4.1 Findings and Description of Quantity of Coverage**

This section presents data collected from the content analysis and presented in descriptive statistics.

#### **4.1.1. Amount of Coverage of Women MPs by the Standard and Nation Media Houses**

The findings were that newspapers published by the Standard media group gave more coverage to the women parliamentarians compared to those by the Nation media group as shown in the figure below. This could imply that the media house recognized women MPs as newsworthy.

**Fig 4.2: Coverage by the Standard Group newspapers**



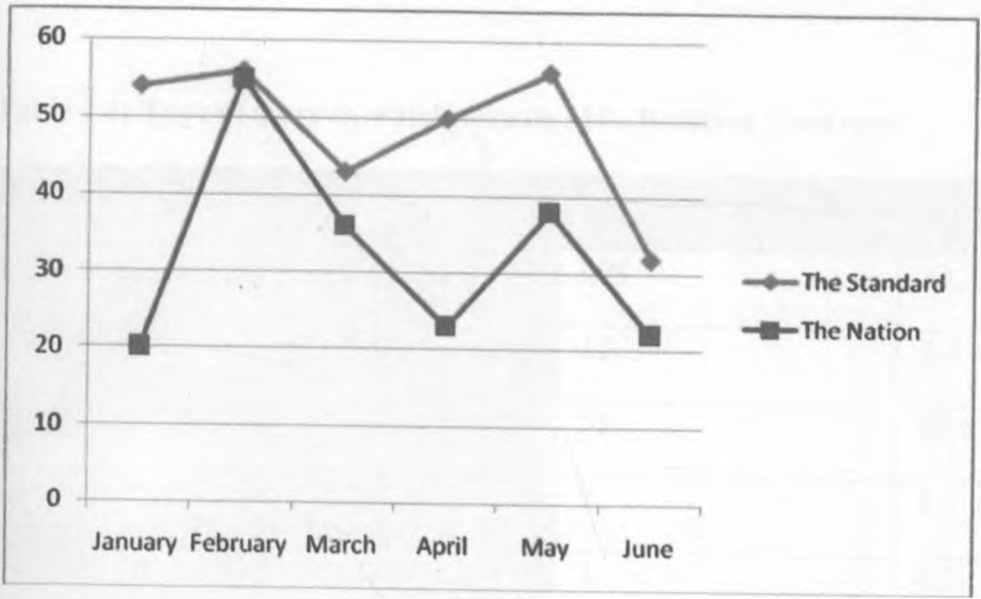
#### 4.1.2 Coverage of women MPs by month

In terms of monthly coverage, the women MPs received the highest coverage February from both media houses. During this month, there were notable debates going on that media covered. There was the debate on the selection of the Attorney General, Chief Justice and Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP)<sup>15</sup>. There was an issue about the composition and membership of the Justice and Legal affairs Parliamentary committee<sup>16</sup>. There were also campaigns for a by election in Kirinyaga. The women parliamentarians were covered giving their views on these national debates. Coverage was lowest in the month of January and June for the Nation media and Standard media group respectfully as shown in the figure below.

<sup>15</sup> Beautah Omanga, *The Standard*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 2011: Karua, Muite, LSK, COTU, EALs back JSC stand on appointment

<sup>16</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ *The Daily Nation*, 4<sup>th</sup> February 2011: Marende pushes role of deciding on list of committees

**Figure 4.3: Print Media Coverage of Women MPs per month**



### 4.1.3 Type of Story

The study found that most stories on women MPs were in the news story category at 83.3 percent as shown in the table below.

**Table 4.1: Type of story in which women MPs Received Coverage**

Type of story	Frequency	Percent
News story	404	83.3
News analysis	13	2.7
Political analysis	51	10.5
Commentary /opinion	7	1.4
Editorial	1	0.2
Feature story	3	.6
Others	6	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### 4.1.4 Most Covered Woman MP

The study sought to determine the how individual women MP were covered by the news print media. It was found that Hon Martha Karua got most coverage at 24.3 percent coverage, followed by Hon Charity Ngilu at 10.9 percent and Hon Millie Odhiambo at 8.9 percent. The least covered included; Hon Beatice Kones at 0.8 per cent, Hon Maison Leshomo at 0.6 percent and Hon Shakira Abdala at 0.4 percent as shown in the table below. Comparatively, the findings indicate that Hon Charity Ngilu received equal coverage from newspapers published by both Nation and Standard

media groups each carrying 21 stories on her. Hon Millie Odhambo received most coverage by the Daily Nation newspaper with 19 stories compared to 14 in the Standard. Articles on Hon Wavinya Ndeti and Maison Leshomo were found in newspapers published by the Nation media group only.



**Table 4.2: Media Coverage of Each Woman MP**

Name	The Standard	The Saturday Standard	The Sunday Standard	The Daily Nation	The Saturday Nation	The Sunday Nation	Total	%
Hon Charity Ngilu	21	3	6	21	2	0	53	10.9
Hon Gladys Njiru	11	8	30	12	12	12	86	17.2
Hon Racheal Shebesh	16	3	4	6	0	0	29	6.0
Hon Amina Abdallah	5	1	0	4	0	5	15	3.1
Hon Cecilia Mbarire	3	0	0	2	0	0	5	1.0
Hon Joyce Laboso	1	0	0	4	1	1	7	1.4
Hon Beatrice Mwangi	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	0.8
Hon Perris Siman	3	0	1	3	0	0	7	1.4
Hon Beth Mugo	13	2	4	12	2	2	35	7.2
Hon Esther Murugi	9	2	1	10	4	2	28	5.8

Hon Margaret Kamar	8	1	3	2	1	0	15	3.1
Hon Sophia Abdi	2	1	1	3	2	3	12	2.5
Hon Milla Dahamba								
Hon Bishop Margaret Wanjiru	9	0	1	6	2	1	19	3.9
Hon Elizabeth Ongoro	10	1	1	2	0	2	16	3.3
Hon Hellen Sambiri	7	1	0	4	1	1	14	2.9
Hon Linah Kilimo	5	1	1	1	0	0	8	1.6
Hon Maison Leshomo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Hon Naomi Shaban	6	1	1	2	0	1	11	2.3
Hon Sally Kosgei	14	3	3	9	0	6	35	7.2
Hon Shakila Abdallah	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0.4
Hon Wavinya Ndeti	0	0	0	3	3	0	6	1.2

**Table 4.3: Tone of the article about the woman MP**

Tone	Frequency	Percent
positive	9	1.9
mixed	47	9.7
neutral	422	87.0
negative	7	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### **4.2 Findings on Level of Prominence Given to Articles on Women MPs**

This section presents findings on the placement or prominence given to articles on women MPs by the news print media. The findings under indicate that only 18.4 percent of stories carry the names of the women MPs in the headlines (see table 4.3). Most of the stories on the women MPs are carried in the inside pages of the newspapers with only 5.2 percent appearing on the top page (see table 4.4). The space given to stories covering the women MPs is low with 79.8 per cent of the stories placed in half a page and below (see table 4.5). The findings in this section affirm that stories on women MPs are not given much prominence by the media and this contributes to their invisibility.

##### **4.2.1 Use of Women MPs names in the Titles of Article**

Out of the four hundred and eighty five articles analyzed covering the women MPs, the study found that only 18.4 percent of the articles carried the names of

women MPs in the headlines. The rest of the articles did not use the names even when the main stories were on the women.

**Table 4.4: Women MP in the Title of the Story**

Presence in title	Frequency	Percent
Yes	89	18.4
No	396	81.6
Total	485	100.0

#### 4.2.2 Placement of Articles on Women MPs

The study sought to find out where articles on women MPs were placed within the newspapers. The findings were that only 5.2 percent of articles were on the top pages. Most of the stories, 52.4 percent were found from page twenty and above.

**Table 4.5: Page in the article story of a woman**

Page	Frequency	Percent
Top Page	25	5.2
Page 2 To 9	73	15.1
Page 10 To 19	96	19.8
Page 20 and above	254	52.4
Back Page	37	7.6
Total	485	100.0

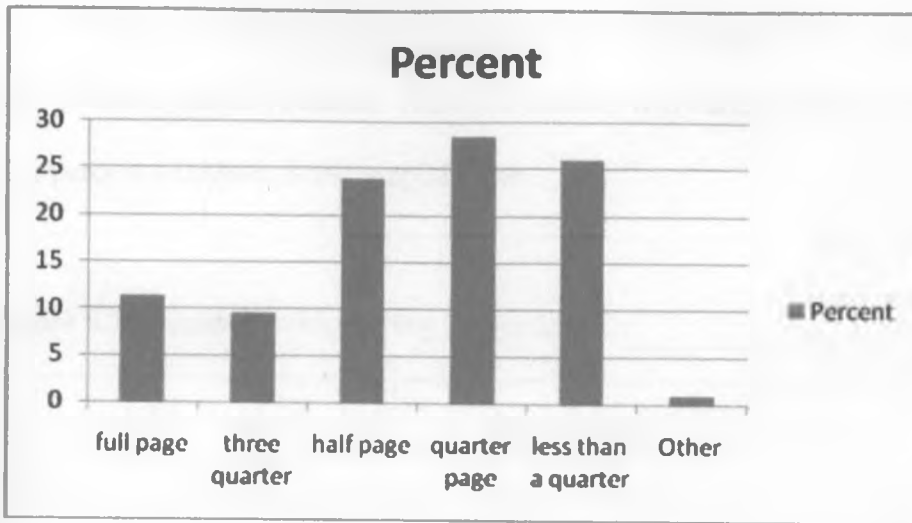
#### 4.2.3 Size and Amount of Space within an Article Given to the Women MPs

On the size of the article covering women MPs in the print media it was found that most of the articles, 79.2 per cent were half a page and below. Only 11.3 per cent of the stories on the women MPs occupied full pages (see figure 5.5). Further, the researcher investigated the actual space within the article covering the woman MPs. The findings were that 37 percent of the articles mentioned only the name of the woman MP being covered but without a quote from her. The rest of the article would be information of the event, or quotes by accompanying male politician, or other information related to the story. For example a story titled "*Campaign for Ocampo 6 could backfire*"<sup>17</sup> carried in a half page only mentioned Hon Martha Karua as one of those politicians giving the caution and the reporter did not include any quotes from her. In addition, in the 22 percent of the stories that carried fully covered a woman MP, majority were in the less than a quarter size category.

