

**A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRINT MEDIA  
COVERAGE OF KENYAN PARLIAMENTARIANS**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

### CANDIDATE

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

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### SUPERVISOR

This project has been presented for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

DR. JANE WAMBUI THUO    Sign.     Date... 2/11/15

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to all women, the aspiring and existing women politicians in Kenya, for the struggle towards the increase of political representation and equality in the Kenyan Parliament and my extended family, for their support during the entire period of my studies.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to the Almighty God for enabling me complete this project. I sincerely thank Dr. Jane Thuo, my supervisor, who showed concern and devoted time to correcting my work to ensure its completion and the defense panel for their guidance.

May the almighty God richly bless you.

## ABSTRACT

There has been growing concern over the low women representation in the Kenyan Legislature. Researchers have tried to establish the blame for women's underrepresentation in politics with early studies indicating out that men politicians received more total media coverage than women politicians. Newer studies have suggested that coverage for women politicians has improved over time. While the coverage for women politicians was said to have improved over time, less has been done to compare the coverage of parliamentarians (women versus men) in the print media and more specifically, the Nation versus the Standard newspapers, so as to establish the improvements made. Although some studies concluded that there is no gender bias in the media coverage, they failed to consider the quantity and quality of coverage given to the women as compared to the men parliamentarians owing to the fact the number of women in parliament has increased over time. The 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament saw the highest number of women parliamentarians in the history of Kenya's political leadership. Having come into being after passing the Constitution of Kenya in 2010, that saw more women than ever in the history of Kenya elected and others nominated to Parliament. The 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament has a total of 86 women parliamentarians, 63 having been elected and 23 nominated by political parties as compared to over 300 men parliamentarians. This study conducted a comparative content analysis of print news media in the context of the Nation and the Standard Newspapers' coverage of women and men parliamentarians in Kenya; with a view to compare the quality and quantity of coverage given to the parliamentarians. The sample size for the content analysis was the Daily Nation, Saturday and Sunday Nation, the Standard and the Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers, for the period of May to June 2014. This period was purposively selected being the time that the national budget is considered by parliament and it was expected that all parliamentarians, aiming at performing their representation, oversight and legislation roles, were to actively participate in the debates thereof. Key findings indicate that the amount of print media coverage given Kenyan women and men parliamentarians was uneven, with women parliamentarians received less coverage compared to their men counterparts. Across the divide, news stories, political analysis, features, editorials and commentaries featured both parliamentarians who were covered in political, economic and social spheres and the articles a took neutral tone with gendered frames not being substantially established. Parliamentarians were covered when both in parliament and when outside parliament and articles on women parliamentarians were placed in the inside pages of the newspapers and were given less space as compared to placement and size given to articles on the men parliamentarians. The research concludes that there is need for enhanced efforts towards equipping women parliamentarians to be able to strategically place themselves and seize up the opportunities provided by the media.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Data** -is a collection of facts, such as values or measurements. It can be numbers, words, observations or even just descriptions of things.
- Parliamentary journalists** - media reporters who specialize in parliamentary reporting.
- Parliament** - the highest legislature, consisting of the members elected or nominated to represent their electorate while undertaking legislation, representation and oversight.
- Parliamentarians** -elected and nominated members representing Constituencies, Counties, youths and people with a disability in the Kenyan legislature (Members of the National Assembly and the Senate).
- Politics** -the activities associated with the governance of a country or area or the principles relating to or integral in a sphere or activity, especially when concerned with power and status.
- Print Media** -refers to forms of media that publish and disseminate printed material. The print material includes newspapers and magazines.
- Sample** - is a subset of a population that is used to represent the entire group.
- 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament** - is the first legislative branch of the National Government of Kenya after the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010, which came into place after the 2013 general elections, incorporating the Senate and the National Assembly.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AWC	–African Woman Child
COK	– Constitution of Kenya
IPS	–Inter Press Service
KEWOPA	– Kenyan Women Parliamentary Association
MP	– Male Parliamentarian
MP(s)	– Member(s) of Parliament
SPSS	– Statistics Package for Social Sciences
TV	– Television
UK	– United Kingdom
US	– United States
WP	– Woman Parliamentarian

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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction to the Study**

This chapter endeavored to give the introduction to the study, background of the study, statement of the problem and the research objectives (both the main and specific objectives). The chapter further dwelt on the research questions, justification and significance of the study, the methodology, assumptions and finally the scope and limitations of the study.

Women's presence in parliaments around the world is a reality that is impacting on the social, political, economic wellbeing and democracy of nations worldwide. Yet, their access to parliamentary structures and the fourth estate, learning how to work within them, and the extent to which they impact on and through them, remain a challenge.

A woman's world is fraught with numerous challenges when it comes to representation in governance structures. She participates less in governance due to a large extent, to the societal assumption that a woman is better off in the private domain. Amryta, Gopal, Nussbaum and Yasmin (2003), found that the public arena is deemed to be that of political authority and "contestation" reserved for men. They also noted that the private domain is largely taken to mean the family and home. Hence, by confining the women to this domain, their chances to get into competitive politics are reduced. This social construct seems to have pervaded even the media where the inevitable result is painting of the would-be women leaders with a less helpful and stereotypical broad brush. The effect has so much diminished the image so that it would appear a woman is nothing more than a homemaker whose star should never go beyond the confines of her home; the private sphere.

Media being a powerful tool of change, it is expected that it should bring positive change to the readers and the audience. This is not the real truth when it comes to the media, women and politics (Liny, 2005). But is the media entirely at fault here? One significant aspect of a possible answer to such a question is the fact that inequality stems from the family set up. Inequitable division of labour within households, a situation engendered and equally fed by cultural attitudes about gender roles has subjected women to limited representation in public life. As the media mirrors the society, the patriarchal tendencies of most societies have contributed to a media that represents the interests of women much less than that of men. It is important to make this point from these initial stages as media is a very, if not the most crucial vehicle in driving political agenda in today's world.

There is a perception that the existence of gender renaissance has developed a brand new dynamic space in which perceptions are continually changing, as well as affecting and changing people's actions and future projections. These are regarded as the upsurge of the genuine real men and women with real concerns (Kibwana, 1995). In the Kenyan context, the Constitution of Kenya (COK) 2010 provides for increased women participation in political representation. Women Parliamentarians in Kenya work under an umbrella caucus called the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), to contribute to the sustenance of democracy in the country. According to the association's strategic plan (2014), KEWOPA was formed to increase women's contribution and influence parliamentary business while ensuring increased attention to issues affecting women.

The 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament has the highest number of women parliamentarians in the history of Kenya's political leadership. Having come into being after passing the Constitution of Kenya in 2010, that saw more women than ever in the history of Kenya elected and others nominated to Parliament.

The 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament has a total of 86 women parliamentarians, 63 having been elected and 23 nominated by political parties. The media plays a significant role in determining how women in politics and decision making agencies are viewed and perceived by society in general. The media has the capacity to make a positive contribution towards social change as women in parliament play a vital role in ensuring the democratic governance of a country and therefore their contribution to the democratic process need to be explored in the appropriate context by the media. Previous studies have shown that the audience rely on media for news including political news. Politicians have in the past used the media, either directly or indirectly to influence the opinion because the media has the power and abilities to set the political agenda.

Many people look into the media for information that can help them make judgments about important political issues and the politicians aim to use the media to stay in touch with people as well as maintaining their visibility. Researchers have tried to establish the blame for women's underrepresentation in politics with early studies finding out that male political candidates received more total coverage than women candidates. Newer studies have suggested that coverage for women has improved over time. But the question is whether the same amount of coverage given to men is similar to that given to women given their increased number in Parliament.

This research contributes to the literature on gender and parliamentary media coverage in the context of Kenya as a developing country. It presents a comparative content analysis of the print media coverage of women and men parliamentarians in Kenya. A two months review (May to June, 2014) and content analysis of the two popular newspaper publications (the Nation and the Standard newspapers) was carried out to provide a clear picture of the present situation with regards to media gender representation in economic, political and social spheres of women and

men parliamentarians. Further, the study identified the frequency, the prominence and the gender frames used by the print media in the coverage of parliamentarians. In addition, the study identified the main themes of the articles and tone used in the coverage as well as the context of the coverage and the leadership position of the Members covered.

A daily scrutiny of the newspapers was done and an article on Kenyan Parliament or Parliamentarians was analyzed to give an overview of parliamentary media coverage. The study aimed at undertaking a comparative content analysis of print media coverage of women and men parliamentarians in Kenya. The research made reference to parliamentary coverage of both women and men parliamentarians. An article covering a parliamentarian both at the Senate and the National Assembly qualified for consideration. The key findings contributed to making conclusions on the comparison of the coverage given to women versus male parliamentarians by the two aforementioned newspapers.

## **1.2 Background of the Study**

When it comes to news and media, it is very easy to say that the media is for the men and not for the women considering the extent to which the women are invisible on matters like political briefing. As Haywood (2003) found, this creates a perception that whatever the women do is not something or anything news worthy, which is not really the case.

At this pace, it is easy to ask why the men still dominate in political news, yet currently there are women who have ventured into politics. This can sometimes be very difficult to understand or perhaps even demoralizing to some. Clearly, however much or hard the women work and even no matter how much effort they apply even in the political arena, they still remain invisible,

nobody understands as to why these is happening or even why it still exist in the current society (Liny,2005).

Haywood (2003) observes that matters and even news in relation to gender equality or even gender inequality is perceived to be nothing newsworthy. The women still remain invisible on many matters time and again, day in day out. The author further observes that despite the existence and even the growing interest in politics by the women, they still end up unappreciated and discriminated upon when it comes on media and news broadcast by the consideration that they are feminine not that they do not qualify.

The author's position was borne out by Liny (2005), when she noted that time and again, for every five male news media coverage there is only one similar news coverage for the female. She goes on to state that one would easily ask why the rampant overrepresentation of the males while at the same time underrepresentation of the females in the media.

Most of the time the men are considered for the hard news while the females are ignored on very important issues that most of the time dominate media. Sadly, sometimes, neither their views nor even their opinion is given consideration. On issues that pertain to governance and politics, most of the time the women get only not more than 15% media coverage (Liny, 2005). Sad and difficult to understand or even to imagine, issues like gender-based violence in cases that women are wrongly treated and hence require justice, still the males are the ones who are given much attention; its men who still dominate.

Most of the time, it is very difficult to find the women central to any news. If there is any news that the women are central it is only when it comes to matters like education on which most of the time they are not considered central (March, 1999).



On the other hand, times that women are covered by the media are mostly in cases where they are regarded as stars, royalties, celebrities or even ordinary individuals (Haywood, 2003). The author further points out that the growing male dominance in the media while women become more and more invisible is not something encouraging. At times like these, one would expect gender balance in everything yet the reality is different and very incredible when it comes to media and news. With the growing trend, it is easy to perceive that the existing news and media gender discrimination displays a form of stereotyping of the highest order (Haywood, 2003). According to March (2003) the truth that pains is that there is a huge existence of open discrimination and stereotype when it comes to news broadcasting not only in the local Kenyan media but also in the international news arena.

Time and again we find that the pictures of women are made more common than those of men, and most of the time we find the media encouraging forms of stereotyping in a very deceitful manner. This observation was made by Wanjiku (1998) who further pointed out that this goes hand in hand with the eminent assumptions about the role of women in the society while at the same time demeaning women and exalting men. Wanjiku's point of view is corroborated through the observation that the only instance when women are featured effectively most of the time is when they are covered in connection with their family background. This growing trend is discouraging considering the fact that the fight to bring equality is greatly derailed by these kinds of actions (Haywood 2003). The idea of accepting the women in politics as well as giving them equal opportunities and platforms as the men is really a hard task. The society having been socialized differently with the traditions and complex cultures makes it really hard for the media to propagate change.

Politicians' relationship with the media is that of the media influencing their public visibility and further their chance to make an impact on politics. Media and politics go hand in hand but may sometimes give less time to significant political issues. Further, the contribution of media to politics cannot be negated as the democratic politics depends more on media.

Media is fundamental in shaping the public opinion, interpreting and understanding issues, to any society and the agenda projected usually forms the basis of people's thinking on matters of public affairs. Media has the power to decide on the news items to be presented to the public, and further decide the importance to be attached to particular news items and personalities. Politicians being aware that it is only the media that can give them visibility and keep their constituents informed, they have learnt to work closely with the media and avail themselves when called upon by the media to give comments or be guest in a talk shows. Some politicians have taken further steps and contracted in public relations practitioners to manage their media affairs in order create favorable public attitude to their constituents.

Some studies done indicated that while men are actively engaging with the media, the women are shying away and were not available to give comments when called upon. On the other hand, some studies have indicated that the media deviated from the main story that women parliamentarians participated in and instead choose to cover women on social issues. Previous studies done found out that that in the coverage given to women the most pertinent issue like leadership capabilities were ignored and instead focused on their feminine qualities. Martin Munguti of the Media Council of Kenya (which is an independent body), believes inadequate coverage of female politicians is partly a reflection of their own failure to seek the limelight.

“In a way I blame women for not going for the attention. If they sought media attention they would get it because the code of conduct gives them the chance”, (Oyaro 2014) in reference to a media code of conduct drawn up in conjunction with news organizations. The code requires the media to give women fair treatment; the enacted media Bill also holds out the promise of better coverage of women.

Some previous research done indicated that men look for coverage and they were even ready to pay for it if that is what it takes, but women will wait for journalists to look for them which makes it harder for the women candidates to find their way to the media. The male-dominated nature of Kenyan society also leads journalists to believe that men make news and not women. So they are not keen in looking for women politicians unless the women stand out. Bystron (2014) in the handbook of political communication, affirmed the above when he observed that women’s progress towards advancing their political ground often struggle to receive media coverage and noted that the media still associates the female politicians with traditional feminine issues. This bias in coverage may be due to the fact that the media looks for those reliable and knowledgeable sources for their news items.

