

**MEDIA COVERAGE OF WOMEN
POLITICIANS IN KENYA**

**CASE STUDY: THE DAILY NATION
NEWSPAPERS IN NAIROBI KENYA**

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DECLARATION

I the undersigned declare that this is my original work and has never been examined or submitted to any forum of institutions of learning for any award.

Where the work of others was cited acknowledgment has been made.

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APPROVAL

I certify that the work submitted by this candidate was under my supervision.

Supervisor.....

Date.....17.10.08

Dr. Jerome B. Ongora

DEDICATION

Foremost I dedicate this work to my God for giving me the strength and will power to work on this research. Secondly, to my sister Doreen Achoki for her tireless efforts to ensure I realize my dream, also to my loving Parents Mr. and Mrs. Achoki, for the love, care and support throughout the years. Thank you for believing in me.

To my supervisor Dr. Jerome Ongora who has patiently but thoroughly helped me finish this research. Finally to my friends Yuanita Polo, Dan Omito, Sheila Mwangi, Cheryl Otega, George Munuve and Betty Dindi for constantly encouraging me to stay strong for I wanted to give up so many times. Thank you for always being there for me.

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Many more thanks go to Kampala International University Staff and students in the Mass Communication Department 2008 for helping me reach this point in my training, to my Supervisor Dr. Jerome Ongora for helping me through the process of researching for this paper.

Any inaccuracies that may be found in this work are solely my liability, and should not be ascribed to any of the persons accredited above.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AWC : African Woman and Child Feature Services

AMWIK: Association of Media Women in Kenya

MCK : Media Council of Kenya

IPU : Inter-Parliamentary Union

KTN : Kenya Television Network

NTV : Nation Television

UN : United Nations

MP : Member of Parliament

ODM : Orange Democratic Movement

BBC : British Broadcasting Corporation

ABSTRACT

This research starts from the premise that empowerment is needed where weakness and subjugation are apparent. The female experience in Kenyan politics since time immemorial has been portrayed as one of exclusion, inequality, neglect, inadequate female representation, sporadic participation and blocked channels of access to leadership circles.

The role of women as seen by society is entrenched in patriarchal beliefs that restrict women to domesticity and to their reproductive roles, such attitudes and beliefs are what has led to the need for mainstreaming gender in the media so as to create better perceptions of women's roles, positions and conditions in society.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The relationship between the media and women politicians can be rated as average. Many people wonder whether our women politicians are in sound relationship with the media. The aim of this research was to find out if women and the public feel that the media is giving women politicians in Kenya adequate or fair coverage compared to the men politicians. *“Organizations working to support women aspirants have been challenged to seek creative strategies to engage the media if women aspirants and their issues are to gain visibility”* (adapted from an article published in *The Dawn*, a publication by AMWIK under a Headline- Media tips for women leaders by Marceline Nyambala in July 2007). This article extensively points out that media partners would continue to equip women aspirants with media relations skills and identifies opportunities for them to engage with the media on various issues.

Politics may be viewed as the sum total of activities which individuals and groups from the family to international organization, engage in as they seek to arrive at collective decisions. Quite often, people think of politics as involving competing or conflicting leaders, factions or parties that seek to occupy positions of power in the public arena, with the aim of shaping public policies. In this regard politics is found in democratic and undemocratic societies but it intends to be more openly conducted in the former, where the rule of law is the guiding principle, as opposed to the latter, where it assumes a more subterranean feature, as a result of the repressive behaviour of authoritarian rulers.

I found it a necessary prerequisite to define politics and media in order to put the reader in the right context of the subject matter of this research. Mass communication students and practicing journalists will be more at home with the explanation of politics preferred by Couloumbis and Wolfe (1968:3) who defined it “as a person’s concern with public affairs’ They go on to argue that “public affairs affect collective interests rather than narrow personal interests”.

The media commonly known as the *Fourth Estate* is an institution charged with the responsibility of timely informing, educating and entertaining the public. The term *Fourth Estate* refers to the press or media, both in its explicit capacity of advocacy and its implicit ability to frame political issues. The media acts as a mobilization tool whereby it campaigns for societal objectives in the spheres of politics, war, economic, development, work, and religion.

This research shifts focus on women politicians in Kenya and how the print media has influenced their career path in politics. In Kenya we pay homage to the late Me Kitilili wa Menza the great Giriama woman who led a resistance against British occupation of Coast province. We also remember with pride Mary Wanjiru who in 1922 was martyred in the struggle to free Harry Thuku from captivity. We salute General Muthoni and other women Mau Mau fighters. These are some of the women who pioneered to pull brave women like Martha Karua who has been repeatedly referred to as a man by the media due to her courage she is the most admired and reviled woman politician in Kenya today Charity Ngilu, Sally Kosgei, and Julia Ojiambo among others, into politics and particularly demystify the perception that politics was only left for men.

1.1 Background of the problem.

The Media is known to be a very powerful tool of communication. Media can change the way of thinking of a person or a society within a very short time. It is one instrument that politicians know can either make or break their political career since they use it to communicate to the masses. In Kenya, politicians have been very careful when trading with the media and particularly those media houses that are perceived to have the numbers in terms of viewership, readership or listenership. Communication is the process of exchanging ideas and imparting information (Schramm and Roberts, 1974). It involves making yourself understood to others and understanding others in return. In other words, selecting the appropriate communication channel and method, based on your audience. The goal of communication efforts is equally crucial (McQuail, 2000). It is with this

respect that I have explored how the print media has modeled women politicians in Kenya. The media can be categorized in three segments Namely Print, Electronic and below the line media.