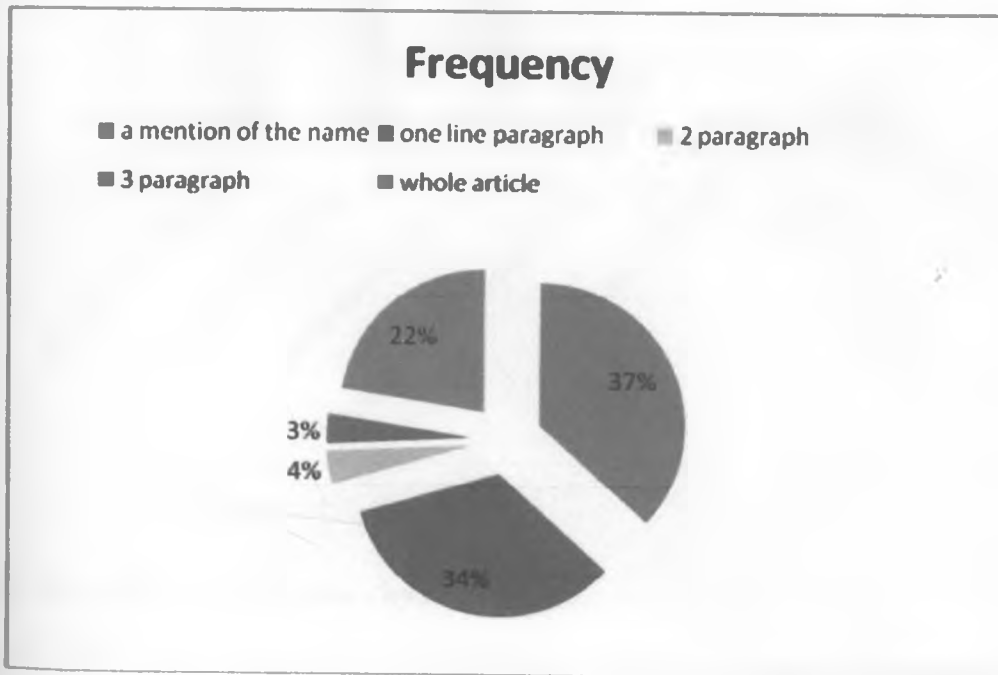
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<sup>17</sup> Emeka and Njeri Rugene, April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2011: The Daily Nation

**Figure 4.5: Size of the article covering women MPs**



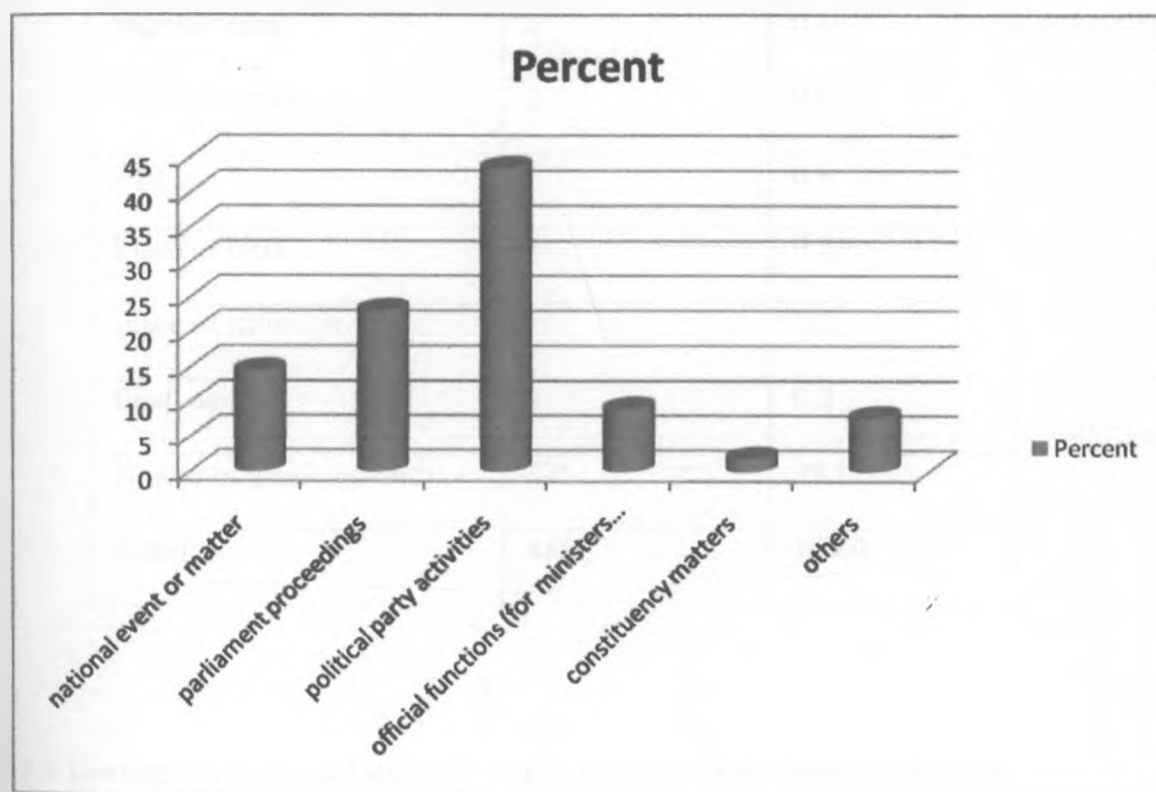
**Figure 4.6: Amount of space within the article on the woman MP**



#### 4.2.4. Event or Activity Covered

Findings indicated that 43.5 percent of the coverage of the women MPs was done within a political context. The other context was during parliamentary debates at 23.1 percent as shown in the graph below.

**Figure 4.7: Event /Activity Being Covered**



#### 4.3 Use of Gendered Frames by Media

The study sought to find out the extent media used gendered frames in the coverage of women MPs. Manifestations of gender frames would include use of terms but not limited to: marital status, physical appearance, place of marriage, age, and place of birth. The study found that majority of the articles, 98.1 percent did not use any of the gendered terms to describe the woman MPs (see table 4.6 below). Those

that used gendered words like marital status, physical appearance and age when describing women MPs comprised only 0.4 percent. This is an indication that the media do not use gendered word to describe women MPs in their coverage.

**Table 4.6: Gendered word used in article describing the woman MPs**

Gender term	Frequency	Percentage
Marital status	2	0.4
Physical appearance	2	0.4
Age	2	0.4
Place of birth	1	0.2
Place of marriage	1	0.2
First name	1	0.2
No use of gendered term	476	98.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### **4.3.1 Descriptive Data on Issues of ‘Public Interest’ Addressed by Women Parliamentarians and Covered by the Media**

The study sought to find out the nature of issues addressed by women MPs that received media coverage. Identified issues included; and not limited to: economy, governance and democracy, foreign affairs, reforms, politics, corruption, education, health, security, and development. From the findings it was established that women MPs received most coverage, at 43.1 per cent, when they were addressing political issues followed by issues touching on reforms at 17.1 percent and corruption at 6.6



percent. These findings are consistent to those in section 4.3.5 which indicated that 43.5 percent of the women MPs received coverage within political context such as events and activities. Table 4.8 below summarises the finding.

**Table 4.7: Issues Covered**

Issue	Frequency	Percentage
Economy/business/budgets	17	3.5
Governance/democracy/social justice	4	0.8
Foreign affairs /international matters/regional issues	6	1.2
Reform matters/constitution/policy and legislation	83	17.1
Corruption	32	6.6
Health	20	4.1
Politics/political party affairs/political campaigns	209	43.1
Security/crime/terrorism	7	1.4
Gender based violence/sexual abuse/ domestic violence	2	0.4
Development projects /water projects//road projects /agriculture	6	1.2
Poverty	8	1.6
Women rights/women	6	1.2
Ethnicity/cohesion	1	0.2
Education	9	1.9
Environment	8	1.6
Peace building/reconciliation	2	0.4
Agriculture	12	2.5
Other	53	10.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>485</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### 4.3.2 Analysing Use of Traits by the Media to Describe Women MPs

The study sought to find out if print media in Kenya framed women MPs using traits and the extent during their use. Some of the identified traits used by media in framing politicians include and not limited to; iron lady, honest, emotional, trustworthy, experienced, and controversial. The findings indicate that in all the four hundred and eighty five articles, 93.2 percent of them did not mention personality traits. This is an indication that the news print media rarely uses personal traits frames while covering women MPs.

**Table 4.8: Trait used to describe the women MPs**

Traits	Frequency	Percentage
Honest	1	0.2
Trustworthy	2	0.4
Strong Leader	8	1.6
Emotional	5	1.0
Opportunist	1	0.2
Knowledge	1	0.2
Rational	1	0.2
Iron Lady	2	0.4
Reformer	3	0.6
Assertive	2	0.4
Undependable	1	0.2
Controversial	2	0.4

Other	4	0.8
None	452	93.2
Total	485	100.0

#### 4.4 Findings from In-depth Interviews with Editors and Sub Editors

The researcher sought to find out how media framing of women parliamentarians took place within the news print media. Interviews with editors and senior writers focused on investigating the following: i) their perception of how media covers women MPs; ii) their description of the relationship between media and women MPs; iii) their level of consciousness in the use gender frames and stereotyping language; and iv) if their media houses have policies on gender balanced reporting.

##### 4.4.1 Media Coverage of Women Parliamentarians

From the interviews it emerged that no special consideration is given by the media to cover women MPs. They are treated equally as news sources like the male counterparts. This means that when the women MPs do not make news, there are no deliberate efforts to seek them out. *"We do not practice affirmative when it comes to news making in politics. Women MPs should come out of their cocoons and stop thinking that they are entitled to media coverage just because they are women. They must also seek coverage by for example commenting on topical public issues in a manner that make news."* commented one Parliamentary Editor. Women MPs receive coverage when they raise newsworthy issues. Examples were cited of incidents when

the women MPs made news. For example, Hon Sophia Abdi has received media coverage in relation to a bill she tabled in parliament seeking to regulate the operations of NGOs.