Some studies have found out that various women’s organizations have previously taken steps towards achieving equality in the treatment given to women and men including media coverage. Previously, some scholars have had interests in the difference in media coverage and how framing and placement is done when covering women politicians while recent studies show that coverage of female politicians has improved over time.

Although some studies concluded that there is no gender bias in the media coverage, they fail to consider the quantity of coverage given to the female as compared to the male parliamentarians

owing to the fact the number of women in Parliament has improved over time, and currently stands at the highest in the history of Kenya. It is not clear of the progress made in the media coverage given to Women Parliamentarians as compared to their counterparts. This study analyzed the print media coverage of Women versus Men Parliamentarians in the context of the Daily and the Standard newspapers and identified the frequency, prominence, gendered frames, thematic areas, tone, context of the coverage and the leadership position of the Member covered to arrive at the conclusion of whether the coverage given to women parliamentarians is the same as that given to their male counterparts.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The issue of women engaging in politics has historically been a matter of interest to scholars who have undertaken several studies to identify the underrepresentation in the public and private spheres and also by the media. Kenyan independent newspapers the Nation and the Standard newspapers enjoy large circulation in the country and across East Africa but it is not clear how much coverage they give to parliamentarians. Despite the government and society putting efforts to boost the number of women participating in politics and governance in general, it is not clear what the media has done to reinforce these efforts.

Like other media in other countries, the Kenyan media has been an influential organ that has actively mirrored the society over the years. The various studies conducted showed that there is low media coverage given to women parliamentarians due to various reasons including their inactivity in seeking the media and not being available for comments when called upon. Therefore the need to undertake a comparative content analysis of print media coverage of Women and Men Parliamentarians in Kenya, to establish the quantity and manner of the coverage of parliamentarians, in the context of Kenya as a developing country.

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

### **General Objective**

- i. To undertake a comparative content analysis of the print media coverage of Kenyan women and male parliamentarians.

### **Specific objectives**

- ii. To analyze the amount of coverage given to men versus women parliamentarians by the news print media in Kenya in terms of quantity and quality.
- iii. To identify the prevailing themes and tone used by the news print media in the coverage of women and men Kenyan Parliamentarians.

#### **1.4.1 Research Questions:-**

- i. How does the Nation newspaper cover women and men parliamentarians in terms of quantity and quality as compared to the Standard newspaper?
- ii. What are some of the predominant themes and tone used by the news print media in the coverage of Kenyan Parliamentarians?

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

There has been growing concern over the low women representation in the Kenyan Legislature. Researchers have tried to establish the blame for women's underrepresentation in politics with early studies finding out that men politicians received more total media coverage than women politicians. Newer studies have suggested that coverage for women politicians has improved over time. While the coverage for women politicians was said to have improved, less has been done to establish the coverage of women in Parliament as compared to their men counterparts in the context of Kenya as a developing country.

While the Constitution of Kenya advocates for equal political participation by men and women, the same has not been achieved as the representation has continually been low. In the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament, there are 86 women parliamentarians (both at the Senate and the National Assembly) which is the highest number of women representation since the independence of Kenya as compared to men parliamentarians who are currently 330. Despite the rise in numbers, the 30 % gender rule as envisaged by the Constitution has not been achieved. The low numbers of women in leadership result to low numbers in decision making institutions and by extension their participation in power structures is hindered.

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 paved way for affirmative action seeking to have gender equity of women and men in decision making spheres and in politics. Some studies have pointed out that the media has portrayed women as beneficiaries of the affirmative action instead of focusing on their contribution to decision making in their capacities as people's representatives while others noted that their involvement in decision making is good for the nation at large.

Due to some favorable conditions like the promulgation of the Constitution 2010, the number of women running for political offices and those participating in key decision making bodies has increased over time. According to Kiragu (2006), women have also improved their skills and access to the diverse media that highlight women issues. However, some studies have shown that despite the population of women in countries like Kenya being higher than that of men, there continues to be disparities between men and women in governance.

Lack of improved access to resources and representation in decision making positions continue to be obstacles to women's recognition contributing to the affairs. The existing formal political systems have defined and controlled the public political domain to be that of men with the

democratic space in governance remaining that of alienation to women. Some studies found out that patriarchy, capitalism and industrialization are some of the factors that have kept women from participating in politics confining their work to family and to the low prestige occupations. On the other hand, some studies showed that women do not have equal resources or influence making their participation in politics minimal. Men have more privileges that are more often legitimized by policy and legal frameworks, resulting to inequities and negating the principle of basic rights of freedom and justice.

Further, some scholars have pointed out that although women have become visible in the political agenda, the allocation of political resources and decision making power are still hindering the political balances. The political party's recruitment contribute to the disparities in governance due to the exclusion of women in their leadership. Women still have a long way to go, before attaining gender equality with men especially in elective politics. Women need to advance their political profiles through active media engagement and visibility Nzomo (2002). There is an urgent need for women's political empowerment through capacity building of women politicians to contribute to increased numbers of women in parliament Kamau (2002).

Previous studies having posited that in addition to the societal norms, women parliamentarians receive low media coverage as most of them avoid contacts with media, they do not engage professional media advisors and avoided controversy. Despite the low numbers of women in parliament and the low coverage, they have performed well in parliamentary activities according to statistics. The participation shows that women in parliament have been politically empowered and endeavor to contribute at equal measure to their male counterparts. The concern of this study is to establish whether the amount of media coverage given to women parliamentarians is equal

to that given to their male counterparts even with the empowerment that they have received and their contribution in decision making spheres having increased.

The media holds an important part in the socio-economic and political life of Kenyans and has a role to play in understanding the problem. While studies have been done on the area of political media coverage, less has been done in establishing the gender comparison in the coverage of parliamentarians in terms of quantity and quality. Therefore the question is, how are Women Parliamentarians covered when compared to their male counterparts?

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

Print media transforms ideas into becoming part of the existing culture and is key in overcoming the promotion of outdated predispositions that promote male dominance while neglecting the contribution made by women especially in political leadership. Steps having been made to the right direction regarding the empowerment of women and achieving equality in representation, the political field ought to be strengthened so that women could be elevated to compete at the same level with men including media coverage. With the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament having the highest number of women legislators in the history of Kenya, it is also expected that their contribution will be more substantive thus their visibility in the media will increase.

Although Kenya as a developing country is yet to achieve parity in gender representation in both Houses of Parliament (the National Assembly and the Senate), it was important to find out the improvements made in regards to the media coverage based on the percentages of gender representation in the August House by the two leading newspapers in Kenya. This study has produced new research knowledge that gives a comparative content analysis of print media coverage of women and men parliamentarians in Kenya. Moreover, the study informs the Media



Houses in formulating or improving policies to enhance political coverage and in gaining insight by politicians on how they are comparatively covered as well as be useful to academicians in creating a basis for further study in the area of print media and political/parliamentary coverage. This research contributes to the literature on gender and print media coverage in the context of Kenya as a developing country.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The two month study period may limit the drawing final conclusions given that the study period was short.

### **1.8 Assumptions**

That the access to libraries for data collection for the content analysis was to be allowed.

### **1.9 Methodology**

A two months review (May to June, 2014) and comparative content analysis of the two popular newspaper publications (the Nation and the Standard newspapers) was carried out to get a clear picture of the present situation with regards to media gender representation in economic, political and social spheres of women and men parliamentarians. From the content analysis, the study aimed at identifying the frequency, the prominence and the gender frames used by the print media in the coverage of parliamentarians. In addition, the study identified the main themes of the articles and tone used in the coverage as well as the context of the coverage and the leadership position of the Member covered. From the key findings, conclusions were made on the comparison of the coverage given to women versus male parliamentarians by the two aforementioned newspapers.

A daily scrutiny of the newspapers was done and an article on Kenyan parliament or parliamentarians was analyzed to give an overview of parliamentary media coverage. The study undertook a comparative content analysis of print media coverage of women and men parliamentarians in Kenya, in the context of the Nation and the Standard newspapers. Specifically, the study compared the coverage of parliamentarians in the Nation versus the Standard newspapers and compared the quantity and quality of coverage of women versus men parliamentarians by the newspapers.

The research made reference to parliamentary coverage of both women and men parliamentarians. An article covering a parliamentarian both at the Senate and the National Assembly qualified for consideration.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter endeavored to give a review of the existing knowledge in the relation to the study problem, the research gaps to be filled by the study and the theoretical framework.

The 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament came into being after passing the Constitution of Kenya in 2010, that saw more women than ever in the history of Kenya elected and others nominated to Parliament. The 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament has a total of 86 women Parliamentarians, 63 having been elected and 23 nominated by political parties against 330 men parliamentarians.

Many people look into the media for information that can help them make judgments about important political issues and the politicians aim to use the media to stay in touch with people as well as maintaining their visibility.

Gichunge (2006) conducted a study whose findings established that with the media digital migration, the media in Kenya has been undergoing reforms aimed at reaching their audience. The media today are at the focal point of information age, where they fundamentally contribute to the sustenance of democracy in a country. Politicians have in the past used the media either directly or indirectly to influence the opinion because the media has the power and abilities to set the political agenda. Politicians cannot ignore mass media and especially newspapers as they to follow through the fronted agenda. Further, he noted that the media determines the qualities and qualifies the news makers' prominence and placement. He noted that the audience rely on media for news including political news. Further, he observed that there was need for print media to expand its operations so as to capture a wider variety of political issues in their coverage while at

the same time aiming to be fair in the coverage and letting people make their own choices on the political ideals presented, depending on their interests.

Researchers have tried to establish the blame for women's underrepresentation in politics with early studies finding out that male political candidates received more total coverage than female candidates. Newer studies have suggested that coverage for women has improved over time. But the central question in this study was whether the same amount of print media coverage given to men parliamentarians was equivalent to that given to women, given the increased number of empowered women in representation.

## **2.2 Frequency of Media Coverage of Women versus Men Parliamentarians**

Dr. Mbote (2002) in the book *Perspectives in gender discourse*, observed that the term gender denoted the state of being either male or female that translates to power relations between men and women that calls for policies to ensure equality is realized. She added that equality translates to equal representation by application of differential treatment which includes the two third gender rule representation in Parliament.

The media may sometimes give less time to significant political issues especially as relates to policy. Even in cases that warrant greater publicity an article may be reduced to a mere summary as editors in news rooms continue to gate keep (Lillecker, 2008). In broadcast media, important issues may sometimes be reduced to minor sound bites. Seriousness of issues is then lost to infotainment and the public becomes less engaged to serious politics (Dahlegn 2003 and Lillecker, 2008). As a result, politics revolve around either ideal politicians for reasons such as wealth and power.

Politicians' relationship with the media is that of the later influencing their public visibility and further their chance to make an impact on politics. Media and politics go hand in hand as one cannot exist without the other. As Halbrooks (2012) posits, media and politics will, and have always had close ties as the media have no choice but cover people in government who include politicians, as well as the politicians have to get the media exposure for their visibility.

Researchers have noted that there has to be continual engagement in quest to manage news and competition for the definition of events and issues as Nyabuga (2010) found out that political parties in Kenya consider media and journalism to be the key to the advancement to contend political power same to other parts of the world. Further, Franklin (2004) posits that some politicians through their parties do employ media advisers to strategically promote favorable media coverage.

Further the contribution of media to politics cannot be refuted as the democratic politics depends more on media. Some researchers have argued that the media being patriarchal and operating along cultural values and socialization, is considered to be gender insensitive making women invisible with regard to media space, and prominence given to stories that cover them.

Gender role differentiation was in the past defined by structures and people's culture that presented the males as prevailing figures. Despite the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1967 and the few milestones achieved, in most countries, culture distortions and misinterpretations worked to the disadvantage of women by making them be left out in key positions in society or ending up getting fewer opportunities. Currently, players are trying to acknowledge the gender factor in implementation of programmes, Were (1991). Some studies found out that several women's organizations have in the past collectively

taken steps towards achieving equality in the treatment given to women and men, equity in resource distribution, and the empowerment of women in both private and public spheres. Various global conferences as well as non-governmental organizations have in the past drawn the attention of issues that affect women and actively advocated for women's agenda to be involved in activities aimed at ensuring implementation of international obligations like the gender equality policies. In Kenya, the women legislators have been in the forefront in advocating for gender equality policies and the bill of rights.

Kiragu in the book, "mapping best practices, promoting gender equality and the advancement of the Kenyan woman (2006)", observed that women's equal participation in key decision making bodies was an essential condition for women's issues to be considered. She noted that due to some favorable conditions, the number of women running for political offices had increased, although majority of them were not successful due to patronage networks of politics and inadequate resources.

Women are becoming more involved in communication related careers and few have attained media leadership positions that are of influence in policy and decision making. According to Kiragu (2006), women have also improved their skills and access to the diverse media that highlight women issues. Some studies have shown that despite the population of women in countries like Kenya being higher than that of men, there continues to be disparities between men and women in governance.

Case studies from East Africa as noted by Omondi in the book assessing gender policies in the East Africa Region, observed that lack of improved access to resources and representation in decision making positions continue to obstacles to women's recognition contributing to the

affairs. The study noted that the low number of women in Parliament resulted to delay in advocating for issues concerning women's rights.

While the Constitution of Kenya advocates for equal political participation by men and women, the same has not been achieved as the representation has continually been low. In the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament, there are 86 women Members of Parliament (both at the Senate and the National Assembly) which is the highest number of women representation since independence. Despite the rise in numbers, the 30 percent gender rule as envisaged in the Constitution, has not been achieved. The low numbers of women in leadership result to low numbers in decision making institutions and by extension their participation in power structures is hindered. The Constitution having paved way for affirmative action seeking to have gender equity of women and men in decision making spheres and in politics. Some studies have pointed out that the media has portrayed women as beneficiaries of the affirmative action instead of focusing on their contribution to decision making in their capacities as people's representatives while others noted that their involvement in decision making is good for the nation at large.

