

**GENDER ISSUES AND PRINT MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TWO -
THIRDS GENDER RULE COVERAGE BY STANDARD AND NATION
NEWSPAPERS IN 2017**

GILLIAN ACHIENG OCHIENG

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MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES.**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for examination, award of degree or publication.

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Ochieng Gillian Achieng

K50/82236/2015

.....

Date

Declaration by Supervisor

This research project has been presented for examination for the award of a master's degree in Communication Studies to the University of Nairobi with my approval as the University supervisor.

.....

Dr Mwangi M Kamau

University of Nairobi

.....

Date

DEDICATION

I humbly dedicate this research project to my husband, Mr. Erick Okelo, my parents, Mr Nicholas Ochieng and Mrs Felistas Ochieng whom have seen me through this academic journey, my mentor Pastor Wilson Dawo for encouraging me to keep moving foward and complete the academic journey that I started.

Thank you all and may the Lord Almighty bless and increase you abundantly.

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May God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated how The *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers covered the two-thirds gender rule in 2017. The objectives of this study were to determine the frequency within which stories on the two-thirds gender rule were published, to compare how the two newspapers covered the stories and quantifying audience response on the two-thirds gender stories. The study was premised on priming and agenda setting theories of communication. Quantitative approach was used through employment of content analysis of both *Daily Nation* and The *Standard* newspapers as research method. A total of 730 newspapers were purposively sampled for all stories concerning the two-thirds gender rule. The key findings of the study included the fact that print media failed to set the constitutional implementation of the two-thirds gender rule as an agenda among the public and policy makers. The findings also revealed that most stories that mainstream print media published were from news stories (51%) and very little analysis and interpretative stories (14%) on the two-thirds gender rule that would enhance the public understanding of the two-thirds gender rule. The study concluded that mainstream print media had the duty of educating and informing the public and policy makers about the constitutional implementation of the two-thirds gender rule but they failed in exercising this role as shown in the manner in which they covered the issue. The study therefore, recommends that mainstream print media should make deliberate efforts to ensure that the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule is their agenda. They should also increase the frequency within which they publish the two-thirds gender rule stories as well as publish more positive and interpretative stories which will eventually influence policy makers to implement the rule.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Declaration.....	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Overview	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	8
1.3. Objectives of the Study	10
1.4 Research Questions.....	10
1.5 Justification	11
1.6 Significance.....	12
1.7 Scope and Limitations.....	13
1.8: Operational terms.....	14
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	15
2.0. Overview	15
2.1.1 Two-thirds gender rule	15
2.1.2 Mass media and society.....	21
2.1.3 Mass media and Constitution implementation	23
2.1.4 Mass media and public opinion.....	25
2.1.5 Role of media in democracy.....	28

2.1.5 Media and gender politics	29
2.1.6 Content analysis	33
2.1.7 Content analysis in gender politics.....	34
2.2. Theoretical Framework.....	35
2.2.1 Agenda setting theory.....	35
2.2.2 Priming theory.....	37
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	39
3.0 Overview.....	39
3.1. Research Design.....	39
3.2. Research Approach	39
3.3. Research Methodology	40
3.4 Study Population.....	40
3.5 Sampling size and sampling technique	40
3.6. Data collection	41
3.7 Unit of Analysis	42
3.8. Data Analysis and Presentation	43
3.9. Data Presentation	43
3.10. Validity& Reliability	44
3.10.1 Validity	44
3.10. 2 Reliability.....	44
3.11. Ethical considerations	45
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS	46
4.0 Overview.....	46
4.1 Frequency of stories sampled by newspaper	46
4.2 Frequency by Story Type.....	47

4.3. Placement of stories	49
4.4: Space allocation of the stories in cm ²	51
4.5. Size of two thirds gender stories	52
4.6: Tone of the stories.....	53
4.7: Themes emerging from two-thirds gender stories	55
4.8: Sources of information.....	57
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS	60
5.0 Overview.....	60
5.1 Summary and Conclusions	60
5.2 Recommendations.....	62
5.3 Suggestions for further research	63
REFERENCES.....	64
APPENDICES	71

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Total Sample of Newspapers	40
Table 4.1: Frequency of Stories Sampled by Newspapers	45
Table 4.2: Story type by Media.....	47
Table 4.3: Placement of stories	48
Table 4.4: Size of Stories	52
Table 4.5: Tone of the Sampled Stories.....	53
Table 4.6: Themes emerging from Stories Sampled.....	54
Table 4.7: Source of Information.....	56

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Story type by media in percentage.	48
Figure 4.2; Placement of stories in percentages.....	49
Figure 4.3: Space allocation in percentages.....	50
Figure 4.4; Size of stories in percentages	52
Figure 4.5: Source of information.....	57

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMWIK	Association of Media Women in Kenya
AWCFS	African Women and Child Features Service
CRAWN TRUST	Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust
CREAW	Centre For Rights Education and Awareness
EAJA	Eastern Africa Journalists Association
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
KNHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commision
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commision

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter outlines the introduction and background of the study. It also presents the problem statement, and research objectives. The chapter further dwells on research questions, significance, justification and the scope and limitation of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

The emergence of gender debate as an attempt to create gender equity and equality between men and women is derived from the discriminatory treatment of women throughout the rich history of humanity (Gallagher, 1981). Scholars such as Oakley (1972) say that these rich history stems all the way from 1970's where the terms patriarchy was commonly used to refer to mechanisms of dominance and power in any societal environment. She further clarifies that patriarchy routinely honours men over women such that women have no rights to substantial, sensual as well as knowledgeable possessions of the world.

Ross (2011) argues that in pursuit of women's empowerment, it's therefore essential to establish that gender equity may mean that women are given the same access to opportunities that will enable them to exercise their rights and entitlements, leading to outcomes which are fair and just, and in the long run, women will be able to define the objectives of developments just like men do. However, FIDA (2013) argues that over the years' women in Kenya have been given minimal opportunities especially in politics where democracy is the heartbeat.

Lucianna (2016) argues that gender equality and the effective practice and progression of democracy go hand in hand, she further adds that real and stable social equality is one that safeguards the eloquent involvement of people from all walks of life. These people take notice of youth, women, persons with disabilities, the elderly, factions and other relegated groups in public life and policymaking developments. These groups are identified under articles 21(3) of Kenya's 2010 Constitution as the susceptible and state organs and public officials are required to do something to address their necessities.

Article 27 (4) of the Kenyan Constitution further defines marginalised groups to mean, a community who, because of regulations or exercises before, on or after the promulgation of the constitution were or are underprivileged by discrimination on one or more of the groups in articles 27(4), Constitution of Kenya (2010). Madeleine (2014) backs this article by stating that women, as part of an ideal democracy and marginalised group, therefore have rights to vote and to exercise their democratic rights without any interference.

Baraga (2012) posits that, even though these clauses have been enshrined in the constitution a challenge arises in conceptualizing an equitable society because of the deeply entrenched opinion that leadership in the public is reserved for males, and the patriarchal (Ruled by men) nature of Kenya where politics is still being considered a manly affair, is leaving women underpowered to compete for electoral positions. This among other reasons can be said to be the cause of very few women vying for political seats.

The constitutionalism of the code of gender equity, is therefore protected in the 2010 Kenyan Constitution under Article 27(8) which states that not more than two thirds of total number of associates in either Senate or National assembly should be of the same

gender, and the state is obligated to take jurisdictional and other dealings to execute the two-thirds gender rule, Kenyan Constitution (2010).

Kaimenyi et al. (2013) observes that the fact that two-thirds gender rule is enshrined in the constitution is a noteworthy progress especially because of the way women have been underrepresented in the past. Two-thirds gender rule is also backed up by various articles and clauses in the 2010 Kenyan Constitution, like; human rights act which articulates unequivocally that all people regardless of the sexual orientation are entitled to equal treatment taking notice of the right to equal opportunities in all spheres of life. These spheres take notice of political, economic, cultural and social provinces. Vision 2030; a new long term blue print also supports gender equality through its social pillar, which will be realised through the execution of details approaches such as augmenting the involvement of women in all decision-making processes. These processes take into account economic and administrative procedures e.g. through higher representation in parliament. Kenya Vision (2030). These clauses therefore, offer a ground upon which the two-thirds gender principle be implemented.

Lawton (2012) argues that constitutionalism desires that a society recognises its constitution as a standard to which every person domiciled in a given national jurisdiction must conform. He further adds that public's respect for the constitution is essential to its conformity. However, constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule has not taken effect in the senate and National assembly since the promulgation of 2010 Constitution despite various proposals being tabled in parliament. Lilian & Shiundu (2016).

Nzomo (1992) asserts that, Kenya's record of women's engagement in politics and other administrative posts is pathetic by any standards. If successful, the two-thirds

gender rule is supposed to address the imbalance in women representation whom have continually been underrepresented. Nzomo's assertion is backed by Amwik, (2015) whose research revealed that over the past ten electoral cycles in Kenya, parliament has given a total of 2,900 electoral seats, and out of that number only 144 women were elected and appointed into parliament taking up only 5% percentage of the positions while the remaining 95% were men. Women participation in parliament in 2013 general elections was 18% compared to the 10th parliament whose women representation was 10% thus an improvement Karani (2017).

In Rwanda, 64% of members elected in parliament are women, compared to Kenya's number of women elected, the number is still low, and the number does not hit the threshold that is constitutionally required. Therefore, Kenya as a society hasn't yet embraced women leadership and has a long way to go in achieving gender balance.

From the foregoing the issue of the two-thirds gender rule has more to do with bringing about an equitable society for gender inclusivity as opposed to having the presence of more women in leadership and decision-making process, where men and women work together in partnership to foster-socio-economic development, although misconstrued to mean women empowerment.

Various researchers, activists and political analysts such as Rodham (2003), Maathai (2006), Thomas and Wilcox (2005) and Wanjohi (2003) observe that when women are given headship and supervision roles, they bring in dissimilar perspectives, that having more women in these positions help resolve difficulties related with poverty specifically if it distresses women. Epstein et al. (2005) corroborates these assertions by adding that women's leadership not only benefits in constructing nations but also assists to scale up executive progressions.

Okoth (2017) observes that, eight years down the line since the promulgation of Kenya's 2010 Constitution, Kenya lacks a clear framework on equitable gender representation; no clear measures have been taken to ensure that the said clauses are implemented. The bone of contention, therefore, lies in the mode of implementation, and members of the August house can't seem to come to an agreeable method of application. The Fifth Schedule of the 2010 Kenyan Constitution set a timeline of five years ending 2015 to ensure that the bill is enacted, the deadline has since lapsed and parliamentarians have to find amicable implementations solutions including the use of mass media to champion for the passage of the bill.

Mwangi (2016) argues that, media's role in the process of implementation in any democratic society is crucial. He further explains that mass media yield considerable power over the dissemination of data that people need to practice independence because they are the main source of information. It therefore suffices to say that print media offers part of the solutions to ensure that two-thirds gender rule is passed by sensitising MPs to turn up in large numbers and pass the bill. Researchers can as well use research methods such as content analysis, to understand better the way mass media represents and presents issues about two-thirds gender rule.