Also, whenever women MPs have raised concern on public appointments that are not gender balanced, media have covered them. An observation was made that Hon Joyce Laboso receives coverage during her sessions on the seat as acting speaker. Some women MPs for example Hon Martha Karua receives as much media coverage as any of the vocal male MPs. Women MPs who do not receive media coverage were said not to comment on public interest issues even when such opportunities present themselves. The principle guiding coverage is the newsworthiness of an issue or event and not gender considerations. Therefore, coverage is given to whoever makes the news man or woman. It is business of who and what sells and profit interests are important. Commenting on the factors contributing to the low media coverage of women MPs, the respondents observed that they lacked skills on how to package themselves and their messages if they were to attract and sustain the media attention. In addition, the respondents noted that female MPs often were inaccessible, hostile and suspicious of media and avoided interviews. Another observation on reasons for low coverage from the respondents was that women MPs avoid controversies and sideshow but which make news for media. *“Male MPs for example Sonko are known for sideshows but which attract media coverage. The women always conduct themselves with dignity as this is what society expects of them. The lack of sideshows does not make them attractive to the media”*, added one respondent.

Another respondent noted that the way some women MPs responded to questions from the media did not make them news worthy. Some female MPs tend to answer only those questions she wishes to and not what is asked of her. A senior writer expressed the following: "*Hon... (name withheld) is known to carry out her own interview in disregard to questions by the journalists; this frustrates the journalist interviewing her*". Another reasoning cited for low coverage was that some women MPs use derogatory language to disparage other MPs or people; this causes the media to ignore such individuals. Some of them were also known as mouth pieces for their political parties and will say anything in support but which the media may not necessarily consider covering. Of course this also applied to the male MPs.

The respondents were of the opinion that a good number of women MPs did not have a good grasp or knowledge of topical issues. This made them avoid to make comments when contacted by the media therefore could not be quoted as authorities by the media. A few others for example e.g. Dr Sally Kosgey and Margaret Kamar were said to have vast knowledge but are not willing to share and give information to the media during interviews only for such information to come out during events or functions. An example was given of information shared by Dr Sally Kosgey during the burial of Prof. Saitoti but when asked for interview she declined.

Another observation by the respondents was that women MPs got more covered when in company of senior politicians' especial male. However, the coverage could be just sound bites, a mention or a paragraph compared to the prominence given to those they accompany. Others get covered because of their official capacities and for those who are active for example, Dr Sally Kosgey, Beth Mugo, Dr Joyce Laboso,

the media does cover them. Also, Martha Karua was well covered by virtue of her active involvement in politics as well as national debates on issues of public interest.

#### **4.4.2 Relationship between Women MPs and the Media**

The relationship between the media and women MPs was described as poor. A majority of the women MPs were said to have personal relationship with some of the reporters and editors but they shied from being news sources when required to. Majority of the women MPs are said to view media with a lot of suspicions, and hence difficult to approach, are unfriendly and unavailable to make responses or comments when called upon do so. *“Male politicians seek us out to comment or for a story, the women MPs rarely do so and expect us to seek them out. If they want to see themselves covered, they must know and get contacts of some editors and reporters they can contact when they require coverage and be proactive.”* commented a senior editor. From the interviews, the respondents were of the opinion that for improved media relations, women MPs should engage professional media consultants. It was observed that only Hon. Martha Karua had one and this enhanced her media relations in spite of her run-in with the media some years ago when the media deliberately refused to cover her.

#### **4.4.3 Issues of Public Interest Covered by the Media**

From the interviews, the study found that the respondents thought there was an difference in the style in which women MPs discussed issues of public interest compared to their male counterparts. Generally, women MPs were said to approach issues from a ‘motherly’ perspective while the male MPs approach the same issue

from a business or economic sense. An example was given to the perspectives by Hon Beth Mugo and Hon Ruto on food security. Apparently, Hon Mugo concern was the availability of food for better nutrition for the family angle. On the other hand, Hon Ruto viewed it from business angle as a source of export earnings for the government and of income for farmers. Women MPs were said to be vocal on issues and laws affecting women such as female genital mutilation, family matters, gender, regional and ethnic balance in state appointments. However, these issues do not attract much media coverage compared to political news. A few women MPs were cited to be newsworthy in relation to media coverage of political matters. These included Hon Karua, Hon Millie Odhiambo, Hon Rachael Shebesh, Hon Elizabeth Ongoro, Hon Esther Murugi, Hon Beth Mugo and Hon Margaret Wanjiru.

#### **4.4.4 Media Stereotyping**

The interviewees indicated that there are tendency amongst reporters to cover men politicians more than the women. One editor explained that *‘it comes naturally for a reporter to cover a man MP compared to a woman MP even when that female MP has a more interesting story than the male politician. For example, a male presidential candidate attracts more media attention than Martha Karua even when what Martha is saying is more newsworthy.’* This goes beyond the journalistic principles of who makes news and is an indication of the subtle gender preference.

The interviewees also shared they views on how women politicians portray themselves in public and which impacted on the coverage. It was observed that women cabinet ministers ‘reduce’ themselves to serving their male counterparts cups of tea during public functions while the male counterparts talk business hence are



quoted more by the media. *"They should simply maintain their dignity and uphold their leadership qualities so that the media can portray them as such"*, commented one interviewee.

In regard to the use of stereotyping frames by the media while covering women MPs, the respondents explained that this was meant to create a certain mental effects among the audience and not to diminish the women status. *"We use such words as "Iron Lady" to describe Hon Karua as hyperbole to create an effect of her toughness to the audience. Hyperboles are acceptable across cultures and have always been used to exaggerate a certain thing so as to bring out meaning without reducing the effects."* One editor commented. The explanation given for linguistic use of masculinity was that the culture, language and society give it prominence. Therefore, journalists are part of this society; they pick up the masculine language and stereotypes.

Nonetheless, the respondents emphasized that the news media interest is newsworthy stories and they avoid using stories that promoted gender stereotyping. Editors assign reporters to cover public interest issues and highly discourage personalized stories that could lead to libel suits hence the absence of gendered frames in coverage. Some respondents also observed that the women MPs no longer respond to questions touching on their personal lives. *"The women MPs decline to respond to questions touching on their private lives. They challenge reporters asking them if they would ask similar questions to the male politicians. This has helped the reporters to steer off from asking personal questions."* commented one editor. A feature editor observed that it is the lifestyle magazines that delve more on the social and private lives of politicians both men and women.

#### **4.4.5 Media House Editorial Gender Policy**

The respondents were in agreement that media houses are trying to ensure that women issues are given space and women recognized as news sources. The interviewed women editors and senior writers explained that they occasionally have to informally remind their colleagues on the need for gender balance coverage. It was apparent that though the media editorial guidelines recognized need for gender balanced coverage; it was not always followed for various reasons. One, news are not predictive and news makers are individuals who could either be men or women. Secondly, the patriarchal domination within the media houses interfere with the selection of news makers favoring men as news sources compared to women.

#### **4.4.6 Most covered women MPs by the media vs least covered**

From the responses, the study found that women MPs who attracted most media coverage were; Hon Martha Karua, Hon Rachel Shebesh, Hon Millie Odhiambo, Hon Joyce Laboso, Hon Bishop Margaret Wanjiru, Hon Naomi Shaban. Hon Martha Karua was the most covered because she has been in politics for a long period and active in politics including as an aspiring presidential candidates. The least covered were: Hon Kones, Hon Maison Leshomo and Hon Shakila Abdalla.

#### **4.5 Discussion of Findings**

This section discusses the implications of findings of the study. The discussion is based on the research objectives that this study sought to answer. The study objectives were twofold: i) to examine the amount of coverage and prominence given to stories on women in politics by the news print media; and ii) to identify the

dominant gender frames in news print media content in reference to coverage of women in politics. The theoretical framework of this study was based on the media framing theory. The study focused on the framing within media and reflected in the media content - for this research the news print media.

#### **4.5.1 Discussion of Findings on Amount of Coverage and Prominence Given to Stories on Women MPs by News Print Media**

From the findings on the newspaper content analysis, media coverage of women MPs could be described as low and stories on them not given prominence. Out of the three hundred and sixty two newspapers analysed covering a period of six months, there were four hundred and eighty five articles on women MPs. This is an average of one article per day on any of the woman parliamentarian. The study revealed that most of these articles, 54.5 percent were below a quarter of a page. Within these articles, 70.5 percent of them only made a mentioned of the names and coverage of the women MP did not go beyond one line. Most of the stories would mention that a woman MP had accompanied others to a function, political rally, belonging to some parliamentary committees, but the reporter did not get a quote from them. For example in a story, "*Hague takes Shape*"<sup>18</sup>, that was covered in two full pages one of them being a top page, only names were mentioned of Hons. Sally Kosgei, Prof Helen Sambili and Beth Mugei with no comments from them. They were said to be part of a committee headed by the Vice President that sought to solicit the support of local tribunal from the international community. In another full page story,;

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<sup>18</sup> The Standard, 10<sup>th</sup> April 2011

*“Feuding parties plan rival meetings”*<sup>19</sup> Hon Rachel Shebesh was in one line said to be one of those attending the meeting. The researcher concludes that consistent with other studies media coverage of women in politics is low and their stories not given prominence.

A baseline study on Gender in the Media<sup>20</sup> carried out in 12 Southern Africa countries in 2002, found out that a quarter of all the over 25,000 news items monitored during the one month study, in the print and broadcast media, related to politics and economics. However, although at the time of these studies women constituted 18% of the members of Parliament in the 12 countries, they constituted only 8% of the news sources in the category of politicians. Made (2008) explains that women in politics are constructed by the media as women who have stepped out of the gender norms of remaining in the private sphere and they mostly become news when they are involved in a controversy or scandal such as-when fighting each other; when they are identified with a ‘man of power’; and when they do something that is ‘out of the ordinary’ out of the ‘female gender norm’ often interpreted by the media as ‘being tough’ like men.