The existing formal political systems have defined and controlled the public political domain to be that of men with the democratic space in governance remaining that of alienation to women. Some studies found out that patriarchy, capitalism and industrialization are some of the factors that have kept women from participating in politics confining their work to family and to the low prestige occupations. On the other hand, some studies showed that women do not have equal resources or influence making their participation in politics minimal. Men have more privileges that are more often legitimized by policy and legal frameworks, resulting to inequities and negating the principle of basic rights of freedom and justice.

Further, some scholars have pointed out that although women have become visible in the political agenda, the allocation of political resources and decision making power are still hindering the political balances. The political party's recruitment contribute to the disparities in governance due to the exclusion of women in their leadership. Nzomo (2002), as noted in the book perspectives on gender discourse, observed that women still have a long way to go, before attaining gender equality with men especially in elective politics that will result to their visibility in the media. The scholar, further noted that women need to advance their political profiles through active media engagement and visibility.

Kamau (2002), as noted in the book perspectives on gender discourse, observed that there is an urgent need for women's political empowerment through capacity building of women politicians to contribute to increases numbers of women in parliament. Prof. Ghai (2002), in the book perspectives on gender discourse, noted that when the negotiation for the independence constitution was being done in London, there was only one woman resulting to women issues being entirely ignored making them continue facing discrimination in both the public and private spheres. On the other hand, Dr. Subbo in the book perspectives on gender discourse (2002), observed that in conceptualization of gender discourse, the term gender became popular in the 1980's as a replacement for the term women and development. He continued to note that biological determinants do not assert the gender social constructs on expectations and responsibilities, but the term also accommodates male and female relationships in addition to race, class and ethnicity.

Previous studies having posited that in addition to the societal norms, Women Parliamentarians receive low media coverage as most of them avoid contacts with media, they do not engage professional media advisors and avoided controversy, while recent studies have shown improved



coverage. Despite the low numbers of women in parliament and the low coverage, they have performed well in parliamentary activities according to statistics. The participation shows that women in parliament have been politically empowered and endeavor to contribute at equal measure to their male counterparts. By establishing the frequency of print media coverage of Women Parliamentarians versus their male counterparts even with the empowerment that they have received and their contribution in decision making spheres having increased, the study comparatively analyzed the gender coverage by the news print media.

### **2.3 Gendered Frames in Coverage**

In her research, Oria (2009) said that despite some shifts in the portrayal of women, there seemed to be no serious trend towards less gender stereotyping and that the portrayal of women had not changed since negative images of women were reflected and the writers were more likely to focus on the age, marital status or family of women being covered. She recommended policy guides for media to guide media coverage towards achieving balanced coverage.

A study done in the periods preceding the 1992 and 2002 general elections in Kenya that was comparing the difference in the quality of coverage of female parliamentary candidates in the campaigns found out that although during the period, female parliamentary candidates received more coverage in 2002 than 1992, efforts needed to be made to increase the quantity and quality of coverage given to female candidates.

In recent studies, some scholars have focused their attention on the gendered frames used in media coverage of women with some making conclusions. Ryan (2013) posits that while there was a clear difference between news coverage of female politicians and that of male politicians in the 1920's and the 1990's, there is evidence that news covers women differently than their male counterparts. But Smith (2001) stated that there have been many hypothesis on why some

female politicians have become more successful and further suggest that there has been a shift in the treatment of female politicians in the media due to heightened awareness of the bias the media had previously displayed. Smith further argued that the playing field is even for both men and women. Although Smith concluded that there is no gender bias in the media coverage, he failed to consider the equality of coverage given to the female as compared to the male politicians.

According to Bahadur (2014), television news coverage for instance gives more emphasis to male sources. Women only appear in less than 30% of news stories. Besides, they seem to be mostly considered in soft news stories including family, life style and culture. The information was taken from an analysis of primetime television news coverage. A co-author of the report Professor, Kaori Hayashi said about the findings, “such under-representation and topical bias of women in news media may curb women’s motivation to acquire political knowledge actively, and discourage them from political participation, and even prevent women from engaging as citizens in a democratic society”.

This bias in coverage may be due to the fact that the media looks for those very knowledgeable sources because at the end of the day, it is information that the media thrives on. Hayashi appeared to agree with this position in Bahadur (2014) when he says that, “it seemed that gaps in exposure to media were related to the gaps of knowledge between men and women”. The case is not different even in the US, the world’s oldest democracy. Potts (2014), in an article *The Burdens of Female Politicians*, appearing in the online edition of the *American Post*, notes that American politics has changed since 1984 when the first female vice-presidential candidate Geraldine ran alongside Walter Mondale. The feat was replicated in 2008 by Republican, Sarah

Palin and Hillary Clinton who nearly became presidential candidates. But not much has changed really. According to Potts (2014), they “still haven’t achieved the ultimate goal: parity in statehouses and Congress or sending a woman to the White House”.

In the American case, as first the author observed, that Palin seemed capable of combining sex appeal and careerism or the roles of being a mother and a politician in an admirable way. But continued media attention did not support her cause. Instead, it made her look less suitable and gradually, she stopped being a front-runner for the top office. Potts further points out that it does not at all suggest that Palin should have been accepted regardless of being dimly knowledgeable about world affairs. It only suggests that a woman such as Palin in a political race is not the real problem. Most women would be very happy to have a wide field of candidates to choose from but that can only happen if there are more women to choose from.

International research done has shown that women are under-represented when being considered as news sources. Some research done have indicated that some journalist argue that female politicians are more reluctant than men to act as sources for news that eventually leads to them being visible in the media. When female politicians are reluctant to act as news sources, that impacts directly on their political influence considering the importance of media coverage and its link with politics. Patti (2014) suggests that there is a difference on how much female and male politicians appear in the media as the media tends to present women in general and female politicians in special ways, as stereotypes or through conventional frames. The difference can also be seen when the news maker is female where the women will be referred to as “the female politician” as opposed to referring to them as “the politician”.

Previously, some scholars had interests in the difference in media coverage and how framing was done when covering politicians while recent studies show that coverage of female politicians has improved over time. A study conducted by Dr. Thuo (2012), established that among other things, culture contributed to low media coverage given to women politicians and the coverage lacked prominence making them remain invisible. She noted that although politics had been viewed as a dirty game that is a preserve for men, various civil society organizations have been in the forefront in advocating for gender equality including equality in media coverage. The study concluded that women in the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament contributed to the minimal media coverage given to them due to a majority of them avoiding contacts with media even when sought to give comments. Further, a number of the women parliamentarians did not engage media advisors and neither did they avail themselves to give comments on controversial matters yet media thrived in controversy, compared to their male counterparts who seized all opportunities presented to have them appear in the media.

The study further observed that due to the societal norms on how women are expected to behave in public, most women parliamentarians were mindful of their reputation, thus played safe and avoided appearing in the media over involvement in matters that might be deemed as controversial. In addition she noted that Kenyan media did not use gendered media and traits, contrary to other findings. The study recommended that for women's media coverage to rise, they have to aggressively engage the media, consider working with qualified media advisors and liaise with civil society organizations with a bias towards women that can support capacity building on media relations. It was of interest to this study to finding out whether the coverage of the women has even further improved for the better.

## **2.4 Thematic Areas in Parliamentary Coverage**

A woman's world is fraught with numerous challenges when it comes to representation in governance structures. She participates less in governance due to a large extent, to the societal assumption that a woman is better off in the private domain. Amryta, Gopal, Nussbaum and Yasmin (2003), found that the public arena is deemed to be that of political authority and "contestation" reserved for men. They also noted that the private domain is largely taken to mean the family and home. Hence, by confining the women to this domain, their chances to get into competitive politics are much reduced. This social construct seems to have pervaded even the media where the inevitable result is painting of would-be women leaders with a less helpful and stereotypical broad brush. The effect is so much diminished image so that it would appear a woman is nothing more than a homemaker whose star should never go beyond the confines of her home; the private sphere.

Media being a very powerful tool of change, it is expected that it should bring a lot of positive change to the readers and/or audience. This is not the real truth when it comes to the media, women and politics (Liny, 2005). But is the media entirely at fault here? One significant aspect of a possible answer to such a question is the fact that inequality stems from the family set up. Inequitable division of labour within households, a situation engendered and equally fed by cultural attitudes about gender roles has subjected women to limited representation in public life. As the media mirrors the society, the patriarchal tendencies of most societies have contributed to a media that represents the interests of women much less than that of men. It is important to make this point from these initial stages as media is a very, if not the most crucial vehicle in driving political agenda in today's world.

There is a perception that the existence of gender renaissance has developed a brand new dynamic space in which perceptions are continually changing, as well as affecting and changing our actions and future projections. These are regarded as the upsurge of the genuine real men and women with real concerns (Kibwana, 1995). In relation to public and private gender based divisions, there is a struggle to tear down the battle to have the change of media perceptions of the newsworthiness of female politicians. When it comes to the topics in news selection, the distinction is usually made between the soft and hard news. Soft news is of issues that are considered to be more suitable for women than hard news that is considered to be a field that should be left for the men.

Further, hard news includes: politics, business, military, technology, science and crime news while soft news include; social issues, health care, education, childcare and the environment. With politics having been classified under the category of hard news that in most cases makes it to the headlines, then the women will have lesser opportunities of being in the headlines with the soft news that is considered as fillers. The hard news is also considered to be of tough issue that women would rather not venture into. In explaining the differences in the coverage given to men compared to women, Norris (1997) noted that the public women are better at handling domestic issues like education and welfare while men are better placed to handle tough issues like the economy and foreign policy.

Ross (2000) notes that style over substance is considered when covering female politicians as media are more inclined to focus on gender-based evaluations of the style and appearance of the female politicians than of the male politicians. The aforementioned usually happens at the expense of covering the substance of what was being said or being addressed. According to Ross (2000) when studying the experiences of female politicians in the UK, Australia and South

Africa with journalists, found out that they believed that their appearance was the major aspect of their lives that was featured more on the news than when compared to their male colleagues. The contrary is true in the coverage of male politicians where their experience, accomplishments and position is the angle taken in news coverage.

Recent studies having noted the coverage of women legislators to have increased over time, this study identified the thematic areas and the tone used by the print media in the coverage of women versus male parliamentarians in the comparative study of the Nation and Standard newspapers.

## **2.5 Context Influence over Media News Coverage**

A baseline survey of media in Kenya conducted by the Media Council of Kenya (2006), established that Kenyans have a great need for news and newspapers being a major source of news providing information on events that occur daily around the world, many in the urban areas reading newspapers. Studies done showed that media is crucial in shaping the public views, interpreting and understanding issues, to any society and the representation it offers is the basis of persons learning about public affairs.

Media today has a broader influence over the issues that are focused on in the news coverage in terms of the context of coverage, personalities, the tone and even placement as compared to the past. Altheid and Snow (1979) noted that in the past, the media used to be subordinate to the political sphere unlike today when the influence that the media has over the political sphere is substantive. This will then mean that politicians will have to adapt to the changing trend of the media in order to become visible in the media through coverage.

Politicians then have realized or have to realize that the success in influencing and becoming regularly visible in the media is a requirement for their political sustainability. Past research studies indicated that the media may focus more on the personality traits of female politicians than of male ones. The researches further indicate that the presence of female politicians when it comes to media coverage may bring out the personal characteristics to the forefront than when it comes to the coverage of male politicians. Bystron (2014) observed that women's progress towards forging their political ground often struggle to receive media coverage in the eyes of the public as they receive differential coverage suggesting that gender stereotyping continue to face female politicians. Further, he noted that the media still associates the female candidates with traditional feminine issues which more often affect how the public views their capability in regards to issues related to the economy and international affairs.

Past studies have noted that politicians knowing very well the prospective value that media holds, they seize any available opportunity to appear in the media even when they are made to face tough journalists. Politicians know that for them to remain successful and visible to their electorates, they have to be well grounded in their use of various communication tools and channels to maintain contacts with their audience. Practitioners in public relations who aim to create favorable public attitude to their political clients are not stopping at anything to achieve their goal including the use of resources that a complex modern communication system offers to organize and direct public opinion. As the public relations practitioners seeks to maintain the fundamental relationship of the electorate and the politician, they establish and retain affiliations with reporters and publishers in an effort to secure favorable publicity.

Public relations being a necessity for positive governance, most public relations practitioners have moved from practicing part-time to making them lifetime practitioners. With the aim of



building the prominence of the politician, the public relations practitioners whose services are considered valuable by politicians who value media visibility, have taken advantage of the growth of mass media to maintain the publicity of their clients. Amidst the efforts and advancements made in the search for and sustenance of media visibility, the comparative study further aimed to identifying the context in coverage of women versus male parliamentarians by the print news media, whether inside or outside parliament. Further, the study established whether the Members were covered while attending an event that was parliament related, a political party, a constituency or a social event. The conclusion was useful in determining the context where most of the coverage of the parliamentarians was done.