Benjamin (1996) argues that print media thus takes a central place in the issue of two-thirds gender principle as it acts as the fourth estate and a watchdog, whose function is to monitor democratic processes like ensuring that women's right to participate in politics is upheld. It's their watchdog function in a democratic society to ensure that excesses are well communicated to the public including failure or delay in passage and implementation of an outstanding bill like two-thirds gender principle.

Furthermore, the constitution under the law of rights guarantees the media its freedom of the press, 2010 Kenyan Constitution (article 34) thus making it easy for them to inform the citizens on governance and policy related issues especially because it is the most authoritative source.

Everett & Robert (1995) emphasize that, mass media, thus needs to maintain balance, fairness, and perspective while reporting to the public. Such reportage will enable the public be capable of partaking actively in matters that affect their lives directly or indirectly. Mwangi (2016) adds that “media discriminate other people through telling incomplete stories, because it signifies being unprofessional in their duties and commitments.” The point here is that if critical actors in the media industry do not perceive gender to be a relevant agenda to their domain, then the importance of ensuring that gender bias is done away with in the news media will not be of priority to them and policies made to curb gender bias may not be relevant to them as well.

However, research studies such as: *Women and News* by Ross, Karen, and Cynthia (2011), *Whichever manner, There's Going to Be a Man in Charge*, by Trimble, Linda and Natasha (2010) and *Gender Portrayal in the Mass Media* by Cheregony (2004) among others, have been conducted regarding the relationship between media and women and how media in their reporting have been biased especially when reporting women in politics and thus a need for media to mend this relationship by ensuring that they report objectively and fairly regarding women issues.

Gender composition in the media house also acts as an impediment. Chamber et al. and Fleming (2004) argue that Content is related to who produces it. Thus if men write most articles then it suffices to say that they do so through a male lens, hence

the report even if about women will come out differently; same applies if it was a woman who wrote the article.

In a related study, Omari (2008) argues that in Kenya women write (76%) of all the narratives on women, whereas men wrote only (24%) of the pieces. Another study by Eastern Africa Journalists Association (EAJA) (2008) established that very few women in East Africa hold decision making positions and that even though gender issues are regularly reported there is a need to strengthen gender awareness in their reporting.

It suffices to say that if the volume of articles is increased, then there is a need for the journalists to ensure that their content and tone while reporting gender issues is not detrimental and is centred towards policy change. Richard Gunther (2000) asks the question do the media change political attitudes and behaviour or do they just reinforce them? Norton Long (1958) argues that the newspaper is the main move of territorial agenda. It thus plays an integral part in deciding people conversations and how they will handle issues. Mwangi (2011) also retaliates that, if agenda setting mostly happens on unremarkable subjects, then media is the only way people can discover them. From the foregoing it suffices to say how the media frames women affect public opinion which in turn affects policy formulation.

The study therefore focuses on content analysis of print media coverage (*Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers) of two-thirds gender rule. Highlighting and comparing the role, attitude, and strategies that the afore mentioned newspapers used in representing, approaching and advancing two-thirds gender rule as a key to steering the country toward creating a more rational and gender-sensitive environment for political participation by all.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

From the foregoing discussion, women representation in Kenyan policies is still low; this is despite the constitutional requirement of two-thirds gender rule which advocates for more women inclusion in parliament. This is not to be taken lightly as Maathai (2006) observes that, “when women gain entry to leadership or when empowered, they bring high energy and a completely new view of how to perceive issues in the society.” Clearly a paradigm shift needs to be observed in how to bring about gender equality in Kenya and constitution makers in Kenya argue that support from the print media is a prerequisite to achieve the gender balance. In a democratic setting, print media is not only a watchdog tasked with ensuring democracy prevails but also the arena where issues such as the two-thirds gender rule should be adequately presented and advanced.

Mwangi (2016) emphasises that since the mass media are the primary source of information, they employ substantial authority over the dissemination of information citizens desire to practice independence. Thus print media offers a platform for interactions on how citizen, leaders and public institutions relate and react to issues for change to happen. Without the print media taking up the role of informing and sensitizing the public about gender rule, the policy becomes futile as there is no one to champion for its cause. Sheppard (1994) notes that journalists shouldn't only acknowledge an itinerary; but they can encourage others (media owners, politicians, critics, the public) that their programme is an appropriate one.

In Kenya, there is no consensus on the issue of two-thirds gender rule as Kaparo (2005) observes that, “there seems to be a conspiracy of silence between the media in Kenya and the politicians to treat the important as trivial and vice versa.”

This is seen in the way mainstream print media have rigorously set the agenda for other issues like industrial strikes and media gagging in comparison to how they have been reporting two-thirds gender rule. National Gender and Equality commission (2016) also retaliates that, if media circumvent the tantrums that cloud the prominence of two-thirds gender rule agenda, then they will go a long way in sustaining the debate. Benjamin (1996) argues that if the right information is not passed on to the public, and the information is incomplete and inconsistent, then the public might be misled into favouring policies that don't go well with their values.

Heyse (1987) posits that a journalist in mass media still falls short of their democratic role, and they fail to cover issues penetratively and aggressively as they should. He adds that due to its ownership structure the media caters for elitist which make them fall short in exercising their role adequately. Consequently, the issue lies with the reality that by virtue of its proprietorship and organisation, print media accommodates elitist interest through relentlessly personalising and trivialising of political matters. Furthermore, they also fail to express matter of the marginalised and minorities groups which include women.

In support of Heyse argument, while covering issues of gender print media has perpetuated gender issue as a woman issue yet it goes beyond women, especially while discussing two-thirds gender rule which involves legal issues as well. In this regard therefore, by analysing how The *Standard* and *Nation* Newspapers covered two-thirds gender rule helps establish whether the newspapers set to achieve gender equality as an agenda by focusing on the legal side of the issue. If there is consensus on their coverage, then a conclusion can be made that they set the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule as an agenda. This study therefore focused

on content analysis of two-thirds gender rule coverage in Kenya's print media, in order to discern the role of print media in addressing gender imbalance in political representation through the enactment of two thirds gender rule. This in line with Mwangi (2016) analysis that content analysis is meant to cast an illuminating light on the methods used by mass media to reach the public and policy makers

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to undertake a content analysis on the two-thirds gender rule coverage by the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers.

The specific objectives are;

- I. To compare and contrast the coverage of the two-thirds gender rule requirement by *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers.
- II. To investigate the coverage of the two-thirds gender rule by determining the frequency and space allocated to the stories by mainstream print media.
- III. To examine the scope within which print media set the agenda on two-thirds gender rule.
- IV. To quantify audience response on coverage of two-thirds gender rule via letters to the editor

1.4 Research Questions

- I. How did the *Nation* and *Standard* cover the two-thirds gender rule?
- II. How much space and frequency did print media give to stories about two-thirds gender rule?
- III. What was the scope within which *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers set the two-thirds gender rule agenda in the coverage?
- IV. How many letters to the editor did *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers receive in response to two-thirds gender rule coverage?

1.5 Justification

UN Women, (2011) General Assembly determination on Women's Political Involvement, emphasises the role of women in any democratic process. It reiterates that, "Vibrant engagement of women is essential at all level of decision-making to the accomplishment of sustainable, equality, democracy, and peace on equal terms with men."

Empowerment of women as a strategy for achieving gender equity relies heavily on women political representation, which the constitution promotes by issuing pieces that encourage their involvement in political guidance and policy making. This is also because women political representation and participation create conducive environment for appropriate legislation and an effective avenue for advocating for women's rights. However, this is not possible without print media participation as they play a fundamental part in modelling people's views, beliefs and behaviours. It's therefore essential to understand that print media's portrayal of two- thirds gender rule is crucial in designing practical solutions which will ensure that the gender bill is effectively implemented.

It's this kind of information that print media must bring fore for Kenyans to understand the importance of having women in political leadership positions, since they have the platform to allow for positive dialogue and debate, as well as hold accountable those charged with the responsibility of making the law. Several studies have been conducted on women in politics; how media reports on women and recently the role of the constitution in ensuring that women vie for political seats. However, no study has been conducted on how print media has presented issues

regarding the constitutional implementation of two-thirds gender principle considering it had been tabled in parliament twice and failed to pass.

To address this problem, this study proposes an in-depth assessment of how these two newspapers (*Standard & Nation*) represented, packaged and presented the gender rule debate. Thus enable us understand the power and potential that the media played and possessed in taking part in a constructive contribution towards the gender rule passage. This will enable us move beyond assumption on the specific contribution and role that print media played in the gender rule discussion.

1.6 Significance

This study is therefore critical because it champions for women in society and advancing women issues by ensuring that the rule enshrined in the constitution is implemented and followed to the latter, since parliamentarians seem not to be united in promoting women issues by failing to pass and enforce the two-thirds gender principle. Kaimenyi et al. (2013) observed that the fact that the two-thirds gender code has been engrained in the constitution which is the supreme law of the land is noteworthy progress. This study is therefore important because it offers insight into the new law and the effect of its interpretation.

This study also acts as an eye opener to media practitioners especially those in print media, to seriously undertake to advance two-thirds gender rule, as proven history has shown that they have the resources and the capacity to ensure that gender rule is passed as has happened with other policies affecting society. The findings of this study aim at helping equip media and women politicians and women as a whole, with information on gender rules and their capacity as a marginalised group.

Thus civic education should be conducted to ensure that an adequate number of women are elected to meet the two-thirds gender requirement.

The public as well will benefit from a greater understanding of the issues surrounding gender rule and support for a more significant role that society can play in ensuring two-thirds gender rule is passed and implemented. The report will be significant for journalists acquiring a more meticulous approach regarding a gender perspective in their way to professional ethics. Furthermore, it is a mechanism for gender fairness and women's rights champions to participate in augmenting media responsibility to women.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

The scope of this study was limited to *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers and their coverage of two-thirds gender rule in the year 2017. Due to time and financial constraints the study did not revolve around the previous election years despite the issue of two-thirds gender rule implementation being an agenda for the past eight years.

The study was also limited to only two mainstream newspapers; *Standard* and *Nation* only, this is despite there being other newspapers in circulation like *The star*, *Taifa Leo* and *People's Daily* which would have provided insight on how print media in Kenya as a whole covered two-thirds gender rule.

1.8: Operational Terms

Story - Any narrative published in the newspaper in textual or pictorial form

Equal treatment - The strategy of issuing every person employment, pay, and promotion opportunities, devoid of discriminating against specific groups.

Gender equality - Treating everyone equally regardless of their gender.

Women representation - The portrayal of women in political sphere.

Implementation - To take effect; Issues to do with timeline in constitution implementation constitution.

Patriarchy - Presentation and propagation of the male hereditary authority and special place of leadership.

Letters to the editor - Letters written to newspapers by readers in response to stories published on two-thirds gender rule.

Constitution - A body of fundamental principles or established precedents according to which a state or other organisation is acknowledged to be governed.

Mainstream - A collective immense mass news media that have an impact on many people and reflects prevailing current of thought.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Overview

This chapter introduces literature review which has been reviewed based on the problem statement of the study. The study considers what entails content analysis and why it is vital for research. Two-thirds gender rule being the central focus of the study, the review looks at the birth of two-thirds gender principle, what entails it and why so many disagreements surrounding it. The study is based on content analysis hence the need to look at the two newspapers in focus and why their particular attention. Theories reviewed in backing up the study are agenda setting theory and priming theory.

