

**MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN LEADERS IN KENYA: AN  
INTERSECTION OF FEMALE POLITICIANS AND  
NEWSPAPER NARRATIVES**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND  
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## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this Project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the University of Nairobi for academic credit.

Signed:  Date: November 11, 2016

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This Research Project has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Research Project to the memory of my father, Richard Harrison Nduva, who inculcated in me the quest for learning, instilled in me the drive to excel, and the confidence to scale up the ladder of success.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge the support and guidance of my Project Supervisor, Dr. Samuel Siringi. His commitment and patience led to the successful completion of my work. I sincerely thank him for the insights and direction he offered and for his display of understanding when I fell short. I wish to also acknowledge the late Dr. Peter Oriare for starting me off in the direction of Political Communication, and lastly to Dr. Edwin Nyutho for believing in me and urging me on.

Thank you to my family, Sam and Jay in particular, for both encouraging and urging me to complete this study. My young ones; Ekisil and Akone, thank you for allowing me the precious time away from you both. Special mention to my support team especially Alice, God bless you. To my mum Betty, you said I can do it, thanks for believing in me!

Most importantly, I wish to acknowledge God Almighty, to whom I owe my life and my health. I am thankful for the strength, wisdom and determination to complete this work.

Ebenezer! This far I have come.

Amen.

## ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to establish how the media portrays women leaders in Kenya, with a focus on the narratives of female politicians and newspaper articles. Specifically, the study investigated the frames used by media to cover prominent women leaders in Kenya and analyzed the consequences of the media framing of women leaders on their political and public leadership. To achieve the objectives, the study addressed three research questions; first, the experience of prominent women leaders with regard to media coverage, Secondly, frames used by media to cover prominent women leaders in Kenya, Lastly, the effect of media framing of women leaders in Kenya on their political and public leadership. The research adopted a qualitative research design. The study targeted women who have served at the national level in an appointive or representation position in President Uhuru Kenyatta or former President Mwai Kibaki administrations. The theoretical foundation of the study is Agenda Setting and Media framing. Data was collected by conducting key informant interviews, using open ended questionnaire as a tool, and reviewing existing documentation. The data collected was analyzed and the findings presented through narrative analysis procedures. Document analysis undertaken corroborated the findings of the study. The study found that the experience of women in leadership with media coverage is negative. The findings of the study point to biased, skewed coverage with a manipulated slant or angle of presentation. However, the study concluded that media is not wholly to blame for the negative experience or opinion held by women in leadership, that there are other factors at play including how the women engage or do not engage the media. The main frames used to cover women in leadership are; patriarchy, family relations, sexuality and appearance, propaganda and controversy, and lastly, gender reflective terminologies and tags. The impact of this framing is a sub conscious withdrawal from media engagement as a shield against negative media coverage. The study found that media portrayal of prominent women in leadership boils down to individual engagement with the media houses and media content management. It is the contention of the study that media does not propagate the gender narrative on purpose, but as a social construct that lays emphasis on the supremacy of the male gender as is advanced in patriarchal societies. The study concluded that the negative portrayal of prominent women in leadership is a clear indication and indictment that the media in Kenya has opted to embrace gendered lenses.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Overview**

This chapter establishes the foundation of the study undertaken. It paints a broad picture of why the study was conducted by depicting the current situation in media coverage of women political leaders in Kenya. The chapter sets out the study objectives and research questions answered as a result of the study. The justification of the study asserts the reason why it was important to carry out the study; primarily to contribute to existing knowledge from past research undertaken on the subject and fill gaps. The significance of the study is discussed with a focus on the positive and learning impact it will have on the various audiences of media framing. This will include academia, media policy makers, women leaders and the society at large. The scope of the study and potential limitations are also discussed in this chapter. The chapter closes by defining operational terms that will be in use in course of the research study.

#### **1.2 Background**

Gendered media coverage is a major limiting factor for women in leadership since time immemorial. Women in leadership in Kenya encounter media bias, making it harder for them to serve in public leadership positions. They have to be more careful with what they say or do, as it is often judged differently. The situation is no different across the globe. Current U.S. democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton and former U.S. presidential candidate Sarah Palin shared common ground in 2008 presidential race in the U.S; both experienced gender bias and sexism throughout the campaign. Their looks, laughs, handclaps, hairstyles, pant suits, sex appeal etc. became fodder for all the corners of media establishment. The criticism from correspondents, reporters, analysts, and social media was laced with unsavory clichés and stereotypes of women. The comments were personal and misogynistic.

There have been studies undertaken that look at the coverage of women in media, their participation in media, and comparative coverage compared to men in similar positions. There

are not many studies that focus on how the women in leadership in Kenya were covered. This approach was justifiable because women have made progress in securing key positions in Kenya in the recent past. Initial efforts were therefore geared at advocating for women to be accorded access to media platforms and coverage. Media houses in Kenya have made significant and dedicated efforts to ensure that women receive adequate press coverage. This therefore is not a problem. The issue to be addressed is how these women are covered, and what lenses the media want us to use in consuming content related to their positions in public leadership. How are women leaders in Kenya portrayed? Are they subject to gendered media frames?

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

The passing of the Constitution of Kenya in 2010, subsequent progressive legislation and a vibrant civil society have secured the policy and legal environment for women. This has allowed them unprecedented access to serve in previously unattainable senior positions in the Kenyan government. However, against this backdrop of bold structural and institutional framework, a number of the women appointed have since fallen by the wayside in the midst of a torrent of pervasive and personalized media coverage. Despite the women scaling up the leadership rungs as a result of both merit and affirmative action, it has remained obvious that media and society continue to view public leadership as a preserve of men.

While visibility of women has increased, structural and systematic gendering in media coverage has continued to take place. Women in leadership attract many media comments and profiles that emphasize gender, age, hair, marital status, motherhood and even physical size. Questions have been raised as to whether it is a case of stereotyping, where journalists revert to stereotypes to explain and interpret actions of women or are there general institutional constraints that contribute to this skewed reporting. It is also debatable if the media portrays women in public life more negatively than it does men in similar situations.

## **1.4 General Objective**

To establish how the media frames content on women in public and political leadership in Kenya

### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives**

1. To investigate the frames used by media to cover prominent women leaders in Kenya.
2. To analyze the consequences of the media framing of women leaders on their political and public leadership

## **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What has been the experience of prominent women leaders with regard to media coverage?
2. What frames have been used by media to cover prominent women leaders in Kenya?
3. What is the impact of media framing of women leaders in Kenya on their political and public leadership?

## **1.6 Justification of the Study**

There are limited studies as to how media has framed women in Kenya. Past research has looked mainly at gendered media coverage in terms of campaigns and elections; specifically on quantity as opposed to quality of coverage. Further afield numerous studies have been undertaken on gendered media coverage, with recent studies exploring how the media depicts female world leaders such as U.S. first lady Michelle Obama, and presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton. How the media in Kenya portrays women in leadership positions shapes the audience view of the ability of women to execute requirements of the offices they hold. Literature suggests that media is improving with regard to the gendered, sexist nature of coverage, but there is still room for improvement. Erica Falk in her book<sup>1</sup> alludes to this by stating that the media is unfair in its

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<sup>1</sup> Women for President: Media bias in nine campaigns

treatment of women. She sees women candidates subjected to extreme sexism and feels their agenda is ignored or belittled. Erica concludes that minimal progress has been made towards ensuring gender parity in media portrayal of both sexes. A research paper<sup>2</sup> published by *Politicalparity.org* finds that although media coverage of women has improved, gendered coverage still persists. The research paper samples the findings of a study carried out whose findings demonstrated that ‘women candidates receive more attention to appearance, personality, and family compared to men’ It is imperative that media captures and portrays women leaders through non-gendered lenses. The paper further opines that more studies are needed to determine how media coverage differs for women, and secondly, the impact of gendered media coverage on women in political and public leadership. Finally, a doctoral study undertaken by Thuo, Jane (2012) recommends the importance of getting the views of women on this subject. She states ‘One of the areas that this study was unable to cover was getting of the women MPs views and perceptions on how media covers them. It would be interesting to get their views given the fact that the media actors think that the women MPs have a sense of entitlement to media coverage’<sup>3</sup>. This study will therefore widen the existing field of knowledge and enrich previous research work on the same issue, with a view to reorient media actors framing of issues albeit from the perspective of the subjects. It will be the women telling their story.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The findings of the study will benefit the country to improve in terms of how they perceive women in general, as well as women in key leadership positions. The study will create an opportunity for media actors to reflect on the impact of how they portray women leaders on how society perceives them, and how this hinders their general development. This introspection will present an opportunity to re-evaluate their framing options and possibly, their editorial policies. Secondly, the study will present additional knowledge to the gender sector studies that have primarily focused on establishing ‘if women are covered’, rather than ‘how women are covered’ by media. The study is important because women in Kenya are 50% of the population, and if they are portrayed negatively, then half the society is depicted in negative terms.

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<sup>2</sup>Media Coverage of Women Candidates

<sup>3</sup> Thuo, Jane W (2012) p. 96

The passing of the constitution in 2010 and expansion of democratic space has led to gradual increase of women representation in leadership positions over the last five years, and this is a trend that will continue in the coming years. More women in public leadership will lead to more media coverage and the hence need to inculcate the culture of balanced reporting and portrayal. This study will offer new perspectives to this end.

Future students of communication choosing to undertake research in the gender and media framing will find this study useful. The conclusion of the study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge, with an aim to take the studies of media coverage of women in leadership a notch higher. The angle of how media frames women is more analytical in the subject of the role of media in communication and societal attitudes. This research enriched this position by paying closer attention to depiction of gender in media.

Finally, as a consumer of media content, the researcher was interested by the way media largely views women leaders through gendered lenses, and therefore made contribution towards attitudinal and policy change in media houses by undertaking this study.

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

The scope of the study was limited to media coverage of prominent women in public and political leadership. In particular, the study targeted women who have served at the national level in an appointive or representation position in President Uhuru Kenyatta or former President Mwai Kibaki government regime. Their perspectives were captured by conducting in-depth interviews with the women, who sampled purposively.

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology. Data was collected from face to face interviews with key respondents who were purposively sampled. In order to benefit from a wider audience for feedback, the sampling adopted the snow balling approach in identification of more respondents. The data collected was subjected to a qualitative content analysis, which incorporated in-depth textual analysis of data. The study was limited by cost and time

limitations, as well as the responsiveness of the pre-identified respondents to the research queries.

The research was limited to generalizations that are identified with qualitative research methods.

### **1.9 Operational Definitions**

‘Prominent Women leaders’: any senior female leader in Kenyan public life including political, civil service or societal representation capacity

‘Gendered media coverage’: depiction of men or women in media based on their perceived traditional or socially constructed roles pegged on one’s gender

‘Mainstream media’ media houses that conform to the laid down standard journalist ethics code of conduct

‘Patriarchy’ presentation and propagation of the male hereditary authority and special place of leadership

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Overview

According to the Harvard University CIO Library Information, Literature review is ‘an assessment of a body of research that addresses a research question’. Neuman, W.L. (2011) states that research is a collective effort, with contributions and sharing of results by several researchers. Each study, he says contributes to the overall body of knowledge. The importance of literature review therefore is to find out what has been done, what still needs to be done and advancement of varying explanations to different situations or phenomena. In undertaking the literature review for this study, there was limited research done on the gender angle of framing of women in Kenya. Though her study covers a different angle, Thuo, J.W. (2012) doctoral thesis presents a good learning platform of how media has covered women in Kenya. The study points to the gap in research specific to the African audience on media framing of women, and the need for further studies. The literature review for this study expanded to studies conducted on gender framing of women in other countries, including America and Australia.

This chapter delves in to better understand the research component of the study by undertaking literature review that explains causal action and reactions, and theoretical anchoring. Scholarly works of other researchers form a core component of the reviewed literature. The review begins by sampling headlines of media reports on women in leadership in Kenya. This is intended to explore and gauge the existence of gender frames in media coverage of women in Kenya. The study further undertakes a theoretical framework in order to anchor the assumptions, findings and recommendations on existing communication theories. The agenda setting theory and framing theory form the foundation of the theoretical review in this chapter. The role of media presents a conceptual insight on the how and why media chooses to present information using varying frames. The review on gender stereotyping of women in leadership presents real life cases of prominent women leaders across the globe and how gender considerations impact on their leadership.

## 2.2 Excerpts of Media headlines on leading Women in Kenya

One of the renowned women political leaders in Kenya is Nyiva Mwendwa. However she is known more for her hair grooming than her political exploits. *Wikipedia*, a leading online search engine that collates information defines her in the following manner; “Winfred Nyiva Mwendwa is a Kenyan politician. She was the first Kenyan woman to serve as a cabinet minister. She caused national disfavor in 1995 when she travelled to women’s conference in Beijing in 1995 and took a hairdresser as a part of her delegation.”

When the President of Kenya under the Jubilee coalition took over power in 2013, one of the first things done was to nominate for appointment an 18 member cabinet, of which 6 were women. One of the leading media houses, *Capital FM* run a story headlined; “Defence gets female nominee, Raychelle Omamo” (*source: AllAfrica.com April 25, 2013*). There was no reference of “.....gets male nominee or man appointed to head the powerful docket of...”

In March 31, 2014 *The Standard* newspaper subsidiary ‘*Nairobiian*’ run an opinion piece titled ‘understanding Rachel Shebesh’. In the article, the author describes her; “Nairobi Womens’ Rep Rachel Wambui Shebesh is an eloquent, if combative speaker and political brawler. At full throttle, her hair literally ‘stands out’ like the mane on a lion. She leans forward, jabs a finger in the air and lets it rip”. The description pays attention to her feminine traits (or lack of) and her leadership style.

In April 25, 2015, the *Daily Nation* Newspaper published a well-researched article on the impressive academic credentials and professional achievements of Monica Juma, currently the Principal Secretary in Foreign affairs docket. The insightful write-up was headlined .... “The many hats of Monica Juma, new ‘iron lady’ pushing Uhuru’s agenda” towards the conclusion of the article the author writes ‘...The mother of two who is married to Professor Peter Kagwanja’ in reference to her husband who is a respected policy analyst and government advisor. While it is possible to argue that the reference is appropriate in the context of a human interest story, comparatively, there are hardly many instances where when reporting on men in leadership their family information is offered.



2013 presidential candidate and NARC-K leader Martha Karua was profiled on online political news platform 'TUKO' on September 22, 2015 with the headline; "10 Quick Facts About Martha Karua, Kenya's Iron Lady". In one of the facts, the author describes her as "Only 'Man' in PNU" (PNU was the part government coalition that led Kenya from 2007-2012).