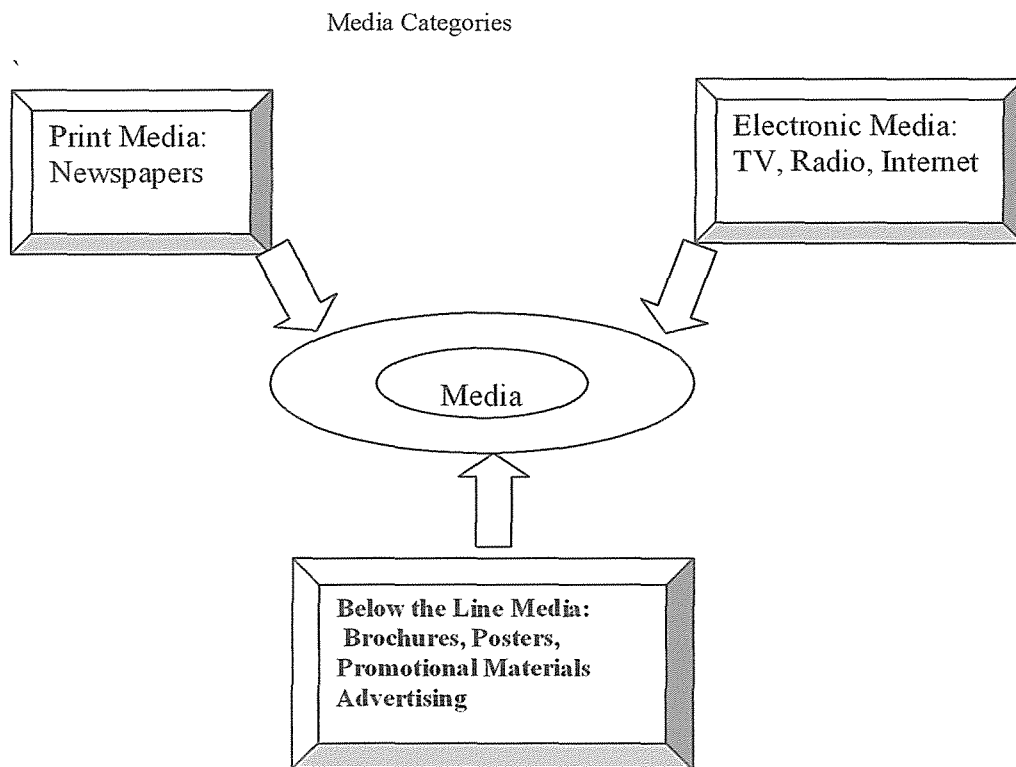


Fig 1. Source Stephanie December 2007

The major functions of the media are analytic, surveillance, interpretation, and transmission of values, mobilization, involvement, and advocacy (Schramn and Roberts, 1974; Griffin, 1997). The study was clued-up by the view that the media has the responsibility of providing information, education, entertainment and persuasion to the citizenry (Okigbo, 1995). Historically the media emerged as a form of protest, which yielded overwhelming effects (Schramn and Roberts, 1974). To date, the mass media plays a crucial role in forming and reflecting public opinion: it communicates the world to individuals, and it reproduces modern society's self-image. Critics in the early-to-mid twentieth century suggested that the media destroys the individual's capacity to act autonomously. Later empirical studies, however, suggest a more complex interaction between the media and society, with individuals actively interpreting and evaluating the media and the information it provides (Thompson, 1995)

Shifting the focus on the print media and particularly the Daily Nation, this research found out how this daily news paper contributed in shaping the women parliamentarians and particularly the role it played in Kenya's December 2007 elections. According to the Wise Up To Women's Leadership campaign report published in the Daily Nation dated 23rd December 2007, there were 1,478 and 269 women vying for the civic and parliamentary seats respectively. The objectives of this campaign was to push for representation at the local political governance level targeting for both civic and parliamentary seats and to advocate for women's representation in Kenya's finds Committees which include the Constituency Development funds, Local Authority Transfer Funds, HIV & Aids Funds, Roads Maintenance Levy Funds, Secondary School Education Funds, Rural Electrification Levy Funds and lastly District Civilian Oversight Committees.

The above objectives can not be achieved without involving the media. But just how were those championing for women representation going to work with the media? In one way or the other, this message must be passed to the masses so that the point is driven home- this time round, give the women a chance! But what is the rapport between women politicians and the media? What are some of their strategies to overcome their challenges and how often do they review some of the issues raised as either their strengths or weaknesses? These among other issues are what this research addresses. It is important to establish the public opinion of women politicians and what people think they need to do so as to get to their rightful political space.

1.2 Statement of the problem

There is concern about the relative absence of Kenyan women politicians on the media. Our patriarchal society has continued to dictate how issues are addressed in the society despite the effort to mainstream the gender in the media to create better perception of women's roles, positions and conditions in the society. Gender inequality prevails in many aspects of the Kenyan society, despite the fact that women account for 52% of the population and play active role in national development. It is for this reason therefore, that the study focused on the media coverage specifically of the Daily Nation of women

politicians in the 2007 general elections to help address these concerns since media is a very important tool in the advocacy for change. There has been a respectable 17 per cent increase in parliamentary representation from 18 in the ninth parliament to 21 in the current House. This translates to 10% well below 30% considered to be the critical mass for influencing decision making aimed at improving the status of women and this can be well achieved with the visibility of what women are capable of by the media.

1.3 Objectives of the study.

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this research is to look at how Daily Nation Newspaper covered Kenya's 2007 December election and is going to particularly focus on the prominence on women candidates.

1.3.2 Specific Objective

Specifically, it is going to look at the following issues:

- i. To find out if the media has an influence to the public in regard to their perception about women politicians either positively or negatively
- ii. To find out if the media played a role in boosting the numbers of women representation in Kenya's 10th parliament.
- iii. To find out if women aspiring to be politicians would need the help of the media and what they think about the media in building their political career.
- iv. To find out if the Kenyan culture of who a woman is and her contribution to our society is still being upheld.

1.4 Research Questions.

- a) Is the media giving enough focus on issues related to Kenyan women politicians?
- b) How much is the general public gaining from the media which has helped them changed their attitude towards women politicians.
- c) Are there women politicians who according to the public have climbed the political ladder with the help of the media?
- d) Is the public contented with the way the Government has handled women politicians and what it is doing to improve women representation in parliament?
- e) Which medium of media does the public prefer to be highlight political matters related to the media?
- f) Are there any score cards for those women politicians who have or are holding a public sector office?

1.5 HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

The following were the hypothesis of the study;

- Ho There is no relationship strategy between Women Politicians and the media thus affecting their influence to the electorate.
- H1 There is a relationship strategy between Women Politicians and the media thus affecting their influence to the electorate.
- Ho Without Women Politicians developing a media campaign plan jointly with their colleagues in other sectors their representation both in Government and other key sector will continue facing opposition.
- H1 Without Women Politicians developing a media campaign plan jointly with their colleagues in other sectors their representation both in Government and other key sector will continue facing opposition.