2.1.1 Two-Thirds Gender Rule

“A state that does not educate and train women is like a man who only trains his right arm.” Jostein Gardner (1995). Jostein emphasised that without women being given opportunities to partake in and participate then the state is denying itself a chance to grow.

Chitere (2013) argues that democracy requires women to be genuinely democratic, and vice versa if the system is to be changed. She further argues that it is only through democratic presentation that women’s interest can be represented, and their views heard. According to Abraham Lincoln, It’s against the premise of the constitution that two-thirds gender rule is enshrined on; with the aim of ensuring that women and the marginalised are given equal representation both at the National Assembly and at the Senate Assembly. Hogstrom (2012) posits that government posts and parliamentary posts can be viewed as the most powerful positions of decision making, it’s therefore

essential to ensure that in both positions women are highly represented to ensure that gender parity is achieved.

Htun and Jones (2002), argue that constitution endorses and indorses women empowerment and gender equality through allocating readings that support the involvement of women in political leadership and policy making. Article 81 of the constitution remarkably anchors the advantages that the fresh and innovative law provides to Kenyan women as far as the “not more than two - thirds principle is concerned.

Article 81 (b) of the constitution asserts that, appointive bodies shall not accumulate more than two-thirds of the members. What the section does not do is issue for the mechanism to be employed to guarantee execution. Article 27 (6) and (8) of the constitution guides the people to take legislative and other methods taking notice of affirmative action plan to execute the codes to ensure that the article is followed to the core. Odipo (2014) posits that asserts filibustering on this rule is not an alternative.

Reingold (2000) argues that numerous global summits have concurred with the idea of attaining 30% representation of women in administrative positions. At some point in 2010 over twenty countries attained the over 30% market in one or both households. Some of these countries include, Sweden, Denmark, Macedonia, Germany, Tanzania among other twenty-one nations.

Tremblay & Pelletier (2000) note that today, women institute 20.4% of the MPs around the world. Recently, Rwanda surpassed Sweden as number one in the world regarding women’s parliamentary representation with 56% against Sweden’s 47%.

Rwanda has set a new trend to use electoral gender quotas as a way of fastening gender balance in politics. Other parliaments, however, still have low number of women elected. Kenya though, has the lowest female parliamentary representation in Africa with 18%, as compared to Rwanda who has 56.3%, Tanzania has 36.0%, Uganda 35.0% while Burundi has a total of 30.5%.

Given the slow moving speed by which women representation in politics is growing, there are more concerns for systematic methods to attain gender fairness in political institutions. In Rwanda, 30% of the seats, chosen by a specific procedure, are reserved for women according to their Constitution Law. In Tanzania, 20% of the seats are booked for women and given to the political parties in reference to the number of parliamentary seats won in an election, Carroll and Jenkins (2001).

East Africa Centre for Law and Justice (2016) notes that in Kenya, the process of addressing gender imbalance through enactment of two-thirds gender rule, has been staggering. The two-thirds gender rule is among the legislation in the Constitution whose implementation of five-year timeframe was to end on August 27, 2015. This was as a result of a Supreme Court order which issued parliament the deadline to come up with the best formula to ensure that the rule is enacted in National and Senate Assembly, Kakah (2017). Some structures have been proposed including one that would need political parties to nominate female members to achieve the gender threshold, preserve women seats in party strongholds, and have alternative positions for the representation of women.

Despite ideas and contributions being put forward in the implementation of the bill, it was not brought to parliament due to different ideas and no consensus on formula. Justice and legal affairs committee had the mandate to come up with a method for implementation of two-thirds gender principle, and table to parliament for debate. Once approved and enacted the bill would be affected in the 2017 elections.

Obala (2015) notes that, on two occasion's parliament has tried but failed to effect the implementation of two-thirds gender rule. The leader of Majority in National Assembly Aden Duale, brought in a proposal where some women in the National Assembly would be topped up should a political party fail to achieve the requirement, Roselyne (2015). Duale's bill went up to second reading but was unable to pass through. Some of the reasons cited were that the increase in numbers would lead to a bloated parliament which would then mean heavy burden to the taxpayer, the provision would give women free seats and not allow them to woo voters through hard work as the men did and that women hardly contributed to debates.

A lot of court cases have marred the two-thirds gender issue. Various groups have sued National Assembly and Senate for not abiding by the law in ensuring that the bill is passed. In October 2016, The Kenya Human Rights Commission being part of the petitioners of the case established that Kenya is part of various international human rights bodies which fight for gender equality including Beijing Declaration, Platform for action and The Universal Declaration of Human Rights among other bodies. Kenya Law (Petition 371 of 2016). Despite all these efforts, Kenya has continued to lag behind in the idea that inequality is important to achieving the realisation of human rights and that the provision of gender equity and equality is not voluntary but a basic human right and an important value and principle which the Kenyan people should enjoy. Thus the implementation of the legislation is vital.

In a court case held on 24th March where State and Parliament were accused of not taking legislative measure and other procedures to apply the two-thirds gender principle, Judge John Mativo (2016) in his ruling noted that the court could only resolve the issue if there were notable social economic, cultural and political factors that improve or prevent women's legislative representation (Petition 371 of 2016). He further asserted that "The court therefore, must take legal notice of remedying the increase of women discrimination due to factors that are as a result of Kenya's historical past and political economy which make it hard for women to attain equal opportunities. In his review, he noted that the failure to react lies majorly on parliament's doorstep that refused, neglected and failed to perform its legal duties.

As the debate continues, the recently held 2017 general elections did not garner the minimum threshold of one-third in both houses to achieve the gender parity. Currently the total number at the National assembly is 350 members, two-thirds of 350 is 233 members meaning no gender should exceed that number, therefore a minimum of 117 is what is required for women, what we have now is a total of 76 women in the national assembly, 6 nominated, 47 women representative from the counties and 23 women MPs which is 41 short needed to satisfy the two-thirds gender rule Dahlerup (2005).

In the Senate, the total number required to meet the minimum requirement for women is 22, at the moment we have 18 nominated senators 3 elected meaning we would need one more to achieve the required one thirds constitutional requirement. A situation which Matland and Studlar (2004) argue that since women are the marginalised group in politics, most rules are meant to secure women a number of seats. However, the issue is not just about numbers but about bringing about an

equitable society where both genders can be given an opportunity to serve the country.

Politics is still a hostile terrain for women all over the world and women have been socialised to occupy private spaces. Politics being the most public of public areas is still a hostile terrain for women at all levels, but especially in countries that have low representation of women in politics, where gender has not featured significantly in political discourse. Furthermore, studies conducted on participation of women in politics and the public globally, show the playing field politically heavily tilts towards men and especially in Kenya which is considered patriarchal Nelson (1994).

To level the playing field, adequate civic education needs to be conducted with the aim of ensuring that a sufficient number of women are elected to meet the minimum one-third gender rule in both houses. Women, on the other hand, have to fight for their rights by not only contesting for the women representative posts but also different elective positions like governorship and Member of Parliament. From the afore mentioned, women have been given the opportunity to compete with men in all the spheres including political arena, but despite this milestone made by the constitution, women still shy away from the electoral process. Witt (1995) explains that over the past electoral years women have had difficulty being elected to the various political positions. Reasons such as low self-esteem, lack of motivation and ambition Adhiambo (2003), lack of finance to sustain the campaign period Muiru (2012) and voter stereotypes and patriarchal ideologies where women are held inferior to men Kasomo (2012), are some of the reasons to women's lack of participation in electoral processes.

Violence is also a significant factor that deters women from actively participating in politics or vying for political seats, an extensive report done by African Woman &

Child Feature Service (2013), revealed that violence targeted women candidates during the party nomination stage at 42% and 34% during the actual campaign. The perpetrators hailed primarily from either their party or an opposition party.

Despite these challenges, the enforcement of two-thirds gender rule is still necessary as it is a requirement by the constitution and it will also steer the country away from its patriarchal nature and give women an opportunity to serve. World Bank (2007) echoes these sentiments by adding on that women have the ability to be exceptional leaders and society has an opportunity to prove this.

2.1.2 Mass Media and Society

Traditionally, mass media has been considered as the fourth estates because in a democratic setting people need to be knowledgeable in order to govern themselves. Thus mass media performs this role by binding society together by providing information to citizens and acting as the conscience of the society among other functions. Arthur (2012) further adds on that the media are in society and society is in many different and important ways in the society.

Mcquail (2009) argues that, the assumption is that media owners can decide what they do, but that is not the case as mass media are at liberty in regards to society, but they are subject to informal and formal or authority by the institutions they own. However, there are instances of some media owners using their power to propel their own motives in enhancing themselves financially or politically. This shouldn't be the case as the commercial success of a private media should not make it blunt its edge on journalism and especially objective journalism that serves the society.

Mass media therefore, has three categories; public media, which includes *Voice of Africa (VOA) KBC BBC*, among others. Private media include privately owned media institutions like *Royal Media Service, Nation Media Group, Radio Africa* and *The Standard Group* among others. Unlike public media which could be state owned, private media refers to media organisations which are financed by private groups or individuals, due to this form of ownership the individuals have the right to decide what to air for profit making purposes.

The third category is community media, which are media organisations that have been established specifically to serve the interests of a particular community e.g. *Koch Fm*. Kate (2010) defines community media as not for profit, participatory, self-organised media that cater for local communities. She further adds on that community media have sought to broaden public debate by getting the voice of the locals that is mostly ignored neglected in a rationalised and globalised media. Most community media organisations are not profit motivated as their main aim is to serve the public and thus they get to objectively decide what content to disseminate to their audience.

From the foregoing, even though their roles and drives maybe different their main agenda is to serve public, as anything that sets out to serve the public becomes mainstream. Mass media (Mainstream media) therefore may mean various large mass news media that impact a huge number of people which structures and reflects prevailing trends of thought.

Private media can become mainstream if they serve the public objectively. In this context therefore, even though *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers are products of a privately owned media, they serve society and by that virtue they are therefore considered mainstream media.

Sheila (2011) explains that mainstream media should provide a voice to the marginalised, and by giving them a voice, their views become part of public debate and contributes to a common social view that the injustice against the marginalised ought to be addressed. Similarly mainstream media in Kenya should give voice to the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule in a bid to help redress the long standing debate on the passage of the bill

2.1.3 Mass Media and Constitution Implementation

Phillips (1952) describes the constitution of a country as the system of customs, laws, and conventions which describes the powers of organs of the state and it regulates the relationship between state organs and the citizen. Mwangi (2005) also adds that constitutions are about people's power, and they describe the degree and extent of the power which human beings should exercise over each other in the process of governance. Kenya's central government is structured through a written constitution promulgated in 2010. Muigai (2004) applauded the 2010 Constitution as one with the most liberal bill of rights. One of the features of a constitution is that it is meant to be of long duration but it can be adjusted and emended from time to time. As Sihanya (2011) explains that the Kenyan Constitution provides for a formula for amendments where some clauses may be altered by parliament while others must be through referendum. However, the implementation process is facing numerous challenges.