These examples of media application of gender profiling when framing their reportage are not intended to draw conclusions. They were a probe as to whether the concept of gendered media coverage does exist, and if so are there examples in Kenyan media where one can easily pick out gendered frames without applying any statistical analysis. From the foregoing, the indication of gender profiling is evident and this strengthens the basis of the study trying to establish further, based on evidence, how media in Kenya frames women.

## **2.3 Theoretical framework**

### **2.3.1 Agenda Setting**

The agenda setting theory dates back to 1972 and is attributed to Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (Shaw, E (1979)). The theory advances the central role that media lays in shaping the audience perception of issues. The theory advances the premise that media does not reflect the society, but rather, determines to the society what issues are important and need to be paid attention to. The theory assumes that the media sets the agenda, i.e. what people will think about or should think about. In this theory, media assumes the role of a gatekeeper, sieving what goes into news content. By giving prominence to specific issues, the media unconsciously shapes the audience to automatically consider the profiled issues as the most important ones.

Shaw. E (1979) supports the agenda setting theory as construed by Dr. McCombs. He states that media is persuasive. It shapes and manipulates audience thoughts by focusing public attention on issues and determining what issues to bring to the fore. In this theory Shaw argues that what media present will be what will occupy the audience. He advances the thought that by identifying, selecting and reporting on issues, the media unwittingly presents the audience with a list of what to think about. Shaw finds fault in the definition of agenda setting. He discounts the

claim that peoples' construction of social realities is defined by the media. He argues that people will tend to form opinions anyway, and that not all people are media consumers.

Agenda setting theory is useful to the extent that it hinges on the persuasive and predictive role of the media in determining societal priorities. The theory has also contributed to the media effects comprehension. However, the main weakness with this theory is that it assumes that large numbers of, or the entire societies focus on what is happening in the media, and secondly, that they will find what is covered by the media as critical enough to be prioritized. The agenda setting theory shares several points of convergence with the framing theory. In some instances, framing has been presented as a sub set of agenda setting.

### **2.3.2 Media Framing**

McQuail D, (2007) describes framing in relation to “the way in which news content is typically shared and contextualized.” He further defines the term from a priming or agenda setting function, that is, the effect of how news content is covered on how the audience interprets and sees an issue. Ryan K, (2013) describes framing as the process of selecting what information to include and what to exclude in communication of a topic, person or event. Framing theory considers how the news media cover events and issues, and how individuals make sense of events and issues drawing partially on media representations.

Media can be said to frame events and issues in the same way as a photographer frames a photograph, choosing what aspects to highlight or draw attention to, and what parts to leave out (Capella and Jamieson, 1997). Framing in news stories is almost as old as the invention of the printing press. O'Donnell, (2013) states that media has been used as a tool through which to influence how the public views the news of the day. He further asserts that media use four tools to influence public perception; language, style, structure and images. This is what he refers to as ‘framing’. He defines framing as ‘the construction of public perception (by media)’.

Tankard (2001) suggests 11 framing mechanisms or focal points for identifying frames. These include; ‘headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs and photo captions, and leads i.e. beginnings of news stories. Others are selection of sources or affiliations, selection of quotes, pull quotes, logos, statistics, that is, charts and graphs and lastly, concluding statements or

paragraphs.’ These focal points form a good basis of identifying a list of frames in the methodology of the study.

Gender theorists have used the framing approach to explore the framing of women politicians and issues. Schlehofer, M. *et al* (2011) views framing as a subtle persuasive influence where certain aspects of information are selected and communicated in such a way as ‘to promote a particular moral evaluation, problem definition and causal interpretation.’

## **2.4 Role of Media and Media Frames**

Ryan K. (2013) defines media frames as ‘stereotypes that society holds for a specific gender that is then applied to all members of that gender by the media. This confines those members to a specific role or type of coverage that is not necessarily appropriate or accurate’. She further describes frames as ‘use of words, images, phrases and presentation styles’

O’Donnell (2013) analyzed the effect of framing on the audience. He advances the theory that though information presented by this media may be factual, how it is interpreted depends on the reporting style advanced. This deliberate presentation is more likely to have a more powerful effect on the audience than opinion pieces penned through editorials.

Media content affects government policy and public opinion. O’Donnell (2013) found that studies indicate that issues that are profiled as important by media houses will be considered important by the public, and will become agenda for public discussion. He states that frames are intended to be applied to certain issues to create a context but socio-political influences often result in skewed presentation or framing.

Media personnel decide who or what gets covered and how they are covered. A mass media product is a window on the world. How that window frame is constructed by mass media affects how one perceives the portrayed event or information. To this end, there have been questions asked as to whether media framing of women is centered on appearance or feminine traits such as compassion, beauty, seductress or sex object, or iron maidens when discussing their leadership

styles and positions. According to McQuail, television provides a symbolic environment that shapes conduct and beliefs on real life situations.

Diana B Carlin and Kelly L. Winfrey (2009) outlined four major frames of professional women. These are the portrayal of women as Seductresses or sex objects, mothers, pets or iron maidens. All these frames undermine the ability of women. Ryan K. (2013) observed that despite Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton presenting themselves differently, having differing ideological and political persuasions, they were both subjected to gender bias in media. The lack of both candidates' success has been attributed to the gendered media coverage they received.

## **2.5 Gender Stereotyping of Women in Leadership and Politics**

“I want to see more women compete for the highest positions in their countries ... we have to break down these attitudes that pigeon-hole and stereotype people, like, what does a leader look like... well a leader looks like somebody who's a man.” – Hillary Clinton, 1/29/2013

Hillary Clinton's run for president enriched media studies by creating a new case for gendered frames in media.

Media tends to focus on women based on gendered terms. Studies of how women are portrayed in news coverage continue to mention gender, children and marital status. This subtly enforces gender stereotypes, classifying women primarily as wives or mothers. There has been evidence that media applies sex –specific narrative frames when reporting on or covering female leaders, and that female leaders are subject to harsher evaluative criteria. A press secretary in the U.S. Congress, Susannah Cernojevich, in a study pointed out that she was frustrated that the media consistently referred to her boss as a ‘divorced mother of three’ Cernojevich said ‘no man would ever be portrayed that way’. The media is clearly valuing her on her marriage status as opposed to her member status. ‘Why can't they simply write, she is a member of congress?’ Cernojevich poses.

Not even Nancy Pelosi, the first female leader of either party in the U.S. Government could avoid stereotypical ‘female’ descriptions printed about her in media. In November 9, 2003, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* described Pelosi as ‘the mother of five said yesterday that her party needed to offer an alternative agenda rather than merely working against Bush’ (Gibbon, 2005). It is unclear why the newspaper chose to emphasize on Pelosi as a mother, and not as a party leader expressing a party strategy.

Norris, P (year) observed that in political campaigns, portrayal of female candidates’ status as wives or mothers has a negative impact because perceptions of leadership are still masculine. This has resulted in constituents and voters perceiving female candidates as less effective. This is especially so when dealing with traditionally masculine issues. For instance, women are seen as less effective at dealing with crime. A study by Susan J Carrol and Konnee Shreiber examining media coverage of members of the 103<sup>rd</sup> congress in 1992 found that in comparison to male politicians, the media tended to focus more of their coverage of on elected women’s appearances and personal lives, than on their positions and legislative actions (Carrol and Shreiber (1997)

The clothing, make up and hairdo of powerful female public figures is scrutinized obsessively, often attracting more interest in their views and positions on vital issues. On the contrary, less or no attention is paid to clothing and appearance of male politicians or leaders.

“When women hold senior positions, they break the gender stereotypes that are in place regarding them. The media would rather reflect the norm than the exception. Hence the frames that media chooses to adopt. The rhetorical question is then... ‘Can a female (leader) even afford to be likeable, without compromising the need to appear tough and competent?’- Jocelyn Noveck, Associated Press, January 10, 2008.

Anne Waiguru served as Kenya’s first cabinet secretary for Devolution and planning from April 2013 to November 2015 when she resigned from office amidst claims and investigations of corruption in her docket. Specifically, she was accused of being responsible for the disappearance of Ksh. 700 million from the National Youth Service, a department that was under her docket. The scandal played out widely, attracting immense media coverage and reportage. Taking a political twist, members of both the opposition CORD and the ruling coalition Jubilee asked that she should quit office. President Uhuru did not suspend or fire her, something that

fueled speculations as to why she appeared to have special treatment. This is especially so because five cabinet secretaries had been sacked before, due to corruption allegations. With the public, media and political pressure intensified, Waiguru opted to resign in November 2015 (*The Star*, November 21, 2015). She cited medical grounds and attacks against her family as the reasons that informed the decision.



Figure 1-1 Cartoon Depiction of Anne Waiguru-Source: GADO, Nov. 6, 2015

According to online information on [softkenya.com](http://softkenya.com), Waiguru previously served as head of Governance and the Economic Stimulus Programme at the National Treasury, Alternate to the Permanent Secretary/National Treasury in the Public Procurement Oversight Authority and Advisory Board and the Women Enterprise Fund Board. An accomplished career woman in public service, Waiguru was nominated as one of the ‘Top 40 under 40’ women in Kenya; a prestigious social ranking of high achievers in various sectors who are not yet 40 years. She holds a master’s degree in Economic Policy and is a financial management systems expert. Prior to joining public service Waiguru had a dalliance with private sector, serving in the banking sector. Anne Waiguru has three sons according to *The Standard*, April 25, 2013.



Figure 1-2 Anne Waiguru depiction as 'superman' Source: *Nairobi Wire*, July 8, 2015

As Cabinet minister for devolution, Anne Waiguru was perceived with disdain, trepidation and awe in equal measure. Jaindi Kiseru, a former Nation Media Group Managing Editor and regular columnist, penned an op-ed on Waiguru's high profile. In the article appearing in the *Daily Nation* newspaper May 21, 2014, Kiseru describes Waiguru as 'a strong personality who talks straight and plainly, (with) a reputation of a boss who does not suffer fools gladly and quick to display impatience with officers she considers sloppy and old-fashioned'. An online Kenyan political discussion platform, *Jukwaa*, in May 2014 published a discussion thread headlined; 'Cabinet Secretary for Devolution and Civil Service ANNE WAIGURU, A matriarch too powerful for male comfort?' to demonstrate some of the disdain extended to her, one of the contributors in the discussion thread reads; 'Whatever she is in the dark world of shadowy power, Anne Waiguru whose cabinet brief is that of Devolution, has excited the national mood, and not by the luscious swing of her robust physique, nor the electrifying shape of her innocent lips when she says O No! I never sacked anybody by SMS!' The comment was in reference to the sacking of then Director General of the National Youth Service, Kiplimo Rugut in 2014, whom parliamentarians claimed had been sacked through a short message text. (Source: *Daily Nation* May 17, 2014)

In her first media interview since resigning from office, Waiguru opened up about her experience stating; 'The six months or so before I left were very painful. They had been preceded by a hectic period of getting the NYS programme off the ground. What followed was traumatic, personalized attacks, nuanced allegations and a deliberate move to shield the culprits. My family and my health paid a heavy price'. (Source: *The Standard*, January 10, 2016)

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Overview**

The chapter on methodology describes the steps, processes and rationale applied to the study. It discusses in detail how the research was conducted from identification of respondents to actual data collection, analysis and presentation. It is a step by step procedural map that ensured the study topic was subjected to academically set standards and norms that govern social science research. This chapter on methodology is by itself an independent indicator of the study's overall validity and reliability.

The methodology approach adopted was qualitative research. The chapter traces the historical underpinnings of this approach and why it was selected as the preferred method for this study. The unique characteristics inherent in qualitative research are defined; including research questions, data sources and data collection tools and processes. The pros and cons of the using the qualitative method are described. Further, the chapter singles out the data analysis and presentation method, i.e. thematic analysis and narrative presentation of findings.

#### **3.2 Research Design; Qualitative Research**

Dornyei (2007) defines Qualitative research as involving data collection procedures that result primarily in open ended non numerical data which is then analyzed using non statistical methods, i.e. qualitative content analysis. The content analysis in this case involves textual labeling and coding variables can be developed and assigned at the end of the research process.

The advantage of qualitative research over quantitative research is that the qualitative data is not reduced to bare minimums and subjected to generalizations and reductions. Rather, qualitative research methodology concentrates on achieving an in-depth understanding of meaning. In particular, it offers a high context sensitive micro perspective in look into an issue or an individual, as opposed to the wide perspective of the overarching trends that is offered by quantitative research method. Quantitative research method also fails to take into consideration the subjective aspect of individuals. Its low context nature makes it unable to detect the nuances



in situations. Its exploratory capacity is limited. Zoltan sums up the limitation of quantitative research; 'it is simplistic, decontextualized and reductionist in its generalizations, and fails to capture meanings that people attach to their lives.'

The first text that defines qualitative research dates back to the sixteenth century and is discussed by Glazer and Strauss in 'The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research'. In this text, qualitative research is described as non-systematic and non-rigorous. It is also stated to be lengthy and not necessarily resulting in theory. According to Dornyei (2007), qualitative research in the 1930s was mainly for exploratory, preliminary purposes, serving as a basis for 'more serious' quantitative research. From these propositions, one can deduce that qualitative research was not held in high regard and certainly did not occupy a place of honor. This perspective has since evolved and scholars have redefined the method and its usefulness in social science research methodology.

In qualitative research, the research design is not prefigured, it is open. Research questions may evolve, change or be refined during the study. The research adopts an open mind frame; analytical categories are refined during the process of research and not before. Qualitative research uses varied data sources including recorded interviews, various texts, field notes, documents and images. The objective of qualitative data collected is to make sense of or draw conclusions from observed phenomena. It takes place in a natural setting. Qualitative research is conceived with subjective opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals in mind. Hence its objective is to capture and explore participants' views.

Due to the non-predictable nature of data collection outcome, qualitative research tends to be labor intensive and is therefore often subject to a small sample size of respondents. Its interpretative and eventual outcome is a result of the analysis and deductions by the researcher. This therefore means that in this method, there is the possibility of varying outcomes and conclusions in replicated studies. That is, qualitative research is subject to the frame of reference of the researcher, and the issue under study is subject to their natural inclinations or biases towards it.

Qualitative research has several advantages. According to Dornyei (2007) it is a good method for situations where little is known about a phenomenon because it does not have to rely on existing literature. It is a practical way of explaining causes of a phenomenon because it captures actual data that is not intellectual or theory based; but rather on observations. Dornyei further advances the cause for qualitative research; that when collecting data, the researcher can probe deeper, seek further understanding and clarification. This results in more complete outcomes and answers.

Dornyei explores the weaknesses of qualitative research by first pointing out that the small sample size is not necessarily representative of the wider population or category of persons under study. He further adds that analysis of the data is subject to the researcher's biases and conclusions. Apart from lacking a clear methodology, the data collection and processing is time consuming and labor intensive.