1.6 Significance of the study

According to a report released by the African Woman and Child Services (*AWC*) women are seen as great people with a lot of potential to change this country's destiny. At the same time women are seen as influential but our patriarchal society has denied them an opportunity to serve this Nation. In the *AWC* report dubbed "*A Journey of Courage*" the women politicians are keen to bring change to the Kenyan Government. It is noted in the report that just before the 2002 Kenyan General Elections, various Women's Organizations developed The Kenya Women's Political Manifesto which highlighted key areas such as Electoral and Legal Reforms, Poverty and Economic Empowerment, Education and lastly Health and HIV/Aids as the key areas they would want the government to set standards policy and action. To date the questions many people are asking is, was this manifesto looked into? If yes what has been the impact and if not why was it not taken into consideration?

It is at this point that the media comes in. It is one thing to call upon each other and develop such a productive document but it is another to stay focused so as to realize the results of such a document. Women truly can play a significant role on building Kenya's economy. According to another report released by economic analysts in 2003, Kenya was been ranked 148 out of 176 countries in the world, which are poverty stricken. On 14th July 2004, the president of the republic of Kenya, declared the famine, which had struck North Turukana, Coast, Baringo and Parts of Nyanza province, a national disaster. These are areas that are poverty ridden, despite being famine hit. About one million Kenyans are in the verge of facing starvation due to what many be perceived as delayed rains. Besides these are areas with strong women representation in the political field. In the 2002 Kenya Women's Political Manifesto, it was highlighted that the Kenyan women contribute greatly to Kenya's economy as workers in both the informal and formal sectors. It is for this reason that women politicians felt it is important for the Government to increase women's access to credit technology as well as to information on trade , agriculture and other business opportunities.

With this type of craving from the women in mind, it worth noting that should they be given that opportunity then Kenya shall be a better place. But all these things can not be achieved if there is no political will, drive and numbers. Through this research we shall be able to identify the way forward for our Kenya women politicians. We shall also be able to strategize the most appropriate ways of involving the media and how best women can take control. It is also worth noting that the media has female representation in the editorial departments. Are the women politicians utilizing these opportunities? This research seeks to address the gap between the media, electorate and the women politicians. It is going to bring out that need to involve the media as a major partner to push for various agendas both in public and government. This research will therefore influence policy makers and media scholars to fully recognize the power media has in framing and influencing people's attitude through the different ways it disseminates issues.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study was conducted with specific focus on Daily Nation. It focused on Kenya's 2007 General Elections.

The study covered the month of December 2007 only with special focus on how the Daily Nation Newspaper covered women politicians during this period before the elections.

1.8 Conceptual framework

This is the summary of variable of the study in terms of independent and dependant variables. It shows how the variables are related. A **dependant variable** is one that is of primary interest to the researcher. In this case the researcher is looking at Kenyan women politicians and how the media has modeled them. The **independent variable** on the other hand influences the dependant variable in this case is the media. The conceptual framework defines the topic by explaining the variables within the topic. The **Intervening variable** works hand in hand with the independent variable to influence the dependent variable.

Intervening variables included: Government policies, cohesiveness by interested parties, competition from fellow politicians, Laws and regulations.

Therefore, the study examined the extent to the media influences the election of women politicians and determine their impact to the society. This can be illustrated with the aid of a model as below:

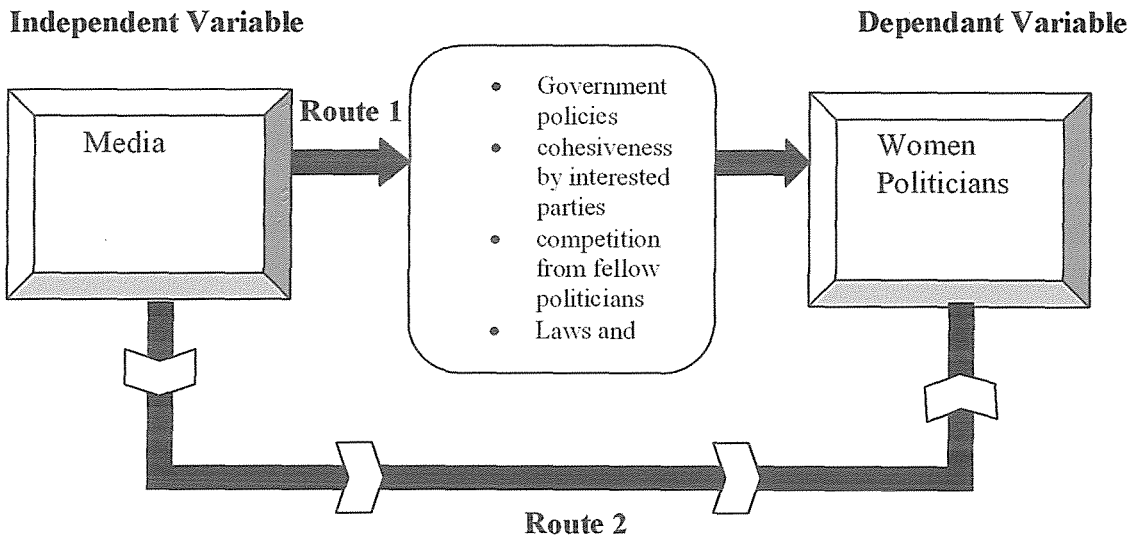


Fig 2: Source Stephanie Achoki 2087

As indicated in the model above, the media can influence women politicians directly indirectly through route 1 or directly through route 2.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Since the mid-1980s and especially after the early 1990s, women's organizations have increased exponentially throughout Africa as have the arenas in which women have been able to assert their varied concerns. Women are organizing locally and nationally and are networking across the continent on an unprecedented scale. They have, in many countries, been aggressively using the media to demand their rights in a way not evident in the early 1980s. In some countries they are taking their claims to land, inheritance and associational autonomy to court in ways not seen in the past. Women are challenging laws and constitutions that do not uphold gender equality. In addition, they are increasingly moving into government, legislative, parties, NGO and other leadership positions previously the nearly exclusive domain of men.