Nyachae (2013) argues that the leading challenge is that MPs are not knowledgeable with many issues in the new constitution and as such they end up misinterpreting some clauses deliberately to serve their political interests or through ignorance. This then suffices to say that, MPs lack understanding on the importance of two-thirds gender rule and thus a major reason for their delay in its implementation, he further adds that in addition to the delays, such disagreement creates anxiety as regards the

commitment to implementing the Constitution. Muigai (2004) also retaliates that failure to sort out the issue will drive the country to a constitutional crisis hence the important to address the two-thirds gender rule.

In this regard then, constitution implementation (putting into effect) process is important in ensuring that the constitution is assigned the correct meaning and interpreted correctly. However, for constitution implementation to take effect mass media must play an important role as the fourth estate, which Oreja, M, et al. (1998) argues that today's society cannot exist without communication media which are available and accessible and (print media) make the information available so that citizens can make informed choices about their communities and their lives. Of interest here is how the print media helped or otherwise hindered efforts at addressing constitution execution of two-thirds gender principle. There's a clear constitutional framework that supports equitable gender representation but implementation has proved elusive.

Okwatch (2016) retaliates that to achieve the constitutional implementation of two-thirds gender rule, mass media must play a very key role of packaging and taking equality issues and inequality as a human rights that threatens the development of our society. Mwangi (2005) argues that mass media can focus attention mostly on who is important and what is interesting in which a large degree determines public opinion. Thus it suffices to say that mass media in its role in constitution implementation has the ability to influence public's participation in this process. Public participation in constitution implementation is a prerequisite and the Constitution offers Article 1 (1) (2) (4) which ensure that the public must participate in this process as a principle of governance. Wambua (2011) adds that full operation of these provisions will make a significant difference in the democratic development of Kenyan society.

Print media has the platform to allow for positive dialogue and debate as well as hold accountable those endowed with ensuring that the constitution is implemented. Karua (2016) says, when the media chooses to belittle the conversation due to its gender relation then it becomes costly for the whole country especially because it affects the full execution of the constitution as stipulated in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. Okwatch (2016) support Karua's sentiments by arguing that what readers perceive eventually becomes their reality and it is only through the mass media that these matters can be sorted out. It's this kind of information that the media must bring fore to Kenyans to understand the importance of having the implementation of two-thirds gender rule and provide Kenyans an opportunity to clean up a messy political process.

From the fore mentioned, this study therefore acknowledges that in the context of constitutionalism, media practitioners are viewed as agents of change. Mass media therefore, comes into play as one of their major roles is to educate the public. The content of media as pertaining to two-thirds gender rule is powerful and fundamental in the process of enlightening MPs on the importance of enacting two-thirds gender rule.

2.1.4 Mass Media and Public Opinion

Conrad & Poole, (1998) define communications as the process by which people manage and sustain meaning. Axley (1984) on other hand defines communication as the process of transferring information from one person to another. Mcqual (2005) refers to mass media as organised means of communicating to many within a short span of time and with similar information, opinions and entertainment. The most obvious feature being that they can reach many within a short span of time. In respect to politics, he argues that mass media offer a platform of interaction where policies

and giving politicians, agents of governments and interest groups a platform for influence and publicity.

Downey (2003) argues that the role of media therefore provides means by which powerful interests and state address the people, as well as platforms for the exchange of ideas of political parties and civil societies. They as well stimulate the circulation of opinion and news within the politically interested. It suffices to say that mass media are the most available source of gauging public opinion, and so if a certain idea is predominated by the media it tends to be seen in the successive stages of personal opinion formation. Mass media plays an important role in the information environment where audiences perceive the national climate of opinion, as such mass media in public opinion sets the agenda of public discussion; convey information to audience members on the climate of opinion regarding an issue, and also to give arguments for different sides of an argument.

Noelle (1951) argues that it is through mass media that people assign importance to issues, learn specifics regarding the issue and gauge the climate of opinion on a given issue. Fraser (2007) perceives public sphere as a vehicle for marshalling public opinion and a political force which is supposed to hold officials accountable and to assure that the actions of the state express the will of the citizenry. Public sphere may therefore be defined as a social arena where individuals can come together and freely discuss societal issues that affect them and through the discussion influence political action.

Harbermas (1974) defines public sphere as a society engaged in critical debate, and conditions to ensure that public sphere is formed include; free information to the

public, open to all public members, and based on freedom of speech, assembly and of expression. Mass media including newspapers and magazines therefore becomes media of public sphere and the public classifies itself as the conveyor of public opinion.

Kalr (2005) affirms this great development by saying that “Newspapers moved from being news publications to carriers and institutions for the publications of news into bearers and leaders of public. It meant that the newspaper publisher changed from a vendor of recent news to a dealer in public opinion. From the afore mentioned this study therefore put into consideration that the two mainstream dailies (*Standard & Nation* Newspapers) are bearers of public opinion and thus sought to establish whether they published public opinion in regards to the implementation of two-thirds gender rule.

Mcqual (2005) argues that public opinion obtains a particular freedom when incorporated in media accounts and thus becomes an objective social fact that has to be taken into account by political and other actors. He further argues that media effects on opinions include, credibility of the source, the perceived authority, legitimacy and consistency of content of media messages, congruence of content with existing opinion or belief and quality and amount of attention given to the subject. From Mcqual’s arguments this study therefore uses the fore mentioned chances to determine if mainstream media coverage had any effect on public opinion on two-thirds gender rule.

2.1.5 Role of Media in Democracy

Mass media are the most important instruments of the 21st century especially in a democratic country as their significance comes from their characteristic and unique position compared to other organisations involved in the democratic process. Mass media is by characterisation public centred and can be accessed by a wider audience; as such they stand a better chance at informing the public about democracy.

Appadorai (2003) sees democracy as a mode of governance where the people implement their governing power, either through representatives or directly, periodically elected by them. Kabwegyere (2000) on the other hand argues that democracy is the power of the people to make governments and their representatives accede to the popular will and to popular demands. He further argues that, democracy must be an expression of political equality; otherwise the slogan ‘one man one vote’ is negated and therefore it should ensure that in the selection of leaders and policies the process should be highly inclusive at least through fair and regular elections.

Media’s role is to ensure that the political information they disseminate to the public should be relevant and ought to reach as many citizens as possible; by virtue of this role they therefore act as a watchdog and provide a public forum that brings out society’s diversity. Blumler and Gurevitch (1990) suggested that democracy necessitates that the mass media engage in “identifying meaningful agenda setting by recognising the key issues of the day, including the powers that have formed and may resolve them.” Mass media apart from the fore mentioned divisions they also help in the interpretation of numerous issues in political discussions.

Information given to the public is only useful only if it’s objective and accurate. Mwangi (2011) posits that a commonly held view is that a country with free and

vibrant media is an indication that democracy is being exercised, while the contrary is true especially in the Kenyan context where despite the freedom of the media guaranteed by the constitution it continues to have a troubled democracy. Which is depicted by the way the media sets agenda in their daily coverage.

Mass media have in the past asserted their role in deepening democracy especially through investigative reporting which in some cases has led to the ouster of presidents and the fall of corrupt governments. This has made the media a credible and effective and watchdog and boosted its credibility among the public, but not in all areas as they perform their gate keeping role depending with how sensational the issue is, as is the case in Kenya where political alignment of leaders take the forefront while others issues like two thirds gender principle are published in subsequent pages. Kaparo (2005) further adds that, “There seems to be a conspiracy of silence between the media in Kenya and the politicians to treat the important as trivial and vice versa. He further observes that “We have a dishonest press which cannot hold the leaders to account for what they said in the past. Kabwegyere (2003) sees democracy as a method of governance which gives dignity to men and women in society by taming power and converting it into a resource for the benefit of the people in that society. Media as a democratic institution therefore tames the power and it can only do that by ensuring that the attitude that has predominated about women in the political space is changed by advocating for the execution of two thirds gender rule.

2.1.6 Media and Gender Politics

There appears to be a tense relationship between women in politics and the media that is seen to reinforce societal stereotypes about women being out of place. Margaret Gallagher (1981) claims that the way media has treated women can only be described as narrow since most of women’s activities are centred on home and family.

Similarly, Allen (1994) adds that media do not consider women to be a first page news source in newspapers. This argument clearly states that Patriarchal conceptions and representations of women roles still linger.

Gallagher (1995) further argues that only a few women in media take up management positions, which significantly minimises their chances of reporting on how their gender should be reported. Gitlin (1980) found that if the values and concerns of women's movements match those of the elite in politics and media then, there are higher chances of their views getting recognised and incorporated into the dominant news frames. In this sense, the media willingly or unwillingly contribute towards idealising and legitimising specific news stories and people to meet their organisational needs while marginalising other social groups and their voices, thus supporting the consensual patriarchal society nature.

Recent studies on gender mainstreaming in media content have revealed disturbing results. In Kenya, only 19% of views read or heard in the media are women, this is according to Global Monitoring Project-Kenya (African Women and Child Feature Service 2004). Mbuggus (2014) echoes these findings by saying that media has been accused of failing to equally reflect the voices of both genders, which women tend to be portrayed stereotypically, with kind of strange cynicism about their abilities. Women in the public space often are not portrayed in the same ways as their male counterparts. Most times they are described as having defied the social order and neglecting their God-given roles of being nurtured. The language used in stories on women in politics is one clue of the underlying gender biases in the media. This is especially seen when during the 2013 elections Martha Karua was referred to as the iron lady considering she was the only candidate vying for the presidential seat Musau (2009).

That kind of portrayal Karen Ross (2011) argues that some women politicians receive gender-neutral coverage and even positive coverage. With other coverage, they are cast as superwoman, which she claims is not necessarily demeaning but positions them for their sex appeal as opposed to their political authority. Norris (1997b) retaliates that this sex-based stereotypes that trivialise and objectify women politicians end up affecting women's decision to stand for elected office and can also inform voters perceptions of candidates. Thus the question on whether there is need to gauge how media portrays gender issue is necessary, as news media set the agenda for the public, so then it does matter how news media represent women as the frames used will affect public opinion which in turn affects policy formulation.

Aalberg & Stromback (2011) posit that modern politics is highly mediated, and the media constitute one of the most important sources of information and interpretation. On the other hand, Everett & Robert (1995) argue that news is culture, and for that notion to be developed and understood consistently, it has to stem out from answering the question of the kind of story we have and not whether we have more or less news. Considering this perspective, it, therefore, suffices to ask whether it's important to understand how print media portrays women politicians, not just regarding volumes of articles written but in scrutinising the tone and content of the articles written.

Ross, Karen, and Cynthia Carter (2011) conducted a research in the U.K in 2010 general election which revealed that the number of articles featuring women was relatively low compared to those on men and that the representation of women in the local dailies came out as women were a specifically sexed group, and these findings only promoted the widespread assumption that politics in the United Kingdom is a man's game. This finding is no different from how women are reported in Kenya as a similar research conducted by African women and Child Features Service (AWCFS

2013), *On Kenyan media and Women in Political News*, revealed that female coverage averaged only to 17 per cent in all sections of the newspapers. It, therefore, becomes a full world problem, and the world needs to start seeing women as equal players in all fields including political.