### **3.3 Research Method**

The research adopted the use of a qualitative study using in-depth interviews and document analysis, to seek further knowledge and understand how media in Kenya frames women in public leadership. It was intended to provide insight into the wider issue of media framing and to facilitate understanding of the wider issue of women in political leadership.

Several scholars have extolled the values of conducting research using the case study method. According to Neuman (2011), case study research examines many features of few cases. The data on the case is detailed, varied and extensive. Walton (1992) asserts that the logic of case study is to demonstrate a casual argument about how general social forces shape and produce results in particular settings. Case study research is said to clarify thought processes and enables researchers to build concepts around actual lived experiences. A case study, according to Neuman, is likely to produce best theory due to visibility of the intricacies of the issue, and more detailed explanations on complexities of life.

Neuman (2011) establishes six strengths of a case study; conceptual validity, heuristic impact (i.e. help with new thinking and theories), causal mechanisms identification i.e., makes us to

know how societal mechanisms work, ability to capture complexity and trace processes. Through case studies calibration occurs. I.e. the researcher can adjust abstract concepts to reality. Lastly, case study results in a holistic elaboration of an entire situation.

Dornyei (2007) states that the case study is an excellent method for obtaining a thick description of a social issue embedded within a cultural context. This assertion fits in very well in the case of gendered media coverage and in particular the Kenyan case of Anne Waiguru. She occupied what was seen as a very powerful position in a male dominated field, and within the patriarchal architectural context of Kenyan society. Dornyei adds that the case study, as a method of data collection offers rich and in-depth insights that no other method can yield. Scholars have stated that the challenge presented by using the case study method is that case studies may not be generalizable. The caution lies, as Duff P. (in press) states; in the crucial consideration in case selection and sampling.

### **3.4 Research Method Justification**

By the researcher adopting qualitative research as an approach to the study, this implies that the data involved was non-numerical. Research data was collected by the use of key informant interviews. The interviews were in-depth and used semi structured questionnaires in order to explore the key themes around the media framing theory. Key informants were identified and selected from key women leaders in society. The interviews enabled the researcher to undertake a deeper analysis of the issue of how media frames women leaders in Kenya, with specific reference to their personal experiences and narrations, thus ensuring that the research is not subjected to unsubstantiated generalizations.

### **3.5 Study Population**

According to census reports of 2009/2010 conducted by the government of Kenya, women are 50% of the country's 40 million plus population.<sup>4</sup> In the last ten parliaments, Kenya has had a total of seventy five women, fifty of them elected while the other 25 were nominated. With an

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<sup>4</sup>2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census Basic Reports Volume IA, IB, IC and Vol. II

increase from 9.8% to 19% representation. In the current 11<sup>th</sup> parliament comprising a total number of 416 members, only 86 women occupy elected and nominated positions. This is according to a study by AMWIK.<sup>5</sup> In the Executive arm of government, during President Kibaki's second term 2008-2012 there were only 7 women appointed as cabinet ministers in the government of National Unity, and 5 in Uhuru Kenyatta's current cabinet composition<sup>6</sup>. The study population will be purposively sampled from this category of women in leadership positions in Kenya. Specifically; women who have served in a cabinet position at national level either by virtue of appointment by President Uhuru Kenyatta or former President Mwai Kibaki and/or women who occupy or have occupied elected or nominated seats in the Kenya's Parliament.

The study population was selected based on their experience and upper hand knowledge of the study topic. They included women in leadership who in the past were subjected to gendered media coverage. The researcher will begin by segmenting the various categories of women leaders. Respondents will be drawn from the Senate, and National assembly, to represent the highest political leadership of women in the Kenya. The key respondents were purposively sampled since they were deemed to be subject matter experts who have been involved in the gender debate and have an in-depth understanding of the study focus on media coverage of women political leaders.

### **3.6 Sampling**

Dornyei (2007) argues that qualitative research inquiry is not concerned with how representative the respondent sample is, or how the experience is distributed in the population. The main goal of sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we learn. This is achieved through the purposive sampling and this study will adopt this approach in selecting the target population. To further make a case for the approach, the sampling was purposive with a view to eliminate the resource and time constraints that are presented in the case of random sampling. Additionally, when

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<sup>5</sup>86 and Counting: Women Leaders in Kenya's 11th Parliament' Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK)

<sup>6</sup> Government of Kenya website sources as of November 2015 cabinet reshuffle

choosing a sampling method, the researcher needs to make a decision on how to select the respondents. Other factors considered in sampling include limitations on resources such as finances, time and the respondent's availability.

### **3.7 Sampling Procedure, Selection and Size**

The goal in qualitative sampling is to deepen understanding about a social scene. The sample identified gave valuable information and justified their targeting. Neumann (2011) justifies this by stating that the selection or identification of the sample in qualitative research is in relation to the relevance to the research topic rather than the representativeness that is determined. For this study, the researcher adopted snowball sampling in order not to limit the study to a predetermined category and selection of respondents. The sample selected was homogenous, i.e. all the respondents shared experience and backgrounds related to the study area: that is, women leaders in Kenya. This allowed for an in-depth analysis due to the shared characteristics and experiences. Each of the initial respondents were asked to propose an additional respondent whom they thought would be useful for the study.

### **3.8 Data Collection**

Interviews are the most used, versatile and popular communication routine, hence the decision to use this method. Kuale (1996) describes interviews as a 'one to one professional conversation that has a structure and purpose to obtain descriptions of life from the perspectives of the interviewee'. An interview is natural and acceptable means of data collection. It allows for in depth data findings. It is rich, and allows for probity and conclusive data. Considering the status of the target population both in terms of social standing and their grasp, experience and understanding of the study topic, interviews present the best option for engaging them. The down side of interviews as a data collection method is that it is time consuming and the interviewee may not be willing to open up and share information or experiences. They may also not be available. Interviewing also requires excellent communication skills by the interviewee.

### **3.9 Data Collection Method and Tool**

Data was collected by conducting interviews. Interview guides with semi structured questions were used as the data collection tool. While conducting the interview, the researcher combined various styles to ask the questions. This included asking provocative questions, leading questions, and interpretative questions. The focus of the interview relied on the respondents' experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge of the subject matter.

The interview tool was a guide with open-ended questions. It was administered by the researcher who was able to probe and record the views of the respondents for analysis. The questionnaire had a preliminary section to capture the bio-data of the interviewees. This included data on position of leadership occupied, age, and education demographics of the respondent. The rest of the questionnaire was subdivided into sections that are aligned to the study objectives. The questionnaire also sought to collect data on the respondent's perspectives in media framing of women, in particular, the impact this has on both the leaders themselves and on societal perception of women political leaders. The actual questionnaire tool used is annexed.

### **3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The data collected was subjected to qualitative content analysis. This is the textual analysis which does not have predetermined categories. The categories were derived inductively from the data analyzed. Qualitative content analysis has been defined as latent level analysis because it is an interpretive analysis that seeks to understand the deeper meaning in the data.

The textual analysis of the content tried to understand the possible interpretations from a cognitive perspective. It should be noted that the document analysis was focused on major newspapers content and pictures due to wider accessibility to citizens, and also for their greater influence on shaping the national agenda. The data collected is presented in a thematic manner, modelled along the research questions parameters and using a deductive approach based on the literature review. The findings from the analysis are presented along standard themes that were

identified as cross cutting during coding. This implied identifying broader patterns of meaning within the collected data. Each Theme was defined, together with the theoretical perspective. There was a comprehensive analysis of what each theme links to the data collected. The research findings, analysis and interpretations were presented using the narrative method of presentation. This included direct quotes from the respondents as well as paraphrasing the responses into findings.

### **3.11 Steps in Qualitative Content Analysis**

The data collected was transcribed first. The next step involved coding. That is, highlighting the text that relates to the research questions. Coding formed broad labels to work with and minimize data. The researcher then identified patterns and made interpretations. From the interpretations conclusions to the study were drawn and the researcher was able to build on existing theory.

### **3.12 Reliability and Validity**

Dornyei (2007), describes reliability as the extent to which our measurement instruments and procedures produce consistent reports in different circumstances. He breaks down the concept of reliability further by adding that dependability, that is, the consistency of the findings and confirmability i.e. the neutrality of findings are both subsets of reliability. Dornyei cites the 1985 study of Lincoln and Guba which equates trustworthiness as the researcher's answer to validity. He cites credibility as a factor of internal validity and transferability i.e. the applicability of the results to another context as external validity.

Maxwell, J.A (1992) proposes a set of indicators of validity in qualitative research. First, descriptive validity: This is factual accuracy and is indicated by the experience, and observation of the researcher when collecting data. Second is interpretative validity; this is the quality of portrayal of events by participants. Lastly is the theoretical validity which is the quality of the researcher's collected data and its analysis.

There have been strategies proposed for adoption to ensure that validity and reliability is maintained while conducting qualitative research. Noble & Smith (2015) suggest that researchers in qualitative research should account for personal biases that could have influenced their

findings. They further propose that biases in sampling should be identified, and that there should be sufficient depth and relevance of the data collected and analyzed.

To ensure that the study maintains reliability and validity, the researcher ensured that there was meticulous record keeping. After the interviews, the researcher recapped the views of the interviewees to ensure that their thoughts have been well documented. All transcripts and notes resulting from the interview were referred to when data was being analyzed and interpreted. Further, during data collection, analysis and conclusions, similarities and differences and the varying perspectives brought forth by the different interviewees were specifically considered. It was the responsibility and undertaking of the researcher to ensure clarity during the data collection, analysis and subsequent interpretations. To this end the researcher adopted data triangulation to ensure that the findings were comprehensive and representative. This was achieved by conducting multiple interviews with the different respondents, hence varying perspectives. The interview sessions were characterized by probity, i.e. the same questions will be reframed to ensure consistency in the responses.

The findings were also validated through a triangulation process of document analysis in order to corroborate the findings from the in-depth interviews. The analysis was conducted using purposive sampling. The documents analyzed were sourced from mainstream media articles and broadcasts, because they operate within the ideals of the media council of Kenya and are subjected to scrutiny and queries. The researcher, using purposive sampling analyzed online articles from published by mainstream media that were the search results of the key words ‘women + leaders + Kenya’ to validate the study and in line with the project scope.

### **3.13 Ethical Considerations**

Neuman (2011) defines ethical issues as concerns, dilemmas and conflicts that arise over the proper way to conduct research. It is about the integrity and value of the individual researcher. One of the main ethical challenges posed by conducting a qualitative survey is the quality of the researcher. According to Dornyei (2007), the skills of the researcher are responsible for ensuring quality and scope of data, as well as its interpretation.



The study upheld the ethic of scientific conduct and did not falsify or distort data. Prior to embarking on field work, the study's proposal was presented before an academic defense panel and cleared, and the researcher was issued with a field work certificate (see *appendix 2*). After the field work the study findings were defended before a panel and passed after the corrections were undertaken. A certificate of Correction was issued in this regard (see *appendix 3*). The researcher also did not plagiarize the work of other researchers and signed the declaration of originality form (see *appendix 4*). This was confirmed by the results of the plagiarism test the quality control section of the School of Journalism conducted. (see *appendix 5*). All sources of information were attributed. The study was also conducted with the understanding that the respondents are public personalities and that certain privileged information or views of the respondents would not be coded or presented in the research findings. The researcher went on to conceal the identities of the respondents interviewed by assigning them codes. Some of the respondents are however easily identifiable from the content of the findings, as some of the attributions and statements they referred to are in public domain.

The study considered all the ethical issues and ensured that the quality of the research was not compromised. Other ethical considerations included ensuring the privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents. This is especially so because the target population are senior women leaders who hold critical public positions in the country. The researcher also ensured that the respondents give informed consent to participate in the study's data collection.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4.0 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.1 Overview**

This chapter presents findings, analyses and interprets the fieldwork in line with the research design that was discussed in chapter three. The study set out to understand the experience of prominent women leaders with regard to media coverage. This was dictated by the researcher's need to tell the story of media framing from the perspectives of the subjects. This, from the researcher's perspective humanizes the research findings, as opposed to the inanimate approach of analyzing existing content or third person narrations. The findings are presented in line with the research questions that the study addressed. During the analysis of the data collected from the interviews, the data was clustered into four recurring themes and the findings are presented using these as a guide. The chapter also presents the analysis of the findings using the theoretical underpinnings of the study and presenting excerpts from the interview data collected. Finally, this chapter presents the researchers interpretation of the findings. In this discussion, the researcher presents personal opinion and deductions, all contextualized within the ambit of the study findings.

#### **4.2 Presentation of Findings**

The interviews with the respondents sought to answer the three research questions set out in chapter 1 of the study. In presenting the findings, the study captures the critical incidents that were narrated and the content that relates to the overall conceptual framework. From the interviews, the responses were clustered into four recurring themes: i) biased coverage versus strategic engagement, ii) gender priming and labeling; roles and identity, iii) social constructivism and profiling of women and iv) Media expectations; a gentleman's club? These themes were derived from both the study objectives and from the field work data.



Figure 1-3 thematic clustering of interview response data

### **4.3 Biased Coverage versus Strategic Engagement**

#### ***4.3.1 Perception of biasness in media coverage of prominent women leaders***

All the respondents interviewed were of the opinion that prominent women leaders are subjected to biased media coverage not only in Kenya but globally. The respondents gave examples of their own experiences, and examples of others that had been captured in both local and international media coverage.

At a global perspective, Respondent 1 agreed that media stereotyping applies to prominent women leaders. She gave the example of the ongoing U.S. 2016 presidential elections campaigns media coverage. She felt that the media made the health of democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton a campaign issue by drumming it up. This is as opposed to the inappropriateness of Trump's campaign messaging which she felt was not framed as inappropriate, but normal. Respondent 2 stated that media framing through gendered lenses was a global phenomenon. Again citing the example of Hillary Clinton, she noted that the media preferred to focus on her vulnerabilities including describing her health and face as 'frail'. The use of these words is intended to portray weakness of the female gender in leadership.

In the local context, all the respondents interviewed had either experienced media bias or knew a colleague who had. In particular, the respondents each referred to the media coverage of the events that led to the sacking of former Deputy Chief Justice of Kenya, Nancy Baraza over her altercation with a security guard in 2012. Respondent 1 referred to the media coverage as: 'the lynching' of Nancy Baraza is an example of media bias in coverage of prominent women in leadership. She

compared this with the media coverage of President Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy William Ruto who in 2012 were campaigning for leadership, but also had an ongoing case at the Hague over 2007-8 post-election violence related charges, popularly known as the 'ICC case'. She observed that in the coverage of the ICC case, media tended to make a villain of anyone who offered a clear analysis and perspective on the issue, yet in the same vein continued to glorify anyone who made a villain of Nancy Baraza.