In these and other ways women have taken advantage of the new political openings that occurred in the 1990s, even if the openings were limited and precarious. This second generation of activism is markedly different from the earlier post-independence generation of women's mobilization. The reasons for these shifts are varied: the rise of multi-partyism and demise of military rule; the growing influence of the international women's movement; shifting donor strategies; the expansion of the use of the cell phone and the Internet in the late 1990s; coupled with a significant increase in secondary and university educated women. The research explored the major challenges political women face in Kenya and how they relate with the media and vice versa

"If the Media is about the representation of women, letting their voices be heard, giving them space and visibility then they should need to go a little further than they are doing now. It is not enough to have little page filler on some woman. The challenges are more on how to present stories, the headlines and what they reflect. The amount of space, who gets to speak and has the last word and the kind of analysis. In summary it is about access, representation, participation, visibility, space language and interpretation."
Everjoyce Win during an analysis of Newspapers Coverage of Gender Issues and women in Zimbabwe-2000

This statement is just one among the many which reflects the exact thoughts of what people think about the Media and Women Politicians in developing Countries, Kenya being among them. According to the AWC report, the Kenyan media has been accused of neglecting to focus on women. Instead of discussing women's political needs and capabilities, the media has been seen as perpetuating untenable myths that women are irrational, naturally weak, timid and occupied with trivialities. This was the perception then. However what have the women politicians done at the same time to wipe out this kind of thought? Only 18 out of 222 members of parliament were women in the 9th parliament of the Republic of Kenya. Out of the 18, nine were elected. This basically translates to a staggering 8% of women representation in the Kenyan parliament. After the December 2007 elections, out of the 222 members of parliament there are only 21 elected and nominated women. Out of the 21 women members of parliament we have 7 cabinet ministers and 6 assistant ministers the highest representation of women parliamentarians in the history of Kenya. This is a tremendous improvement from the women's side. In the last three general elections, there has been an upward trend of women being elected to parliament. The growth is slow but gradual with a growth of about 15%.

This type of growth can be attributed to the fact that the media has in the recent past been used to champion for women representation in the public sector.

The perception that many people had in mind that women cannot lead is slowly fading. There are quite a number of challenges that women have faced as they walk through this path of politics. Women were seen as people who need to seat back and give their husbands support, look into family matters and generally take care of the domestic matters that may arise in the family. They were not seen as people who can contribute immensely towards the development of this nation particularly when it comes to making key decisions and contributions. This type of stereotype that most people suffered from has for a long time sidelined women in various areas. At the same time, those women who have proved the doubting Thomases wrong have also done the entire women fraternity proud. However much still needs to be done. The media must keep on highlighting day to day challenges that women face so that the public can be able to understand and appreciate the efforts and roles played by our women.

During the 2007 general elections campaign, all the three major presidential candidates, this is Hon Raila Odinga, Hon Mwai Kibaki and Hon Kalonzo Musyoka emphasized that when elected they would make sure that women representation in the public sector appointments would be stepped up. Hon Kibaki himself promised to make 30% of the jobs in the public service reserved for women. In 2007, the 9th parliament failed to pass a Constitutional Amendment Bill that would have among other things provided for 50% nominated women MPs. This would have definitely bridged the gender inequality in the corridor of power. However, other people view it as a back door opportunity for those in power to bring in their die-hards or sympathizers with an aim to survive any political insurgence. Most parliamentarians argued that it was time the women also fought for their space rather than wait to be spoon fed. It is therefore important that the media comes out right now and analyze what women have achieved in their career as politicians, top CEO's , managers among other responsibilities. Advocacy bodies which champion for women space must come up with media plans to enable issues affecting women be brought out to the public for debate. This research identified these issues which the media has either successfully brought out or has totally failed to address

2.1 Comparative Analysis

Reporting Kenyan trends in the previous polls, held in December 2002 and 2007, suggest women aspirants have cause for concern in this regard. In a 2004 master's degree study dealing with print coverage of women candidates during the last campaign, 'Gender Portrayal in the Mass Media', researcher Lucy Cheluget-Cherogony writes that women aspirants "were ignored more and more as elections approached" by the two main newspapers in the country — the 'Daily Nation' and 'The Standard'. The researcher notes that articles about women candidates also tended to be confined to the inner pages of the newspapers, which feature family and general social issues.

Another report by the African Woman and Child Feature Service (AWC Features), '*A Journey of Courage: Kenyan Women's Experiences of the 2002 General Elections*', made similar findings: that between October and December 2002 and 2007, not more

than eight news articles putting women in the context of the election appeared in the national newspapers.”

“And because journalists are supposed to seek for ‘senior’ sources and because women occupy fewer powerful and elite positions than men do, women featured less prominently than men in the media coverage of the elections.”

A total of 1,015 candidates ran for parliament in 2002, 44 of them women (about four percent of the total) although women make up 52 percent of the Kenyan population, none of the five major presidential candidates was a woman in 2002 and 2007 polls respectively. In 2007 polls, 269 of the 2,548 legislative candidates were women (approximately 10.6 percent of the total). Only one of the nine presidential candidates was a woman in the 2007 polls. This is seen as a remarkable improvement.

If the quantity of coverage given to women was a problem, then so was the quality. Cheluget-Cherogony notes that reporting tended to disregard “the most pertinent issue of women candidates’ leadership capabilities”. Instead, it focused on their “feminine qualities”.

Martin Munguti of the Media Council of Kenya, an independent body, believes inadequate coverage of female politicians is partly a reflection of their own failure to seek the limelight.

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

Apollo Kamau of K24 a local TV Channel notes that Men look for coverage. They are even ready to pay for it if that is what it takes whereas women will wait for journalists to look for them. This makes it harder for the women candidates to find their way to the media!

The male-dominated nature of Kenyan society also leads journalists to believe that men make news and not women. So they are not keen in looking for women politicians unless the women stand out. But do efforts to engage the media necessarily work? The AWC Features report suggests otherwise.

AMWIK (the Association of Media Women in Kenya) held meetings with editors of various media houses (concerning the last election) to lobby them to give women aspirants space. Although the editors promised to do this, no deliberate effort was made towards this by any of the media organizations the AWC study recounts.

While training journalists at the Nation Media Group in election coverage in 2007, columnist and senior editor Macharia Gaiho advised reporters to focus on the issues espoused by women candidates when covering their campaigns — rather than succumbing to stereotypes about female aspirants.

2.2 Theoretical Review

2.2.1 Bullet theory

Researchers in the early mass media particularly during the first and Second World War, developed media approach termed as 'bullet theory' which implied that media had direct powerful effects like a bullet. According to this theory people who access information from the media on issues of politics, Governance and women politicians are influenced directly. However, this theory has been discarded due to the fact that it has not been authentically proven that the media has such a direct effect to its target audience. Influenced is cultivated over time. In this case therefore, for the dreams of women politicians to be achieved and for Kenyans to buy these brilliant leadership qualities from women, enough time frames is required. Compared to Rwanda the only country in the world whose parliament has more women than men, Kenya still has a long way to go though the increase in women MPs in the 10th house is commendable.

In Rwanda, whose post-genocide constitution ensures a 30% quota for female MPs, already held the record for the most women in parliament. According to a report released

by BBC, Women have taken 44 out of 80 seats so far and the number could rise if three seats reserved for the disabled and youth representatives go to females.