In terms of the prominence given to stories on women MPs, the study found that women MPs were hardly visible and that most of their stories were placed in the inside pages. Only 18.4 percent of the stories had the names of the women MPs appear in the title of their stories. In addition, only 5.2 percent of stories on women MPs were placed on top page. Most of the stories (72.2percent) were found in the inside pages from the ninth page on wards. For those stories that made to the top page, (5.2 percent), the names of the women MP were hardly included in the headline. If

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<sup>19</sup> The Daily Nation, 11<sup>th</sup> April 2011

<sup>20</sup> “Women and Men Make the News, The Gender and Media Baseline Survey (GMBS)

their names did appear on the headline, they were subsumed together with those of male MPs for example: “*Final separation-Henry Kosgey and Ruto relinquish party posts while Dr Sally Kosgei quits as deputy in house*”<sup>21</sup>; “*Uhuru’s man beats Karua’s in Kirinyaga*”<sup>22</sup>. The findings were consistent with such findings by other scholars such as Hernandez (1996, 1994) and Tuchman (1978) who advanced the concept of annihilation of women by the media. They observed the invisibility of women in front-page news stories.

Another aspect of the findings of this study is that most of the stories about women MPs were covered by male writers (57.5 percent) compared to women reporters (8.2 percent). Media houses have a tendency to assign the ‘hard news’ including politics to male reporters. According to Pierre and Nilsson (2004), in newspaper journalism the most male dominated segment of the media are the “hard news” desks including- sports, business, and world affairs and politics. Women are assigned social issues, entertainment and consumer affairs regarded as “soft news”. Even though sex of the writer was not the focus of this study, the researcher interest in the sex of the article writer to find out it could be linked to the manner in which media framed women in politics.

#### **4.5.2. Discussion of Findings on Media Use of Gender Frames in the Coverage of Issues by Women MPs**

In regard to identification of use of gendered frames by media while covering issues by women MPs, the findings were that most of the women MPs in Kenya were covered in relation to politics. Hon Martha Karua who received highest media

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<sup>21</sup> The Standard, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011

<sup>22</sup> The Standard, 17<sup>th</sup> February 2011

coverage was covered during her political campaigns as a presidential candidate. The media also covered her contributions to debates of public interest issues such as corruption, the ICC debate, and reforms. Other women MPs such as Hons Ngilu, Shebesh, Millie Odhiambo, Bishop Wanjiru, Beth Mugo, Ongoro received most coverage while addressing political issues by virtue of their political positions in and out of parliament and at political functions more than any other issues.

To examine gender frames in issue coverage of women in politics, the researcher relied on gender stereotyping and definition of “male” and female issues. Male issues normally include economy, politics, business, taxes, energy/oil, trade, employment/jobs, defense, international organizations, nuclear arms control, treaties, and foreign affairs, while “female” issues as women’s rights, gender quotas, abortion, HIV/AIDS, violence against women, gay rights, women in elected office, education, health, welfare, environment, care for the elderly, child care, parental leave, and pensions (Kahn 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991). Furthermore, these stereotypes lead people to view men and women in politics as having distinct areas of policy expertise. Women in politics are framed as being more competent at handling “compassion” issues, such as poverty, education, the environment, child care, and health-care policy, whereas men are framed as being more competent at dealing with “male” issues, such as the economy, foreign policy, and other defense issues (Leeper 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Sapiro 1981–82).

#### **4.5.3. Discussion of Findings on Media Use of Gender Frames in the Coverage of Women MPs Traits**

The study found that media in Kenya rarely use such personal traits frames to in their coverage of women MPs. Only Hon Martha Karua appears to receive coverage touching on her personality. She was described as “the Iron lady” - which was the most popular; a ‘reformist’, ‘tough’, ‘no-nonsense’, ‘clean’ ‘dependable’. Being one of the oldest women parliamentarians and a presidential aspirant, she received most media attention. Though covered in the news item category, there were a few editorial and political commentaries on her where the writers framed her using those traits. Though not the focus of the study, the researcher noted that in several features or political analysis the media mentioned family involvement or patronage as influencing the male politicians’ involvement in politics. However, this same was not one for women parliamentarians. For example, in political news analysis of Hons Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenya and Musalia Mudavadi reference was made to their past family member’s political involvement which could have influenced their participation in politics. For others like Hons Ruto, Henry Kosgey to mention some, political mentorship by others such as the former president Daniel Moi was normally highlighted. In Asia, the media was said to keep making reference to widowhood of certain women politicians such as Benazir Bhuto, Indira Ghadi as having contributed to their ascendancy to power or politics. Media framing based on personality traits have also been identified in studies on gender media and politics where traits have been categorized as “male” and “female” traits (Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Diekman and Eagly 2000; Fox and Oxley 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Sczesny et al. 2004). According to these scholars, female traits include: gentle, honest, weak, weak leader, attractive, passive, emotional, uninformed, unintelligent while male traits include hardworking, untrustworthy,

strong leader, strong, vital, competitive, effective, tough, intelligent, aggressive, knowledgeable, independent, and ambitious. Research on stereotypes and use of gendered terms suggest that men, generally, are perceived as possessing agentic traits, such as being bold, rational, and unemotional, whereas women, generally, are perceived as possessing communal traits, such as sensitivity, empathy, and passivity (Banaji, Hardin and Rothman 1993; Diekmann and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004). In summary, the findings were that the news print media in Kenya does not necessarily use 'female' or 'male' trait frames significantly in their coverage of women MPs.



## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION**

### **5.1 Summary and Conclusions**

The conclusion of this study is that women parliamentarians in Kenya receive dismal media coverage in general. Their names hardly make it to headlines and most of their stories are in the inside pages therefore their coverage is invisible. In addition, their names make it to the headlines when the woman parliamentarian is associated in a controversy, corruption or if running for presidential seat. The women parliamentarians are said to have contributed to the dismal media coverage because most of them avoid engaging with the media and when sought for comments rarely do so. However, extent of coverage differed from one woman MP to another with some receiving substantial coverage than others based on their political activities, activeness in parliamentary debates and committees, and to some extent, during official functions for those in government serving as ministers or assistant ministers. A majority of them were said not to have professional media advisers compared to their male counterparts who have invested in hiring media consultants to handle and advice on media relations resulting to better coverage. Another aspect that could have contributed to the low coverage was the fact that women parliamentarians normally play 'clean', 'safe', 'non-controversial' politics and are rarely accused of corruption yet the media thrives on controversies or 'personality attacks'. In addition, they appear not to be confident and knowledgeable enough to comment on issues of national and public interest issues, or are media shy even when given the opportunity

to comment. They are also said to be mindful of their reputation a fact that can be attributed to the societal gender expectations or nuances on how women in general should behave in public. All these impact on their visibility, newsworthiness and hence on their media coverage and prominence as media makes news when one is a subject or object of their coverage.

The researcher theorizes that the lack of depth and failure to get comments from women MPs in most stories while they accompanied male politicians to events or political party related activities could be explained by the fact that most of the reporters are men. As explained by Thornham (2007), news offer a mirror on the world and it's simply a reflection of reality however regrettable. Society deems public sphere to be 'masculine' and any understanding of news must begin with its 'essential gendered nature as a masculine narrative, in which women function not as speaking subjects but as signs' (Rakov and Kranich 1996:664). Thornham (2007) points out that the idea that women function as signs within a masculine discourse is one which is largely developed within feminist film and visual theory. In news, women are mute evidence of a public narrative whose (male) central agents operate in the public world of politics, policy and authority. As spokespersons, they function as women but do not speak, decorating and softening the discourses of power whose origin lies elsewhere and when they do speak as women, they appear unruly and disruptive (Rakov and Kranich, 1996).

Other findings were that most of the coverage the women MPs received were related to political issues. The women MPs have been covered most when discussing national and/or party politics. This is contrary to several studies which conclude that women in politics are associated with 'soft' 'feminine' issues such as family,

education, or health matters. An explanation given by the editors and sub-editors was that media in Kenya is highly politicized and gives more attention to political news.

Another finding is that the media in Kenya rarely uses gendered terms such as marital status or focusing on the private lives of women in politics. This was reflected in the stories on the women MPs and explanation given by the editors is that the mainstream media in Kenya is sensitive on appearing to trivialize women or exposing their private lives unnecessarily. This is inconsistent with most researches conducted elsewhere in other parts of the world which indicate that media tends to focus on the women politicians' private spheres.

The study findings also challenge the dominant view that media uses personal traits to frame women in politics. The study found that media in Kenya rarely use such personal traits to describe or frame women parliamentarians. The only woman MP who seems to receive coverage touching on her personality was Hon Martha Karua. References made to her traits were more of the positive ones such as "Iron lady" which is the most popular, 'reformist', 'tough', 'no-nonsense', 'clean' 'dependable', 'knowledgeable' attributed more male politicians were used to describe her. The researcher is of the opinion that women in politics also have a responsibility for the kind of coverage they receive from the media. Women politicians need to actively and proactively engage with the media if their coverage is to be substantial. A second conclusion is that, the media is still patriarchal operating along the dominant cultural values and socialization which is gender insensitive leading to women in politics being made 'invisible' in terms of prominence and amount of media space given to them.

## **5.2. Recommendations**

Based on the findings, the study has the following recommendations targeted to various players including academic and research institutions, women parliamentarians and those in politics, media houses and media organizations.

### **5.2.1. Areas of Future Studies/Research**

The researcher makes recommendations for a few study areas on gender, media and politics. This is based on the premise that this area of study is relatively young in Kenya and Africa and therefore provides opportunity for growth and focus among researchers and academia.

- i. One of the areas that this study was unable to cover was getting the women MPs views and perspectives on how media covers them. It would be interesting to get their views given the fact that the media actors think that the women MPs have a sense of entitlement to media coverage.
- ii. It would be important to find out the impact of media framing of women in politics on the audience.
- iii. There is need to carry out a comparative analytical study comparing framing of women parliamentarians viz a vis male parliamentarians.
- iv. Similar studies could be done on electronic media coverage of women in politics
- v. Studies should be done on how women in politics have also used the social media and how they frame themselves to the public.

Given that there are very few such studies done on the African context, the researcher recommends partnership with other researchers or academic institution in the region to undertake studies on media framing of women in politics.