From the interviews, the study found that media is discriminative to women and does not convey or recognize the hard work or development agenda undertaken by women. Citing her own example Respondent 5 narrated how despite owning one of the mainstream media houses, she experiences bias.

“...Even my own media house is biased against me and will sometimes not cover me unless I prompt them.” (Respondent 5, October 10, 2016)

The study also found that prominent women leaders are not adequately covered, and in some instances the coverage is skewed or slanted to present the peripheral aspects rather than the core issues. One of the respondents commented on a saga that generated media interest in 2015 over a weighbridge confrontation with officials; she stated that: ‘media publishes what sells that is, “when a man bites a dog and not when a dog bites a man”.’ The respondents noted that even in instances where media houses thought an event qualified for coverage owing to the seriousness of the issue, the coverage was still inadequate where women leaders are involved. In particular, respondent 4 cited an instance where she purposely engaged local media house that transmits in Hindi to discuss an issue on citizenship for the Asian audience. Her objective was to provide civic education on citizenship in order to empower and educate the audience. The media house declined as it expected to be compensated for airing the content.

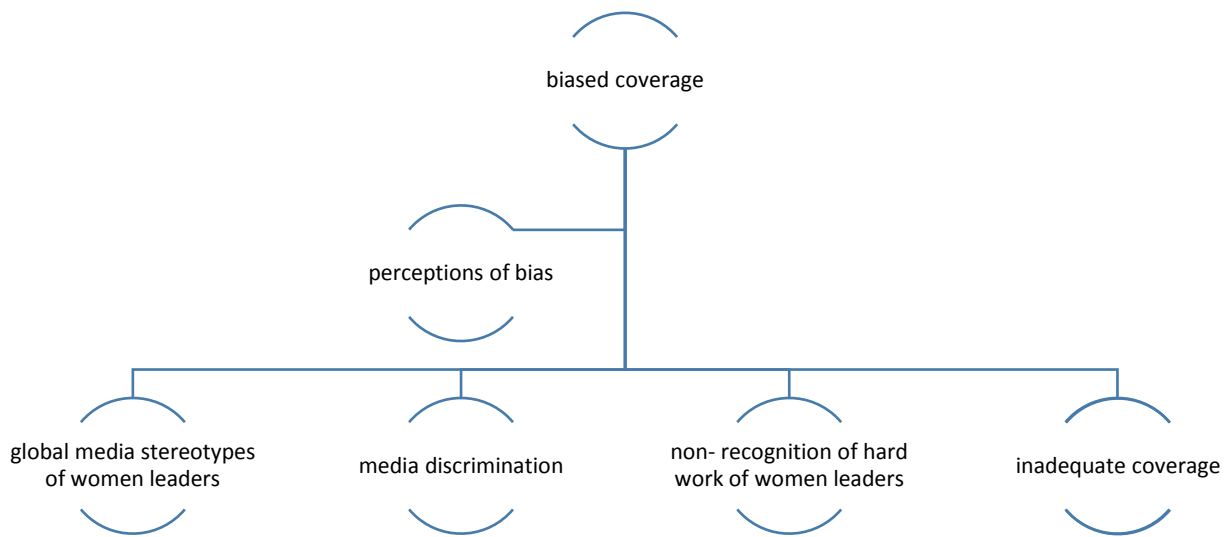


Figure 1-4 expressions of perceptions of biasness

McQuail, D. (2007) when discussing the media effect of social constructivism asserts that this is the most significant media effect, where the media constructs meanings out of content. The media then offer this content to the audiences. McQuail argues that media construct social formations and frame images of reality in predictable ways. The audiences then mix their own view of reality with what is presented to them to form an opinion. According to McQuail, the media are not just transmitters of content; they are also selectors of content and therefore construct what people should think about. This results in ‘public identity and definition’. The constructivism approach can be applied to media influence with regard to public opinion and social attitudes. Ryan, K. (2013) backs this school of thought by stating that media is a reflection of public norms and hence it tries hard to project and stick to those norms in order to sustain the audience. This theory brings to fore the study findings on the role of media in propagating negative narratives on women in leadership. It supports the position of the study that these narratives are disempowering and negatively affect the women leaders. The assertions by McQuail provide a strong backbone for the contentions of this study that media does not propagate the gender narrative on purpose, but as a social construct.

The experiences narrated and captured in this study point to the media's discriminative attitude towards women in leadership, especially the failure to recognize the hard work or development agenda of women leaders. From the study, this scenario can be alluded to media's focus on peripheral issues around women as opposed to core issues. However, given the study findings that not all the women had a negative experience with media coverage, there is need for women leaders to interrogate what others have done right and replicate the same.

#### ***4.3.2 Perceptions of media bias in stereotyping women in coverage content***

The study established that media exhibits bias in the content it uses to describe and project when covering women leaders. When giving their views, all the respondents pointed a finger on the role media plays in the stereotyping of women in its content.

The study found that women in leadership are often disadvantaged by how the media frames the narrative on their engagement with the public. Respondent 1 gave an example of her own experience when contesting for presidency in 2012-2013. She stated that the media (mis)framed her campaign message by setting the narrative on her based on the 'electability of a female candidate' as opposed to the issues her campaign platform were hinged on.

“The media set the agenda and decided that the probability of me winning was nil and that voting for me would be a ‘wasted vote’. The media then went on to frame the 2013 general elections as a ‘two horse race’, with media describing me as ‘a good candidate who cannot win’, purportedly because Kenya was not ready for a female president. This stereotyping obviously had an impact and twisted the outcome of the elections!” (Respondent 1, September 23, 2016)

The respondents demonstrated that prominent women in political leadership are subjected to stereotyping and gendered lenses in media coverage. The media has used statements that portrayed this. Respondent 1 gave an example of the headline ‘women seats are useless’ that has been repeatedly used to discuss the 47 seats that are occupied by county women representatives in the national assembly. This, she said, has resulted in the watering down of the public perceptions of the importance of women leaders in parliament, and the principle of equality in representation it addresses.

“Media uses propaganda to frame the gender agenda. Even the popular cliché that ‘women are their own worst enemies’ is actually a creation of the media aimed at propagating gender stereotyping. This is because the Kenyan media is set on the patriarchal society we live in” (Respondent 3: October 6, 2016)

As a further emphasis on the application of gender stereotyping in media content, Respondent 1 gave an example of a news article covered in a local daily captioned ‘four common mistakes women leaders do’, she noted that the media frames women as having bad morals. This story was pitted against the sterling public record of the performance of the women that were depicted in the article.

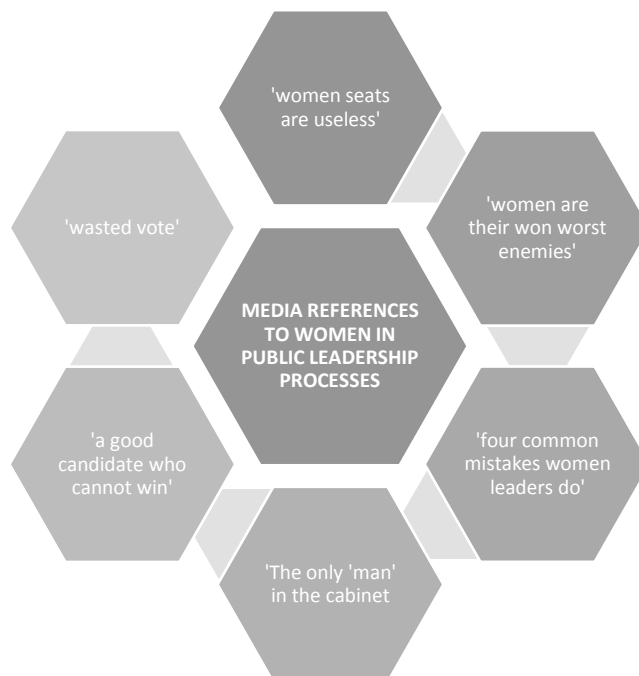


Figure1-5 Gender stereotyping reflective terminology used

### Linkage between media bias and the relationship of prominent women leaders with the media

In the justification of the study, the researcher argues that past researches on this topic have tended to focus more on quantity rather than quality of media coverage of women in leadership. This position is echoed by Campus, D (2013) in Laher, Y. (2014). Campus found that while women leaders are more visible in media now than in the past, the framing of the content remains distorted. Laher, Y. (2014) discusses the stereotypes women in leadership undergo. That women are subjected to deep stereotyping, and in particular fashion is a consistent theme in

most of the typologies. Laher gives examples on media focus on Angela Merkel's cleavage and Hillary Clinton's botox treatment and argues that from this kind of stereotyping media communicates that there is nothing more important to talk about women. Laher concludes that framing reinforces gender stereotypes pertaining to women in leadership, a finding that this study lends itself to. McIntosh, H. (2013) pushes the argument further by stating that women in leadership face more media scrutiny. This, she says, is 'attributed to the media's adherence of gender stereotypes that favor men over women in positions of power.' She singles out clothing, hairstyle and demeanor as aspects that overshadow women leaders' opinions on policy issues and development agenda. Research on stereotypes suggest that men, generally, are perceived as possessing genetic traits, such as being bold, rational, and unemotional, whereas women, generally, are perceived as possessing communal traits, such as sensitivity, empathy, and passivity (Banaji, Hardin and Rothman 1993; Diekman and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004). Laher, Y. (2014) while reviewing the book *Woman president: Confronting postfeminist political culture* notes that when media capitalizes on the body and appearance of women leaders by discussing and critiquing, it waters down their abilities. These assertions by McIntosh and Laher are in direct congruence with the findings of the study that media coverage in Kenya tends to veers off from core issues or agenda reporting on women in leadership.

The study found that to a large extent, the biased coverage that women political leaders have is based on how they engage with the media house. The respondents observed that not all the blame of skewed media coverage can be heaped on the media houses. The study established that women in public leadership needed to better engage with the media positively, provide information and personal perspectives when needed. However, all the respondents reported the financial reciprocation that was expected by media practitioners in exchange for fair and quantity coverage. The respondents viewed this expectation of monetary gain as unprofessional with the exception of one respondent who preferred to perceive it as 'facilitation'.

"The introduction of bribery expectations in media engagement makes it harder for women to engage with the media as they are naturally less inclined to this approach". (Respondent 5, October 10, 2016)



The respondents all alluded to the personal responsibility that women in leadership have to undertake in engaging with the media. The respondents noted that media framing of women in leadership boils down to individual engagement with the media houses and media content management. Respondent 2 in particular was of the view that women leaders needed to learn the 'politics of engaging with the media'. The respondent singled out two prominent women; Hon. Joyce Laboso and Cabinet Secretary Amina Mohammed as examples of women who enjoy positive media coverage. Respondent 2 referred to Amina's skills in managing the media, her positive attitude, cheery nature and private personal space as the reasons behind this. On Hon. Laboso, Respondent 2 noted that she engages the media positively and is unafraid to give her side of the story, resulting in balanced media coverage. Case in point was the media coverage of her husband's origin, which was used politically to insinuate that she was an outsider. Rather than defend herself, she set the record straight. The impact of this was that her attitude and openness gave the media a balanced narrative, but also effectively killed what was a politically insinuated sexist agenda.

The study found that giving of financial reciprocation did not necessarily result to positive media coverage. Giving her personal experience with media, Respondent 4 narrated the events of her campaign trail in 2011-2012. She noted that for the media to cover her given that she did not have a big public profile, she often facilitated them, i.e. offered financial compensation, but even then the coverage still remained poor.

While responding to the interview question on 'if it matters how the media chooses to cover prominent leaders', all the respondents were in agreement on the negative impact that media bias has on women leadership. One of the respondents noted that the impact of this was that women leaders shy away from media engagement yet they need it. Respondent 2 observed that prominent women leaders shy away from engaging the media and tend to retreat after bruising negative coverage.

“Women leaders need to balance their engagement with the media, as media can make or break you. In my opinion, women politicians in the 11th parliament have underperformed when it comes to positive engagements and have tended to shy away. Women leaders need the media as a platform to propagate their agenda. Women have to work twice as much to be recognized half as much”.  
(Respondent 3, Oct. 6, 2016)

The study found that when media lacks positive content on women in leadership, it tends to focus on their vulnerabilities and personal relations. Biased coverage is further aggravated by the fact that women leaders sometimes seek sympathy coverage rather than stronger visibility and media engagement. The respondents were of the view that women need the media, hence need to set the agenda and provide the right content. Respondent 4 notably differed with the other respondents and stated that in her view women leaders were victims of their own circumstances and should not always blame the media for negative or biased coverage.

The study findings that prominent women leaders tend to shy away and withdraw from intensive media engagements can be attributed to the theory of the spiral of silence as a subset of media effects theory. Proposed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in 1974, it can be said that women fear isolation and therefore opt to withdraw. They may fear that the media will victimize them and continue to give more skewed coverage if they voice their dissent or offer divergent opinions to what the media portrays. According to the theory, the media dictates majority opinion. The women leaders are therefore guided by the prevailing opinions in their society. Kiamba, J.M (2008) underpins the underlying problem that the patriarchy presents for women in leadership. Kiamba asserts that due to the inherent patriarchal structures in African society, women in leadership are still assigned a secondary place by prevailing customs and culture. Due to this assigned status, Kiamba argues that women find it difficult to dislocate from this culture and be ostracized. The scholar goes further to state that cultural attitudes are hostile to women in leadership. The assertion by Kiamba and the spiral of silence theory advanced by Neumann explain and put in perspective the study findings that rather than engage media, most of women in leadership shy away or withdraw. Rather than draw attention to themselves by confronting or disputing media content they prefer to stay away in what is perhaps an unconscious conformity to embedded socio-cultural norms.

It is clear from the study findings that the quality of media coverage of prominent women leaders is questionable. This is based on varying perspectives. It is questionable in terms of the content. The findings of the study point to biased, skewed coverage with a manipulated slant or angle of presentation. The contention of the study that media presents peripheral aspects rather than core issues when covering women brings to fore a weighty matter for reflection from the media practitioners standpoint. Certainly questions of ethos can be raised and addressed.

One could also argue that media is not wholly to blame for the negative experience or opinion held by women in leadership. The study found that there were other factors at play including how the women engage or do not engage the media. This needs to be interrogated further. Questions on monetary demands by the media for positive coverage also require an in-depth look. Perhaps, as was reflected in some of the study findings, women are responsible for the bad experience? Do they provide the content as fodder for the skewed coverage? There is clearly a multiplicity of factors that with further probity will reflect a mixed bag of reasons behind how media covers women. That said, the study reached the conclusion that to a large extent, the experience of women in leadership with media coverage is negative.