Women who stood in seats reserved for female candidates were not allowed to represent a party. "The problems of women are understood much better, much better by women themselves," voter Anne Kayitesi told the BBC's Focus on Africa. Women have made progress in elections, but "true equality of status" is a long way off, says a report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). A record number of women are serving in parliaments worldwide, but they only account for just over 16% of all MPs.

IPU chief Anders Johnsson said women were "dramatically under-represented". Women fared best in Rwanda, Norway and Sweden, but there are no women MPs in nine countries, including Saudi Arabia and Kyrgyzstan. On average, women made up about 20% of the deputies elected in the 39 countries which held parliamentary elections in 2007, the IPU report said. The numbers fall short of UN targets set in 1995 of a minimum of 30% women lawmakers in all parliaments.

Norway led the way for 2005, with women winning nearly 40% of the vote, placing it in third position overall behind Rwanda and Sweden. Other countries that met UN targets in 2005 include Andorra, Burundi, New Zealand and Tanzania. The report found that women accounted for only 8% of parliamentarians in Arab states, but Mr Johnsson said it was "an incredible improvement" on a few years ago.

He described the decision to grant Kuwaiti women the right to vote and stand for national office as an "historic victory". Huge progress was made in countries emerging from conflicts, particularly in Afghanistan, Burundi, Iraq and Liberia where women had been excluded or marginalized from political life, the report added.

The largest gains in 2005 were made in several Latin American countries - in Honduras women's participation registered an 18-point increase to 23%. A decrease in the number of women was observed in eight countries, and nine countries - mainly Pacific island states and Arab Gulf states - had no women in their national parliaments as of December 2005.

Currently the first top five countries that have most number of women representations are as shown on the pie chat bellow.

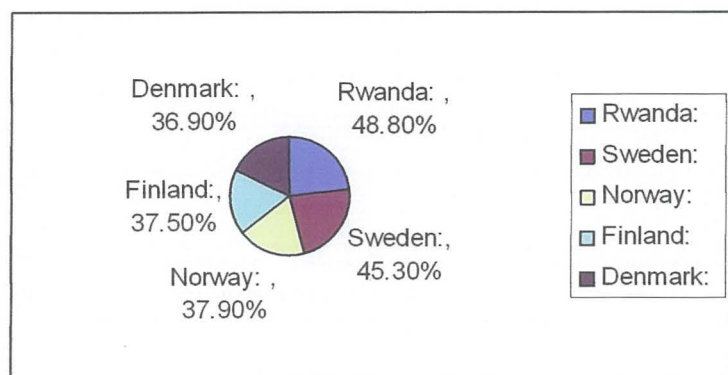


Fig 3: Source: IPU

The media can still be used in Kenya with an objective to give maximum information to the public so as to change the public's perception.

2.2.2 Information – Information Theory

It asserts that media plays a prominent role in influencing the political stance of the general public as well as victory of women politicians. It is believed that some people especially the youth and the young impressionable adults keenly follow the proceedings in the media. Some are so much attached to the media that whatever is said at the various media house is perceived as factual whether its true or not. This is mostly seen in the way people vote and the numbers women politicians pull during rallies at the times of campaigns. At the same time, it gives a picture of what the general public thinks about women politicians. It is through the media that the electorate tends to take a certain stand. Ndung'u Wainaina in his commentary in the Daily Nation Dated November 17th 2007 under the headline *Increasing Women's role in political arena worthy cause*, says that "Media have been playing a negative role by projecting stereotype roles for women. There is need to change the attitude of the media through various gender sensitive-training programs. Affirmative action such as the creation of special seats in parliament is an important strategy or increasing women's participation in public life. He adds; "Success stories of women gaining headway in the arena of politics have reserved as inspiration for other women to run for public office or support women politicians." In this

case therefore Wainaina has noted that the media needs to give more positive information to the public so that it's this information that will change the perception of other men and women. The information content in an editorial or news story is very vital since it educates or gives information to the public.

In another article in the Daily Nation date April 2007 under the headline *Women and Politics*, where the writer Bertha Kang'ong'o seeks the opinion of some renowned politicians such as Esther Passaris on whether she can vote for a woman. Passaris says that she would not vote for a woman simply because she is a woman. She adds that she has to be a woman who has done something to prove herself. And who has what it takes to be a leader"

Where as Kenyans would wish to vote for women, it is the same women who should come out and show Kenyans what they have in place. A poll result carried out by KTN during its 9pm Prime News during a by-election of ODM in one of Kenya's constituency, showed that Kenyans are ready for a woman leadership. When asked, Do you think Kenyans are ready for women on elective seats? 62% said yes while 38% said no. Most of those who said yes noted that it is not a matter of just electing women but it's the leadership qualities and skills that Kenyan's are much more interested in. For those who said no, their comments were that women have not yet proved or assured Kenyans that they are able to withstand the political pressures and remain active in decision making. It is therefore apparent that people get involved with the media and it's through the media that some of these women issues are highlighted then change the perception of the voters. Daily Nation carried out a survey to establish if Kenyans are ready for the 50special seats to be reserved for women. The result was published in the daily dated August 12th 2007 as shown.

2 | NATIONAL NEWS

SURVEY

Half of Kenyans back women

Opinion on whether women deserve the proposed 50 special seats in Parliament is almost evenly divided, a *Sunday Nation* survey has revealed.

In the survey, 51.6 per cent of the respondents supported the proposal compared to 48.4 per cent who felt that women should seek votes to enter Parliament.

Among those who support the proposal, 46.8 per cent said the special seats were necessary to ensure equal representation while another 24.1 per cent felt this would help to improve the economy.

Another 14.3 per cent said the special seats would assist women in fighting for their rights.

Discrimination
In the survey, 56.9 per cent respondents of those who opposed the proposal said women should go to the grassroots to look for votes while another 18.8 per cent said the special seats would amount to discrimination against men.

Gross analysis by demographics Do women deserve 50 Special seats in Parliament as proposed in the constitution (amendment) bill?

	Total	Yes	No
Age			
18-24	51.6%	51.6%	48.4%
25-29	48.2%	48.2%	51.8%
30-34	50.7%	50.7%	49.3%
35-39	57.0%	57.0%	43.0%
40-44	50.6%	50.6%	49.4%
45-49	52.5%	52.5%	47.5%
50+	63.4%	63.4%	36.6%
Gender			
Male	38.20%	38.20%	61.80%
Female	70.80%	70.80%	29.20%

What do you think? Join the debate by SMSing your comments on this story to 6667 beginning with the letters SN. A sampling of your views will be published in the Sunday Nation next week and an even wider selection posted on the Nation website. You can also participate by sending an e-mail to myview@nation.co.ke. Please indicate your name and location.