### **5.2.2 To Women Parliamentarians and in Politics**

1. Women politicians need to stop having a sense of entitlement and actively and proactively engage with the media if their coverage is to be substantial. They need to appreciate the principles that guide journalists professional practices such as newsworthiness, credibility, etc and appreciate how media operates.
2. Women in politics should invest and engage the services of professional media experts or consultants to guide and handle their media relations. Such professionals would advise them on which issues of public interest they should respond to, how to phrase them to make them news worthy and also liaise with the media during their functions be it official, political or any other.
3. Through the Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association (KEWOPA), the Association could also liaise with media civil society organisations such as the Association of Media Women in Kenya, (AMWIK), the Editors Guild and the African Woman and Child Features Service (AWCFS) to organise capacity building forums for the women MPs on media relations.

### **5.2.3 To the Media Houses and Media Related Organisations**

1. Need for civil society media organisations such as the Association of Media Women in Kenya, the Editors Guild and the African Woman and Child Features Service, Internews and development partners to support women parliamentarians and

politicians on effective media relations. Through organised capacity building programmes in partnership with organisations.

2. Media in Kenya need to redefine 'news' and 'newsworthiness' to include positive stories and attributes to make news since they acknowledge that most women in politics would make 'positive' news. The editors and reporters need to be open minded and positive in the way they perceive women in politics and avoid 'boxing' or 'framing' them according to the mainstream cultural and stereotyping which urge that women in politics should play 'masculine' kind of politics if they are to attract media coverage.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX 1: NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE SHEET**

Serial Number: .....

**SECTION A: DESCRIPTION**

1. **Date of print article (day/month/year):**

.....

2. **Newspaper (Tick appropriately)**

- i. The Standard -----
- ii. The Saturday Standard -----
- iii. The Sunday Standard -----
- iv. The Daily Nation -----
- v. The Standard Nation -----
- vi. The Sunday Nation -----

3. **Name of the writer (where given):**

.....

4. **Sex of writer (Tick appropriately):**

- i. Female \_\_\_\_\_
- ii. Male \_\_\_\_\_

5. **Title of the**

**article.....**

.....  
.....

**6. Name (s) of Woman MP mentioned in the story**

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv
- v.

**7.What is the type of story? Tick appropriately**

- i. News story \_\_\_\_\_
- ii. News analysis \_\_\_\_\_
- iii. Political analysis -----
- iv. Commentary \_\_\_\_\_
- v. Editorial \_\_\_\_\_
- vi. Feature story \_\_\_\_\_
- vii. Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION B: MEASURING THE AMOUNT AND PROMINENCE OF MEDIA**

**COVERAGE OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS**

8. Which page is the article with a story on woman MP placed in the newspaper? Indicate the page number. \_\_\_\_\_

9. What is the size of the article on the woman MP? Tick appropriately

- i. full page \_\_\_\_\_

- ii. three quarter \_\_\_\_\_
- iii. half page \_\_\_\_\_
- iv. quarter page \_\_\_\_\_
- v. less than a quarter \_\_\_\_\_
- vi. Other \_\_\_\_\_

**10. What is the space of the article on the woman MP? Tick appropriately**

- i. A mention of name only -----
- ii. One line paragraph \_\_\_\_\_
- iii. 2 paragraphs \_\_\_\_\_
- iv. 3 paragraphs \_\_\_\_\_
- v. Whole article \_\_\_\_\_
- vi. Other \_\_\_\_\_

**11. What is the event/activity being covered?**

- i. National event or matter -----
- ii. Parliament proceedings -----
- iii. Political party activities \_\_\_\_\_
- iv. Official function ( for ministers/assistant ministers) \_\_\_\_\_
- v. Constituency matters and events \_\_\_\_\_
- vi. Other \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION C: MEASURING USE OF GENDERED FRAMES BY MEDIA WHILE REPORTING WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS**

12. What marital status was used to describe the woman MP in the article? Tick appropriately.

- i. Married \_\_\_\_\_
- ii. Never married \_\_\_\_\_
- iii. Divorced \_\_\_\_\_
- iv. Separated \_\_\_\_\_
- v. Widow \_\_\_\_\_
- vi. No mention \_\_\_\_\_

13. Does the article have the following words to describe the woman MP and how often? Tick either YES or NO and indicate the number of times the word is used or mentioned in the story.

WORD	YES	NO	Number of mention
i. Marital status			
ii. Physical appearance			
iii. Age			
iv. Place of birth			
v. Place of marriage			
vi. Widow of			
vii. Too masculine/feminine			
viii. Break from the past/ change/			
ix. Newness			

x.	First name			
xi.	Wealthy			
xii.	Other			

**SECTION D: MEASURING TONE OF THE COVERAGE AND TYPES OF ISSUES OF PUBLIC INTEREST BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN THE MEDIA ARTICLE**

**14. What is the tone of the article on the woman MP? Tick appropriately**

- i. Positive \_\_\_\_\_
- ii. Mixed \_\_\_\_\_
- iii. Neutral \_\_\_\_\_
- iv. Negative \_\_\_\_\_

**15. Does the article mention any of the public interest issues categorized below while reporting on the woman MP? Tick either YES or NO.**

	<b>ISSUE</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
i.	Economy/business/budgets		
ii.	Governance/democracy/social justice		
iii.	Foreign affairs/international matters/regional issues		
iv.	Reform matters/constitution/ policy and legislations		
v.	Corruption		
vi.	Health		
vii.	Politics/ political party affairs/politics campaigns		
viii.	Security/ Crime/Terrorism		
ix.	Gender based violence/ sexual abuse/ domestic violence		
x.	Development projects/ water projects/ road projects/agriculture		
xi.	Poverty		
xii.	Women's rights/women representation		
xiii.	Ethnicity/Cohesion		
xiv.	Education		
xv.	Environment		
xvi.	Employment		
xvii.	Peace building/Reconciliation		
xviii.	Agriculture		
xix.	Other		

**SECTION 1: MEASURING THE USE OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIAN TRAIT**

**BY PRINT NEWS MEDIA**

16. Does the article use the following words to describe the trait of the woman MP? Tick **YES** or **NO** on the table.



WORD	YES	NO
i. Honest		
ii. Trustworthy		
iii. Strong leader		
iv. Emotional		
v. Opportunist		
vi. Knowledgeable		
vii. Rational		
viii. Beautiful		
ix. Strategist		
x. Iron lady		
xi. Fashionable		
xii. Weak leader		
xiii. Reformer		

xiv. Religious		
xv. Political novice		
xvi. Unapproachable		
xvii. Independent		
xviii. Assertive		
xix. Undependable		
xx. Controversial		
xxi. Untrustworthy		
xxii. Other		

**17. Any other observations woman parliamentarian coverage.**

## Appendix 2

### In-depth Interview Schedule for Editors and Sub-editors

#### Media Coverage of Women MPs

Qn. 1 How would you describe the media coverage of women parliamentarians by your media house?

#### Relationship between Women MPs and the Media

Qn2. How do the women MPs relate with the media generally? Does it impact on the way they are covered?

#### Most covered women MPs by the media vs least covered

Qn3. Of the twenty women parliamentarians, name the ones who have attracted most media coverage and those who have received the least media coverage and the reasons behind the differences?

Qns 4. The media has occasionally referred to some of the women parliamentarians using terms such as 'the iron lady'. For example, Hon. Martha Karua was at one time described as the "only man in the Kibaki's government". Please comment on this form of reference.

#### Issues of Public Interest covered by the media

Qn 5. From your experience are there specific issues women parliamentarians tend to address and talk about more than by male politicians do?

Media House Editorial Gender Policy

Qn 6 Does your media house has policies addressing gender balance in your coverage of news? If yes, what does the policy say and if not, explain why.

### Appendix 3

#### List of Newspapers Read Dated As From 1<sup>st</sup> January -30<sup>th</sup> June 2011

##### **THE STANDARD NEWSPAPER**

<b>DATE OF PUBLICATION</b>	<b>NAME OF WRITER</b>	<b>TITLE OF STORY</b>
4-Jan	Munene Kamau	Karua Reads Mischief In Government Appointments
4-Jan	Wahome Thuku, Cyrus Ombati	Kosgei This... Kosgei That
6-Jan	Lucianne Limo, Boniface Ongeru	Whose Ministry Is Next
6-Jan	David Ochami	ODM Legislators Smell A Rat On KACC Investigations
7-Jan	Peter Opiyo, Beuttah Omanga	Big Two In Talks As Panic Grips Cabinet
9-Jan	Stephen Mukala	Finally Era Of Dragon Slaying Dawns
9-Jan	Jacob Weru	Stop War Against Graft, Karua Tells Principles
11-Jan	Ben Angina, Beuttah Omanga	Kenya Secret Plot Against ICC
12-Jan	Beuttah Omanga	Decision Time For Kibaki And Raila
13-Jan	Peter Opiyo	Mps Threaten To Seek Legal Action

14-Jan	Biketi Kikechi	Final Separation-Henry Kosgey And Ruto Relinquish Party Posts While Dr Sally Kosgei Quits As Deputy In House
15-Jan	Anthony Amran	Now Ngilu Comes Out Fighting Accuses PLO Of Witch Hunting
15-Jan	Non	Sally Snub: Inside Story
16-Jan	Gakuu Mathenge	Uhuru Meetings Ponder Options Ahead Of Next Year's Election
17-Jan	Peter Orengo	KACC Ignoring My Word, Claims Ngilu
18-Jan	Stephen Makabila, Beuttah	ODM Team Plots Way Forward To Elections
19-Jan	Vincent Bartoo	Rift MPs Meet Kibaki In Onslaught Against Raila
19-Jan	Renson Mnyamwezi	Kamar Says Community Has No Links With KKK
19-Jan	Vitalis Kimutai	Minister Affirms Crisis Not A National Disaster
19-Jan	Non	State Probes Mining Consent

22-Jan	Vincent Bartoo	New Political Alliance Sealed At Peace Rally
22-Jan	Non	Ndolo Has Not Been Endorsed For Top ODM City Seat, Ongoro Say
22-Jan	Anderson Ojwang And Vincent Bartoo	PM Says Latest Political Groups Are Inconsequential
23-Jan	Jacob Mathenge	Kibaki Allies Launch Succession Vehicles
23-Jan	Vitalis Kimutai	RV Elders Wish List To Kibaki Unveiled
23-Jan	Non	ODM City Mps Skip Meeting
23-Jan	Moses Njagi	PNU Flex Muscle In Kirinyaga Central
23-Jan	Juma Kweyera	Powerful Clique Wants 3 Ministries Fired
24-Jan	Boniface Gikandi	Michuki Endorse Uhuru For Presidential
24-Jan	Vitalis Kimutai	Team Picked To Oversee Resettlement Of IDPs
27-Jan	Isaih Lucheli	Karua Says Pullout Of Statute To Heart War On Impunity
30-Jan	Alex Ndegwa	Its Null And Void
30-Jan	Mutinda Mwanzia	Polls Rate As Most Preferred Candidates