## **2.6 Women Parliamentarians Knowledge of Politics and the Positions Held in Political Participation**

According to a study of 10 countries, men appeared to know more about politics than women (Bahadur, 2014). This difference is noticed even in countries that are considered to be progressive and older democracies. A team of researchers from Goldsmiths University of London conducted a study in Australia, Canada, Colombia, Greece, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Norway the US and the UK. The findings showed that British men were able to score an average of 5.8 out of eight on a range of subjects that included information on the United Nations, the national employment rate and Russian politics. The women on the other hand scored under 3.9. The findings led to heated debate on social media with a number of people blaming the broadcasters for neglecting female faces. Greece, South Korea had the least differences (Bahadur, 2014). Talking about the findings, Professor James Curan, the director of the Leverhulme Media Research Centre said, “....our findings that the gap between men and women’s knowledge of politics is greater in Norway—a country ranked globally as the very

highest in terms of gender equality—than in South Korea—a country with a much lower equality rating is particularly striking” (Bahadur, 2014). It is a fact that throughout the world, women know less about politics than men. She further observed that without going into reasons why, “the research showed that globally in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the people who are likely to be knowledgeable about politics and current affairs are older men in industrialized nations”. The media feeds on this knowledge gap to sideline or give less prominence to women’s political issues.

Kabira in the book *the road to empowerment* (1994) noted that the idea of politics being construed to be a dirty game has engulfed the minds of some women who left the political space to men while they remained invisible while the men saw women as political contemporaries who could serve at any capacity in government. Kiai in the book *the road to empowerment* (1994) in a case study of empowering women while evaluating the print media and gender in Kenya, also underscored the fact that the print media transformed ideas into becoming part of the existing culture. He added that the print media being a social communication tool could be key in overcoming the promotion of outdated predispositions that promote male dominance while neglecting the contribution made by women.

Abena (1991) noted that in Ghana, various groups have tried to seek solutions for the separation of societal positions held by women worldwide that are encouraged by traditions. She noted that women should be involved decision making spheres as majority of the issues affect the larger population comprised of women and children and that their liberation and status in the social order are aspects that are closely connected with national development. In a report presented on post-election women’s agenda, forward looking strategies to 1997 and beyond, Nzomo (1993) looking back observed steps had been made to the right direction regarding the empowerment of

women and achieving equality in representation although more needed to be done. For women empowerment to be achieved, she pointed out that women's political field ought to be strengthened by the women organizations as well as throughout the political parties and civic education, so that women could be elevated to compete at the same level with men in representation.

According to Kabira (2012), the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 was a great opportunity for the Kenyan women. This is based on the fact that just like many other African societies, Kenyan women had not been in the public leadership as there were no women in parliament for a long time since independence. Kenya as a developing country is yet to achieve parity in gender representation in both Houses of Parliament and it was important to compare to the improvements made in regards to the print media coverage based on the increase in percentages of women in political representation.

## **2.7 Theoretical Framework**

### *2.7.1 Agenda Setting Theory*

The media has the ability to influence the visibility of events in the public mind as the press to selectively choose what people see or hear in the media. The study used the agenda setting theory. Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media places on certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Shaw and McCombs (1977) describe media's role as the agenda setters as the media's ability to influence public opinion by setting the agenda of what people think about. The researcher in this study is of the idea that how parliamentarians are covered is entirely the decision of the media as it decides whom and what is to be covered.

Further, after the selection of the personality and the subject of the coverage, the media then places importance in some news items by giving them more emphasis and first priority.

The media give some news events more prominence making the public refer to them as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments. It is assumed that people form attitudes based on the considerations that are most prominent when they make decisions (Hastie & Park, 1986) that eventually shape the considerations they take into account when making judgments about political leaders. Scheufele (2000) observed that agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Along with the manner in which the news is presented, the frequency of publication plays an important role. Readers tend to consider items which are reported on frequently as being very important. From the readers' perspective, agenda setting is more important when issues are relatively new or unknown, since the need for orientation would then be greatest (Oosthuizen 1996). Parliamentarians that are given prominence in coverage will emerge in the eyes of the public as active in the performing of their representation, oversight and legislation role.

Related to the agenda setting theory is the idea that the media, and especially the press, also have a long term effect on readers: the media set the climate within which individual issues are perceived and evaluated (Oosthuizen, 1996). The problem of assessing the effects of the media on people and society led some scholars to emphasize the media's power to determine what people should think about. Agenda set by the media in regards to parliamentary coverage is often determined by the gatekeepers, editors and managers, and other external influences.

Mass Communication plays an important role in the society as it informs the public about current and past events, where the media then uses gatekeeping and agenda setting to “control our access to news, information, and entertainment” (Wilson 2002). Agenda setting has two levels. First part being the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media and second, the issues discussed in the media having an impact over the way the public thinks (Littlejohn, 2002). Further, agenda setting is also used to establish the media agenda and to retrieve the opinion of the public. Agenda setting is important in the political aspect because the public agenda influences the policy agenda which means that parliamentarians will try to focus on issues that the public wants to hear about.

In selecting and displaying news, the media play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what Members of Parliament in Kenya are engaging in and their active participation in their mandate, during their time in the August House, the mass media will determine the important issues which when presented to the public sets the agenda and gives them publicity.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, variables, methodology, location of study, target population, sampling techniques and the sample size. Further it indicates how pretesting was undertaken, the reliability and validity tests, the procedure on how data collection was done, data analysis and the ethical considerations observed.

Research methodology refers to a framework within which facts are placed to allow meaning to be extracted from them. It directs a researcher on the direction to follow in order to get answers to research questions or the issues under study (Leedy, 2005). This is a logical step that follows the identification of a research problem and completion of the section of literature review. Wiseman (1986) states that development of research strategy or research methodology follows identification of the issue for study.

This section provides a systematic description of the research methodology, what the researcher used to successfully carry out the research. Discussion of the sampling procedure, how the subjects for the study were obtained and the rationale for their selection was done in this section. In addition, the tools used and the procedure adopted in data collection is outlined. Finally, this section outlines how data analysis was carried out and the ethical concerns with which the research expected to contend.

#### 3.2 Research Design

Kothari (2004) defines research design as the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data. Research design involves planning, organizing, collecting and analyzing data to produce the information so desired by the researcher (Peil, 1995). It also gives guidelines to help

minimize errors as research can be influenced by many intervening factors (Kothari, 2004). This study adopted a descriptive approach as it is the most appropriate given its nature. In this research an accurate description of phenomenon under study, that is, the print media coverage of women versus male parliamentarians was done. As such a descriptive method was most suitable.

The use of descriptive method resulted in a clearer understanding of the issue(s) under study and gave a clearer perspective under consideration. A descriptive method, according to Wimmer and Dominick (1987) attempts to show and document current conditions or attitudes, describing what exists currently and in a given context. Peil (1995), further observes that a descriptive study gives a researcher an opportunity to explore new ideas and open doors for further discussion on emerging ideas.

This study analyzed print media coverage of women versus men parliamentarians in the context of the Nation and the Standard newspapers and obtained descriptions, explanations and relationships between and among variables in order to provide a general understanding of the study problem.

### ***3.2.1 Variables***

Variables are attributes that the researcher measured as the cases vary in their scores on the attributes. The dependent variables in this research include the type or category of articles, the frequency of coverage, the prominence given to articles, gender frames used in coverage, the thematic area and tone used in coverage, the context of coverage and leadership positions of Members covered. On the other hand, the independent variable was the print media coverage given to the parliamentarians.

### **3.2.2 Scope**

The research focused on the Daily Nation, the Saturday and Sunday Nation, the Standard, the Standard on Saturday and Sunday newspaper, for the period of May to June, 2014

### **3.3 Research Methodology and the specific data collection methods**

The research used qualitative method of data collection. Specifically, the researched undertook content analysis of the Nation and Standard newspapers for the period May to June, 2014.

#### **3.3.1 Research Location**

The location of the study was in Nairobi, Kenya. Purposive sampling was used to select Nairobi since the headquarters of the subject of the study (the Nation and the Standard newspapers) are based in Nairobi. Further, the final editions of the newspapers were available in Nairobi.

### **3.4 Target Population**

The target population for this research were the copies of the Nation, the Saturday and Sunday Nation and the Standard, Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers, covering a period of two months, beginning May 2014 and ending June, 2014. It is from these targeted newspaper copies that the researcher relied on as an accurate and representative sample for study.

### **3.5 Sampling Design and Sample Size**

#### **3.5.1 Sample Size**

Kothari (2004) defines sample size as the number of subjects or items selected from a researcher's target population such that it represents the target population. Sample size is a set of units drawn from a population so that an estimation of the characteristics the population can be made. Wimmer and Joseph (1997) say that sample size depends on the purpose of research, project complexity, and amount of error that the research is willing to tolerate, time constraints financial constraints and the previous research carried out in the area.



Sample size also depends on factors such as the number of variables in the study, the type of research design, the method of data analysis and the size of the population (Mugenda, 2008). Gray (1981) as cited in Mugenda (2008) suggests that for descriptive statistics, 10 percent of the population is sufficient.

### **Newspaper Samples for Content Analysis**

A total of 122 Nation, the Saturday and Sunday Nation and the Standard, the Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers, were used for comparative content analysis. Half of this number were drawn from either the Nation or Standard newspapers.

**Table 3.1: Samples of Newspapers for Content Analysis**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Period of publication</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
<b>Daily Nation</b>	May to June 2014	61
<b>The Standard</b>	May to June 2014	61
<b>TOTAL</b>		122

### ***Sampling technique and Sample Design***

Chandran (2004) defines sampling as the process of selecting sufficient number of elements from the population so that a study of the selected sample represents the population adequately. Besides, an understanding of its properties or characteristics makes it possible to generalize such properties to the wider target population elements.

### **Homogeneous Sampling**

Newspaper samples were collected using homogeneous purposive sampling. The first reason for this decision is that to get an accurate, substantive and worthwhile comparative analysis of the contents of the two newspapers, it is more appropriate to include all the samples within a given

period of time. The second reason is that all the subjects were homogenous with no variations. The newspapers were more or less homogeneous units in as much as they were drawn from a single source; are published by either the Nation or the Standard.

### **Data Types**

There are two types of data which are primary and secondary data. Primary data is that which is collected afresh. Secondary data is that which has already been collected and passed through a statistical process. The responses obtained from the respondents constitute primary data (Kothari, 2004). Data can also be considered as qualitative or quantitative. Quantitative data is composed of numerical information but qualitative data is non-numerical. The latter is related to attributes that related to qualities, values, among other things (Chandran, 2004). Quantitative research attempts to give the precise measurement of something. It is concerned with answers to questions of how much, how often, how many, when, and who. On the contrary, qualitative research is an approach that allows “you to examine people’s expressions in detail by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation, content analysis, visual method and use of histories or biographies” (Olsen, 2012). Qualitative data method will be used for this research.

### **3.6 Data Collection Methods and Instruments**

A number of methods exist for the collection of primary data. They include use of questionnaires, interviews, observations, focus groups and document analysis (Kothari, 2004). This research used document analysis or what is otherwise known as content analysis to collect the data required.

### *Content Analysis*

The method used in this research was content analysis. This is a method that involves evaluating historical or contemporary confidential or public records or reports, government document and opinions (Schindler & Cooper, 2006). It is also the collection, review, interrogation and analysis of various forms of text as a primary source of data. In this method, documents are used to provide data gathered in surveys, interviews and observations (O’Leary, 2004).

Content analysis is considered the longest established method of analyzing text. When it first began, term meant only the methods that deal with “directly and clearly quantifiable aspects of text content and as a rule on absolute and relative frequencies of words per text or surface unit” (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Eva 2000). But Babbie (2001) defines content analysis as the study of recorded human communications. He further says that “the process is basically a coding operation where coding in this sense refers to the process of transforming data into a standardized form”.

According to Mayring, 2000, p. 114; Titscher et al, 2000, p. 55, content analysis is very much connected to the development of mass media and international politics. The method has gained much significance over the years proportionate to expansion of the mass media. Notably, theoretical move towards content analysis was started by Harold D. Laswell and later improved by the news transmission model of Shannon and Weaver Titscher. In summary, the research will be concerned with construction of what Bryman (2004) calls “meaning of and in the texts.”

The research analyzed the contents of the two newspapers, Nation and Standard over a specified period of time, in this case a two month period beginning May 2014 until June, 2014. The newspapers were studied to analyze the frequency of print media coverage of women versus men

parliamentarians; establish the thematic areas and tone used in the coverage by the print media articles on women versus men parliamentarians; assess the context of the print media coverage on the women versus men parliamentarians and to establish the parliamentary position held by the member covered and its impact on coverage.

A coding instrument tool (herein attached as appendix I), has details of how the content analysis was undertaken with specific questions aimed at collecting data required to achieve the objectives of the study.

### **3.7 Quality Control and Pretesting of Tools**

Validity and reliability of a data collection tool makes all the difference for the usefulness of a research. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) argues that questionnaires for instance, must be valid and reliable if they are to produce the intended results. While validity measures whether the tool is able to test what it is developed to test, reliability is concerned with relevance of the questions. But such qualities are not just considered when using questionnaires; other tools must equally pass the tests of validity and reliability. The coding instrument was pretested before the commencement of data collection.

#### ***3.7.1 Pilot-testing the content analysis tool***

According to Hennik et al. (2011), the researcher should pilot-test the data collection tool, in this study the content analysis coding instrument tool, to determine if: the questions are understood immediately; if the words, sentences were adapted to the context of the content analysis; some questions need to be rephrased; the order of the questions to determine if they are logical; the research question (s) is adequately answered by the information gathered; the content analysis coding instrument was too long. In short, content analysis questions must also be both relevant and appropriate. Pre-testing enables a researcher to get feedback on how the questions might be

either reworded or restructured to be more effective. The content analysis coding instrument tool was evaluated for suitability based on a number of criteria. The first criterion was appropriateness, which was whether or not the content analysis coding instrument tool is good enough to answer the research question(s). The second criterion was validity which determined whether the instrument was a valid operationalization of the research questions and conceptual framework (Hennik et al. 2011).

The third criterion was cultural sensitivity. The question to be answered by this criterion is whether the questions were asked in a language and wordings that were sensitive to the operational culture. The fourth criterion was saturation, which tackled the concerns of information sufficiency. The biggest concern here was if or not the content analysis leads to a level where there is saturation of information—no question remains unanswered.