Sh14 billion send-off for MPs: Readers have their say

Mr Peter Akodos, Kalenjin, ... ing their salaries and ...

Source Daily Nation

2.2.3 Cultivation Theory

It was developed by George Gerbner et al of the University of Pennsylvania. He is of the opinion that television as a medium of the media has become a key member of the family. That it tells most of the stories unlike in the past hence leading to anti-social behavior of the viewer, for instance, cartoon programmes aired on all television sets for long hours, have made electorate get attached to the media and fully depend on it for information.

Gerbner is also convinced that television's power comes from the symbolic content of the real life drama shown hour after hour, or even weekly, for instance the Kenyan political programmes such as *Kukru Kakra* in KTN and *Bull's Eye* in NTV among others.

The Sunday Nation in this case also carries a lot of politically analyzed stories which most people like reading due to there intense analysis and content. The various lifestyles portrayed in these soaps operas influence youth lifestyles.

The above theories portray that the media has a great influence on individuals and society as a whole. The media is a powerful institution that plays a big role in influencing the perception of the public. We realize that the influence is cultivated gradually as opposed to direct effects of the media which is to some extent unrealistic.

2.3 Critical Analysis. Dissemination of information

Coverage of the women politicians in the past polls can be termed as average. The way media relates with women politicians in Kenya is very different from the way men politicians are treated. Where as a male politician will easily woe journalists to cover his event, the same may not apply to women.

During the December 2007 elections in Kenya, the media tried what it could to give fair coverage of women politicians in as far as their development ambitions for this nation was concerned. It should be noted that much as women came in to campaign for themselves and the parties they represented, men were dominantly calling for the shots. Very few women politicians such as Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu, Beth Mugo and a handful of them called for the shots. The rest were seen as being aided to climb the ladder. But the question that still begs is what are the Kenyan women politicians not doing to attract maximum media coverage? Is the Kenyan media giving fair publicity to our women politicians?

Research by many agencies show that media give minimal attention to women politicians in Kenya. This is evident by the number of articles written in the papers and in this case the Daily Nation. This is sad to note but all is not lost. To save time, resources and to increase effectiveness of important information on women politicians and their political career, the Daily Nation newspaper can come up with various ways to tackle 'these challenges.

These include:

- (i) Increasing the content of women politicians in their paper. For instance, they could start a weekly political column choosing one day of the week where they just talk about women potentials in politics and what they could do towards shaping the economy of this country.
- (ii) It can be a watch dog: - that is monitor operations already existing politicians and point out fairly their success stories and weaknesses.
- (iii) Identify and highlight the challenges that women politicians go through when they undertake a political career.

These are the areas which the researchers have not pointed out in their recommendations but the media on the other hand can still do this then involve professionals to give guidelines. Women should also take advantage of the women media personalities such as Cathrine Kasavuli, Julie Gichuru, Beatrice Marshal among others to push for their agenda. It is worth noting that an article such as the one written by Wanjiku Kabira in the Daily Nation dated September 26, 2007, should be encouraged. The article under the headline *How Could Vision 2030 leave women of the loop?* Is a very educative one since it looks at what the future holds for women in line with the Governments vision? It gives a foresight of some issues which could be overlooked but are of importance in empowering women and thus strengthen their political representation. Women should therefore keep writing such articles so as to constantly remind Kenyans that they exist and that they are ready to be vetted for elective positions.

2.4 Summary of the review.

All researches done by AMWIK, IPS, Media Council of Kenya among other bodies acknowledge the fact that media has a great role in creation of awareness, educating and informing Kenyans and politicians about governance, politics and communication to the electorate.

These researches also noted that though the media is a medium through which information reaches the public it is yet to be utilized fully by women politicians.

Much still has to be done by key players both in the media and political field for stories related to women politicians to get adequate press coverage.

It is worth noting that research centers, NGOs and the respective parties have a role to play in furnishing handy information to our women politicians. However these bodies need a linking bridge that in this case the most appropriate one is the media.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter involves the methodology that was used to acquire data how it was processed and analyzed. This enabled the researcher to get convenient results based in accordance to the objectives of the study.

3.1 Research Design.

The research adopted a **systematic plan** for data collection & analysis. Therefore the descriptive and exploratory research design method was used.

In descriptive research design method, the researcher analyzed the data at hand with an aim of getting the results of the research.

Exploratory design saw the researcher venture into the field thus network with the Nairobi residents who were clustered differently. Issues affecting women politicians were noted and highlighted.

Primary and secondary data was used as well. The secondary data came from Daily Nation. The probability stratified sampling method was used too. It is a good and convenient method when it comes to sampling in the sense that the scope of population which the research covers is dissimilar and mixed. Therefore grouping the respondents is necessary to make it fast and effective. The primary data used on the other hand was obtained from the public through various methods of data collection.

3.2 Target Population.

This research study was conducted in Nairobi and involved all classes of people. Nairobi was appropriate for this research since it inhabits people of diverse backgrounds and class. It also has a population of about 30% of Kenyan population.

The target population comprises of the following categories;

- (i) Nairobi residents
- (ii) Daily newspapers

3.3 Sampling Procedures and Techniques.

The research had a sample space of one major city which is Kenya's capital. Nairobi on its own and is where the economy is driven from due the multi-business activities. The sampling method that was implemented in this research was the cluster sampling technique.

In cluster sampling technique, the research zeros down to one major cluster; Nairobi. Out of eight provinces, Nairobi was selected for the research.

This research applied the random sampling technique to acquire information from the public. Questionnaires as well as interviews were randomly distributed and done respectively.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure.

The research adopted three methods of data gathering. These methods are;

- Use of questionnaires.
- Secondary sources that is newspapers and reports and analysis.
- Interviewing the sampled population.

The study produced 100 questioners that were hand delivered then collected after two weeks. The interviews were conducted within a span of one week.

Secondary sources was used to collect the quantitative data, that is, the coverage of women politicians editorial stories in the Daily Nation published in the month of December 2007.

Questioners and interviews were used to collect qualitative data that is how much information did Kenyans gained from the media and the much they know about women politicians.

3.5 Data Analysis Procedures.

After collecting data from respondents, analysis was done by use of quantitative and qualitative method.