30-Jan	Munene Kamau	Campaigns Peaceful Aspirants Told
30-Jan	Otuoma Ongalo	Raila Under Siege As Stiff Political Test Unfold

## **FEBRUARY**

1-Feb	Beutah Omanga	Karua, Muite, LSK, COTU, EALS Back JSC Stand On Appointment
1Feb	Karanja Njoroge	Raila Defends Self Over Claims By ODM Rebel Mps
2-Feb	David Ochami	Karua Accuses Head Of State Of Abandoning Consultations
3-Feb	Non	Murugi Told To Explain Statement
4-Feb	David Ochami, Peter Opiyo	MPs Say Move Opens Window For More Talks
5-Feb	Non	Ray Of Hope As Kibaki Meets House Speaker
6 Feb	Peter Atsaya, Titus Too	Ruto Questions Raila's Legitimacy In Coalition Government
6 Feb	Beutah Omanga	Kosgey's Move To Join Ruto Was Longtime Coming
6-Feb	Otuma Ongalo	Probing The Chances Of Big Dreamers

7 Feb	David Ochami, Peter Opiyo	House Teams Meet Over Kibaki Nominees
7-Feb	Munene Kamau	Karua Raises Red Flag Over PNU Campaigns
8 Feb	Kiondo Waweru	Iron Lady' Now Takes The Mike To Sing Of Peace And Unity
8-Feb	Cyrus Ombati	Wave Of Crime As Officers Protest Colleague Sack
8 Feb	Martin Mutua	Nominations-Principals To Let House Beside
8-Feb	Non	Khalwale Wants Pm To Fire Kosgei
8-Feb	Osinde Obare	Female Mps Draft To Outlaw FGM
9-Feb	Non	VP Says State Sport Moderate 31m In Shuttle Diplomacy
10-Feb	Paul Mutua	Team Shocked At 575m Dam Project
10 Feb	Ally Jamay	60m Boost For Women Groups
10-Feb	Non	Murugi Clarifies Remarks Made At HIV Workshop
10-Feb	Kipchuba Kemei	Sambili Challenges Varsities To Offer Relevant Courses



11-Feb	Peter Kimani	Sally's Magic Word Paves Her Way Through The Thick And Thin
12-Feb	Patrick Muriungi, James Munyeki	Lets Meet At The Ballot, Karua Tells PNU Alliance
13-Feb	Juma Kweyeria	Kosgei Remarks On Flag Sparks Integrity Storm
13-Feb	Oscar Obonyo	Voice Of Reason Calms Coalition Wars In Parliament
13-Feb	Gakuu Mathenge, Francis Ngige	Moment Of Truth For Uhuru And Karua Next Week
13-Feb	Timothy Kaberia2	Raila Should Team Up With Karua Next Polls
14-Feb	Munene Kamau	By Election Results To Be Out By 9pm
15-Feb	Non	Karua Vows To Take Uhuru Head On
15-Feb	Vitalis Kimutzi	Can National Accord Be Amended To Facilitate Pm's Ouster
17-Feb	Moses Njagi	Uhuru's Man Beats Karua's In Kirinyaga

17-Feb	Non	Judicial Officials Who Leave Service To Get Terminal Benefit
20-Feb	Roselyne Obata	Karua Says President Subverted Law By Rejecting Marende Verdict
20-Feb	Moses Njagi	Winners And Losers In Kirinyaga Central By Election
24-Feb	Alex Ndegwa	House Team To Lock Out Namwamba
27-Feb	Alex Ndegwa	PNU, ODM Takes Nominations Row To House Committee
28-Feb	Munene Kamau	Karua's PNU Bought By Election Votes

## MARCH

1-Mar	Francis Ngige	Recent PNU Wins Buys Uhuru's Political Life
2-Mar	Peter Opiyo	Sonko Thrown Out Of House Over Improper Dress Code
2-Mar	Martin Mutua, Alex Ndegwa	Minister Ngilu Stormed Water Board Meeting

4-Mar	Ibrahim Rashid	Ngilu's Deafening Silence Is Uncharacteristic Of Her
5-Mar	Biketi Kikechi	Shuttle Mission
5-Mar	Augustine Oduor	Orange Party Will Not Be Burnt From Within
7-Mar	Ally Jamah	Karua Terms Raila-Uhuru War Pointless
8-Mar	Peter Opiyo	Poll: Kenyan Soften Stance On Having Woman For President
9-Mar	Non	Lid On Dr Kosgey Secret Interview With US Envoy Blows Off
9-Mar	Martin Mutua	UN Security Chief Gets Kenya's Deferral Request
9-Mar	Augustine Oduor Peter Opiyo	First Lady Wants Women Mps To Back Family Bills
9-Mar	Karanja Njoroge	IDPs MPs Meeting Fail To Kick Off
11-Mar	Non	ICC: No Easy Way Out Of The Hague Process
11-Mar	Non	State, Mps Insist Chaos Suspects Won't Step Aside
12-Mar	Elizabeth Mwai, Alex Ndegwa	ODM Opens New Battle Front In State's Role In ICC Trial
13-Mar	Oscar Obonyo	The Political Game Changer: How ICC Will Shape 2012

13-Mar	Lilian Aluanga	The Huge Financial Implication Of Shuttle Diplomacy
14-Mar	Alex Ndegwa	Ngilu Blames Kiunjuri Amid Claims Of Graft In Probe Team
19-Mar	Vincent Mabatuk	Tempers Flare Over County Seats
21-Mar	Non	Musical Martha Charms Teens
22-Mar	Munene Kamau	Karua Lambasts State For Favourism
22-Mar	Linah Benyawa, Sandra Chao	Sambili: Public Unaware Of EAC Gains
23-Mar	Isaih Lucheli	ODM Says It Supports Local Trials But Under Credible Mechanism
23-Mar	Kenan Miruka	Ngilu Says County's Water Security In Jeopardy
24-Mar	Elizabeth Mwai	State Appeals For Condom Funds From US
24-Mar	Alex Ndegwa	Rising Food, Fuel Prices Dominate Debate In Parliament
24-Mar	Non	Trial: PM Wants Scotland, FBI To Probe Polls Chaos
24-Mar	Peter Mutai, Mary Njoki	Rebels Mps Laud Party Change Of Heart
26-Mar	Biketi Kikechi	Fresh Cracks In ODM
27-Mar	Oscar Obonyo	The Inside Story Of Orange Party

27-Mar	Stephne Makabila, Francis Njoroge	Karua's Dwindling Fortunes In Central Kenya
28-Mar	Daniel Nzia	Know Your Status, Mugo Tells Public
31-Mar	Peter Opiyo	Karua To Ocampo 6: Go Quietly, Please

## APRIL

3-Apr	Allan Kisis, Roselyne Obala	Raila Tells Off Ruto, Uhuru Over Criticism
3-Apr	Oscar Obonyo	Meet The Political 'Bad Boys' Who Are Kicking The Storm
5-Apr	Titus Too	Do You Agree With ODM Position That Cases Filed At The Hague Not A State Decision
6-Apr	Ben Agina	What MPs Said During Debate On Local Tribunal
6-Apr	Peter Opiyo	Some Of The Six Rejected Local Tribunal
6-Apr	Peter Atsiaya	Women Demand Murugi Apology Over Stripping Threat

7-Apr	Isaih Lucheli	Fury As MPs Denied Permit To Host Suspects
7-Apr	Ally Jamah, Faith Kurui	IDPs Seek Share Of State Favour
7-Apr	Okech Kendo	Malice Not The Best Campaign Tool
7-Apr	Non	Minister In A Spot Over IDPs Resettlement
7-Apr	Non	Parliament Adopts Motion To Have Ids Issued In Counties
8-Apr	David Ochami	Team Accuses Cabinet Of Delaying Bills
9-Apr	Steve Mkawale	Raila Lead Healing Unity Meeting
9-Apr	Mutinda Mwanzia	Prime Minister Urges Leaders To Stop Tribal Politics
10-Apr	Beutah Omanga	Hague Party Takes Shape
10-Apr	Steve Mkawale	Showdown Looms At Uhuru Park 'Prayer Meeting' Tomorrow
10-Apr	Joseph Masha, Renson Mnyamwezi	Coast Leaders Differ Over Location Of Seat Of Power
13-Apr	Alex Ndegwa	House Hailed For Passing Bill On FGM
13-Apr	Augustine Oduor	Bio-Safety Regulations To Commercialize GMO Crops

14-Apr	Steve Mkawale	Bombing Suspects To Be Tried In Uganda
14-Apr	Josephat Sirror	Minister: Lets Unit To End Gender Violence
15-Apr	Non	Mps Drown Out Kiunjuri Project And Adopts Pro Ngilu Report
15-Apr	Adow Jubat, Boniface Ongeru	Now FGM Goes Beyond The Borders
16-Apr	Mutinda Mwanzia	Raila Ahead Of The Pack, New Opinion Polls Show
17-Apr	Juma Kwayera	How Long Will Kalonzo Survive In Ruto-Uhuru Camp
17-Apr	Kenfrey Kiberenge	Narc-K Mps Move To Uhuru Camp May Jolt Karua's Ambition
20-Apr	Alex Ndegwa	Mps Differ On Costs But Seek Solution
21-Apr	Augustine Oduor	Ministers Advice Students To Shun Immorality: Mutula, Mugo Stress On Responsible Behaviour
21-Apr	Non	Unable To Debate Bills, Parliament Adjourns Early
21-Apr	Non	Ababu Wants Team To Probe High Prices
21-Apr	Non	Quorum: House Skipping Catches Marende's Eye