The fifth criterion was coherence in design of the content analysis. It meant that the analysis was to be correctly inked to the task. The sixth criterion was transparency—decisions taken regarding the content analysis coding instrument and the conduct of the analysis was transparent. The seventh criterion was being reflexive. By this point the emphasis was on the inferences that the researcher made. The criterion asked: was the researcher reflexive in subjectivity of doing field work and the content analysis? The eighth criterion, new information, tried to establish whether or not the content analysis provided any new information.

### ***3.7.2 Validity and Reliability***

Validity and reliability of a data collection tool makes all the difference for the usefulness of a research. Mugenda (2008) argues that data collection tool and for case the content analysis coding instrument, for instance, must be valid and reliable if they are to produce the intended results. While validity measures whether the tool is able to test what it is developed to test,

reliability is concerned with relevance of the questions. Such qualities were considered when using all tools that ensured they passed the tests of validity and reliability.

The content analysis coding instrument tool was used to collect data from the newspapers article was pretested by being administered to a sample newspapers that established that the questions thereof enabled the researcher to get answers to the research questions and whether the answers therein enabled the researcher to get answers that led into attaining the research objectives.

### **3.8 Data Processing and Analysis**

Data is a collection of facts and figures relating to a particular activity under study (Mugenda, 2008). For it to be of any use, data has to be analyzed in order to provide answers to research problems. Data analysis is the whole process which begins upon data collection and ends with data interpretation and the processing of results. Data processing is the link between data collection and data analysis. It is the central part of any project. Kothari (2004) defines data processing as editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that they are ready for analysis.

Data from the content analysis coding instrument tool was converted from the raw form into systematic categories for analysis. This was done through data coding to ensure the data is accurate, consistent with other information, uniformly entered, complete and arranged to facilitate data coding, data classification and data tabulation. In data coding, the main function was assign numerals or other relevant symbols to answers in order for the responses to be grouped into a limited number of classes or categories.

The content analysis coding instrument tool was edited for completeness and consistency by checking each individual coding instrument. The researcher then analyzed the data by use of the

Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 20 for windows. The programme was chosen for its reliability and capability to sort and provide relationships between variables and also summarize the various sets of data. Thereafter, the results were compiled and presented in different tables, graphs and charts, and interpreted.

### **3.9 Ethical Issues**

Mugenda (2008) noted that confidentiality is always crucial for all respondents. Similarly in any social research considerations such as confidentiality and avoidance of deception are important. It is good practice to always avoid breach of confidentiality. In the case of this research, the researcher desisted from engaging in anything that could be construed as a breach of confidentiality. The researcher sought permission from the relevant authorities and subsequently carried out this research within the framework of provisions enabling an academic project of this kind.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

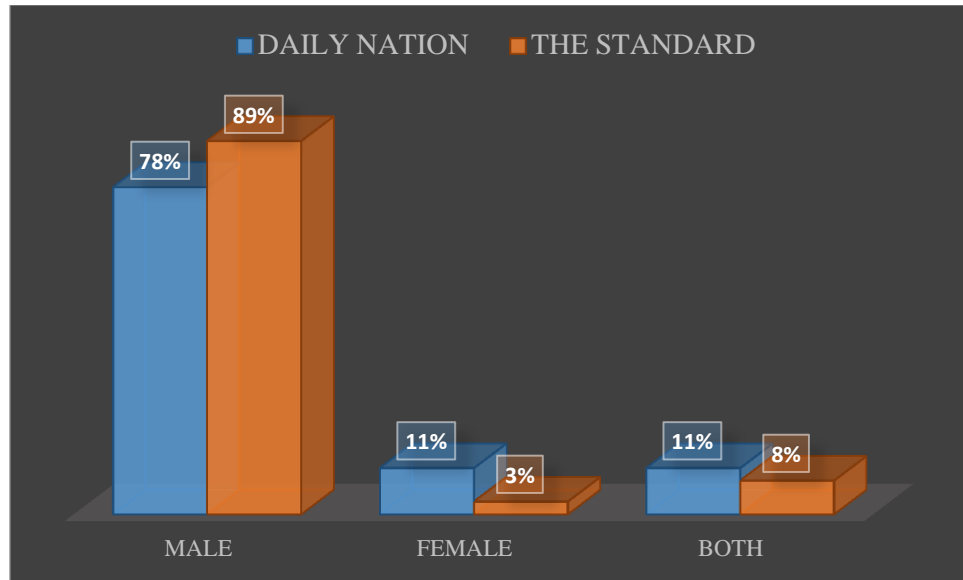
This chapter presents the research findings of the study and discussions of the findings. The study analyzed a total of 122 newspapers; the Daily Nation, the Saturday and Sunday Nation, the Standard, the Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers, covering the months of May and June 2014. Half of the number was drawn from either the Nation or Standard newspapers. Out of the research sample size, 43 were the Daily Nation, 9 were the Sunday Nation and 9 the Sunday Standard. On the hand, 43 were the Standard, 9 the Saturday Standard and 9 the Sunday Standard.

The objectives of the study were to analyze the amount of coverage given to women versus men parliamentarians by the by the Nation and Standard newspapers and identified the prevailing themes and tone used by the news print media in the coverage of women and men Kenyan parliamentarians.

#### 4.2 Findings and discussions on the gender of writers

From the analysis of the Daily Nation newspapers, 78 % of the stories were written by male writers, 11 percent of the stories by female writers while 11 % of the stories were written by both female and male writers.





**Figure 4.1: Gender of the writers in the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers**

Most parliamentary stories in the Saturday and Sunday Nation were written by male writers. On the other hand in the analysis of the Standard newspapers, 89 % of the stories were written by male writers, while eight percent of the stories written by both male and female writers and three percent by female writers.

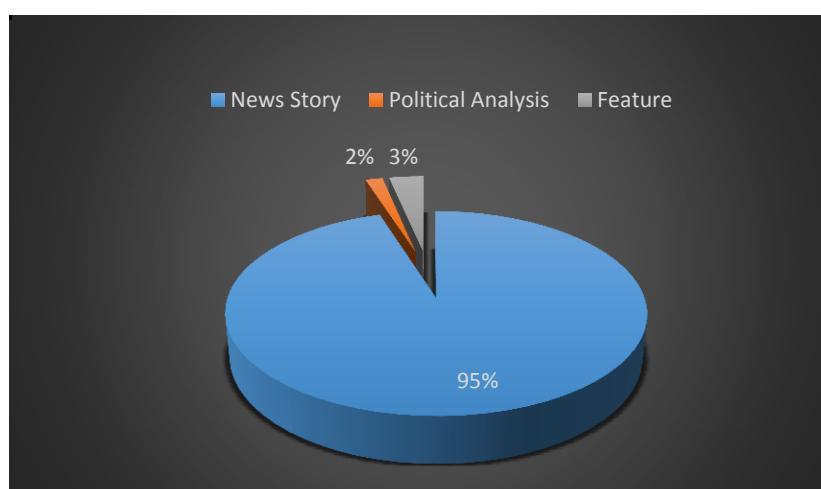
94 % of the articles in the Saturday and Sunday Standard were written by male writers and six percent were written by both male and female writers. On the general outlook, more than 80 % of the articles covering parliamentarians were written by male authors indicating that male reporters played a prevailing role on the coverage of male and female parliamentarians by both the Standard and Nation newspapers.

In both the Nation and the Standard newspapers analyzed, articles written by male reporters outnumbered those written by female reporters. It is not clear whether in the real situation, the number of male writers outnumber that of female writers at the Nation and Standard print media houses, however it is was observed that even in articles that were written by both the male and

female writers, both the male and female parliamentarians were covered. The gender of the writers did not affect the subject of their coverage as both male and female writers covered either gender of the parliamentarians.

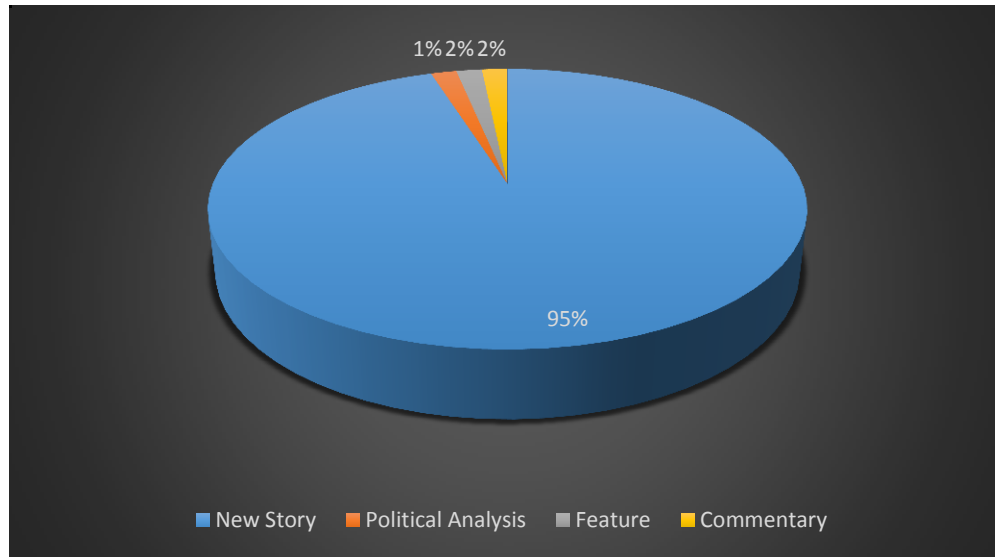
#### 4.3 Findings on categories of parliamentary articles covered

The stories analyzed were categorized into news stories, political analysis, features, editorials and commentaries.



**Figure 4.2: Categories of Parliamentary articles covered by the Nation newspaper**

95 % of the stories on parliamentarians in the Daily Nation were news stories while five percent were features and political analysis. Similarly, 95% of the stories on parliamentarians in the Standard were news stories while five percent were features, commentaries and political analysis.



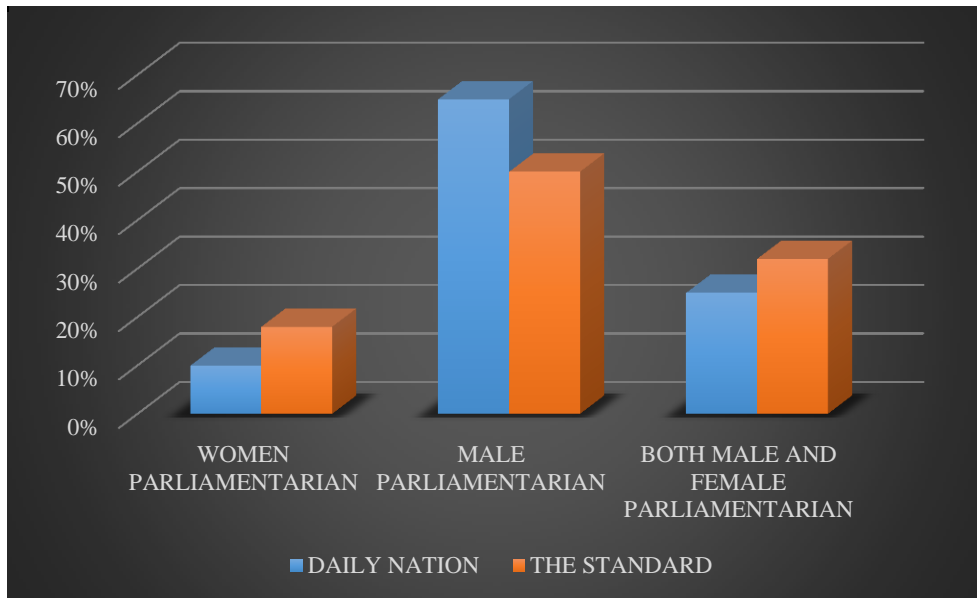
**Figure 4.3: Categories of Parliamentary articles covered by the Standard newspaper**

With more than 95 % of the stories published being news stories, the findings indicate that the women and male parliamentarians played a role in making news headlines. Parliamentary articles covered by both the Nation and Standard newspapers included news stories, political analysis, features, editorials and commentaries.

Most of the articles covered by the Standard newspaper focused on news stories while features, and political analysis featured in variations. Majority of the articles covered by the Nation newspaper focused on news stories while features, and political analysis featured in variations. Both the male and female parliamentarians participated in creating news stories in both the Nation and Standard newspapers. Both male and female parliamentarians also were subject of the features, editorials and commentaries although in the weekend publications, more women parliamentarians were covered in features as compared to male parliamentarians.

#### 4.4 Findings and discussions on the coverage of women versus male parliamentarians

The print media coverage of women and male parliamentarians was not even. Out of the 61 Nation newspapers analyzed, ten percent of the articles covered women parliamentarians as standalone stories. 65 % of the articles were on male parliamentarians while 25 %t of the stories were on both female and male parliamentarians. On the other hand, out of the 61 Standard newspapers analyzed, 18 % were stories of women parliamentarians while 50 % of the stories were on male parliamentarians and 32 % of the stories were on both male and female parliamentarians.



**Figure 4.4: The Coverage of women versus male parliamentarians**

Where the Nation newspapers had articles that covered both women and male parliamentarians, the male dominated throughout the articles. Similarly, where the Standard newspapers had stories that covered both female and male parliamentarians, the male dominated throughout the articles.