An attempt to understand the intricacies involved in media portrayal of women, is presented by Stephanie Craft and Wayne Wanta (2005) who compared issues, and story focus at newspapers with high percentages of women in editorial positions with those at newspapers with low portions of female editors. The study found that papers with predominately male editors contained news with a more negative focus on women while newspapers with a high rate of female editors tended to give female issues equal emphasis on male subjects. The same study showed that there are severe shortages in both the quantity and quality of news for and about women.

A paradigm shift has however been observed that over the years the coverage of women has improved in other areas of focus such as in business, and also in politics but not as much since women are not as many in parliament. Tuchman et al (1978), in their initial studies done portrayed women as sex objects and their motherly abilities. In the early 90's the studies took a different turn with more researchers looking at women coverage in politics; women as candidates as well as their inclusion, in news discourse outside the intense period of elections coverage. Braden (1996) Norris (1997b).

In 2000s researchers Banwart et al, (2003), Gidengil and Everitt (2005) continued to research on women coverage politically despite their improvements in political life. These researchers unearthed that not only were they framed differently regarding the kinds of story topics in which they published, not only was the focus more personal

than the political, but the orientation and tone of news discourse were also different. This paradigm shifts though highly welcomed still feels like a drop in the ocean considering the emergence and advancement of technology. Print media and publishing have been the most widely used formats, in the past two decades as such even with the development of new media a broad population still relies on print media for information. Therefore, the representation, approach and advancement of print media in reporting gender issues and specifically two-thirds gender principle contributes to an increase in awareness on gender issues. Hence the need for this research and most importantly focus on two-thirds gender rule coverage as it is the core to women achieving gender equity in Kenya.

2.1.7 Content Analysis

Over the past 20 years, scholars have recognised content analysis as an important tool for social science and media research. Neuendorf (2002) describes content analysis as “the primary message centred methodology”. Similarly, Berger (1991) defines Content analysis as a research method that is based on measuring the amount of something in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art.

Neuman (1997) further describes content analysis as “A method for analysing and gathering the content of the text. Where content refers to symbols, ideas, themes words, meanings, pictures or any message that can be communicated. The ‘text’ is anything visual or spoken that serves as a medium for communication or written.”

Symbols such as texts, images, music and other symbol have become a significant part of our daily lives as a means of communication, and many scholars have embraced the task of content analysis as a way of understanding our symbolised world. Content analysis, therefore, focuses on this symbols that represent our basic human traits like sex, social construction or basic traits like gender. Rena M.et al

(2010). Edwin Emery (1970) argues that much can be learnt about a publication merely by studying its contents. Content analysis is therefore useful in providing a clue to the editor on the kind of audience which a publication attracts.

2.1.8 Content Analysis in Gender Politics

Strinati (2004) posits that historical roots of gender content analysis can be traced back to the emergence of the today's women movement beginning in the 1950s and the awareness this movement began to pay to media content in the early 1960s (Rakow 1986). Therefore, content analysis in gender politics as described by Rena M. et al (2010) is mostly done with the objectives of supporting feminist claims that; mass media and popular culture have represented women in an unjust, unfair and exploitative manner, to compare how media presents women in politics and real-life situations, to predict effects of media reporting on women and to detect the impact of media producers on content.

Content analysis has therefore been widely and mostly used in social sciences and broadly to understand news coverage in particular problems or social issues. One such question was on media under-representation of minority groups in America, in favourite fiction magazine by Burleson and Salter (1948) who aimed at analysing how media represented a minority group. Len- Rios et al (2005) also used content analysis to analyse two newspapers to assess whether or not they “unwittingly contribute to the public consent of male cultural hegemony. The examples mentioned above depict a wide variety of mediums and issues that can be analysed using content analysis to find desired results but very few researchers, especially in Kenya, have focused their attention on the possibility that print media representation and approach on the passage of two-thirds gender principle would yield different results as observed now. Moreover, Saenger (1955) asserts that studies of mass media content are often

predicted by the supposition that they employ encouragement on their community. Thus the reason why this study will be conducted using content analysis as it proves to be credible and reflects social reality.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting can barely be referred to just as a theory as it carries a lot of weight in influencing the importance that audience attach to an issue. Individuals have independent thinking abilities, but some factors affect their thinking and eventually change them to make a decision. Agenda setting which is primarily steered by the media is one of the elements.

Shaw and McCombs (1977) describe media's role as the agenda setters as its ability to mentally order and organise our world for us. McCombs (1968) argues that how the media reports an issue, how they place it on the different mediums of media, how they frame the issue, time allocated to the problem will eventually influence how the public will view the issue and change the importance they attach to the subject.

Since the media discovered that their agenda could become public's agenda, there have been numerous attempts to fasten the process by filtering what is communicated to the people on the merit of what is important to them or the other agenda setters. Not all the news that media gathers get to be aired, some news are prominently displayed and published in greater length and as opposed to others.

Funkhouser (1973a) implied that contents of weekly news magazines could be assumed as reasonable indicator of the contents of the news media nationwide. In totality there was a significance low support for the hypothesis that media coverage is driven by real world events. Agenda setting theory therefore, 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.

McCombs (2002), argue that over 75 per cent of the potential news of the day in any given newspaper is discarded and never reported to the audience. The first steps of gate keeping are significantly seen in the way that even though news media outlets have many stories to publish, newspapers on the other hand don't have enough pages to publish all the stories.

Even though some news stories get to be published, they don't all receive the same treatment when passed to the audience. Some news stories are prominently displayed; others are published in a greater length while others receive only brief attention. Newspapers therefore state the journalistic salience of an item through its headline page placement, and height etc.

It's important to ask ourselves who sets the agenda? What criteria do the media use to select news that they deem necessary and want the public to attach the salience to the issues they report? Sometimes they focus on information that is meant to benefit them and not the general public. Therefore, this leaves the public with little option but to agree with the information relied on them given agenda-setting theory. Shaw (1979) states that the media is persuasive and it manipulates audience thoughts by focusing public attention on issues determining what issues to bring to fore. He further argues that what media will publicise is what will occupy the audience attention.

Hall (1998) has challenged this theory for portraying the society as a passive receiver that the people cannot make informed decisions or form their own opinion but that whatever decision they make is influenced by the media in the way they report the issue. Shaw (1979) also disputes the definition that agenda setting constructs social

realities, but he argues that people will tend to form their opinions anyway and that not everyone is a media consumer.

From the above description of agenda setting, an issue that appears in the media regularly through allocation of more time and space may make readers deem it as important and give it much thought and attention. Therefore the regular coverage of two-thirds gender rule would have heightened the public alertness to the constitution implementation of the gender bill and may have influenced MPs action towards implementing the bill on the two occasions that the bill was tabled in parliament.

Based on this paradigm, the study critically analysed mainstream print media's coverage of two-thirds gender rule and raised important questions in this regard. For instance, how was two-thirds gender rule covered by mainstream newspapers? Did their coverage elicit any response from the public and policy makers? What space did they allocate to stories published on two-thirds gender rule in the year 2017?

2.2.2 Priming Theory

Priming theory is grounded in cognitive psychology and was advanced by Iyenger and Peters in 1982. This theory of priming is obtained from the association network model of human memory in which an idea is stored as a node in the network and is related to other ideas. Kinder (1982) and Iyenger (1982) established this theory on the assumption that people do not have definite knowledge on politics and so they don't consider all the information they have when making political decisions, therefore they rely on what comes to mind. Media thus highlights some aspects in their reportage that assist in establishing the conditions which political judgments are reached, including analysing political figures.

Priming constitutes selection and placement of items for easier attention over others. In media though, priming constitutes positioning of stories in such a way as to draw the audience's attention. Smith (2011) adds that media priming provides ground for public discussion of an issue, enabling audience understanding. Iyenger & Kinder (1987) observes that priming of news has an agenda setting effect on audience and that the lead stories have greater effect because people tend to pay more attention to stories at the beginning as they have less interruptions and also people accepted news program's design of a lead story as the most important, thus audience as well tend to consider the lead story as the most newsworthy.

Baran, (2004) argues that newspapers place stories they consider most important on the front pages, he further adds that readers mostly read pages in order 1, 2, 3 and so on, as such the placement of this stories tell readers what is meaningful and significant through placement of stories. This theory was therefore useful in establishing the placement of the stories of two-thirds gender rule in print media, as placement determines the prominence and salience that the two mainstream newspapers accorded two-thirds gender rule stories.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This section examines the manners of approach used in this research. Notably, it discusses the study population, the sampling and sample procedure, validity and reliability of research instruments and data collection instruments. This chapter is important as it gives an outline of how the research was conducted.

3.1. Research Design

The study focused on descriptive research design as it was helpful in providing a picture of the situation as it naturally happens. Burns & Groove (2003). Nachimias (2007) also notes that descriptive design is achieved through studies designed to generate data and information that describe current status of issues. This design was adopted because it captures a diverse range of information pertaining to the issue of two-thirds gender rule implementation and also gives the researcher a wide range of opportunity to explore new ideas and discuss further on ideas emerging.

3.2 Research Approach

The study used quantitative approaches which Mugenda (2008) argues that it comprises of the identification of a research problem, defining the variables of the study, stating testable hypothesis and measuring of variables using appropriate tools. Neuendorf (2002) further explains that quantitative content analysis collects media content such as topics or issues, and messages determined by key words in context. As such, the study used this approach as it focused more on content published regarding the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule.

3.3. Research Method

The study used content analysis as the research method because of its suitability in studying documents and records. Holsti (1969) argues that content analysis is any method used for making deductions by systematically and objectively identifying specific characteristics on information. Only secondary data was used for the study and the sample populations selected through the use of purposive sampling.

3.4. Study Population

Polit & Hungler (1999) define population as a composite of all subjects or objects, that follow a set of specification in other words, population in research is generally a huge collection of objects or individuals that is the main focus of a scientific query.

The study population was all the issues of *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers including weekend editions published in the year 2017, totalling the study population to 730 newspapers. This period was selected because it was an election year and August 8th elections were conducted after the five year time frame for implementation of two-thirds gender rule as offered by the Fifth Schedule of the constitution had already lapsed. Hence this study expected heightened coverage of two-thirds gender rule especially in mainstream newspapers. This was also the second time Kenya was conducting its general election under the 2010 promulgated constitution hence expected improvement of women performance in the general elections as compared to 2013 general elections.

3.5 Sampling Size and Sampling Technique

Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) defines sampling as “the method of choosing a number of objects or individuals for a study where those selected represent the entire group from which they were selected.” The study used purposive sampling technique to

determine the accessible population as this was an intended research looking only for issues which covered two-thirds gender rule in The *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers.

Therefore, 730 newspapers were selected for the study and only those that published two-thirds gender rule stories were used as sample frame. The total sample (730 newspapers) was divided into two producing 365 copies for each newspaper as shown in the Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Total sample of newspapers

Newspaper	Period of publication	Sample size
Nation	2017	365
Standard	2017	365
Total		730

3.6. Data Collection

The study used content analysis to collect data required. Schindler & Cooper (2006) argue that content analysis is a method that involves assessing historical or public records, government document, contemporary confidential and opinions. Babbie (2001) argues that content analysis is the study of recording human communications and the process involves a coding operation where coding in this sense refers to the process of transforming data into standardised form.