22-Apr	Non	MPs Accuse Politicians Of Frustrating IDPs Resettlement
24-Apr	Non	Ngilu: Clear The Way Am Back
26-Apr	Daniel Nzia	Ngilu 'Back With Renewed Energy To Serve All'
28-Apr	Non	Members Want Stiffer Action On Officials Who Bungle Polls
28-Apr	Steve Mkawale	Karua Pledges A Better Future For Kenya
<b>MAY</b>		
1-May	Athman Amran, Luke Anami	Lumumba: Corruption Thrives In Ministries
1-May	Stephene Makabila	Why Kamukuji Will Be A Litmus Test For IIEC
1-May	Gakuu Mathenge	Choice Of Candidates Raffles Feathers In PNU Coalition.
1-May	Stephene Makabila	The Iron Lady Of Kenya Politics: Karua Leads Pack In Launching Presidential Bid
2-May	Joel Okwayo	It's A Bruising Battle As Parties Kick Off Ikolomani Campaign
2-May	Paul Mutua	Ngilu Wants Relief Handouts Released



2-May	Vitalis Kimutai	Minister Seeks End To Insecurity
3-May	Job Weri	State Acquires 9000acres Of Land To Resettle IDPs
3-May	Job Weri	Team Picked To Audit IDP Database
6-May	Non	Time Needed To Get Applicants For Judicial Jobs
6-May	Patrick Beja	Mugo Says State To Provide Quality Health Care For Immigrants
7-May	Alex Ndegwa	Seeds Of Discord
8-May	Non	The Politics Of Revenge
9-May	Steve Mkawale	Candidates Take Their Campaign To Churches
11-May	Non	Offer Security To Those Who Need It Most, Mps Tell State
12-May	Allan Kisia	Karua Drums Support For Khalwale
12-May	Non	Speaker, Mps Lock Horns Over Role To Scrutinise Crucial Bills
12-May	Non	Sort Out Food Issues First, Politicians Told By Mbarire
12-May	Lucianne Limo	Nyachae: So What Holds Women From Seeking Big Positions?

12-May	Munene Kamau	Leaders Defend Karua Over Local Blessings
12-May	Peter Mutai	House Team Asks Police To Arrest Bogus IDPs
13-May	Non	No Waiver For Rates Defaulters
14-May	Non	State Urged To Compensate Two Over Detentions
14-May	Vincent Mabatuk, Beattah Omanga	Clergy Differ Over IDPs Resettlement
15-May	Gakuu Mathenge	Parties Seek To Find Space In City After Kamukunji
15-May	Francis Ngige	Parties Battle Out For City Honours From Kamukujı By Election Nominations
15-May	Allan Kisia	ODM Team Intensifies Vote Hunt In Ikolomani
17-May	Peter Opiyo	Committee To Discuss Rise In Fuel
18-May	Non	Mps Clash In Forum To Discuss Amendments To IEBC
19-May	Non	House Proposes 2000 Handout For Poor Elderly
19-May	Non	ODM,PNU Campaigns In Kamukujı
19-May	Peter Orengo	Anger Over Empty/Pledges To Raise Funding To HIV/Aids

21-May	Luke Anani	ODM Condemns Cancellation Of Kamukuji By Elections
21-May	Steve Mkawale	PNU Leaders Continue Campaigning Despite Court Order Stopping Poll
22-May	Non	Parties Trade Accusations Over Stopped Elections
22-May	John Oywa	Will Parliament Endorse Mutunga
23-May	Allan Kisia	Eyes On Ikolomani Constituency As Voters Chose Next MP
24-May	Allan Kisia	Khalwale Sharpen His Horns For The Next Post Of Senator In Kakamega County
24-May	Non	Ngilu Kalonzo Form Unity Caucus
24-May	Beulah Omanga	Is All Well For ODM In RV And Beyond
26-May	Edwin Cheserek	Karua Faults Church Leaders St and On CJ
27-May	David Ochami	Oil Crisis Meeting Fails To Offer Solution
27-May	Martin Mutua, Alex Ndegwa	Fresh Crisis Over Vetting Of CJ
31-May	Vitalis Kimutai	Should Ababu Remain In Charge Of Legal Affair

<b>JUNE</b>		
1-Jun	David Ocamhi, Martin Mutua	Uhuru Under Fire Over Budget As House Committee Bars Meeting
1-Jun	Non	ODM, PNU Trade Accusations Over Vetting Committee
5-Jun	Moses Njagi	Karua Says Mps Sluggish In Passing Key Bills
4 Jun	Cyrus Ombati	Minister Wants New Sharing Structure With Ethiopia
4-Jun	Robert Nyasato, Patrick Beja	Raila Faults Budget Process, Warn Saboteurs Of New Laws
5-Jun	Non	Women Step Up Jobs Below Average
9-Jun	Martin Mutua	Former PS Grilled Over 5m Bribery Allegation
10 Jun	Non	MPs Fight Off Fresh Attempts By Uhuru On Budget
10-Jun	Martin Mutua	Committee Vetting Judicial Nominees Agree On Mutunga And Barasa
10-Jun	David Ocamhi	MPs Claim Abdikadir Team Out To Substitute Keriako
12-Jun	Ben Agina	Shaping Up Secretariat: It's All Systems Go As Parties Set Up 2012 Offices
12-Jun	Stephen Makabila	PNU Bigwigs Expected At Khalwale Party

12-Jun	Stephen Makabila	IDPs Resettlement Still Far From Over Despite Cash Boosts
12-Jun	Gakuu Mathenge	Mutunga's Burden Of High Expectations
16-Jun	Peter Opiyo	Quit, Raila Tells Ongeru Over Graft
17-Jun	Moses Njagi	State Urged To Fight Illegal Trade In Minerals
17-Jun	Non	Errors Return To Haunt Uhuru Over 368b State Fund
17-Jun	Judy Ogutu	Employees Seek 3.2m From Organizations For Summary Dismissal
18-Jun	Peter Atsiaya	What Is Raila's Plan/
19-Jun	Patrick Beja	Balala Meeting With PM Keeps Many Guessing
19-Jun	Peter Atsiaya	MPs Welcome Kosgey Return To Raila Fold
19-Jun	Juma Kwayeria	Running Mates Headache
20-Jun	Non	MPs Blame Contractors For Poor Roads In Coast
20-Jun	Peter Opiyo	MPs Want Interviews For Auditor General
26-Jun	Moses Njagi	VP Opposes Education Clause In Bill

26-Jun	Ernest Ndunda	Minister Says Atomic Energy Will Improve Lives
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NEWSPAPERS BY THE NATION MEDIA GROUP

**JANUARY**

5-Jan		Clean Cabinet, Urges Karua
6-Jan		We Are Targeted In War On Graft, Claim Odm
9-Jan	Oliver Mathenge	Officials Anxious As Shake Up Looms
9-Jan	John Njagi	Karua: Graft War Tops My Agenda For State House
9-Jan	Julius Sigei	Kosgey's Fate Jolts Rift Valley Politician
13-Jan	Non	Court Threat Over Form One
13-Jan	Non	Setting The Record Straight: I Fully Back Kacc & Its War Against Corruption
17-Jan	Non	Plo Told To Stop 'Peddling Lies'
19-Jan	Ouma Wanzala	Hunger Not A National Disaster
		Hunger Not A National Disaster
21-Jan	Patrick Nzioka, George Munene	Groups Clash As Poll Aspirants Hand In Paper

23-Jan	Patrick Nzioka, George Munene	New Battle Front For Uhuru And Karua
23-Jan	Non	Lumumba Stops Trying To Scuttle The Ship Fighting Graft
21-Jan	Emeka Mayaka	Mps Refute Claims Of Cdf Cash Abuse
29-Jan	Non	Homosexuality Still A Concern

## **FEBRUARY**

1-Feb		Karua Urges To Respect Law
2-Feb	non	The Speaker Takes Charge On Fate Of Kibaki's Nominee
2-Feb	Caroline Wafula	Water Bosses Wahs Linen In Public
4-Feb	Non	Speaker Praised For His Ruling
4-Feb	non	Marende Pushes Role Of Deciding On List Of Committees
4-Feb	Jacob Ngetich	Murugi Fights Back In Row Over Aids Remark
5-Feb	Gerald Andae, Tim Matoke	Kosgei Fiannly Joins Pro-Ruoto ODM Faction
5-Feb	Billy Muiruri	Minister Does Not Shy Away From Speaking her Mind- Soft Spoken Murugi Plays Hard Ball

6-Feb	Emeka Mayaka	Why Raila Is A Common Foe For All
6-Feb	Jacob Ngetich, Alphonse Shiundu	Kosgei Defection Adds To Raila's Woes
7-Feb	non	NGOs Against Plan To Move Street Families
7-Feb	Geroge Munene	Mp Denies Voter Bribery Claims-Karua Alleged Pnu Plot To Rig By Election
8-Feb	Bernard Namunane	Its All Up To House Team As Kibaki And Raila Talks Collapse
9-Feb	Licas Barasa	Net Widens In Water Ministry Probe As Mps Visit Dam Site
9-Feb	Non	Gangstars Killed 127 Officers In Four Years, Members Told
9-Feb	Lilian Onyango	Alarm Raised Over Online Child Abuse
10-Feb	Caroline Wafula	Mps Defend Murugi Over Remarks On Hiv
10-Feb	Non	CIC Spells Out The Law On Nominees
10-Feb	Non	Kogei Apologises Over Flag Remark
10-Feb	George Munene	Eyes On CDF As Vote Hunt In Crucial Stage
11-Feb	Alphonse Shiundu	MPs Question Gicheru's Role
11-Feb	Julius Sigei	Poor Pay Blamed For Flight Of Varsity Dons
12-Feb	Non	Karua Scoffs At Uhuru Call For One Candidate
13-Feb	Julius Sigei	Raila Loyalists In R Valley Reaffirms Support