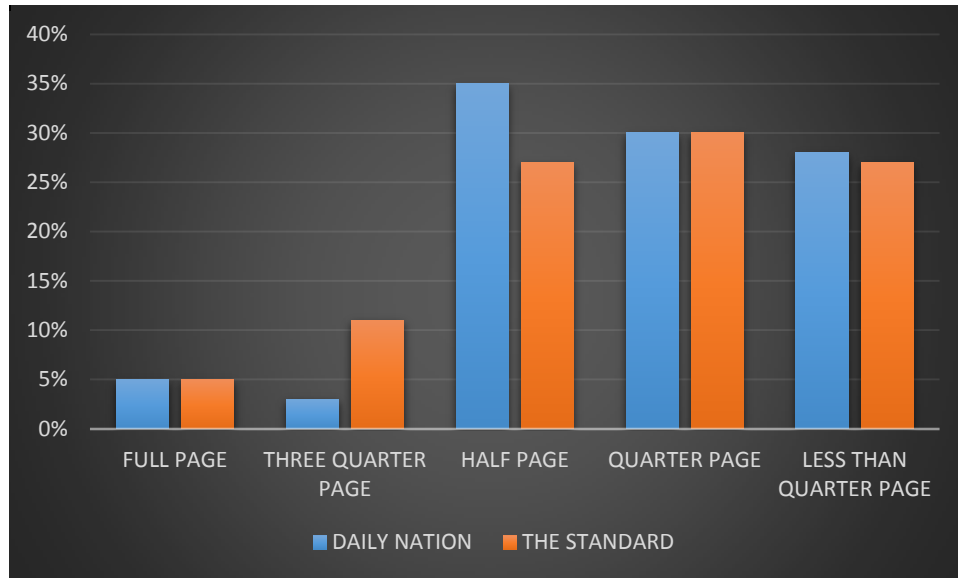
The print media coverage of women and male parliamentarians was not uniform. In the Daily Nation, male parliamentarians dominated the coverage, followed by articles that featured both the male and female parliamentarians while women parliamentarians received minimal coverage.

Similarly, in the Standard newspapers, men parliamentarians received more coverage compared to their women counterparts. Articles that featured both the female and male parliamentarians received more coverage as compared to articles that featured female parliamentarians. Women parliamentarians received the least coverage.

However, the standard newspapers gave women parliamentarians more coverage as compared to the Nation newspapers. In both the newspapers, where articles that featured both the women and men parliamentarians were published, the men dominated throughout the articles as they were given more coverage with their female counterparts featuring in giving a quote or just being mentioned by name as being in attendance but the substance of their contribution in the covered event being minimal.

#### **4.5 Findings and discussion on the size of articles on women parliamentarians published**

The size of articles in the newspapers covering women parliamentarians varied. The Daily Nation had five percent of its articles on women parliamentarians occupying full pages and three percent of the articles covering three quarter pages. 35 % of the articles occupied half pages while 30 % and 28 % of the articles occupied quarter and less than a quarter pages respectively. The Saturday and Sunday Nation had no article covering full nor three quarter pages but had 30 % of the articles occupied half pages while the majority of the articles occupied less than half pages.



**Figure 4.5: Size of articles on women parliamentarians**

The Standard Newspapers had five percent of its articles on women parliamentarians covering full pages and 11 % of the articles occupying three quarter pages. 27 % of the articles occupied half pages while 30 % and 27 % of the articles occupied quarter and less than a quarter pages respectively. Half of the articles in the Saturday and Sunday Standard occupied more than half pages while the rest of the articles occupied quarter pages.

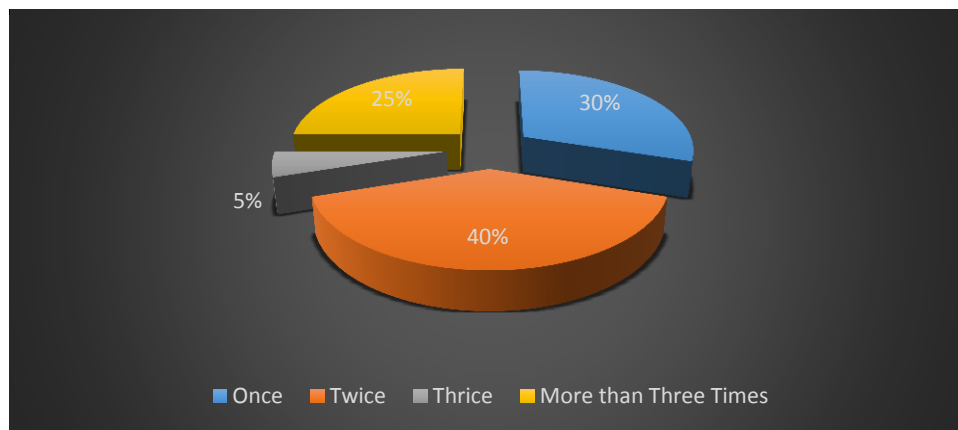
The size of articles in the newspapers covering Women and Male Parliamentarians varied. In the Daily Nation newspapers analysis, there were few articles that featured female parliamentarians that were given full page and three quarter page coverage. Majority of the articles featuring Women parliamentarians occupied half pages and less than half pages respectively. The Nation newspaper weekend publications had no article featuring Women parliamentarians that occupied full pages as the majority of the articles occupied less than half pages.

In the Standard newspapers, few articles occupied full pages but had more articles than the Nation that occupied three quarter pages. Majority of the articles in the Standard newspapers covering Women Parliamentarians occupied half pages and less than half pages respectively. Unlike the Nation weekend publications, the Standard weekend publications had half of the articles on Women Parliamentarians occupying more than half pages while the rest of the articles occupied quarter pages.

In comparing the Nation and the Standard newspapers, the later gave more space to articles featuring female parliamentarians.

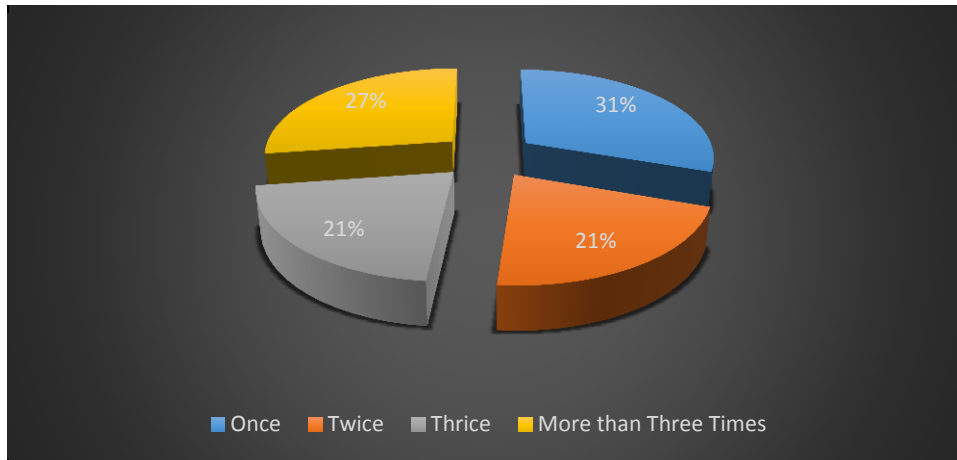
#### 4.6 The number of times articles on female and male parliamentarians were published

The frequency of the coverage of women parliamentarians by the newspapers ranged from once to more than three times in a single newspaper. At least 30 % of the Daily Nation newspapers covered women parliamentarians more than once in a single newspaper. 22 % of the Sunday and Saturday Nation newspapers carried articles on women parliamentarians more than once.



**Figure 4.6: Frequency of the coverage of women parliamentarians by the Daily Nation newspaper**

30 % of the Standard newspapers covered women parliamentarians more than once while 50 % of the Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers carried articles on women parliamentarians more than once in a single newspaper.



**Figure 4.7: Frequency of the coverage of women parliamentarians by the Standard (Monday to Friday) newspapers**

More than half of the Daily Nation newspapers analyzed carried articles on male parliamentarians more than three times in a single newspaper. 60 % of the Saturday and Sunday Nation newspapers carried articles on male parliamentarians more than three times. Similarly, more than half of the Standard newspapers analyzed carried articles on male parliamentarians more than three times while 60 % of the Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers carried articles on male parliamentarians more than three times.

The Standard newspapers carried more articles that featured female parliamentarians as compared to the Nation Newspapers. The Standard weekend publications also carried more articles on female parliamentarians as compared to the weekend Nation newspapers. The



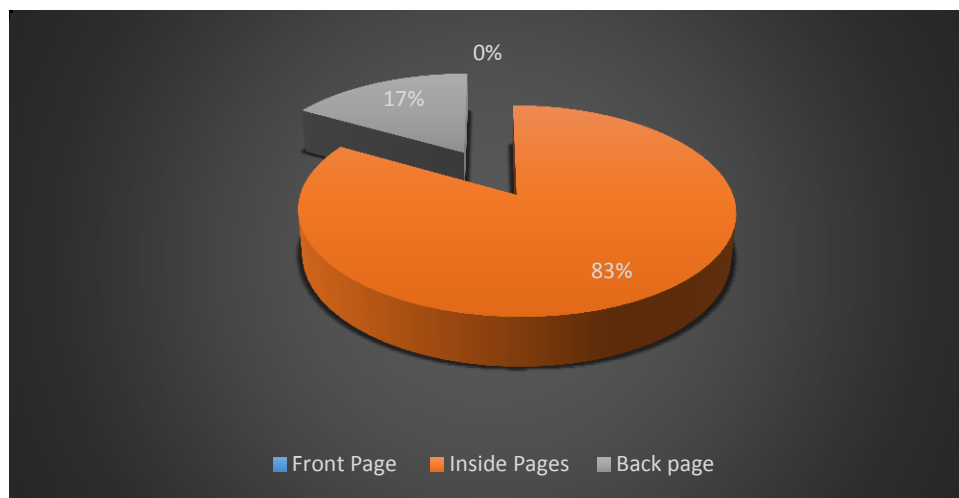
Standard newspapers, carried more than one article on female parliamentarians in a single newspaper.

The Standard newspapers also carried more articles on male parliamentarians as compared to the Nation newspapers by 10 %. In a single newspaper, the Standard carried more than three articles on male parliamentarians.

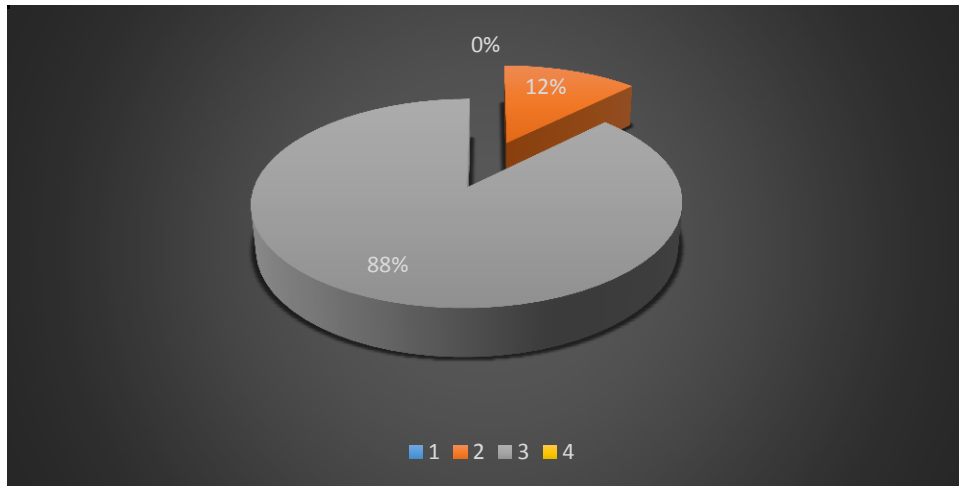
#### **4.7 Findings and discussions on the placement of articles on female versus male parliamentarians**

Articles on women and men parliamentarians were placed in different pages of the newspapers.

None of the articles on women parliamentarians was placed in the front pages of the Daily Nation, Saturday Nation or Sunday Nation. 83% of the articles on women parliamentarians in the Nation were placed in the inside pages while 17% were placed in the back pages.



**Figure 4.8: Placement of articles on women parliamentarians in the Nation newspapers**  
In the Standard newspapers, 12 % of the articles on female parliamentarians were placed in the front page, while 88 % of the articles were placed in the inside pages and none was placed on the back page.



**Figure 4.9: Placement of articles on women parliamentarians in the Standard newspapers**

Five percent of the articles on male parliamentarians in the Daily Nation were placed in the front pages, two percent placed on the back page while a majority of the articles were placed in the inside pages. Less than two percent of the articles were placed in the back pages of the Saturday and Sunday Nation newspapers. Majority of the articles on male parliamentarians were placed in the inside pages.

In the Standard newspaper, less than two percent of the articles on male parliamentarians were placed in the front pages and none on the back page. The Saturday and Sunday Standard had articles on male parliamentarians placed in the inside pages while none was placed on the back pages.

Articles on women and male parliamentarians were placed in different pages of the newspapers. None of the articles on women parliamentarians was placed in the front page of the Daily Nation, Saturday Nation or Sunday Nation. Most of the articles on Women Parliamentarians in the Daily Nation were placed in the inside pages while less than five percent were placed in the back page.