Therefore, in this study, the researcher first carried out an online search to find digital copies of the stories. Two-thirds gender rule was the search item; as such any news articles published that matched the search terms was analysed. Palys (2008) argues that this technique is used to ensure that data collected is relevant to the study.

The researcher then went to the University's Library and looked for the newspapers singled out from the on-line search within the stipulated timeframe. The stories obtained from *Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers were then read, measured, categorised and coded for the purpose of description and analysis. The coding sheet was used to list down the frequency of coverage in the newspapers, placement of the articles, tones of the stories among other variables.

3.7 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study was stories about two-thirds gender rule as published in *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers within the study period. This included news stories, commentaries, editorials, letters to the editor, features and opinions. Dominick & Wimmer (2011) argues that in content that is written the unit of analysis might be a single word or a symbol. In this study though, the units were the stories on two-thirds gender rule which were classified into different types such as news, opinions, analysis and commentaries.

The key variables of the coding unit were;

Title of newspaper - *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers

Story types - News, news analysis, features, editorials, opinions, columns, and letters to the editor.

Themes - Such as gender equality, failure to implement constitution and under representation of women.

Placement - Front page, (lead story), front page (sub -story), page 3 and inside stories, back page.

Size - Column length in cm² to determine amount of space allocated to the story in the newspaper.

Tone – Negative; This was determined using adjectives such as court cases, defy, lack consensus incompetent and conflict among others.

Positive; Good bill, excellent opportunity, leads to prosperity, people's opportunity and promote progress among others.

Neutral; Not as good as, ups and downs, reconsider among other adjectives,

Frequency - The number of times a story appears in the newspaper. The more frequent a story is the greater its salience and the more people will talk about it.

Source - This are people or institutions who will originate the stories and those whom the stories will concern.

3.8. Data Analysis

The data collected during this study was converted from raw form into systematic categories for analysis. This was done through data coding to ensure that the data was entered accurately, consistently, complete and arranged to facilitate data coding, data classification and data tabulation. The study analysed data using descriptive statistics and graphic representations such as graphs, charts and tables were used. Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) posits that, descriptive statistics allows the researcher to describe meaningfully a distribution of measurements or scores using statistics or a few indices.

3.9 Data Presentation

Data collected was analysed by using excel sheet. The program is chosen for its reliability and capability to sort and provide relationships between variables by showing descriptive tendencies such as frequency, mean, media and totals, and also to summarise the various sets of data. The results were then compiled and presented in tables and graphs.

3.10. Validity & Reliability

3.10.1 Validity

McLeod and Tichner (2003) observe that knowledge is pursued in a systematic way such that others using the similar procedure could replicate the study reliability of instruments used. To achieve validity the researcher developed a scheme for coding to guide coders in the evaluation of content. Poole and Folger (1981) explain that a coding scheme is essentially a translation device that allows coders to place utterances into theoretical categories. The coding scheme consisted of guidelines that directed the coders on how to put their observation into the correct data categories.

These guidelines laid out the variables, their definitions and rules for recognising these variables in the content being coded. The coding decisions made by the coders was then compared against some standard which Kerlinger (1986) implies that the existence of a standard (accurate set of codes) serves as a basis to compare coding. Therefore, the standard laid for this study was stories on two-thirds gender rule in *Standard* and *Nation* Newspapers.

3.10.2 Reliability

Yin, (2003) defines reliability as the ability to demonstrate that the operations of a study if repeated using the same data collection procedures will yield the same results. Potter & Levine (1999) also argue that reproducibility is the degree to which a process can be undertaken under different circumstances, at different locations, using different coders. The design requires a test-test procedure where the same content is assessed by different coders, each coding the set of content once. If all the coders make the same inferences (i.e. produce the same coding patterns) then the data is viewed as reliable.

From the aforementioned the researcher used the help of one research assistant whom together with the researcher first conducted a pilot study which informed them on the operation purposively chosen.

3.11. Ethical considerations

These are the moral principles that guided the research from its inception throughout its completion and publication of results, ESRC (2005). All the information borrowed from other scholars and sources were well acknowledged and attributed. In quest of this study, the rights and opinions of the authors of the articles were highly respected. The privacy and confidentiality of the collected information was maintained all the way through the study procedure.

The researcher obtained a Certificate of Field work (See appendix 1), Certificate of Originality (Appendix II) and Certificate of Corrections (Appendix III) from the School of Journalism and Mass Communication to continue the research after submitting and defending the research project report.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents analysis of data and presentation of the study. Quantitative data was collected and analysed using excel in terms of type of stories, frequency of stories, placement, size and tone of the stories. The two newspapers *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers were also comparatively analysed to determine how they covered two-thirds gender rule. The main objective of the study was to undertake a content analysis of two-thirds gender rule coverage in *Standard* and *Nation* newspaper. The format of the discussion on findings is therefore guided by the study objectives.

4.1 Frequency of Stories Sampled by Newspaper

The study established that The *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers gave two-thirds gender rule a combined coverage of 43 stories during the study period (2017). *Nation* newspaper was favourable in covering two-thirds gender rule contributing to 58% of the total stories sampled as compared to *Standard* which had 41%. This frequency for both newspapers is low considering that the period was an electioneering period and it was expected that the coverage of two-thirds gender rule would be heightened as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Frequency of stories sampled by newspapers

Publication	Number of newspapers	% number of newspapers
Nation	25	58
Standard	18	41
Total	43	100

These findings concur with other studies like Mtambalike (1995) who argued that women and women issues are largely ignored by the Kenyan media. This assertion as per the findings of this study reveal that Mtambalike's argument still holds true to date. The study also infers that the frequency within which the issues of two-thirds gender rule stories were published, were not enough to set the agenda among the public. This is as earlier established in the literature review by the theory of agenda setting theory that stories which are frequently emphasised and prominently displayed in mainstream media are viewed as important by consumers of media. Hence the more a story is published, the more important the public will view the story which is not the case as per the findings of the study.

4.2 Frequency by Story Type

Story types give the focus of the day based on the magnitude of the coverage. The study established that in the news story category, the two newspapers had almost similar percentage in terms of story type that they published. Of all the stories that *Nation* published 52% were news stories while *Standard* newspaper allocated 50% of their stories to news stories on two-thirds gender rule.

Opinion stories were given relatively low coverage by the two newspapers, totalling to 30% of the total number of stories sampled. Comparatively, *Standard* published more opinion stories at 33% compared to *Nation* which allocated 28% of their stories to opinion stories as shown in Table 4.2.

These findings therefore, infer that *Standard* newspaper considered experts' opinions significant in generating more knowledge regarding two-thirds gender rule and thus more coverage as compared to *Nation*.

Table 4.2: Story type by media

Story Type	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
News	13	52	9	50	22	51
News Analysis	2	8	1	6	3	7
Opinions	7	28	6	33	13	30
Features	1	4	1	6	2	5
Editorial	0	0	1	6	1	2
Letter to the editor	2	8	0	0	2	5
TOTAL	25	100	18	100	43	100

News analysis, editorial stories and features were given very low coverage by the two newspapers totalling to 12% of all the sampled stories. These categories enhance public opinion and educate them on two-thirds gender rule and why it is important to champion for its passage. However, these categories did not contribute to formation of public opinion as is shown in frequency with which the public responded to these stories via letters to the editor. This category took only 5% of the total stories published in the two newspapers, inferring that the two newspapers offered the readers less in-depth information about the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule as such even the public was not interested enough to respond on the matter.

From the findings the study infers that in terms of treatment mainstream print media mostly conveyed information on two-thirds gender rule as they received and they both gave priority to the news stories. This was meant to keep the audience informed on the progression of the implementation of two-thirds gender rule with regards to constitution implementation.

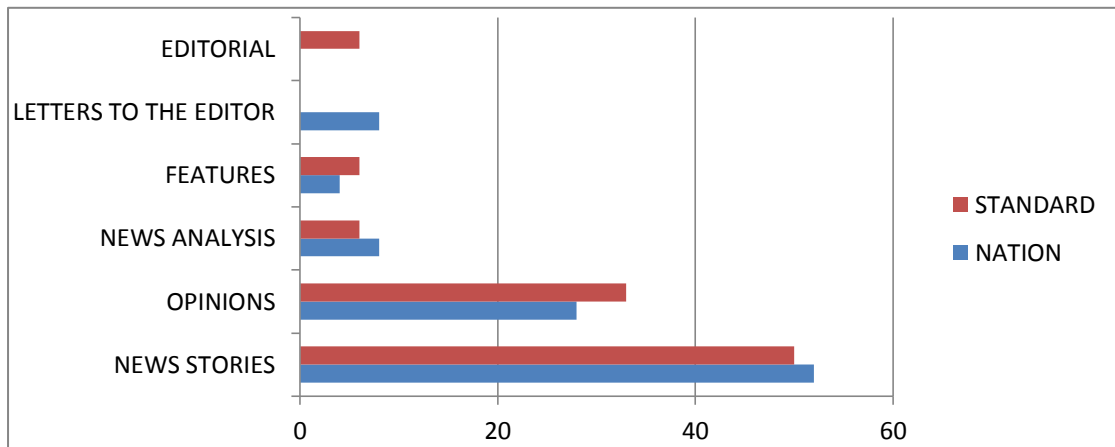


Figure 4.1: Story type in percentages

However, the findings also reveal that there was little done to provide in depth interpretation of the events as is the media’s role to educate as well as offer interpretation on news stories. This observation could be attributed to the editorial policy of the two newspapers and that they used the same criteria to classify stories hence the high frequency of news stories analysis.