13-Feb	George Munene	Karua, Uhuru Battle It Out In Kirinyaga
14-Feb	Non	House Team Split Over Kibaki List As Claims Of Threat Emerge
14-Feb	Non	Join The Pnu Alliance Uhuru Tells Karua
15-Feb	Walter Menyua	Declare Kibaki's Nominees Illegal, Marende Told
16-Feb	Mwaura Samora	Round The Up? No It Wasn't Me
17-Feb	Non	Ngilu Back Home
17-Feb	Patrick Nzioka, George Munene	Pnu's Gitaru Wins Kirinya Poll
17-Feb	Non	No Golden Handshake For Judges Who Snub Vetting
19-Feb	Samuel Kumba	Yet Another Setback For President
19-Feb	Peter Leftie	Senior Judge Can Act As C.J Say Expert
19-Feb	Non	PNU Vows To Take On Marende In House
19-Feb	Non	Ruling Was Always Going To Foment The Turmoil In Coalition
19-Feb	Billy Muiruri	I'm Still A Force, Karua Tells PNU
20-Feb	Patrick Nzioka	Karua Unbowed By Defeat In Kirinyaga By-Elections
21-Feb	Non	Ruling On List Receives Backing
21-Feb	Non	PNU Allied Leaders Accuse ODM Of Blocking Reforms
22-Feb	Mike Mwaniki	Mugo Denies CDF Theft Allegations

23-Feb	Non	ODM Raises Alarm Over Two Mercenaries Targeting Raila
25-Feb	Non	ODM Fights Back Over Bid To Oust Ababu
25-Feb	Non	Ngilu Wins Libel Suit Against Kiss Fm And Weekly Citizen
25-Feb	Lilian Onyango	Killings Up In Kibaki Years :Karua
26-Feb	Emeka Mayaka	Wako Reserves His Most Potent Sting For Kibaki

### MARCH

3-Mar	Non	MPs Call For Truce Over Ranging Coalition Wars
4-Mar	Non	Ruto Dares Pm To Kick Out Rebels
4-Mar	Alphone Shiundu Njeri Rugene	We'll Oust Namwamba As Chairman
5-Mar	Muriithi Mutiga	Bumpy Road Preceded Cabinet Deal
5-Mar	Bernard Namunane	Kibaki Names Team To Lobby Against Icc
6-Mar	Muriithi Mutiga	Leaked Cables To Shape 2012 Race
7-Mar	Eric Wainaina George Munene	Karua Rejects Uhuru Community Leader Tag
8-Mar	Alphonse Shiundu	Kenyans Ready For Woman President

12-Mar	Peter Leftie	Raila Reads Sinister Motive In Fresh Bid To Delay Trials Of Poll Chaos Suspect
16-Mar	Alphonse Shiundu	Ngilu Fights Back On Graft Claims
17-Mar	Non	Bid Mounts To Ouster Namwamba
18-Mar	Non	Focus Less On Icc Six, Says Karua
18-Mar	Non	Kiunjuri Recalled Over Dams Scam Statement
19-Mar	Non	Anti-Graft Detectives Quize Ngilu For Hours
20-Mar	Emeka And Billy Muiruri	The Woman Of Steel In Uhuru's Corner
23-Mar	Non	Mps Told To Put Politics Aside And Focus On Crucial Laws
25-Mar	Non	Kibaki Allies Reject Talks With Odm
26-Mar	Peter Leftie, Ouma Wanzala	Airline Reject Tax For Aids
26-Mar	Peter Leftie	One Meeting, Two Sets Of Statement
27-Mar	Makau Mutua	Why Martha Karua Looks Attractive For 2012
28-Mar	Non	Tourism Lobbies Reject Proposed Air Fare Taxi
30-Mar	Non	Turmoil As Mps Bid To Oust Team Leader Stall
31-Mar	Non	Channel Funds To The Hungry Not Ocampo 6, Says Karua
31-Mar	Non	Murugi Toid Off Over Calls To Strip Naked

**APRIL**

2-Apr	Samuel Kumba, Jacob Njenga	Namwamba Ouster Bid Start Of A Control War
2-Apr	Non	Shs3.3m Scam
2-Apr	Non	Murugi Vows To Strip Naked If 6 Are Held
3-Apr	Emeka, Njeri	Campaign For Ocampo 6 Could Backfire
3-Apr	Murithi Mutiga	Politicians Eye Facebook As A Campaign Tool
4-Apr	Non	Ngilu Appoints New Board To Water Agency
5-Apr	Non	Embassy Clears 41mps For Trip To The Hague
7-Apr	Caroline Wafula, John Ngirachu, Njeri Rugene	Murugi On Spot Over Chaos Victims
7-Apr	Non	ODM Loses Grip
9-Apr	Non	Raila Appeals To Private Sector To Create Jobs
11-Apr	Peter Leftie	Feuding Parties Plan Rival Meetings Today
14-Apr	Peter Leftie	House Team Clears Ngilu Of Blame For Graft
14-Apr	Non	Firms Not Linked To Water Minister

15-Apr	Peter Leftie	Ex-water Chief Faces Shs60m Charge
17-Apr	Caroline Wafula,	Memories Of My Circumcision Have Haunted Me To Date
18-Apr	Non	Karua Blames High Fuel Prices On Graft
20-Apr	Jacob Ngetich	Hoard Maize At Your Peril, Farmers Warned
24-Apr	Geofrey Rono	Union Threatens Strike Over Fate Of Contract Teachers
28-Apr	Joy Wanja	Karua Launches Bid For President Of Kenya
28-Apr	Non	Migrants To Access Healthcare In New Plans

## **MAY**

4-May	Peter Opiyo	Murugi Wants Uhuru Opponents Locked Up
4-May	Nation Team	More Time Sought In Bad Maize Probe
6-May	Lucas Barasa, Bernard Namunane	Mps Eject Namwamba As ODM Quits
6-May	Nation Team	Yellow Fever In Kenya, No Way Says Minister
8-May	Njeri Rugene	Mps Side Step Troubled Legal Affairs Team
8-May	Makau Mutua	Five Reasons Martha Karita Could Win The Presidency

8 May	Benson Amadala	It's A Clash Of Clans In Poll
9-May	Benson Amadala, Benjamin Muindi	Candidates Heckled In Ikolomani
13-May	Benard Namunane	Mps Plan To Regulate Opinion Polls Opposed
13- May	Olive Mathenge	Polls Team Bill To Be Fast Tracked
13-May	Lucas Barasa	Ethiopians Block Raila From Boarder
13-May	Aggrey Mutambo	Bid To Renew Interest In Agriculture Through Secondary School Contests
14-May	non	Public Interviews For Top Judiciary Jobs Praised As Leaders Welcome Nominees
14-May	Billy Muiruri	What We Miss Most
15-May	Benson Amdala	Parties Take Back Seat In Ikolomani As Eyes Turn To Candidates
15-May	Wycliff Kipsang	Gideon Entices ODM Civic Leaders Back To The Kanu Fold
15-May	Lucas Barasa,	PNU & ODM Bigwigs To Set Up Camp In Kamukujji
15-May	Muriithi Mutiga	To Karua And Kiyiapi: You Have To Do Much Better To Topple The Old Guard
15-May	John Ngiracu	Mps Unhappy With Marende Handling Of House Team

15-May	John Ngiracu	Political Survival At Heart Of Central Rows
16-May	Non	By Election A Rehearsal Of 2012, Says Minister
16-May		Raila Accuses Rivals Of Sabotage
18-May	Non	House To Be Given Details Of Runner's Sudden Death
18-May	Calorine Wafula	House Team Start Work On Laws
18-May	Olive Mathenge And Zaddock Mathenge	Split House To Vet Judicial Nominees
19-May	Walter Menya	Plan To Cut Reliance On Donor Cash In Aids War
19-May	Non	Minister Takes Radio Show Host To Court
19-May	Non	Mps Back Pay Plan For The Elderly
19-May	Non	Coast Sole Elected Woman MP Is County Leader Serving Second Term In Parliament
19-May	Non	Water Fund Given Out On Need Basis
19-May	Non	No More Warrants To Raid Female 'Cut' Dens
20-May	Lucas Barasa	Brusing Battle For Kamukui And Ikolomani By Elections Next Week
20-May	Daniel Otieno	Raila Tour Of Ikolomani Seen Boost For ODM Man

20-May	Non	Councillors Protes At Talks On County Posts
21-May	Caroline Wafula, Peter Leftie	Parties In Blame Game Over Ruling
21-May	Billy Muiruri	Rebel Minister Who Took On The VP's Man Triumphed
21-May	Non	Leaders Fault Ngilu Meeting As Divisive
22-May	Benson Amadala	Its Mudavadi Against Wamalwa In Poll
24-May	Benson Amadala, Dan Otieno	Khalwale Bounces Back In Ikolomani By Elections
25-May	Non	Speaker Urges Bett To Act On Mara
25-May	Non	Aids Control Council Allays Fears Over Drug Shortage
25-May	Alphoce Shiubdu	Attempt To Regulate Pollsters Flop
26-May	Non	Mugo Orders Health Audit
26-May	John Ngiracu	Kajwang Proposes Outsourcing In Polls
27-May	Njeri Rugene, John Ngirachu	New Team To Vet Judiciary Top Two
27-May	Alphoce Shubdu	Bid To Tame Petrol Prices Flops



## JUNE

1-Jun	None	Cigarette Packets To Have Warning Images
3-Jun	Alphonse Shiundu	Mps Demand Action Over Islanda
5-Jun	David Opiyo	Raila: Odm Will Stand By Kosgey
8-Jun	None	Budget Key To Eac Policies, Says Minister
9-Jun	Alphonse Shiundu	Mps Approve Ban On Vernacular
16-Jun	None	Mutunga, Baraza, Tobiko Get Hse Approval
16-Jun	John Ngiracu	Mps Reject Plan To Scrap Kcpe Exam
17-Jun	None	Kenya's Minerals To Be Processed Locally
18-Jun	Alphonse Shiundu	More Top Jobs Seekers Face Scrutiny
19-Jun	Amina Kibinge Bozo Jenje	Its Guarded Hope As Coast Mps Reconcile
19-Jun	Otieno Otieno	Ugly Choices For Karua In Serch For Mr. Right
20-Jun	Maurice Kaluoch	Raila Praises Kibaki Style Of Leadership
22-Jun	None	Major Towns Hit By Flour Rationing
22-Jun	David Opiyo	Raila:Cic Clash Over Party
22-Jun	Njeri Rugene	Mps Demand New Law On Vetting
27-Jun	None	Sub Standard Work To Be Re-Done
28-Jun	James Ratemo	Raila Urges Mps To Pay Tax
28-Jun	Samuel Kumba	Millers On The Spot Over Maize Crisis
29-Jun	None	Ruto Eyes Meru For 2012 Running Mate
30-Jun	None	Students To Learn Disaster Management