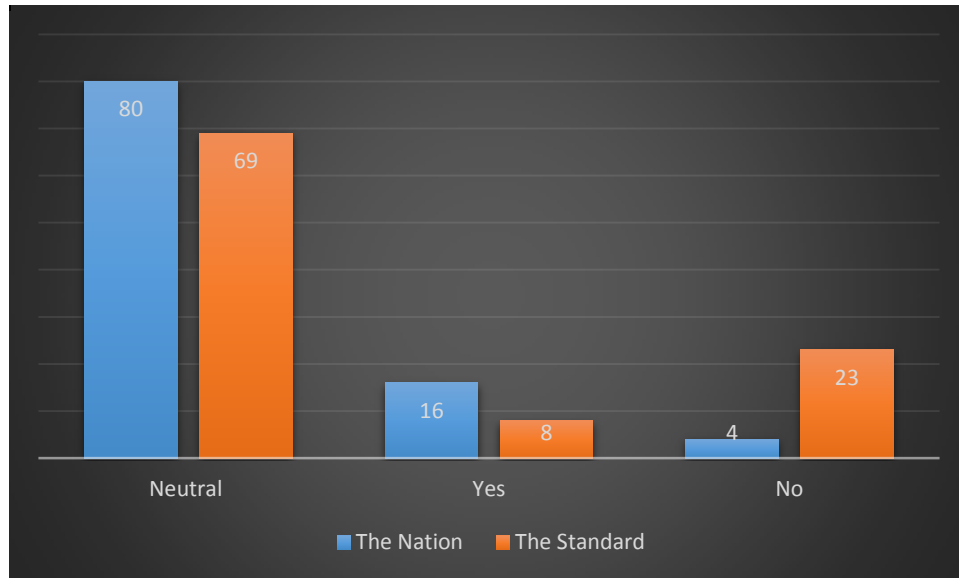
In the Standard newspapers, few articles on women Parliamentarians were placed in the front page, while a majority of the articles were placed in the inside pages and none was placed on the back page. On the other hand, some few articles on men parliamentarians in the Daily Nation were placed in the front pages, and some placed on the back page while a majority of the articles were placed in the inside pages. Some articles were also placed in the back pages of the Saturday and Sunday Nation newspapers while the majority of the stories on male parliamentarians were placed in the inside pages.

In the Standard newspaper, some articles on male parliamentarians were placed in the front pages and none on the back pages. The Saturday and Sunday Standard had articles on male parliamentarians placed in the inside pages while none was placed on the back pages.

The Standard newspapers placed articles on female parliamentarians and male parliamentarians in the front pages as compared to the Nation newspapers. No article appeared on the back pages as the pages are usually reserved for sports news. The Nation had no articles on female parliamentarians in the front or back pages while it had articles on male parliamentarians in the same pages indicating that the Nation publications gave more prominence to articles on male parliamentarians.

#### **4.8 Findings and discussions on the use of gendered frames in reporting**

Most of the newspaper did not mention the marital status of women parliamentarians in the articles carried. 16 % of the articles carried by the Nation newspapers mentioned the marital status of female parliamentarians. On the other hand, six percent of the articles on women parliamentarians carried by the Standard newspapers mentioned the marital status of the women covered.



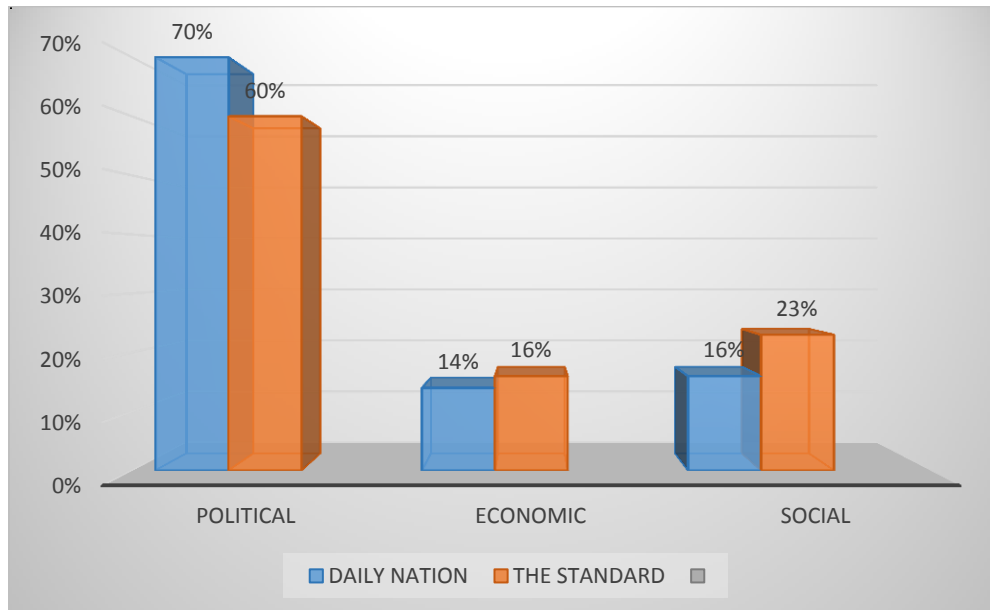
**Figure 4.10: Gendered frames in parliamentary coverage**

On the other hand, the newspaper articles did not mention the marital status of male parliamentarians in their coverage. In both the Standard and the Nation newspapers, none mentioned the marital status of the male parliamentarians save for a few articles that mentioned that the member in question was a family man.

Most of the newspapers analyzed did not mention the marital status of women nor men parliamentarians in the articles carried as the percentage of the mentioned was low. The newspapers used the titles of the parliamentarians more as compared to their marital status. The Nation newspapers had more articles that mentioned the marital status of the female parliamentarians as compared to the Standard newspapers. In both newspapers, women's marital status was mentioned more than that of male indicating that women are still regarded as family persons whose roles should be confined to the family cycle.

#### 4.9 Findings on the subject matters and the theme of the parliamentary stories carried

Most of the articles published in the newspapers with parliamentary subjects were political. 70 percent of the articles carried by the Daily Nation were on politics, 14 percent on economic matters while 16 percent were on the social sphere. Most of the articles carried by the Saturday and Sunday Nation were on politics while less than five percent were on social contexts.



**Figure 4.11: Subject matter of articles covered**

The Standard newspaper had 60 % of its articles carried on parliamentarians being of political nature while 16 % were of economic nature and 23 % were social in nature. The Saturday and Sunday Standard newspapers on covering parliamentarians had most of its articles being of political nature while social and economic articles made a total of less than ten percent of its total coverage.

21 % of the articles covered by the Daily Nation on Kenyan Parliamentarians were new themes while 79 % were follow up stories. More than 90 % of the articles published by the Saturday and Sunday Nation were follow up stories while the rest were new stories. On the other hand, 33 %

of the articles covered by the Standard on Kenyan parliamentarians were new themes while 77 % were follow up stories. More than 65 % of the articles published in the Saturday and Sunday Standard were follow up themes.

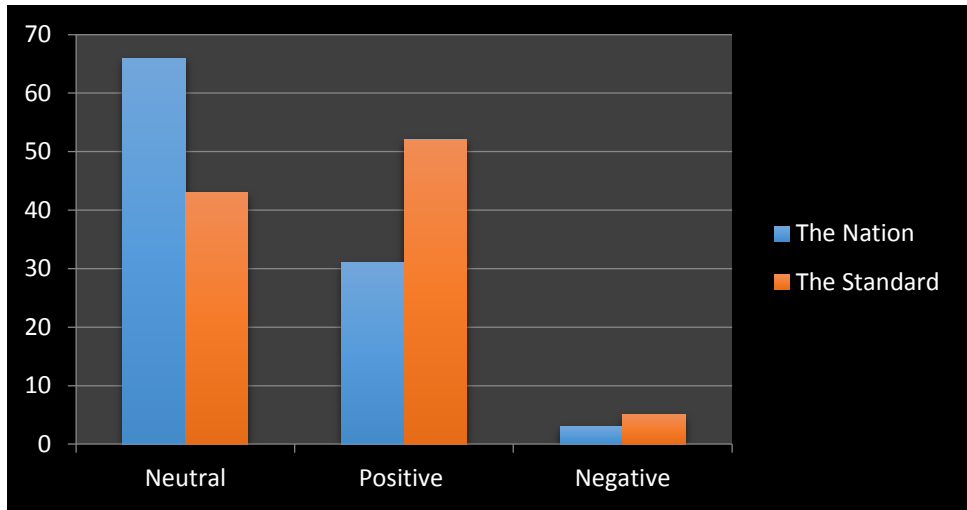
Most of the articles published in the newspapers with parliamentary subjects were political. In the Nation newspapers, majority of the articles on parliamentarians were on politics, while some on economy and social ones were featured too. On the other hand, the majority of the articles in the Standard newspapers were of political nature, while some were on economy and social nature.

In both newspapers, women and men Parliamentarians were featured in either political, economic or social nature. However, the Standard newspapers had more articles on social events as compared to the Nation newspapers.

The Standard newspapers had more articles that were new themes as compared to the Nation newspapers. In both newspapers, the weekend publications had more articles that were follow up stories as compared to new themes of stories.

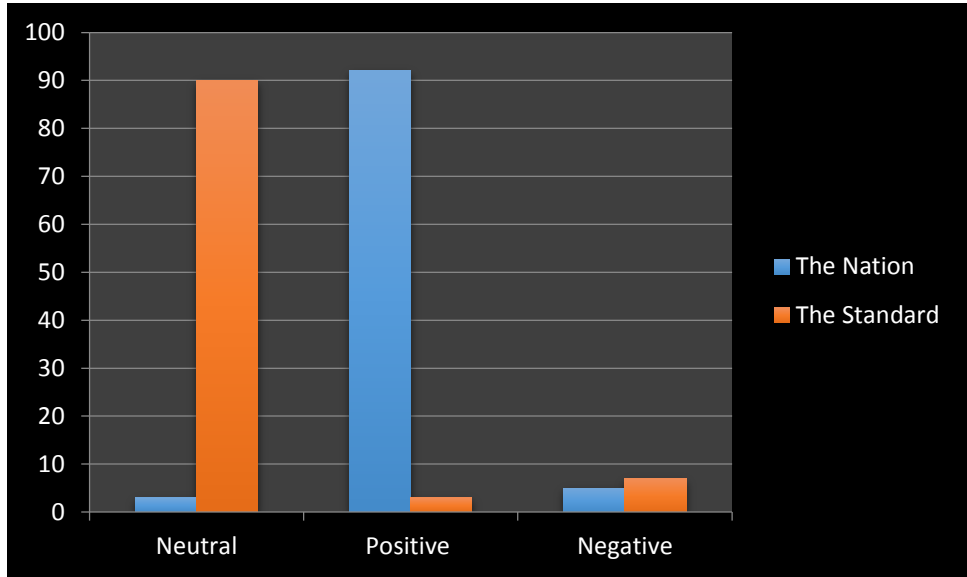
#### **4.10 Findings on tonality of articles**

Generally, the tone of the Nation newspaper articles published on women parliamentarians was neutral.



**Figure 4.12: Tonality of articles of women parliamentarians (in percentages)**

Similarly, most articles published by the Standard and the Nation on men parliamentarians were neutral.



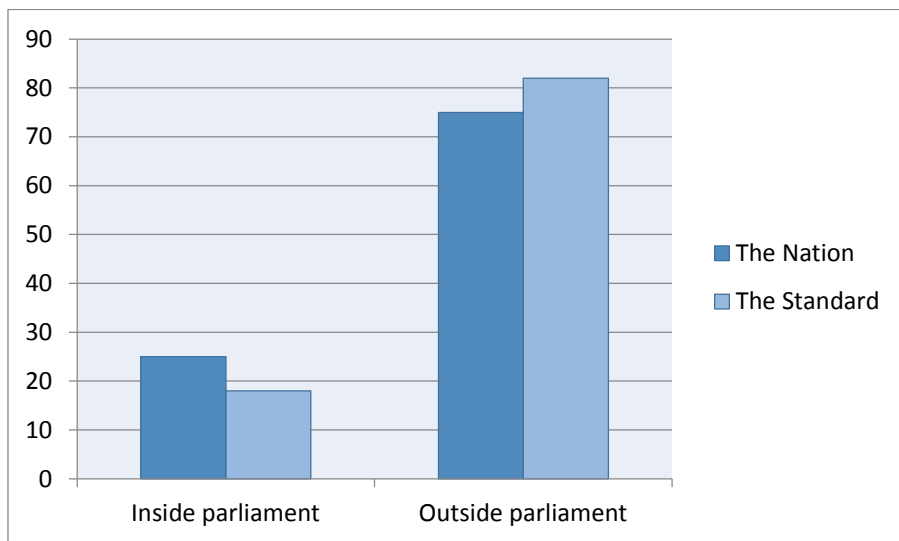
**Figure 4.13: Tonality of articles of men parliamentarians (in percentages)**

In both newspapers, less than 10 percent of the articles were negative in tone, the negativity mostly being critique into the undertaking of the parliamentarians. On overall, articles on parliamentarians published by both the Standard and Nation newspapers took a neutral tone as they focused on the events being covered.

Generally, the Nation and the Standard newspapers reported on events as they happened except for the commentary sections that gave a critique into the engagements of the parliamentarians. On overall, articles on parliamentarians reported on events and thus took a neutral tone.

**4.11 Findings and discussions on the context of the articles published**

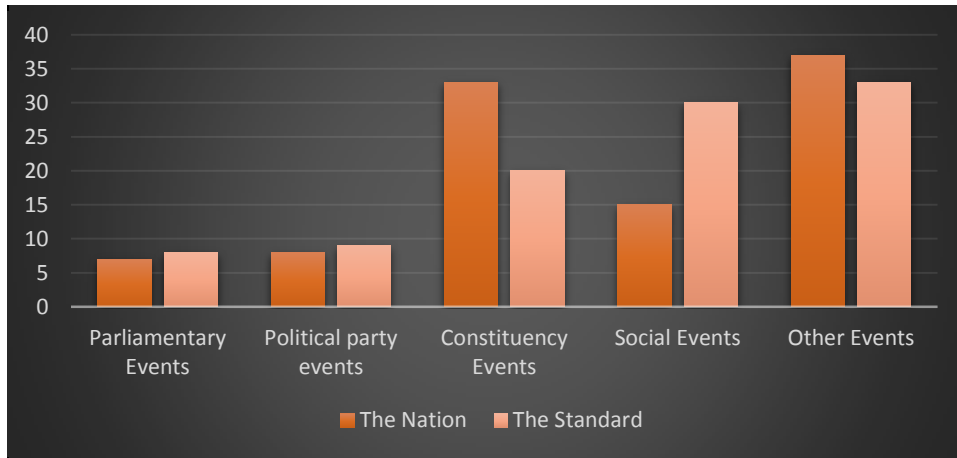
Most of the articles published by both the Nation and Standard newspapers covered parliamentarians while they were outside Parliament precincts. 75 % of the articles published by the Daily Nation were outside parliament, with more than 33 % of the articles being during Constituency events, 15 % of the articles being during social events while political party and parliamentary organized events taking seven percent while the rest took 25 %.