#### **4.4 Gender priming in media; roles and identity of women in leadership**

##### ***4.4.1 Gender specific trends in media engagement of women in leadership***

The study found that the respondents expressed the notion that the gender approach is deeply engrained when media engages women in leadership. The popular captioning of media television or radio programs as ‘women in leadership’ was in itself a manifestation of gender based framing, the study established. This is the case where when media programs that are centered on women are aired or published, they will be associated with the female gender. One of the respondents noted that similar programs targeting her male colleague are not captioned ‘men in leadership’ but rather as ‘leadership’. The respondent was full of chagrin at the specific set of questions that are unrelated to media discussions that women leaders engaging the media are subjected to.

“Whenever I am a discussant in media panels, there are questions that these interviewers always ask women panelists without fail and they really irritate me; ‘How do you balance family and work?’ ‘Are you married?’ ‘Do you have a family?’ How come they never pose those questions to men in leadership? Why?!” (Respondent 3, Oct. 6, 2016)

The study established that the trend of constituting of ‘women only’ panels was construed as propagating of gender stereotyping. Some of the respondents noted that they do not accept invitations to appear in women only panels. The adoption of common social media trends by main stream media houses, such the popular ‘Women Crash Wednesday’ (WCW) theme where media engages women leaders specifically on Wednesday, is an approach that entrenches stereotypes attached to women according to respondent 3. This is because the WCW is intended as a social media platform for men to share pictures of women that they are attracted to.

Women in leadership have not optimally used media as a platform to propagate their agenda as there is a sub conscious withdrawal as a shield against negative media coverage. The skewed coverage as depicted by the study findings leads to the trivialization of the qualities and agenda of women in leadership. Furthermore, the distraction of audiences and distortion of focus on the key agenda negatively impacts on how women leaders are viewed by society. There have been discussions about reducing the load carried by the donkey carried in mainstream media. Where the donkey is the tax payers and the load is the high number of representatives in national assembly. The reduction would be through enacting legislation that would reduce the number of representatives. One of the targets for the reduction would be the seats set aside for women. One can argue that this may be a direct outcome of how women in leadership are portrayed.

#### ***4.4.2 Through media lenses; frames and tags.***

When asked what aspects the media focuses on when covering prominent women leaders, all the respondents were of the same opinion that the demeanor and personality of a woman are the main focus aspects. The study found that the media tends to focus on relational aspects of prominent women leaders and applies use of harsh terminology when describing women in the coverage. Respondent 1 gave examples of the tags used to describe women. For instance, where a man is described as ‘strong, the woman is ‘abrasive’. Where the man is ‘assertive’ the woman

is 'aggressive'. She equated the tag 'unsmiling' that is often used in media to depict women leaders as 'not feminine'. Regarding media coverage on her, Respondent 1 said that media tended to focus on her mood, with trivial sentiments about how she does not smile often and her general demeanor.

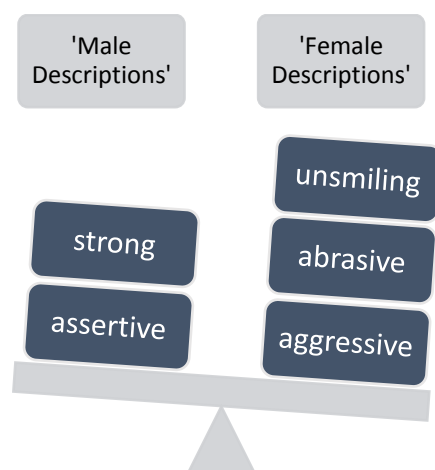


Figure 1-6 Use of gendered descriptive terminology

All the respondents were of the view that when media covers prominent women leaders, the scope of coverage widens to incorporate the parents, children, family and friends of the subject. For respondent 3 this expanded scope is in stark contrast to media coverage of men, whom the respondent opines, are framed as individuals. Citing the 2015 Jubilee cabinet corruption allegations Respondent 3 noted that the media dragged former devolution cabinet secretary's Anne Waiguru's children and personal relations into media limelight unnecessarily. This was not the case for her male colleagues. This, according to Respondent 3, is how the media sets the agenda for the audience.

In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters 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. McQuail, D. (2007) states that agenda setting influences the rank order of public awareness of issues. That is to say that media will determine and weight issues and this sets the pace for how the audience interacts with content. Lazarsfield et al (1944) refers to agenda setting as the power of the media to structure issues. The study was therefore on point by establishing

that prominent women leaders are subjected to biased media coverage not only in Kenya but globally, and that that media is discriminative to women and does not convey or recognize the hard work or development agenda undertaken by women.

In 1976, the late Baroness Thatcher, then opposition leader, opened a speech by parodying the inevitable media reporting of her "red chiffon evening gown, softly made up face, and fair hair gently waved"<sup>7</sup>. This quote from an article in *The Guardian* newspaper lays to rest the question of the frames used by media to cover women. Four decades later, the frames have remained pretty much the same.

Other frames used in media coverage of women in leadership identified in this study are; sexuality and appearance, propaganda and controversy, and lastly, gender reflective terminologies and tags.

Media uses propaganda and controversy to frame coverage of women. The study isolated some of the terminology used as captions that demonstrate this. For instance 'women seats are useless' or 'women are their own worst enemies' are phrases that the respondents referred to in alluding the use of propaganda. One would argue that by depicting the 47 seats set aside for women in the Kenyan constitution as useless, the media sends the wrong message to its audience. Using the assumption that the main consumers of media are the men, this messaging may have a spiral effect and shape the narratives around the role or importance of women in leadership. Media has a role to play in ensuring that audiences receive and interpret content correctly.

Media frames issues using gendered terminology and tags. For example, when running a televised interview with a female politician or civil servant, the caption below the screen reads 'women in leadership'. Around elections time there are several media articles that are captioned 'female candidate'. To put this into perspective, there are hardly captions like 'men in leadership' or 'male candidate'. This according to the study findings cements gender stereotyping. The media has an option of covering women in leadership without necessarily

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<sup>7</sup>The power of the media: putting women in the frame (The Guardian, May 2, 2013)

qualifying them as women, but rather, laying emphasis on the ‘leadership’ aspect. This provides an even playing ground and the audience interpretation of content is not clouded by the gender aspect.

However, there is a caveat to this discussion, looking at the framing decision from the perspective of the media practitioners: it’s what sells, it’s the story, and it’s what makes news

#### ***4.4.3 Media’s sexualizing of the women in leadership***

The study found that Media coverage and content has led to the sexualizing of prominent women in leadership. This in turn has led to the trivialization of their leadership qualities and agenda. When answering the interview question on the impact of media coverage on how society perceives women leaders, the respondents were unanimous that media coverage veers away from constructive coverage of women in leadership, resulting in distraction and distortion of focus on the key agenda. The study established that the media is keen to take up controversial stories on women leaders, especially those related to sexuality. All the respondents were in agreement that media houses use diversionary tactics when reporting issues and focus more on juicy scandals.

“When media was reporting on the former CS Anne Waiguru corruption allegations, rather than focusing on the accuracy of the adequacy or inadequacy of the claims on her lack of accountability, they used the frame of her supposed personal closeness to President Uhuru Kenyatta. This lost focus on the substantive issue which was on accountability and management”. (Respondent 1, Sept. 23, 2016)

The respondents gave several examples of their own experiences or the experiences of their colleagues to further illustrate media’s sexualizing of women in leadership. Respondent 1 gave an example of how during the 10th parliament one media house took a picture of women parliamentarian legs and used it in a popular column, inviting readers to identify the owners of the legs. The respondent also narrated other stereotyping experiences during the 2013 elections period including the presidential debate. She explained how the media analysis following the televised debate centered on her choice of outfit and how wrong it was. She singled out a vernacular radio station that described to its audience, her outfit as having a low cut neck, which according to the media house exposed ‘a lot of flesh’. By focusing on her dressing, the media

house in question distracted the audience from the quality of her participation in the presidential candidates' debate and issues she tabled as her election agenda.

Respondent 1 observed that the trend of focusing on 'side shows' of prominent women leaders goes a long way back. The respondent gave an example of the late Nobel Peace Laureate Prof. Wangari Maathai divorce in the 1980s which was discussed in gory details in the media, purportedly because she was being divorced on grounds of adultery.

“Wangari Maathai was repeatedly captioned in print media in the 80s as a ‘divorcee’. The impact of this tag was not lost on her; as a member in the sixth parliament she said; let us not discuss the anatomy below the belt, but what is in between the ears” ((Respondent 5, October 10, 2016)

From the examples the respondents gave during the interview questions, the study established that not only does the media propagate the sexualizing of women in leadership, it continues to perpetuate this by repeatedly referring to long past incidences in remotely related current occurrences. Citing her experience with this, Respondent 3 observed that the media keeps on focusing on a statement she made about breastfeeding in the Senate in 2014 up to date whenever an unrelated story about her is published.

McQuail, D. (2007) defines priming as when media foreground the criteria for assessing public figures. The priming theory advances that mass media by making some issues more outstanding than others impacts on how prominent people are judged. Priming refers to “changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations” (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). Priming in mass media is an outcome of agenda setting or a dependent variable. First the media will decide what to say, then how to say it. I.e. what to lay emphasis on. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) further argue that what the mass media ‘primes’ is what the public use to judge their leaders. According to The findings of the study therefore support this theory. By focusing on the relationships that prominent women leaders have, or their family status or even how they dress, talk and look, the media sets the stage for its audience on what to think. The implication therefore is that the core agenda or issues that should ideally be communicated take a back seat.



The media in Kenya has propagated the sexualizing of women in leadership by laying emphasis on dressing, attitude, demeanor and physical attributes e.g. legs, and cleavage. The idea that a media house can discuss the dressing of a presidential candidate to the ninth, including details of color and depth of the cut of neckline at the expense of conveying the ideas and agenda the candidate presented during the debate. The study also established that not only does media propagate sexualizing of women in leadership, it continues to perpetuate this by repeatedly referring to long past incidences in remotely related current occurrences. A glance at media content confirms this, especially with the use of hyperlinks drawing audiences to link to related content that is characteristic of digital content. The media frames used to cover women in leadership cross-pollinate therefore, making it difficult to erase their digital footprint.

One can deduce that this kind of framing is a global media malpractice or else find solace in knowing that the framing of women depending on their physical appearance is not limited to the Kenya media scenario. 2016 U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton has since 2007 been the subject of discussions in what has been termed as the ‘cleavagegate’. The ‘*Atlantic*’ newspaper<sup>8</sup> described Hillary Clinton’s near paranoid view of the media, and her lack of trust of the media. However the newspaper justifies this by stating the ‘journalistic fixation on her clothes’ and ‘on her appearance overall, whether on her makeup or her hair or her contact lenses’ explains why she is wary and rightly so. Interestingly, the women may themselves be proponents of the characterization of women leadership attributes along gender lines. The fact that one of the respondents in the study alludes to the ‘smiling and cheery’ nature and attitude of CS Amina Mohammed as the reason the latter enjoys positive media coverage is a clear pointer to this.

#### **4.5 Social Constructivism and Profiling of Women in Leadership**

The study found that the media propagates patriarchal coverage by setting the narrative that if women achieve anything good then they are like men. All the respondents were of the view that these narratives were disempowering and negatively affected women leaders. The study established that media does not propagate the gender narrative on purpose, but as a social construct. The respondents noted that the media is not entirely to blame as it an extension of

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<sup>8</sup>Why the Pantsuit? (The Atlantic, August 2, 2016)

society and society tends to perceive women from gendered lenses. According to the respondents, the impact of skewed media framing of prominent women leaders further entrenches the misplaced societal propaganda of women as underdogs and inadequate.

The study had sought to establish the effect of skewed media coverage on how society perceived women in leadership. However, from the responses to the question, the respondents were of the view that it is society that determines and dictates how the media perceives women, and that it is not the other way round. The study closed the loop on this because some of the respondents noted that the Kenyan society is a big consumer of media and tends to believe a lot in what is aired or presented as gospel truth.

“Skewed media coverage of women is an extension of societal patriarchy that places favor on men and disadvantages women. Unfortunately, it is we women who propagate and buy into this narrative of the supremacy of the male gender”.  
(Respondent 1, Sept. 23, 2016)

Using her own example with her experience on framing, Respondent 1 said that the phrase that referred her to the ‘only male in Kibaki Cabinet’ was an insult to women. (*Daily Nation*’ columnist Clay Muganda described (the respondent) as being “the only man in Kibaki’s Cabinet” because of her willingness to stand up for President Mwai Kibaki in the aftermath of the 2007 / 2008 elections standoff). One of the respondents elaborated further on the societal perceptions on media coverage of women. Giving the example of 2016 U.S. elections presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, she stated that her campaign has been dotted with questions around her spouse Bill Clinton’s reign. The respondent noted that in various media interviews Hillary Clinton had to keep explaining her role or failing that may have contributed to the alleged affairs her husband had.

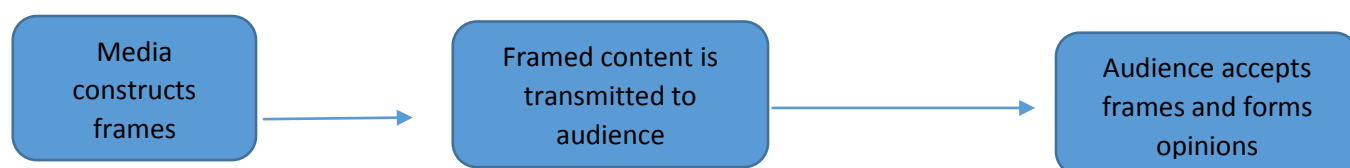
McQuail, D. (2007) has stated that the mass media institution is part of the structure of society. Based on previous research (Tuchman, 1978), one of the factors that influence the media’s choice of frames for content is social norms and values. The studies conducted establish that the frame building of the media as the independent variable has an impact on the audience framing as the dependent variable. McQuail, D. (2007) notes that the content of media largely supports reigning social norms and conventions. He argues that it is difficult for media to drift far from

status quo. McIntosh, H. (2013) asserts that media messages communicate content that is tailored to match what already exists in society. The narratives that media communicates both overtly and covertly are a continuity of what that audience already knows and perceives as normal. Scheufele (1999) explains that people tend to favor the facts that are brought to their attention through frames, and the way an event is framed by the media can affect how audiences understand the event. The arguments put forth by the scholars are a reflection of the study findings that gendered media coverage and stereotyping of women in leadership is a continuation of societal perspectives of women.