4.3. Placement of Stories

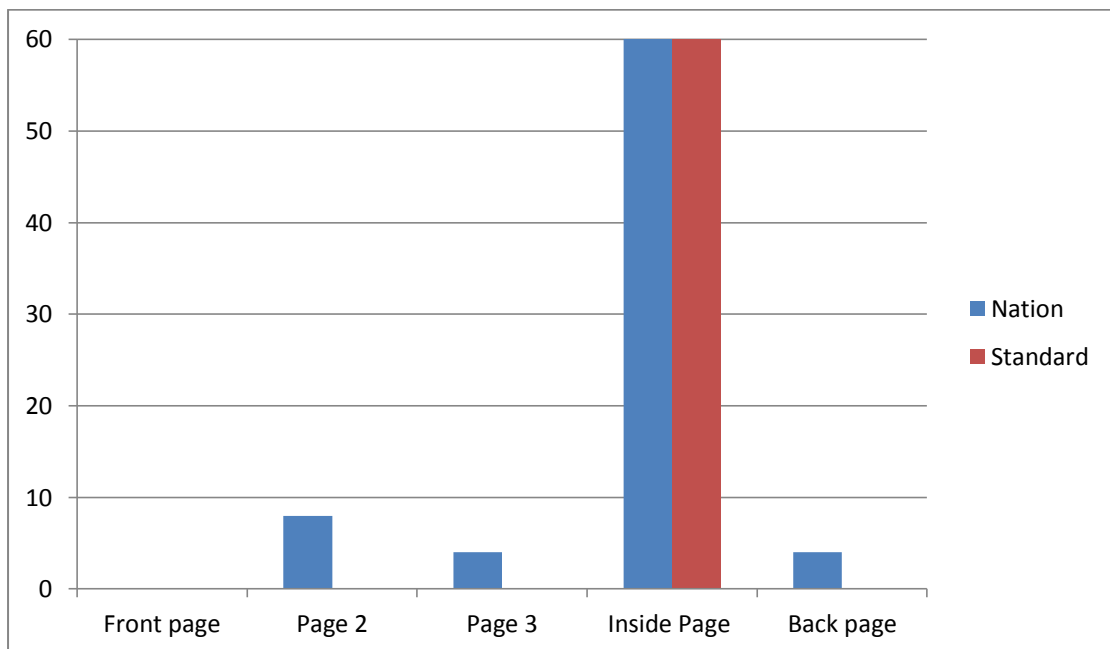
Placement of stories determines the location of the story within the newspaper. Placement of stories is a component of priming theory and reflects the prominence with which newspapers treat a story. Placement is determined through lead story, front page, front page sub story, page two & three, back page or inside stories. The front page is the most prominent position of the story, from the findings there were no stories on the front page, neither were there any on the front page sub section in both Standard and Nation newspapers.as shown in Table 4.3

Table 4.3: Placement of stories

Publication	Front Page		Page 2		Page 3		Inside Page		Back page	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Nation	0	0	2	8	1	4	21	84	1	4
Standard	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	100	0	0

Nation newspaper had 12% of their stories published on page 2 and 3; *Standard* newspaper on the other hand had no stories on page 2 and 3 of their issues. Most of the stories were on the inside pages with *Nation* publishing a total of 84% stories. *Standard* on the other hand had all 100% of their stories published on the inside pages. No stories were covered on the back page for *Standard* newspaper, while *Nation* newspaper had only one story published at the back of the newspaper. A comparative analysis of the coverage in terms of the two newspapers indicates that The *Standard* had a total placement of 100% and 84% for The *Nation* newspaper as shown in Figure 4.2

Figure 4.2 Placement of Stories in Percentages



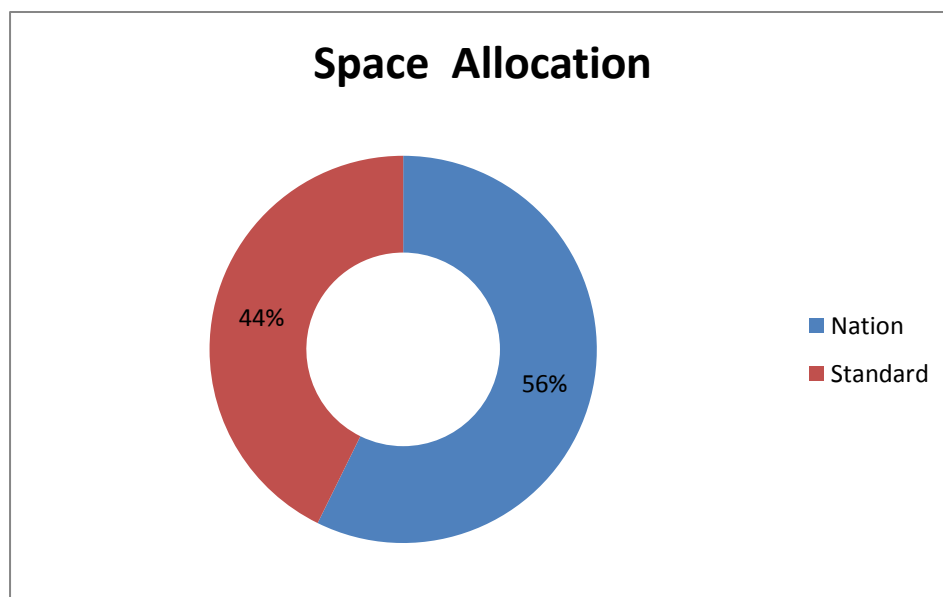
As earlier discussed in priming theory, placement of stories especially on the front pages have greater effect and people tend to pay more attention to stories at the beginning, and as such the audience tend to consider this stories as newsworthy. However, from the findings we can infer that the two newspapers did not find the issue of two-thirds gender rule newsworthy enough to be published on their front

pages as majority of the stories were on the inside pages. The findings match Allen (1994), whose sentiments were that issues of constitutional implementation of two-thirds gender rule and women issues are not a first page story in newspapers. The same still holds true for Kenyan print media.

4.4: Space Allocation of the Stories in cm²

The *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers are printed on A3-Sized papers with a print space of 918 cm² per page. The total space allocated to stories on two-thirds gender rule in *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers within the year 2017 was 13,345 cm² which translates to a total of 15 pages. This space allocation is significantly low considering a daily newspaper ranges between 48 and 64 pages long. Comparatively, *Nation* newspaper allocated the biggest space of 56% compared to *Standard's* 44% as shown in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Space allocations in percentage



Nation allocated 28% of their stories with the biggest space ranging from 201- 300 cm², while *Standard* newspaper dedicated 33% of their stories with the biggest space

ranging from 501-600 cm². Both newspapers *Standard* and *Nation* newspaper had equal number of 12% of their stories with the least size ranging from 0 - 100 cm². None of the newspapers had any stories acquiring the 1000 cm² and above category. From the above findings one can conclude that the two newspapers allocated considerable low space for two-thirds gender rule which was not enough space to ignite reaction from policy makers and the public.

4.5. Size of Two Thirds Gender Stories

Size in stories determines the weight or importance placed on a story. The findings of the study indicate that most stories on two-thirds gender rules were allocated a quarter pages translating to 42% of all the stories sampled by the two newspapers. Followed closely by half page which accumulated to 35% of all the stories sampled from both newspapers illustrated in Table 4.4.

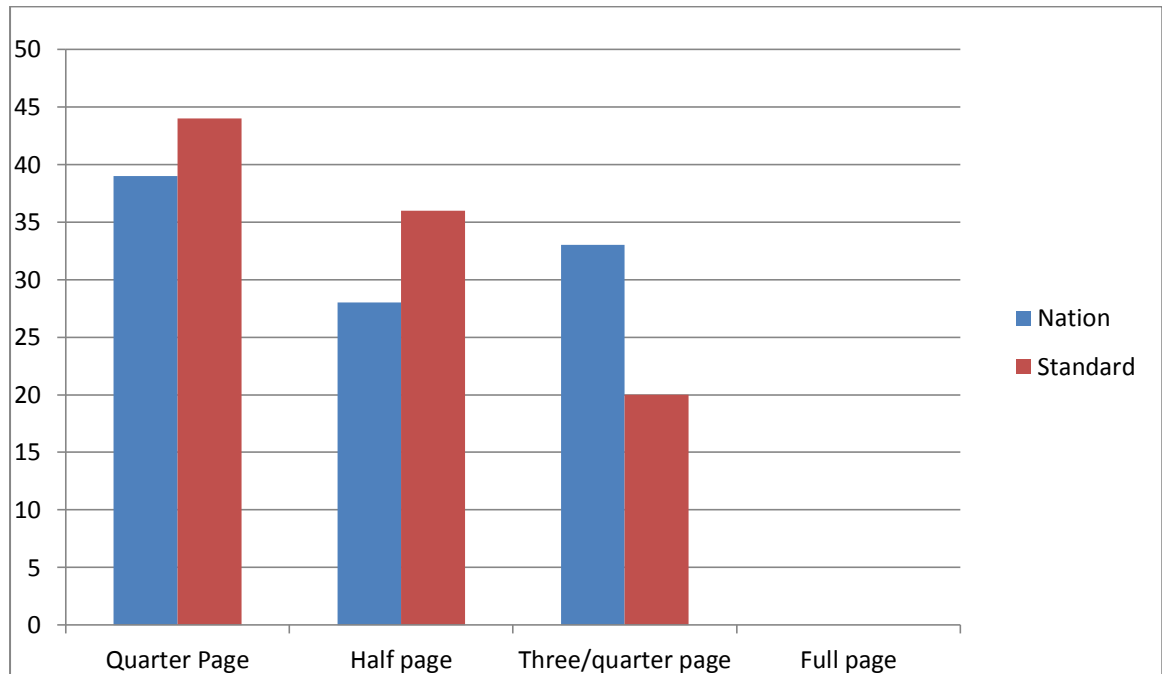
Table 4.4: Size of stories

Size	Standard		Nation		Total	
Quarter page	7	39	11	44	18	42
Half page	6	33	9	36	15	35
Three/Quarter page	5	28	5	20	10	23
Full page	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	100	25	100	43	100

Comparatively, *Nation* had 44% of their stories allocated a quarter page while *Standard* newspaper allocated 39% of their stories a quarter page. However, both newspapers allocated 10% of their stories equal size of three-quarter.

Nation newspaper had 36% of their stories allocated half page while *Standard* newspaper had only 33% of their stories allocated half page cumulating to 35% as shown in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Size of Stories sampled in percentage



From the findings the study infers that the issue of the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule was not taken seriously by both publications considering the size they allocated the stories. This means that both publications used the same lens to allocate the space occupied by two-thirds gender rule which is a quarter pages.

4.6: Tone of the Stories

The study analysed the stories on two-thirds gender rule in terms of tone. The categories were; positive, negative and neutral. Out of the 25 stories sampled for *Nation*, a total of 40% took a positive direction, 36% were published negatively while 24% stories took a neutral tone. *Standard* newspaper on the other hand, had 61% of their stories take a negative tone while 22% were neutral. Positive stories were only 3 which took 17% as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Tone of the sampled stories

Categories	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total %
Positive	3	17	10	40	30
Negative	11	61	9	36	47
Neutral	4	22	6	24	23
Total	18	100	25	100	100

Most of the stories published by the two newspapers took a negative tone at 47%, whereas positive stories for both papers totalled to 30% of the sampled newspapers. These stories were mostly on failure by parliament to implement two-thirds gender rule, and court order issued to ensure passage of two-thirds gender rule. Titles like: *Judge gives Mps and senators two months to pass gender law*, covered in *The Standard* on March 30th 2017 and *'Fida sues house speakers over gender principle'* covered in the *Nation* on 8th August 2017 took a negative tone among others.

From the findings it's therefore evident that mainstream print media focused more on publishing negative stories about two-thirds gender rule. Print media as an agenda setter utilised the coverage to inform the audience how hell bent MPs were to implement two-thirds gender rule and therefore they failed to put the issue into perspective. These failures lead to portrayal of bad perception making it impossible for consensus on two-thirds gender rule be achieved among the public and policy makers.