**Figure 4.14: Context of the parliamentary coverage**



More than 70 percent of the article published by the Saturday and Sunday Nation were on events outside parliament precincts spread across political party, constituency and parliamentary organized events.



**Figure 4.15: Context of coverage outside parliament**

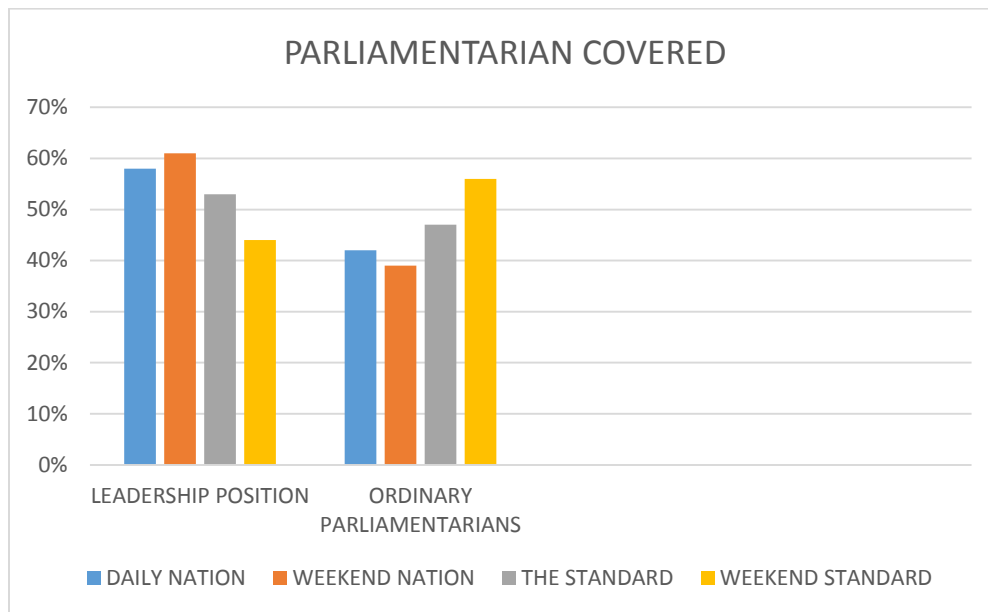
82 % of the articles published by the Standard newspaper on parliamentarians were on events that were outside parliamentary precincts. 20 % of those published were on constituency events, 30 % on social events while eight percent on parliamentary and political party events while 33% were on other events. More than 90 % of the articles published by the Saturday and Sunday Standard were on events outside parliament majority of them being during social and political party events.

Majority of the articles published by both the Nation and Standard newspapers covered parliamentarians while they were outside parliament precincts. The Nation had more articles that covered parliamentarians while they were inside parliament as compared to the Standard. In articles that covered Members while outside parliament precincts by the Nation newspapers, more than half of them featured constituency events, followed by social events and political

party or parliamentary organized event. In both newspapers, male and female parliamentarians featured across the coverage but the men received more coverage as compared to the women parliamentarians.

**4.12 Findings and discussions on the leadership positions of parliamentarians covered**

58 percent of the articles published by the Daily Nation featured Members of Parliament with leadership positions. 42 percent of the articles published featured ordinary Members of Parliament without any leadership position. The Saturday and Sunday Nation carried articles out of which 61 percent were on parliamentarians with leadership positions while 39 percent were on ordinary parliamentarians without any leadership positions. The Members with leadership positions of Committee Chairpersons received more coverage followed by the Leader of the Majority Parties, the Leader of the Minority Parties, the Speaker and the Party Whips.



**Figure 4.16: Leadership position of Parliamentarian covered.**

53 % of the articles published by the Standard newspaper featured parliamentarians with leadership positions while 47 % featured parliamentarians without leadership positions. 56 % of

articles published by the Saturday and Sunday Standard featured parliamentarians with leadership positions while 44 % of the articles published featured parliamentarians without leadership positions. The parliamentarians with leadership positions of Committee Chairpersons received more coverage followed by the Leader of the Majority Parties, the Leader of the Minority Parties, the Speaker and the Party Whips.

The Nation newspapers carried more articles of parliamentarians with leadership positions compared to the Standard newspapers. On the other hand, in both the Nation and Standard newspapers, articles carried on parliamentarians with leadership positions of Committee Chairpersons received more coverage followed by the Leader of the Majority Parties, the Leader of the Minority Parties, the Speaker and the Party Whips.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary and conclusions

This chapter provides the summary and conclusion of the study as well as the recommendations and areas for future study.

As established by earlier studies, the coverage of women has improved over time. The same trend was established by this study. Women parliamentarians got coverage of which they were the main subject and when they organized their own events, they got coverage whose main focus was the events in question. Women were featured in articles that set the agenda for discussion. Despite their low numbers, women were rated to be performing well when compared to their male counterparts.

The majority of reporters who wrote articles on parliamentarians and parliament were male as compared to female reporters. On the other hand, the majority of the articles on women parliamentarians were written by male reporters as compared to the number of articles written by female reporters. There is need to study the number of women in media houses as compared to the number of male reporters and to determine whether the sex of the writer influences whom they chose to cover.

Due to the less coverage that Women Parliamentarians received as compare to their Men counterparts, and although it had been found out by early studies that there are various non-governmental organizations advocating for gender equity, it will be useful when the efforts will be geared towards capacity building aimed at enhancing the women's engagement with the media. Some Women Parliamentarians had taken up the opportunities presented by the media

and used them to stay visible and connect with electorate. The Women Parliamentarians need enhanced capacity building to empower them to engage with the media more strategically.

Members of Parliament with leadership positions received the highest coverage by the print media under study. If women are to further improve on the coverage that they receive, they have to place themselves strategically to be positioned for party leadership in parliament for maximum coverage and attention from the media.

Women participated in parliamentary sessions, constituency, social and political party organized events the same to way men participated. Contrary to earlier studies that women were not available in parliamentary or political party events where there is coverage, women featured in such events. In political party events, women addressed matters related to politics. In the categories of news coverage, women were also covered in news stories an indication that women understand politics and presented themselves in political participation.

The belief that men still dominate in news while women remained invisible still applies. It may be assumed that the male-dominated nature of Kenyan society also leads journalists to believe that men make news and not women. The Men Parliamentarians dominated in the news stories and that can be attributed to the retrogressive culture that politics should be left to the men while women have their place in managing domestic matters. With the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament having the highest number of women legislators in the history of Kenya, it is also expected that their contribution will be more substantive thus their visibility in the media will increase. Further, with the number of women increasing in political representation and with the expectations that more women will get into political representation due to the constitutional requirement of one

third gender rule, and with the capacity building that women are receiving, it is expected that the number of women in news coverage will increase.

Some earlier studies had concluded that women were discriminated in news coverage, the same could not be established from this study as women were covered in events that they participated in. It is recommended that when women engage media experts in managing their media affairs, to better maximize on the opportunities presented by the media and package themselves better. This will address the concerns that there is over representation of men while women were under represented in news coverage and that women do not engage in media and are not available for talk shows, comments and interviews.

Contrary to earlier findings, the study established that women were not ignored on important matters that dominated the media and their views or opinions were considered for coverage. The study established that the articles on parliamentarians of either gender stayed away from focusing on personalities and stereotyping of women was not observed. Pertinent issue like leadership capabilities were not ignored and the coverage did not focus on their feminine qualities but focus was on the issues under consideration. Some articles were entirely focusing on Women Parliamentarians and did cover them as parliamentarians and not as stars, royalties or celebrities. This negates the idea that the media deviates from the main issue and choose to take a social line in reporting and digress from the event being covered.

The amount of print media coverage given Kenyan women and male parliamentarians was uneven. Across the divide, news stories, political analysis, features, editorials and commentaries featured both parliamentarians and both were covered in political, economic and social spheres and the articles a took neutral tone and the gendered frames could not be substantially

established. Parliamentarians were covered when both in parliament and when outside parliament in either parliamentary, political party, constituency or social events respectively. The women parliamentarians got less coverage as compared to their male counterparts and their stories were placed in the inside pages of newspapers and did not receive as much space as compared to the place and size given to the male parliamentarians.

Women received less coverage from the print media as compared to their male counterparts. The Standard newspapers gave more coverage to women parliamentarians and gave their articles more prominence and more space as compared to the Nation.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

- i. There is need for formulation of media policies that will be aimed at streamlining the coverage given to either gender or allow for gender sensitive writing and reporting.
- ii. Women parliamentarians are advised to engage public relations or communication officers to manage their media affairs and enable them fairly compete for news coverage.
- iii. Women Parliamentarians to be consistent and proactive when engaging with the media to create and capture attention.
- iv. The media is highly patriarchal and needs to be reformed to ensure that women Parliamentarians get fair coverage as compared to men.

## **5.3 Areas for future study**

The study makes recommendations for areas for future study on media and parliamentary coverage. This is based on the proposition that Kenya is a developing country and the new Constitution has provided many avenues for equity in representation and for the increase of the number of women in representation.

- i. A study on the factors that contribute to the low coverage given to women parliamentarians as compared to men.
- ii. A study on whether media is dominated by male as compared to women (both in ownership and employment).
- iii. A study on the extent to which women seek and engage the media.
- iv. A study on Parliamentarians with the highest/lowest media coverage in the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament.
- v. A comparative study on the coverage of women parliamentarians in the 10<sup>th</sup> and in the 11<sup>th</sup> parliament given the increased numbers.



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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX I:  
CODING INSTRUMENT**

A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF WOMEN AND MEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN KENYA;

Articles picked from Kenyan newspapers: the Nation and the Standard starting from May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 to June 30<sup>th</sup> 2014, for this project will meet the following basic requirements: - 50-3,000 words, must be a published article, news story, feature story, political analysis, commentary or editorial piece, not a paid advertisement nor a promotional reference for a full story.

**SECTION A: INTRODUCTION**

1. Newspaper

- The Daily Nation
- The Saturday Nation
- The Sunday Nation
- The Standard
- The Saturday Standard
- The Sunday Standard

- 2. Date of print arrival (day/month/year).....
- 3. Article headline (on WP).....
- 4. Name of writer (where given).....

5. Gender of writer (tick appropriately)

- Female
- Male

6. Category/type of the story

- News Story
- Political analysis
- Feature
- Editorial
- Commentary

## SECTION B: FREQUENCY

7. Who received more coverage in the articles?

- Woman Parliamentarian
- Male Parliamentarian
- Both woman and male Parliamentarian
- Other: Explain

8. If the answer to (7) above is both woman and male Parliamentarian, who had more coverage?

- Woman Parliamentarian
- Male Parliamentarian

9. What was the size of the articles above?

- Full page
- Three quarter page
- Half page
- Quarter page
- Less than a quarter page

10. How many times was a woman Parliamentarian covered in a single newspaper?

- Once
- Twice
- Thrice
- More than three times

11. How many times was a male Parliamentarian covered in a single newspaper?

- Once
- Twice
- Thrice
- More than three times

**SECTION C: PROMINENCE OF THE STORY**

12. If the answer to 8 above is woman parliamentarian, where in the newspaper were the articles placed?

- Front page
- Editorial
- Inside pages
- Back page
- Other; Explain

13. If the answer to 8 above is male parliamentarian, where in the newspaper were the articles placed?

- Front page
- Editorial
- Inside pages
- Back page
- Other; Explain.....

14. What page number is the article with story of woman Parliamentarian\_\_\_\_\_?  
male Parliamentarian\_\_\_\_\_?

**SECTION D: GENDERED FRAMES**

15. If the answer to 8 above is woman parliamentarian, was the marital status of the woman parliamentarian mentioned in the articles?

- Yes
- No

16. If the answer to 15 above is yes, tick which one

- Single
- Divorced
- Separated
- Other: mention.....



**SECTION E: THEMATIC AREAS/TONE OF THE ARTICLE PUBLISHED**

17. What is the subject matter of the articles in the newspaper?

- Political
- Economic
- Social
- Other: Explain.....

18. Was the theme of the article new or a follow up subject?

- New
- Follow up

19. What was the tone of the article on Women parliamentarians in the newspaper?

- Positive
- Negative
- Neutral
- Other: Explain.....

20. What was the tone of the article on male parliamentarians in the newspaper?

- Positive
- Negative
- Neutral
- Other: Explain.....

**SECTION F: CONTEXT OF THE ARTICLE PUBLISHED**

21. Where was the Member during the coverage?

- Inside Parliament
- Outside Parliament

22. If your answer to (21) above is outside Parliament, what was the context of the event?

- Parliamentary event
- Political party event
- Constituency event
- Social event
- Other; Explain.....

**SECTION G: LEADERSHIP POSITION IN PARLIAMENT**

23. Who is covered in the articles in the newspaper?

- A Member of Parliament with a leadership position
- An ordinary Member of Parliament
- Other; Explain.....

24. If the answer to (23) above is a Member of Parliament with a leadership position, what was position?

- Speaker
  - Majority Leader
  - Minority Leader
  - Majority whip
  - Minority whip
  - Committee chairperson
  - Other; Explain.....
-

**APPENDIX II**  
**CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS**



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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 22/09/2015 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

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**APPENDIX III  
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**REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK**

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