The cross findings from this study that on one hand society influence media on what to convey about women in leadership, and on the other hand that it is media that influences society what to think of women leaders are both correct positions. McQuail, D. (2007) has argued that mass media and society continuously interact and influence each other. He concludes that the interdependency between media and society is so intertwined, that both mirror and mould each other. Laher, Y. (2014) puts this relationship between media and society into perspective. She states, 'patriarchy is alive and well in the media. Making the role of women in (leadership) a continual mediation between their designated gender and their desired role as a leader in society'. Ndlovu, S & Mutale S.B (2013) have argued that due to the influence of patriarchy, men continue to influence societal processes. They discuss the prohibitive cultural attitudes against women that are reflected in how the media cover women in leadership. The two scholars accuse the media of gender based discrimination based on the latter's selection and portrayal of stereotypical content of women. Quoting an external source, Ndlovu and Mutale lay emphasis on the critical role of media in determining how society perceives women leaders, and media's role in shaping the values of society with regard to women leadership. The way media covers women could be attributed to how the journalists are socialized towards women leadership and they use this frame of mind to perceive and report on women (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). The findings from this study that media is discriminative to women and does not convey or recognize the hard work or development agenda undertaken by women lend credence to this school of thought.

Capella & Jamieson (1997) have put forth the argument that news frames activate certain 'inferences, ideas and judgments' concerning politicians. Laher, Y. (2014) discusses media

framing of women in power from the perspective of societal construction of males and females. Males are constructed as ‘dominant, assertive and leaders’, while women are ‘passive, submissive, followers’. According to Laher, the net effect of this is that women in leadership are viewed as outsiders who present themselves outside the expected gender hierarchy, hence the increased media scrutiny. Laher argues further that media’s distortion of women leaders causes attrition of the visibility their skills and leadership values, resulting in unequal playing field in competed processes of leadership. The foregoing arguments put forth by both Laher and Capella & Jamieson buttress the findings of this study: That women in leadership in Kenya have been subjected to stereotyping and gender lenses.



*Figure 1-7 Researcher's elaboration of Scheufele's (1999) process Model of Framing Effects*

The study established that the media in Kenya has been dead set in defining women in leadership through what I term as the ‘woman and her tentacles’ frame. By ‘her tentacles’ I mean her family, her husband, her lover, her children, all of which are the appendages the media finds a way to attach to content and coverage of women in leadership. In the analysis of the findings, the study attributes this kind of framing to the social constructivism of women’s roles and gender identity. However, the respondents in the study reported to be irked by the intimate questions of media practitioners with regard family status and work life balance. Questions such as ‘are you married?’, ‘how do you balance being a leader and being a mother?’ were distracting and intended to veer the audience away from the gist of the discussions. This study find brings to question is men in leadership are subjected to probity on their ‘tentacles’ or ‘appendages’.

#### **4.6 Media Expectations; A Gentleman’s Club?**

The study found that media propagated patriarchal coverage by setting the narrative that if women achieve anything good then they are like men. Asked about how the media covered them, the respondents were of the view that positivity in media was reserved for men. That media

exposes women but protects men. That media coverage is skewed to protect men even where they are wrong.

“Male privilege and entitlement is perpetuated by media and socially entrenched. While men are portrayed in a special way, women are disparaged and attacked mercilessly. Women in leadership tend to bear the brunt of this more because they are perceived to occupy male space and their inclusion is treated as a favor not a right.” (Respondent 1, Sept. 23, 2016)

The study established that media also judges women in leadership harshly if women engage the media as women; there is a silent expectation that women in leadership should engage as if they were men. Respondent 2 emphasized that men in leadership get less skewed coverage because they team up and support each other, and media loves team players. The respondent noted that media coverage is sometimes unfavorable to women because they are inaccessible and do not engage. The personalities and attitudes of women leaders provide fodder for gendered coverage according to Respondent 2. She opined that men have better skills in engaging with media contacts. In particular Respondent 2 pointed out that the women are more unlikely to provide lunch and transport for media crew, a term that is loosely referred to as ‘facilitating’ media. On the other hand, men are more likely to facilitate the media and hence get fair and adequate coverage.

“Women in leadership have exposed themselves and made themselves vulnerable to skewed media coverage. Men in leadership and in media on the other hand support each other and end up with positive coverage. Negative behavior is capitalized by the society, and there is a delicate balance of being a woman and a leader”. If the balance of media reporting is to tip in favor of women, we have to find a different approach to engage media and change their attitude towards us. In the end, it all boils down to the individual”. (Respondent 3, Oct. 6, 2016)

Giving an example further afield of media bias towards men, Respondent 2 noted that media in Britain did not give adequate coverage to the killing of Jo Cox, a British member of parliament who was shot allegedly for her stance on Britain remaining in the European Union a few days before the ‘Brexit’ referendum. Respondent 2 was of the view that if the shooting involved a male counterpart, the media would not have killed the story as hastily. Closer home, Respondent 2 referred to the public altercation between Runyenjes Member of Parliament Cecily Mbarire and Embu Senator Lenny Kivuti that played out in media (on September 18, 2016). In this case

the media portrayed Hon. Mbarire as the one on the wrong. The respondent was of the view that the media emphasized on the issue because it played out against the two genders. R2 was of the view that if the exchange involved two men then it would not have sparked response and protest as it did.

The findings pointed to the all familiar terrain of the place of women in the hierarchical setting of Kenyan society. Firstly, as regards to patriarchy; the study found that when women achieve anything good then the media likens them to men. We are all too familiar with the ‘only man in Kibaki’s cabinet’ later revised to ‘to the only man in Uhuru’s cabinet’ phrases. These were coined by the media ostensibly to elaborate the quintessential leadership qualities displayed by Martha Karua and Amina Mohammed in executing their roles as cabinet secretaries. One would be tempted to state that patriarchy is embedded in the Kenyan society hence women in leadership should ‘accept and move on’ as it were. However, in my opinion media houses stand challenged to come up with more catchy phrases and tags to celebrate achievements of the women in leadership.

That said, the findings of the study that women can better engage with media, and not shy away needs to be emphasized. For leadership to be successful, a partnership between the media, its audience and its subjects has to be forged. There is need for women in leadership to communicate back to media, respond to queries and understand better the role of media in society. The media can be both ally and foe: In my opinion women in leadership should embrace both sides of the sword.

#### **4.7 Document Analysis**

As discussed in Chapter 3, the findings of the study were validated in order to gauge their applicability to another context. A document analysis was conducted using purposive sampling of online articles from published by mainstream media. The articles were selected from the search results of the key words ‘women + leaders + Kenya’ to validate the study and in line with the project scope.

The online newspaper articles analyzed corroborated the study findings that media is biased in its coverage of women in leadership. The coverage is often skewed and laced with gender

stereotypes. In one of the articles, the writer begins by stating; *'Ever heard of the saying, it is a man's world? Well, let me take you through a journey of women representation in high decision-making positions in the country then you will confirm that this is indeed the case in Kenya.'* This immediately displaces the women in leadership as they are deemed to be occupying a male space. The same writer concludes the article with the words *"There is also a society stereotype where there is the perception that a woman MP cannot represent them well'* *Capital news* (September 25, 2008)

In one of the publications, female parliamentarians are reported to have questioned the bias they face with media. They argue that *'publications had 'demonized' women', 'Mbita MP Millie Odhiambo took a swipe at one publication which listed a number of female legislators alleged to be having 'loose morals'.'* *We cannot have a rogue gutter press going round maligning women, we have declared war on them, even the papers must show dignity for women," charged the Mbita legislator.'* *'We know the script that strong women are always branded as immoral.'* *Capital News* (March 25, 2015) This clearly depicts that not only are the women in leadership subjected to negative media coverage, but that also they are aware of it to the point of calling the media houses out.

A further look at the portrayal of women leaders in the articles, agrees with the study findings that the women faced stereotyped and sexually innuendos even in illustrated media coverage. One publication caricatured the women leaders as masseuses in an aircraft, yet the women depicted were on official duty. This points to the sexualizing of women in leadership. Again, the women in demonstrated that they were unhappy with the content as was reported. *"I want to demand an apology to all the lady Members of Parliament because we are here in our own right. We did not come here to massage anybody... we are here as Members of Parliament; and we want gender sensitive media, not people who look at us from the waist down and not the waist up."* *Capital News* (May 22, 2013) from this statement, it can be deduced that women leaders point a finger at the gender insensitive and gendered media portrayal.



Figure 1-8 Cartoon depicting women leaders as masseuses

The findings of the study concluded that the women in leadership rarely confront the media over negative coverage for fear of further reprisals. However, it is interesting to note that through the documents analyzed there were instances where the women leaders used the same media to protest their portrayal. This was executed through press conferences or press releases, and as in the excerpt below, by penning protest articles. The excerpt below was penned by a woman politician who had been the subject of negative, sexually innuendo coverage. *'As I write this, I have run out of fingers and toes to count how many seedy articles have been in the media recently just on women leaders. The strange, and common thread, about these articles is that they are all on women leaders' sexuality.... Hon Joyce Lay's divorce was given a whole page in a weekly newspaper, with gory details about her intimate life. How was this news? Is it relevant to the people of this country? The answer is No.'* *'I woke up on Monday to my picture on the front page of one of the weeklies and the word beside my picture read 'sex'. I am the latest in the list of women whose sexuality has been attacked'* *'If you are against having women in powerful positions there are better ways to this than using the media to attack and portray women as immoral.'* *The Star (May. 22, 2015)*

The document analysis also corroborated the study findings that media attributes certain tags and labels when describing women. For instance the study showed that the female equivalent of assertive is aggressive. One of the articles reviewed stated; *'But things are bound to change if the*



*aggression with which women are campaigning ahead of the 2017 General Election* rather than to be depicted as working hard the women are associated with strong and violent tags. Again, the media was found to associate good or outstanding performance to maleness. This is no wonder that when the women excel, it is termed as ‘shocking’! *‘Homa Bay Woman Representative Gladys Wanga, for instance, shocked many when she beat men to be elected the county's Orange Democratic Movement chairperson.’ The Standard* (September 2, 2016). To further demonstrate the findings that media depicts a good woman leader as one who has manly qualities, the following excerpt describing two women leaders reflects this. *‘When was the last time you heard Karua play the ‘woman card’? You can only catch her dead, for instance, saying sissy stuff like, ‘Sisi kama wamama (us women)’. ‘Her dress code is severe and, unless she is adorned in the green apparel of her flower party, she is always in red or black — tough and serious colours.’ ‘Ngilu, on the other hand, is not only politically coy, but also seductive.’ The Standard* (Aug 8th 2016). The two leaders are described from differing but nevertheless skewed angles; one as strong and very masculine in her choice of dress and manner and the other as savvy and sensual. This points to the finding that sometimes the media will be irrelevant in their portrayal of women and skirt around core issues to dwell on non- issues.

The study concluded that media frames women in leadership through gendered lenses. The document analysis established that indeed the media does apply these frames in their coverage. Portrayal of women through patriarchal lenses was most evident. One writer ruthlessly tears into the presidential ambitions of a woman leader. He states; *‘No Kenyan man would ever willingly agree to be under a woman.’ ‘... Do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful ‘man’ in the country?’* The writer continues to entrench and acknowledge a further stereotypical depiction of women; *‘Women, like fire, are known to be good servants but bad leaders. I know this is stereotypical thinking but just look at our female leaders, ask a friend who has a female boss the hell they go through.’* The writer concludes by casting aspersions on the marital status of the subject by quipping optional salutations and openly expressing his gender biased lenses; *‘So Miss/Mrs. Presidential Aspirant ..... ‘I would like to end my tirade by stating categorically that Kenya is not ready for a female president.’ The Standard*(30th Aug 2016)

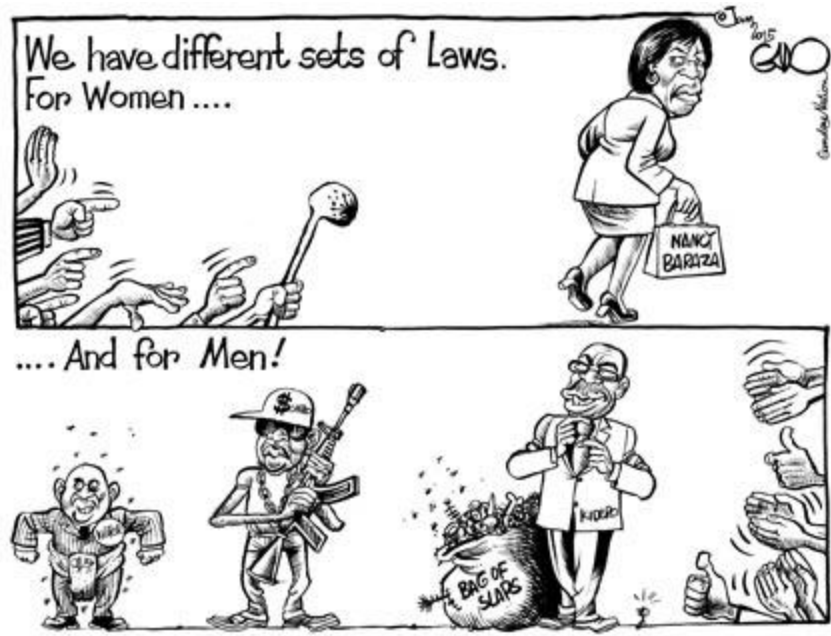


Figure 1-9 Cartoon depicting the unequal treatment of women and men leaders

The documents analyzed corroborate the finding that media lays emphasis on physical appearance and attributes of women in leadership, often veering away from the core issues. However, the attributions cannot be wholly blamed on the media as in some instances the media reported what was stated verbatim. This analysis does not contradict the findings as it was stated that media framing and labeling is a reflection of societal perceptions of women. It has been said that the leadership of a society is reflective of the values of the society it represents. Some of the discussions held in national platform analyzed were subjective. One of the male leader's states; *"When you look at some of the women here, the hair on their head cost almost Sh10, 000. These women have money," Capital News (April 21, 2016)*. The media also propagated further the assertion that women who had been elected to the Senate were nothing more than 'flower girls.' *'...it's unfortunate we have nothing but flower girls who just can't stop clutching on their male party leaders' coat tails for political survival' The Standard (Aug 8th 2016)* Perhaps framed differently the story would be progressive that is, a discussion on the legal roles and limitations of nominated senators. By framing the Senators as flower girls, the media trivializes and jeopardizes the role of women leaders. It also loses an opportunity to educate the audience of gaps in representation legislations.

To sum the discussion on the frames used by media to depict women, the following is an excerpt describing in glowing terms serving Cabinet Secretary Amina Mohammed. The article is captioned: *'Amina Mohammed: Acting like a Lady but Thinking like a Man'*. It goes on to read; *'.... Brilliant, beautiful, stylish, articulate and yet unassuming, she breathes remarkable freshness and class into the boring business of Government. A sharp dresser, often with a scarf loosely tied around her neck and dimpled smile, she brought to the Cabinet the rare combination of beauty and brains.'* *The Standard* (Aug 8th 2016). The audience is denied information on the reason why she is an outstanding performer, her diplomatic experience, her academic qualifications and leadership qualities. The framing points to the aesthetic qualities, hence creating gendered lenses for the audience's perception of what a good female leader should be.