4.7: Themes Emerging from Two-Thirds Gender Stories

From the findings of the study, most of the stories published by both *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers had constitutional implementation as the outstanding theme, contributing 40% of all the stories. This was followed by gender equality and legal issues themes at 16%. The theme of leadership from both newspapers contributed 14% of the total themes that emerged, followed by women empowerment which had the least share of 9% as shown in the Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Themes emerging from stories sampled

Theme	Nation		Standard.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Equality	4	16	3	17	7	16
Leadership	4	16	2	11	6	14
Constitution Implementation	9	36	8	44	17	40
Legal issues	3	12	4	22	7	16
Patriarchy	1	4	0	0	1	2
Media representation	1	4	0	0	1	2
Women empowerment	3	12	1	6	4	9
Total	25	100	18	100	43	100

Comparatively, *Standard* newspaper had 44% of their stories published carrying constitutional theme, compared to *Nation* which had 36%. Leadership theme in *standard* took 11% which is low compared to *Nation's* whose leadership theme took 17%. In terms of advancing gender equality theme, *Standard* led by 17% which was not far apart from *Nation's* which stood at 16%. Notably, the women empowerment theme was given prominence by *Nation* newspapers at 12% compared to *Standard* who only gave women empowerment 6% of all their stories published.

From the findings, this study infers that both publications considered constitutional implementation of two-thirds gender rule as their major theme, inferring that the issue of constitutional implementation was the agenda they intended to set by reporting that MPs were not serious about the constitutional implementation despite clear deadlines by the Fifth Schedule of the Kenyan Constitution. It also reveals that the publications used similar editorial policy to advance the issue of two-thirds gender rule implementation.

An interesting observation is that the issue of two-thirds gender rule is all about ensuring that gender equality is achieved and that women are empowered enough to contribute to society through leadership channels aside from ensuring that the issue is implemented as a constitutional requirement. This study therefore expected that these themes would take a bigger percentage in the published stories. However, as observed from the findings, these themes took the least percentage echoing sentiments that other researches in the past like Okwach (2016) that to achieve the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule, mass media must play a very key role of packaging and taking equality of human rights and inequality issue that hinders the growth of our society. Cynthia (2011) and Cheregony (2004) also have observed that media has been biased in reporting women politicians and they therefore need to mend this relationship by ensuring that they report objectively and fairly regarding women issues.

4.8: Sources of Information

Findings from the study indicate that media were mostly sourced on two-thirds gender rule stories with a total of 28% from both newspapers *Standard* and *Nation*. Comparatively, *Standard* newspaper had 38% of their sources as media experts compared to *Nation's* 21%.

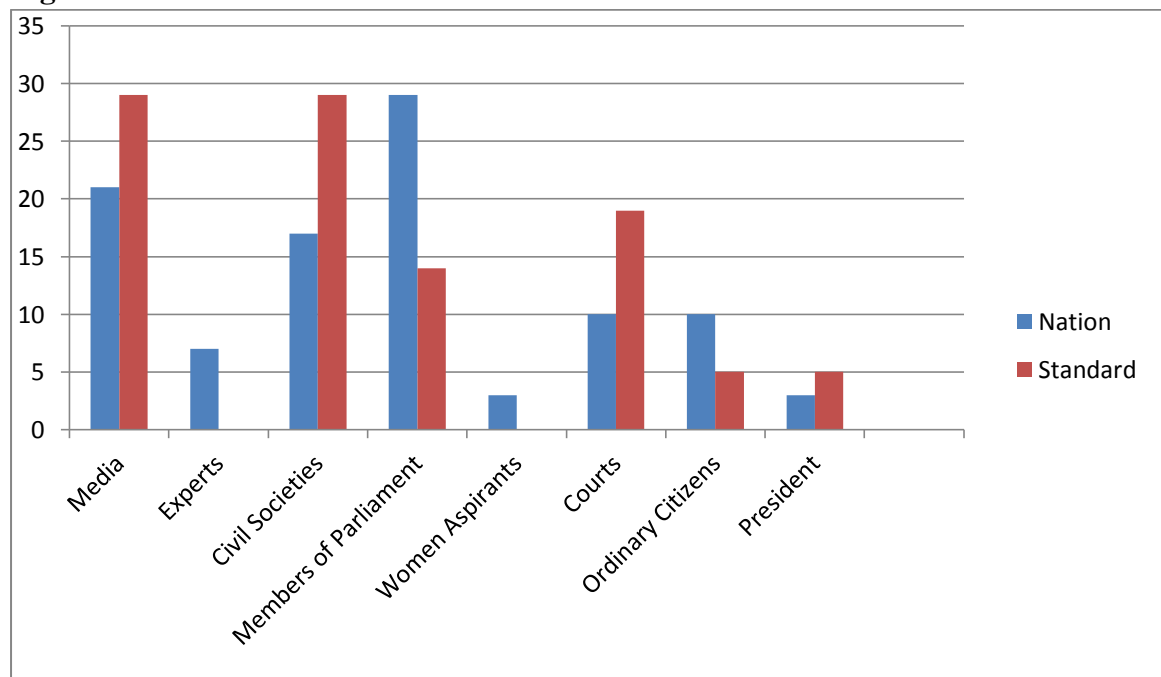
MPs as sources of information were the second most sourced persons in both newspapers totalling to 22%. This was mainly because the issue of two-thirds gender rule implementation relied solely on their ability to pass the bill. Thus, the *Nation* Newspaper sourced MPs at 29% compared to *Standard* whose use of MPs as source was at 14%. Most of those sourced included Speaker Justin Muturi, Aden Duale, Gladys Wanga, Joyce Laboso and Judith Sideny who sponsored an article regarding the implementation of two-thirds gender rule in *Nation* newspapers on 23rd March 2017 and among others. They were sourced a lot in understanding why they failed to implement the two-thirds gender rule and what their opinion of the rule was. As shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Source of information

Institution	Nation		Standard		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Media	6	21	8	38	14	28
Courts	3	10	3	14	6	12
MPs	8	29	3	14	11	22
Women aspirants	1	3	0	0	1	2
Civil Societies	5	17	5	24	10	20
Experts	2	7	0	0	2	4
Ordinary citizens	3	10	1	5	4	16
President	1	3	1	5	2	4
Total	29	100	21	100	50	100

The law Courts were also considered as source by both newspapers with *Standard* leading with 14% compared to *Nation's* 10%, these were mostly information from the judges in delivering the judgments and the lawyers representing their clients in the cases. Also contributing to the stories were civil societies, with *Standard* leading with 24% stories compared to *Nation's* 17%. As illustrated in figure 4.5. These civil societies were mostly Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA). Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW). Community Advocacy & Awareness Trust (CRAWN TRUST), National Gender and Equality Commission(NGEC) Katiba Institute and Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHRC).

Figure 4.5: Source of Information



During the study period, stories were also sourced from persons of interest like Raila Odinga and President Uhuru Kenyatta, with both being sources once for each newspaper. This shows that the President and Raila Odinga who are considered to be key agenda setters were not very active in championing for the passage of the bill.

Members of the public were also not considered as sources regarding the implementation of two-thirds gender rule as neither publication sought their opinion regarding the bill.

The study infers that the two publications heavily relied on their journalists to convey information on two-thirds gender rule and as such were keen on setting their own media agenda hence the over reliance on their journalists. The two publications also highly sourced MPs as earlier shown but failed to give a voice to women aspirants and women politicians who were the ones affected by the issues. One would expect that women and civil societies would be highly sourced in bid to champion for the passage of the bill but unfortunately their performance was very minimal.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This section outlines the analysis of observations of the research focused on the findings in chapter four and also in line with the objectives of the research. It also highlights the conclusions that the study makes, recommendations that needs to be considered as well as suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

Based on the objectives of the study and analysis of data found during the study period, the study found that *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers gave the constitutional implementation of two-thirds gender rule significantly low coverage during the electioneering period of 2017 and therefore failed to set the agenda.

The study also found that in terms of treatment most stories were allocated inside pages and no front page allocation thus the two-thirds gender rule was not given prominence. By choosing these pages, print media belittled two-thirds gender rule as an agenda and contributed in creating negative attitude towards the issue. Most of the two-thirds gender rule stories published on the *Standard* and *Nation* newspapers were based on news stories revolving around the court rulings on; timelines set, implications on failure to implement two-thirds gender rule within the stipulated time, and parliament proceedings where MPs failed to pass the two-thirds gender rule. Hence, little independent and in-depth analysis of the two-thirds gender rule that could set the agenda and guide the country and policy makers into understanding the importance of implementing two-thirds gender rule.

There were a number of opinion stories from both newspapers, meaning if the two newspapers published more stories on two-thirds gender rule then they could educate and inform the public on issues pertaining to two-thirds gender rule and offer a ground upon which the public, policy makers and civil societies would push for the execution of two-thirds gender decree. More of this opinion stories would also have encouraged more women to fight for elective parliamentary positions considering that 2017 was an election year. Features, and editorials were significantly low in numbers yet these could provide a wider and deeper perspective into the matter.

Therefore, this study concludes that mainstream print media in Kenya had the duty of educating and informing the public about the constitutional implementation of the two-thirds gender rule, as well as acting as a watchdog in emphasising that MPs deliberately failed to pass two-thirds gender rule as a constitutional requirement. However, a critical observation is that mainstream print media in Kenya failed in exercising the fore mentioned duties considering that the issue of two-thirds gender rule was not only about advocating for women representation in politics but also a constitutional requirement as per the Fifth Schedule. It also showed that MPs chose to be reluctant in implementing the two-thirds gender rule which prove to be beneficial to the marginalised and the public as a whole.

The study also concludes that despite previous research done on media reportage of women indicating that print media has improved in the manner in which they cover women in politics, the findings from this study still indicate that print media in Kenya is not yet keen in championing for women representation in politics by advocating for constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the outcomes of the research, the scholar commends the following:

5.2.1 Publishing Positive Content

From the study findings most of the content published took a negative tone on the two-thirds gender rule, therefore the study recommends that mainstream print media should deliberately put more effort in propagating a consensus on implementation of two-thirds gender rule as a constitutional requirement. This mainstream print media can do by focusing more on publishing the positive side of the two-thirds gender agenda by highlighting and justifying why it needs to be implemented as well as informing the public on what exactly the rule is all about. This kind of content will mobilise the public to a positive action and society benefiting from the knowledge that they generate.

5.2.2 Allocation of More Space to Stories on Gender

The study also recommends that main stream print media should allocate more space and size to interpretative stories pertaining to two-thirds gender rule as more and consistent coverage will result to the agenda being set among the public and policy makers. This is in line with Baran (2004) who contends that readers use newspaper to get information and interpretation about public affairs. Therefore, by giving out this information mainstream print media becomes an instrument of empowerment on gender issues.

5.2.3 Publishing of Accommodative Content

The study recommends that mainstream print media should publish content that is more accommodative by ensuring that different sources are selected including the public. Their participation and inclusivity help gauge whether the media deem as

important the issue of two-thirds gender as opposed to only focusing on MPs and media practitioners as depicted from the findings of the study.

5.2.4 Crusaders to Engage Media

The study also recommends that crusaders of gender issues like Civil societies and women leaders, engage media experts in advocating for gender issues to better maximise on the platform offered to fight for gender issues.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

This study recommends the following propositions for supplementary investigation;

Study must be conducted to explore reasons as to why mainstream print media do not find the constitution implementation of two-thirds gender rule an important issue that warrants their consistent coverage.

To get a wholesome idea of how two-thirds gender rule was covered, research needs to extend beyond mainstream print media and involve social media as well, as it is a modern tool that most people use to interact and share their opinion.

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Appendice 1.



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: +254-204913208 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
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