In the qualitative method, the data was analyzed descriptively while the quantitative method was done on graphs, tables and pie charts.

1.9 Limitations of the study

The research experienced a number of setbacks as shown below:

a) Feedback

Some respondents were reluctant to fill in the questionnaire while some did not return the forms. Others particularly those in the slums demanded impromptu payment of some fee, before giving any information. Getting through to the politicians was equally very challenging due to their tight schedules.

b) Irrelevance

Some of the questions were not answered well, in that either the respondent didn't read and understand the question well, or was semi-illiterate. As such, some answers were irrelevant to the questions asked.

c) Equipments

There was a big challenge of getting working equipments such as computer, stationary and movement from one point to another. Using public means was very hectic and inconveniencing.

d) Finances

Due to limited supply of finances to facilitate the research, in terms of scope, the research focused on Nairobi and its environs as its sample. Production of the writing materials and fares extremely strained the available budget.

e) Literature Review

Being a virgin topic the researcher found it very difficult acquiring appropriate literature for review.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

The data collected was interpreted, reviewed and analyzed based on the research objectives and hypothesis. The researcher gathered views from respondents in the area of study.

4.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS.

Media coverage of any election tend to focus on immediate events-for example daily updates , analysis of the constituencies setting an agenda on the topic and who is likely to win an election in a particular constituency , campaign activities of the various party officials. According to the 'book A Journey of Courage written by AWC, the media is on the spot as focusing on socially powerful persons and this meant that elections news primarily took place in the public sphere, where politicians, government and electoral officials and political analysts circulate. The public rather than the domestic sphere is the one that our society deems to be masculine and largely men thus occupy it. And because journalists are seen to seek for "senior" sources and because women occupy less powerful position than men do, women featured less prominently than men in the media coverage of the elections. *Source: A journey of Courage*

It is for this reason that various organizations working with women aspirants had to come up with a strategy on how to effectively use the media to increase visibility and communicate the ideas of women politicians to the electorate. Unless women stand up and start to aggressively looking for the media, they might not get that visibility. At the same time, it is one thing to get hold of the media and it's another to equip someone with enough news worthy content material which the media will keep on coming back for. This research has clearly pointed out some of the challenges women face on their quest to affirmative action. The media must keep on hammering these issues throughout so that the point is driven home. If they are not brought out then the perception of the public about women shall still remain thus hindering their chances of successfully acquiring elective posts. It should be noted that majority of the voters are those in the productive age because these is the segment that is still yearning for that change in the government and system of leadership. These are the people who control the economy and earn a living for their families.

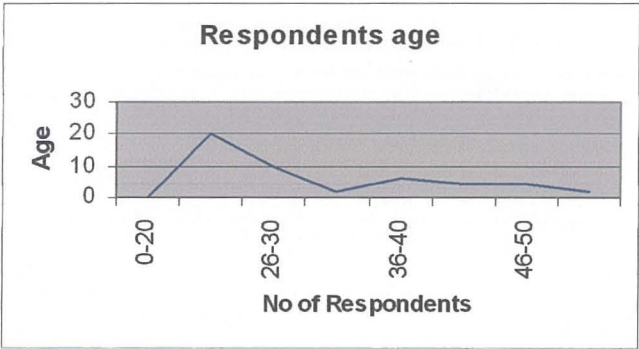
Therefore it is the group that cannot be ignored. At the same time, 52% of Kenya’s population is represented by women. Women should be encouraged to support one another and take advantage of their big numbers.

4.2 Characteristics of the Respondents.

The personal information of the respondents has been presented in the tables below.

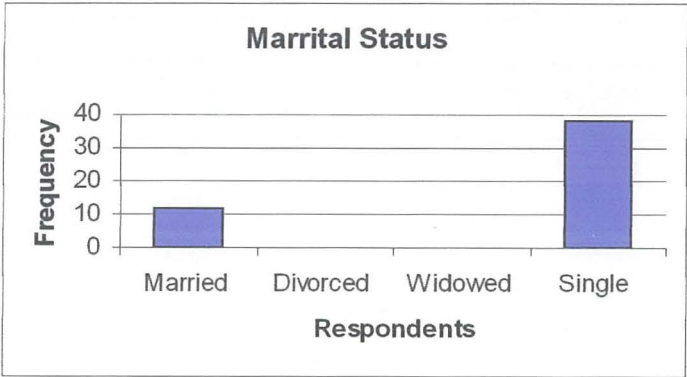
PART A

1.



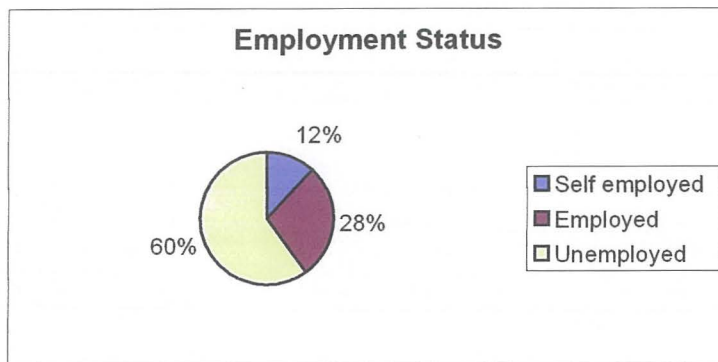
Source Field Data December 2007
Fig 4

2.



Source Field Data December 2007
Fig 5

3.



Source Field Data December 2007

Fig 6

PART B

4.2.1 Perception on a woman president

1. What do you think about having a woman president for Kenya?

According to respondents, majority of them say they are ready for a woman president but there are specific qualities that they are looking for. They respondents were well aware that that any Kenyan above thirty five years and with certain attainments is capable and free to run for President. However they say that on the contrary, the laws we place in our books are merely a road-map to what's possible if goodwill were brought to bear. In that respect, our constitution has paved the way for the eventual realization of a dream. The dream to elect the first female president in Kenya. But will it ever happen? And just how soon?