The study findings discuss the consequences of the negative portrayal on how society perceives and views women in leadership. From the documents analyzed, it is clear that women leaders are embarrassed and feel undignified from the skewed media coverage. The article alluded to earlier penned by a woman politician (*The Star* May. 22, 2015) concludes by making an observation that perhaps the objective of skewed, negative portrayal of women leaders in media coverage is aimed at meeting editorial policies and expectations. *'At this point, the author of the story celebrates. He has managed to please his masters whose key objective is to embarrass the female legislator and to portray women as not designed for leadership.'* This is done at the expense of the societal perceptions of women leaders. As a result of status of women leadership is weakened. This corroborates the study findings that women in leadership will shy away and withdraw from engaging. The article concludes with clear indictment of media houses and an even worse predicament for the future of women in leadership in the next generation. *'Women are demotivated from running for office because of threats, questions on their marital status and sexuality.'* *'These attacks do not help young girls who would one day want to be the Martha Karuas or Wangari Maathais of this world. You kill the dreams of your own daughters by the cowardly acts.'* *The Star* (May. 22, 2015)

Finally, the documents analyzed led the researcher to the same conclusions as did the study findings. The gendered media coverage is not a preserve of the Kenyan context, but rather it

presents itself globally. Ironically, the experience of gender stereotyping and framing applies to the female media practitioners as well.

Jill Abramson, the first woman to serve as Executive Editor of the *New York Times*, resigned under duress. *The Times* announced Abramson's departure in a front-page story filled with barbs and swipes, the kind of piece that even the most ineffectual senior male editor never sees in print upon his dismissal from a job. ...and, as long as there is a perceived problem with women's leadership styles, no woman can lead a major organization so soothingly, diplomatically, and charmingly that epithets like "pushy," "bossy," and "Putin-like" will not follow her the minute someone wants to shove her out the door. The question is not about women's leadership styles at all; it is simply about moving the goalposts. *The Star* (Jun. 05, 2014)

*The Standard* (July 20th 2016) perhaps offers the best closure to the subject; *'Women leaders should not be, and are not, defined solely by gender - and it is never the most interesting thing about them.'*

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

The study successfully met its objectives to investigate the frames used by media to cover prominent women leaders in Kenya and to analyze the consequences of the media framing of women leaders on their political and public leadership. The study findings were corroborated by the triangulation process and the researcher concluded that the portrayal of prominent women leaders in Kenya by the media is negative, biased and skewed with gender stereotyping.

The study found that to a large extent, that prominent women leaders view as biased media coverage on them. From the study findings, it emerged that gendered lenses and stereotyping of women in leadership is deeply woven in media coverage. The study findings pointed to the fact that media coverage is sometimes unfavorable to women because they are inaccessible and do not engage. However, the study deduced that this coverage is based on how the women engage with the media house, and secondly a continuation of societal perspectives of women. It was the contention of the study that media does not propagate the gender narrative on purpose, but as a social construct supremacy of the male gender as is advanced in patriarchal societies.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Overview**

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study, presents theoretical conclusions and makes recommendations. The objective of this study was to establish how the media frames content on women in public and political leadership in Kenya. The discussion on the findings below addresses the research questions that were adopted in conducting the study. The research sought to find out the experience of prominent women leaders with regard to media coverage. Secondly, it sought to know the frames used by media to cover the leaders and lastly to establish the impact of media framing of women leaders in Kenya on their political and public leadership. The conclusions discussed in this chapter are based on the theoretical underpinning of this study; agenda setting and media framing. From the conclusions, the study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by advancing other mass communication theories that are subsets of two main theoretical frameworks, as they have a direct correlation with the findings of the study. Finally in this chapter the researcher posits three recommendations targeting the two subjects; media and women in leadership, and lastly the areas for further academic research.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The study found that media portrayal of prominent women leaders in Kenya is often biased, skewed, and presented in a manipulated slant or angle that is not balanced. The experience of the women leaders with media coverage is to a large extent negative. The main frames used to cover prominent women in leadership are; patriarchy, family relations, sexuality and appearance, propaganda and controversy, and lastly, the use of gender reflective terminologies and tags. The consequence on this is that society tends to view the women leaders through these lenses provided by the media. After examining the frames presented as the lenses used to cover women against the existing media theories, it is the contention of the study that media does not propagate

the gender narrative on purpose, but as a social construct that lays emphasis on the supremacy of the male gender as is advanced in patriarchal societies.

The study found that media is discriminative to women and does not convey or recognize the hard work or development agenda undertaken by women. Prominent women leaders are not adequately covered, and in some instances the coverage is skewed or slanted to present the peripheral aspects rather than the core issues. Media exhibits bias in the content it uses to describe and project when covering women leaders. The study established that not only does the media propagate the sexualizing of women in leadership, it continues to perpetuate this by repeatedly referring to long past incidences in remotely related current occurrences. The study concluded that gendered media coverage and stereotyping of women in leadership is a continuation of societal perspectives on women.

The study noted that media is not wholly to blame for the negative experience or opinion held by women in leadership, that there are other factors at play. Women leaders in Kenya do fully engage with the media or provide feedback to media queries when it is expected of them. In addition, it is not all the women in leadership who experience a negative relationship with the media, a minority of the women view the media positively and reported fair and balanced coverage. The study concludes that media portrayal of prominent women in leadership boils down to individual engagement with the media houses and media content management.

The effect of the often negative portrayal and framing of women in leadership has had an effect on the relations between the latter and media practitioners. There is a sub conscious withdrawal from media engagement as a shield against negative media coverage. The women leaders are cautious of the gender stereotyping that they or their colleagues have experienced in the previously. The women leaders shy away from engaging the media and tend to retreat after bruising negative coverage. The pull away factor by the women in leadership entrenches further stereotyping of women in media because when media lacks positive content on women, they will tend to focus on the vulnerabilities and personal relations. The study found that Media coverage and content has led to the sexualizing of prominent women in leadership. This in turn has led to the trivialization of their leadership qualities and agenda.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

From the findings presented, the study reached the following theoretical conclusions:

Framing presents itself in the continuous coverage of media content with a consistent slant. This has an impact on what the audience relates or associates the subject to. The study findings lend themselves to this assertion. By the media presenting content on prominent women leaders with emphasis laid on the women's appearance, demeanor, dressing, family relations and marital status, it implies that the audience will view the women in leadership from those perspectives. This certainly eats into their core agenda as leaders, and issues which would be better accorded a media platform are pushed aside. This theoretical perspective then explains why the study found that media does not convey or recognize the hard work or development agenda undertaken by women.

From the study findings, the media is selective in terms of the content it communicates on women in leadership in Kenya. From the theory of agenda setting role advanced by McCombs and Shaw of the media that forms the backbone of this study, it is evident that media has a role on prioritizing what the audience should think about and how they should think about it. The editorial policies of media houses have a role and a say in how women are portrayed in media. If the trend established by the findings of this study: that media portrays women in leadership in Kenya negatively, in a skewed and stereotypical manner, is to change, reassessing the editorial policies of media houses would be an ideal starting point. Editors are the gate keepers of what is conveyed to the audience and play a pivotal role in setting the agenda and framing the issues.

The theory of agenda setting ties in with priming. What the media tags as important is deemed important. Therefore the negative portrayal of prominent women in leadership is a clear indication and indictment that the media in Kenya has opted to embrace gendered lenses.

The study findings that media propagates the gender narrative as a continuation of social perspectives on women can be attributed to the social constructionist theory. This is premised on

the argument that media as a communication tool simply conveys cultural and social constructs and perceptions of women in society. The socio-cultural constructivist theory as advanced by German philosopher Siegfried Schmidt attributes social regulation and cultural programming as having an impact on how things will be talked about and with what effect. Therefore, media portrayal of women in leadership argued from this point of view, is part of media constructing of reality.

Mass media assigns and conveys its interpretation of women in leadership by re-enforcing societal beliefs regarding women. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) cited in Ibroscheva, E. N. *et al* (2007) advanced that presentation of mass media content is not only limited to information and accurate facts. That in fact, media ‘takes elements of culture, magnifies them, frames them and feeds them back to the audience’. Parenti (1993) cited in Ibroscheva, E. N. *et al* (2007) asserts that mass media deliberately misinforms and limits the audiences’ full knowledge by limiting content and pursuing specific angles or slants of issues as originally presented to them.

The study findings that women in leadership tend to stay away or withdraw from active media engagement associates with the mass communication theory of spiral of silence advanced by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. The theory of spiral of silence offers a differing perspective from that of media constructivism that advances the idea that media reinforces pre-existing beliefs. It argues that media creates a bias in its audiences opinions and legitimizes what it thinks to be the right opinion. From this theory, the study findings can also be interpreted that media content management and editorial policies inform how media covers women in leadership. One can deduce that perhaps to the media, it is more interesting to focus on the family, relations, personality and appearance as opposed to development records, policies advances or educational and professional suitability of women in the positions they hold.

Secondly, It is the contention of this study that women leaders shy away from media engagements because they reach the conclusion that no matter what they say, or however much they engage with the media ‘positively’, there is the set way that media and by extension society, is programmed to perceive them. That status quo is bound to remain. From this theory, it can be argued that if women leaders tackle their negative portrayal in media head on, it can only lead to



adverse effects and perhaps more stereotyping and negative coverage. (*The Nation* Media raid in May 2005 by the Late Lucy Kibaki- then First lady, who confronted the media house over claims over the negative portrayal of her and the first family is a case in point. It ended up having even worse media coverage thereafter.) The study found that women leaders shy away from engaging the media and tend to retreat after bruising negative coverage. Applying the theory of spiral of silence effects, one can argue that due to the potential of further negative portrayal, women leaders develop fear of the media and they do not speak out to change the media's and by extension, the public opinion of them.

The study lends itself to the media effects theory that media reinforces existing beliefs. From the findings of this study, media has reinforced patriarchal beliefs and perceptions of women in society, and perpetrated the gender roles assigned to the female gender. The study contributes to the media influence and media effects theory. The content of media coverage can have negative effects on the audiences, including the subjects. The negative portrayal of women in leadership by the media in Kenya has resulted in biased perception of the women by society. It also impacted negatively on the effectiveness of the women's engagement with media and optimal use of media platforms to propagate their agenda and policies. This has an overall negative effect of the contribution of women leaders to the national development agenda.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

- a) The researcher recommends that media houses should introspect on the current practices around framing of women in leadership. The editorial policies should have specific guidelines on managing and conveying content on the female gender. In the absence of this, media houses will unconsciously continue to apply gendered lenses in their coverage of women in leadership.
- b) The researcher recommends that women in leadership should embrace the role of media in society. For their leadership to be successful, a partnership between the media and the women leaders needs to be forged. There is need for women in leadership to

communicate back to media, respond to queries and understand better the role of media in society.

- c) Lastly, the researcher recommends two further researches to be undertaken in order to fully complete this study: a study on the audience perspective and interpretation media portrayal women in leadership and secondly, an investigation into the editorial policies on framing of gender. With women and leadership as a case study.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 Questionnaire

#### Questionnaire

#### Biographical data

**Name:** -----

**Profession/Institution** -----

**Educational level:** a. tertiary b. undergraduate c. post graduate

**Age:** a. 30- 40 b. 41- 50 c. 51 and above

---

1. There has been the school of thought that women political leaders around the world have been subjected to media coverage through 'gender lenses'. What are your thoughts on this?
2. What is your view on media coverage of prominent women in public or political leadership in Kenya? Do you think this approach of 'gender lenses' applies in the Kenyan context? If so, why and can you give some specific examples?
3. What is your personal experience as a leader with regard to media coverage? What are some of the examples that come to mind
4. Comparing men and women, do you think prominent women leaders are subjected to the similar coverage patterns as their male colleagues? What aspects in your opinion does the media generally focus on while covering prominent women leaders in Kenya? Do you have some specific examples that come to mind?
5. In your view, does it matter how the media chooses to cover prominent women leaders? Do you think this may have a bearing on how the society perceives and relates to them? Please explain.
6. In your opinion what is the impact of how media covers prominent women leaders on their leadership and secondly on how society perceives and relates to women?

\*\*\*\*\*

**Appendix 2 Field Work Certificate**



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi  
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061  
Director's Office: 254-02-2314201 (Direct Line)  
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566  
Email: [director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke](mailto:director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 30197-00100  
Nairobi, GPO  
Kenya

**REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK**

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners' meeting held on August 26, 2017 in respect of M.A/Ph.D final Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the student can be allowed to proceed for field work.

Reg. No: K50/70673/07

Name: NDUVA, VERONICA M

Title: MEDIA FRAMING OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC

LEADERSHIP IN KENYA

DR. SAMUEL SIRINGI  
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE

02/09/2016  
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

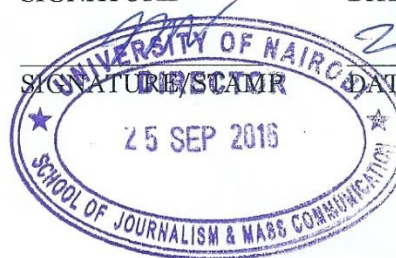
[Signature]  
SIGNATURE

02/09/2016  
DATE

Dr. Ndete Ndete  
DIRECTOR

[Signature]  
SIGNATURE/SCAMR DATE

27.9.2016  
DATE



**Appendix 3 Completion of Corrections Certificate**



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES  
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi  
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061  
Director's Office: 254-02-2314201 (Direct Line)  
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566  
Email: [director-sci@uonbi.ac.ke](mailto:director-sci@uonbi.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 30197-00100  
Nairobi, GPO  
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 27.10.2016 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

Reg. No: K50/70673/2007

Name: VERONICA M NDUVA

Title: MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN LEADERS

IN KENYA: AN INTERSECTION OF FEMALE POLITICIANS  
AND NEWSPAPER NARRATIVES

Dr Samuel Sirigi  
SUPERVISOR

Sirigi  
SIGNATURE

11/11/2016  
DATE

Dr Samuel Sirigi  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Sirigi  
SIGNATURE

11/11/2016  
DATE

Dr. Nalch Nalch  
DIRECTOR



Nalch  
SIGNATURE/STAMP

11/11/2016  
DATE

## Appendix 4 Declaration of Originality Form

### UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

#### Declaration of Originality Form

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

Name of Student VERONICA M NDUVA

Registration Number K50/70673/2007

College HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Faculty/School/Institute SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

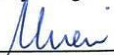
Department \_\_\_\_\_

Course Name MASTER OF ARTS COMMUNICATION STUDIES

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

#### DECLARATION

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

Signature 

Date November 11, 2016

## Appendix 5 Plagiarism Test Report

11/11/2016

Turnitin Originality Report

Turnitin Originality Report

Media Portrayal of Women Leaders in Kenya: An Intersection of Female Politicians and Newspaper Narratives by Nduva, Veronica .m. Reg. No. K50/70673/07

From Mass media and Technology (MA Communication theory)

- Processed on 03-Nov-2016 17:48 EAT
- ID: 731458266
- Word Count: 19429

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<http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/only-cowards-attack-womens-sexuality>
- 2 1% match (Internet from 30-Nov-2015)  
<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/naomi-wolf-says-that-the-debate-about-women-s-leadership-styles-is-really-about-moving-the-goalposts>
- 3 1% match (Internet from 23-Jul-2014)  
<http://www.xavier.edu/xjop/documents/XJOPVol4No1Ryan.pdf>
- 4 < 1% match (Internet from 20-Feb-2014)  
[http://www.takeleadwomen.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/TTL\\_Leadership-Fictions.pdf](http://www.takeleadwomen.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/TTL_Leadership-Fictions.pdf)
- 5 < 1% match (publications)  
["Women MPs Seek Protection From Sexual Pestering.", All Africa, March 25 2015 Issue](#)
- 6 < 1% match (Internet from 06-Sep-2014)  
<http://m.allafrica.com/stories/201305230118.html/>
- 7 < 1% match (publications)  
Miki Caul Kittilson. "Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective". *Politics & Gender*. 09/2008



## Appendix 6 Document Analysis Data

Article caption	Analyzed quoted phrase (s)	Source / retrieved from
<p><b>Only Cowards Attack Women's Sexuality</b></p>	<p>‘As I write this, I have run out of fingers and toes to count how many seedy articles have been in the media recently just on women leaders. The strange and common thread, about these articles is that they are all on women leaders’ sexuality.... Hon Joyce Lay’s divorce was given a whole page in a weekly newspaper, with gory details about her intimate life. How was this news? Is it relevant to the people of this country? The answer is No.’</p> <p>‘I woke up on Monday to my picture on the front page of one of the weeklies and the word beside my picture read ‘sex’. I am the latest in the list of women whose sexuality has been attacked’</p> <p>‘At this point, the author of the story celebrates. He has managed to please his masters whose key objective is to embarrass the female legislator and to portray women as not designed for leadership.’</p> <p>‘When folks go fishing for intimate details and preposterous lies just to discredit the female legislators, then I am afraid our country is heading the wrong direction.’</p> <p>‘If you are against having women in powerful positions there are better ways to this than using the media to attack and portray women as immoral.’</p> <p>‘Women are demotivated from running for office because of threats, questions on their marital status and sexuality.’</p> <p>‘These attacks do not help young girls who would one day want to be the Martha Karuas or Wangari Maathais of this world. You kill the dreams of your own daughters by the cowardly acts.’</p>	<p><i>The Star (May. 22, 2015)</i>  <a href="http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2015/05/22/only-cowards-attack-womens-sexuality_c1139338">http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2015/05/22/only-cowards-attack-womens-sexuality_c1139338</a></p>
<p><b>Is Kenya ready for a female president?</b></p>	<p>‘The other day Martha Karua was asked in a televised interview if Kenya is ready for a female president. She chose to launch an attack at media houses for asking that question instead of answering it. “Media houses are psyching Kenyans to reject a female president by dwelling on whether Kenya is ready for a female president” she claimed, but is Kenya really ready for a female president?’</p> <p>‘No Kenyan man would ever willingly agree to be under a woman.’</p>	<p><i>The Standard(30th Aug 2016 )</i>  <a href="http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ureport/story/2000213913/is-kenya-ready-for-a-female-president">http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ureport/story/2000213913/is-kenya-ready-for-a-female-president</a></p>



Article caption	Analyzed quoted phrase (s)	Source / retrieved from
	<p>‘Look at the women who ever truly wielded power in this country, was there a man in their lives? Do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful ‘man’ in the country?’</p> <p>‘Women, like fire, are known to be good servants but bad leaders. I know this is stereotypical thinking but just look at our female leaders, ask a friend who has a female boss the hell they go through.’</p> <p>‘Just look at the same male dominated parliament that proposed the two thirds gender rule sabotage it. On the day the bill was supposed to be passed the members simply did not turn up leaving female legislators screaming their heads off on TV.’</p> <p>‘So Miss/Mrs. Presidential Aspirant do not be fooled by those people surrounding you championing your cause.’</p> <p>‘I would like to end my tirade by stating categorically that Kenya is not ready for a female president.’</p>	
<p><b>‘Society should understand First Ladies do not belong to the kitchen’</b></p>	<p>‘Head bowed and right hand fiddling with an earphone, President Buhari started his response with a self-conscious chuckle ...“I don’t know which party my wife belongs to, but she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room”.’</p> <p>‘Speaking of First Ladies: On Tuesday, Kenyans were hungering for Mrs Margaret Kenyatta with careless whispers that she has been AWOL for a month.’</p> <p>‘Social media chatter about her skipping President Jacob Zuma’s visit grew so frenzied that one newspaper felt compelled to carry the “news”.’</p> <p>‘We are angry with President Buhari because we imagine that he said his wife has no business holding a political opinion, but we want to see Mrs Margaret Kenyatta as an appendage of her husband, making small talk with state guests and smiling endlessly at national events.’</p>	<p><i>The Nation</i> (October 23, 2016)  <a href="http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/First-Ladies-do-not-belong-to-the-kitchen/440808-3426204-3x87j0/index.html">http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/First-Ladies-do-not-belong-to-the-kitchen/440808-3426204-3x87j0/index.html</a></p>
<p><b>‘Women leaders in race to claim stake in Nyanza politics’</b></p>	<p>‘But things are bound to change if the aggression with which women are campaigning ahead of the 2017 General Election is anything to go by.’</p>	<p><i>The Standard</i> (September 2, 2016)  <a href="http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000214324/women-leaders-in-race-to-claim-stake-in-">http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000214324/women-leaders-in-race-to-claim-stake-in-</a></p>

Article caption	Analyzed quoted phrase (s)	Source / retrieved from
	‘Homa Bay Woman Representative Gladys Wanga, for instance, shocked many when she beat men to be elected the county's Orange Democratic Movement chairperson.’	<a href="#">nyanza-politics</a>
‘Women leaders yet to be embraced by community’	‘.....Political pundits argue the poor performance of women in Kisii's political arena can be attributed to the community's patriarchal culture.’	<i>The Standard</i> (August 24th 2016) <a href="http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000213146/women-leaders-yet-to-be-embraced-by-community/">http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000213146/women-leaders-yet-to-be-embraced-by-community/</a>
‘Women leaders taking over superpowers’	‘Women leaders should not be, and are not, defined solely by gender - and it is never the most interesting thing about them.’	<i>The Standard</i> ( July 20th 2016 ) <a href="http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000209174/women-leaders-taking-over-superpowers/">http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000209174/women-leaders-taking-over-superpowers/</a>
Women MPs seek protection from sexual pestering	The women took issue with publications that had ‘demonised’ women, ‘Mbita MP Millie Odhiambo took a swipe at one publication which listed a number of female legislators alleged to be having ‘loose morals’.’  ‘We cannot have a rogue gutter press going round maligning women, we have declared war on them, even the papers must show dignity for women,’ charged the Mbita legislator.’  ‘We know the script that strong women are always branded as immoral.’	<i>Capital News</i> (March 25, 2015) <a href="http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2015/03/women-mps-seek-protection-from-sexual-pestering/">http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2015/03/women-mps-seek-protection-from-sexual-pestering/</a>
‘ MPs gang up to deny women campaigns kitty’	“‘When you look at some of the women here, the hair on their head cost almost Sh10, 000. These women have money,” said Malulu Injendi (Malava) in opposition to the amendment.’	<i>Capital News</i> (April 21, 2016) <a href="http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2016/04/male-mps-gang-deny-women-campaigns-kitty/">http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2016/04/male-mps-gang-deny-women-campaigns-kitty/</a>
‘Kenya: Ruled by men, assisted by women’	‘Ever heard of the saying, it is a man’s world? Well, let me take you through a journey of women representation in high decision-making positions in the country then you will confirm that this is indeed the case in Kenya.’  “‘There is also a society stereotype where there is the perception that a woman MP cannot represent them well’	<i>Capital news</i> (September 25, 2008) <a href="http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2008/09/kenya-ruled-by-men-assisted-by-women/">http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2008/09/kenya-ruled-by-men-assisted-by-women/</a>
‘Mbarire, Kivuti altercation divides Embu County Assembly’	‘Munene condemned the incident and said that Mbarire displayed a ‘bad image’ of the African woman, which should not be emulated. The MCA added that despite Mbarire’s leadership position, she ought to adhere to African norms and traditional code of ethics.’	<i>Citizen Digital</i> (22 September 2016) <a href="https://citizentv.co.ke/news/mbarire-kivuti-altercation-divides-embu-county-assembly-142304/">https://citizentv.co.ke/news/mbarire-kivuti-altercation-divides-embu-county-assembly-142304/</a>

Article caption	Analyzed quoted phrase (s)	Source / retrieved from
<p><b>‘The Mystique Around Feminine Leadership’</b></p>	<p>Jill Abramson, the first woman to serve as Executive Editor of the New York Times, resigned under duress</p> <p>The Times announced Abramson’s departure in a front-page story filled with barbs and swipes, the kind of piece that even the most ineffectual senior male editor never sees in print upon his dismissal from a job.</p> <p>Abramson fought back assertively in a brief battle for public perception. And, as long as there is a perceived problem with women’s leadership styles, no woman can lead a major organization so soothingly, diplomatically, and charmingly that epithets like “pushy,” “bossy,” and “Putin-like” will not follow her the minute someone wants to shove her out the door. The question is not about women’s leadership styles at all; it is simply about moving the goalposts.</p>	<p><i>The Star</i> (Jun. 05, 2014) <a href="http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2014/06/05/the-mystique-around-feminine-leadership_c949401">http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2014/06/05/the-mystique-around-feminine-leadership_c949401</a></p>
<p><b>What flower girls in Kenyan politics can learn from Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu</b></p>	<p>...it’s unfortunate we have nothing but flower girls who just can’t stop clutching on their male party leaders’ coat tails for political survival or election,</p> <p>‘First off, unlike some male politicians, Karua and Ngilu are not your average ‘yes-pushovers’ or ‘sissy followers’. These two iron ladies have a rebellious streak — a very important quality for an ambitious politician.’</p> <p>‘When was the last time you heard Karua play the ‘woman card’? You can only catch her dead, for instance, saying sissy stuff like, ‘Sisi kama wamama (us women)’.</p> <p>‘Her dress code is severe and, unless she is adorned in the green apparel of her flower party, she is always in red or black — tough and serious colours.’</p> <p>‘Ngilu, on the other hand, is not only politically coy, but also seductive.’</p>	<p><i>The Standard</i> (Aug 8th 2016) <a href="http://www.sde.co.ke/article/2000211241/what-flower-girls-in-kenyan-politics-can-learn-from-martha-karua-charity-ngilu">http://www.sde.co.ke/article/2000211241/what-flower-girls-in-kenyan-politics-can-learn-from-martha-karua-charity-ngilu</a></p>
<p><b>‘Amina Mohammed: Acting like a Lady but Thinking like a Man’</b></p>	<p>‘Brilliant, beautiful, stylish, articulate and yet unassuming, she breathes remarkable freshness and class into the boring business of Government. A sharp dresser, often with a scarf loosely tied around her neck and dimpled smile, she brought to the Cabinet the rare combination of beauty and brains.’</p>	<p><i>The Standard</i> (Aug 8th 2016) <a href="http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/evewoman/article/2000213960">http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/evewoman/article/2000213960</a></p>
<p><b>Uproar in Parliament over Ruto massage cartoon</b></p>	<p>“I want to demand an apology to all the lady Members of Parliament because we are here in our own right. We did not come here to massage anybody... we are here as Members of Parliament; and we want gender sensitive media, not people who look at us from the waist down and not the waist up.”</p>	<p><i>Capital News</i> (May 22, 2013 ) <a href="http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2013/05/uproar-in-parliament-over-ruto-massage-cartoon/">http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2013/05/uproar-in-parliament-over-ruto-massage-cartoon/</a></p>

### Appendix 7 Document Analysis Coding Sheet – Themes Presented

Themes used	Comparison to male gender/ roles	Gender labeling/ assigning of female gender in story headline, subtitle or caption	Gender descriptive terminology or stereotype	Propaganda or controversy
Article 1		-‘female president’  -male dominated parliament	-vote a woman to be the most powerful ‘man’ in the country?  -Women, like fire, are known to be good servants but bad leaders.  - Naturally people feel threatened by women in power.  No normal Kenyan man would also allow his wife to rise far above him  -‘Kenya is made up of a widely patriarchal society’ run by men since time immemorial	- even women feel threatened by fellow women in power -No Kenyan man would ever willingly agree to be under a woman. -Kenya is not ready for a female president.
Article 2	I don’t know which party my wife belongs to, but she belongs to my kitchen and my living room and the other room”.	First Ladies do not belong to the kitchen		
Article 3	Women politicians .....sending shivers down the spines of their male counterparts	-Women leaders -Male Domination	-aggression -x has been out to prove women are not timid and fearful  Women should not fear men. Let us come out and face	

Themes used	Comparison to male gender/ roles	Gender labeling/ assigning of female gender in story headline, subtitle or caption	Gender descriptive terminology or stereotype	Propaganda or controversy
			them,"	
Article 4			-elusive two-thirds gender rule  'Women leaders yet to be embraced by community'	
Article 5		Women leaders taking over superpowers		November, 2016 could well be remembered as the most important "Year of the Woman" yet.
Article 6		Women MPs seek protection from sexual pestering		
Article 7		' MPs gang up to deny women campaigns kitty'		
Article 8		Kenya: Ruled by men, assisted by women		Ever heard of the saying, it is a man's world?  'Could it be that the society is also not ready for women leaders?'
Article9		The Mystique Around Feminine Leadership	there are not two kinds of women who lead in different ways, one magically soothing and impeccably feminine, and the other dictatorial and insufferable	
Article 10		What flower girls in Kenyan politics can learn from Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu		
Article 11	we have nothing but flower	Iron ladies	A first female president	

Themes used	Comparison to male gender/ roles	Gender labeling/ assigning of female gender in story headline, subtitle or caption	Gender descriptive terminology or stereotype	Propaganda or controversy
	<p>girls who just can't stop clutching on their male party leaders' coat tails for political survival or election,</p> <p>These two iron ladies have a rebellious streak</p>	<p>Sissy stuff like, 'Sisi kama wamama (us women)'</p>	<p>around here remains a pipe dream.</p> <p>Karua and Ngilu are not your average 'yes-pushovers' or 'sissy followers'.</p>	
Article 12		<p>'Amina Mohammed: Acting like a Lady but Thinking like a Man'</p>		