As focus shifts to the 2012 elections, the respondents gave examples of few countries in Africa such as Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson in Liberia. After years of men running that nation down, spilling blood and plundering the nation's resources, this Harvard-educated lady took over and brought back sanity into the affairs of government. A respondent said "I've watched her at rallies in her devastated nation and seen how the adoring people of Liberia look up to her. I've seen children reach out to hold her hand, and I've seen her lean in to plant that cherished kiss on a child with dirt on their cheek. It's just lovely to watch"

In neighboring Uganda, Strongman Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, had the foresight to bring in East Africa's first female vice president. It is argued though that her powers were only limited, but we could not argue with the symbolic importance of being the second most powerful person in that landlocked nation. What it did was to shatter a glass ceiling, as Hillary Clinton would say. It made the girls in Uganda realize that a woman could do anything men could do and do it even better. The respondents also pointed out Britain's Margaret Thatcher. The lady they say is an iron lady who led her nation through the war with Argentina and actually won. Back to Kenya, according to the respondents there are only two women at present who to them seem like they could mount credible presidential campaigns. These are Martha Karua and Charity Ngilu. Are they qualified? Yes, they are. But if we were to seriously assess their chances, what would Kenyans be looking for in order to feel comfortable with female leadership? It is amazing to read some of the qualities some of the respondents pointed out. These includes:

- Beauty: This is one aspect that most respondents talked about. They say that they would like to watch the face of a woman who is pretty for the next five years arguing that it just makes it a lot easier when a beautiful woman president is the chief executive, especially when she has to persuade the nation to do something drastic. However beauty lies on the beholder's eyes.
- Toughness: respondents noted that in most traditional societies, men have always been wary of strong women. Women have always been cast as the fairer sex, people who were supposed to smile and look sweet. However the respondents acknowledged the fact that Martha and Charity don't play that game. That these women are tough. They pointed out to the days of the grand bargain that gave Kenya the coalition government. Martha was out there telling off foreign envoys and took on Orendo and Ruto and all the big boys! On the other hand Charity impressed many when she took on the Kalonzo wave in Ukambani and won! The respondents feel that these among other instances are good qualities of a woman president.

- Sober and Pragmatic. The respondents say that this woman president should synchronously show her tough side by taking on male-dominated institutions and making them work for Kenya and at the same time presenting a softer, sweeter side to her burdened people. To them Martha and Ngilu have done it from the way they have handled the ministries that have been allocated to them and how they have also handled the rough times in their political career.

- Communication. One of the areas where our leaders have fallen short is in communicating their policies and intentions to the people the respondents noted. President Kenyatta was a master of intrigue. He never let Kenyans know what he was up to. In fact, even when he died we couldn't be told straight out that the president was dead. Moi was no better. To know what was on Moi's mind, Kenyans had to listen to the pronouncements of people like Shariff Nassir, Mulu Mutisya and Kariuki Chotara. To them this was a very poor and hilarious habit. Now there's Kibaki. Who the hell speaks for this President? Is it the perpetually hilarious Dr. Mutua or the super-secretive and assertive Muthaura?

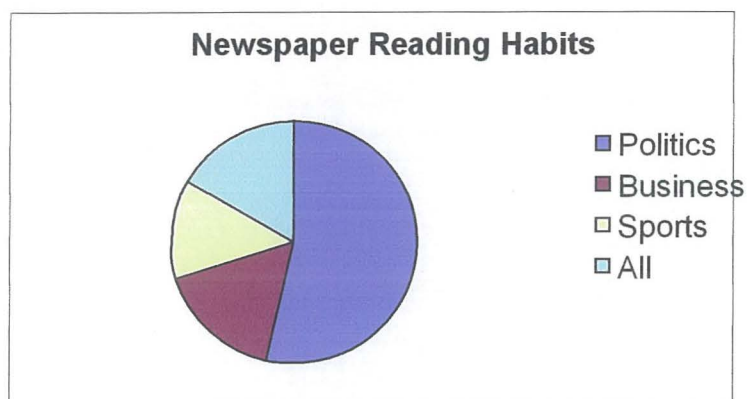
- Faith. A president who doesn't pray for his nation and for wisdom from God has no business leading a nation said the respondents. It's always nice watch a president pray. I liked it when Kenyatta was in a house of worship. I was moved whenever I saw Moi with a hymn book in hand, singing praises to the Lord. To them prayer is power. They say that it would be so encouraging for Kenyans to watch on Sunday TV as the president, a motherly figure, kneel down in plea with God to bless Kenya.

With all the above opinions aired, the respondents say that 2012 is years away. Kenyans still have a chance to evaluate the presidential candidates as focus shifts to Martha Karua who has already shown her interest in the presidency. Much as Kenyans yearn for a woman president, Kenyans are not going to elect somebody just because we yearn for female leadership. We are going to elect the best candidate out

there. The respondents want the ladies to push even harder and bring forth their agenda.

4.2.2 Media Habits:

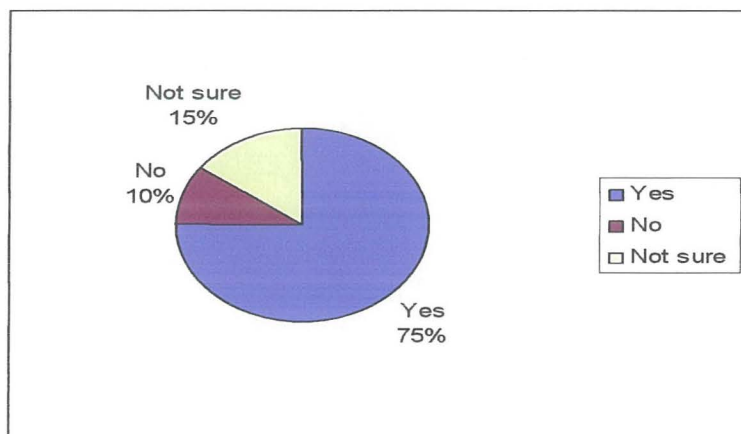
4.2.20. Which part of the Daily Nation do you read?



Source Field Data December 2007

Fig 7

4.2.2.1 Did you read the newspaper's publications / articles touching extensively on women and politics during the 2007 polls?



Source Field Data December 2007

Fig 8

4.2.2.2 Information the respondent got from reading newspapers articles regarding women politicians.

In this section, the respondents explained in brief what they read from the articles and the information they got. Most of them pointed out the challenges women face when pressing for affirmative action. Actually they said that if it were not for the articles then they would not have known exactly what some of these challenges were. That much as women contribute about 52% of Kenya's population they are being used during national elections to play drums, dance and drive campaigns yet they are not well represented in the political sphere.

They also noted that much as most political parties stressed on putting women aspirants upbeat with the competition in the political field, a lot still needs to be done. Some articles they say touched on various plans by political parties that outlined how women representation in the Government was going to be enhanced.

The respondents also pointed out that from the articles they learnt that some of the factors hindering women's effective participation in party nominations included violence and intimidation, transport, poor information floor, timing of nomination days and haphazardly selected nomination centers.

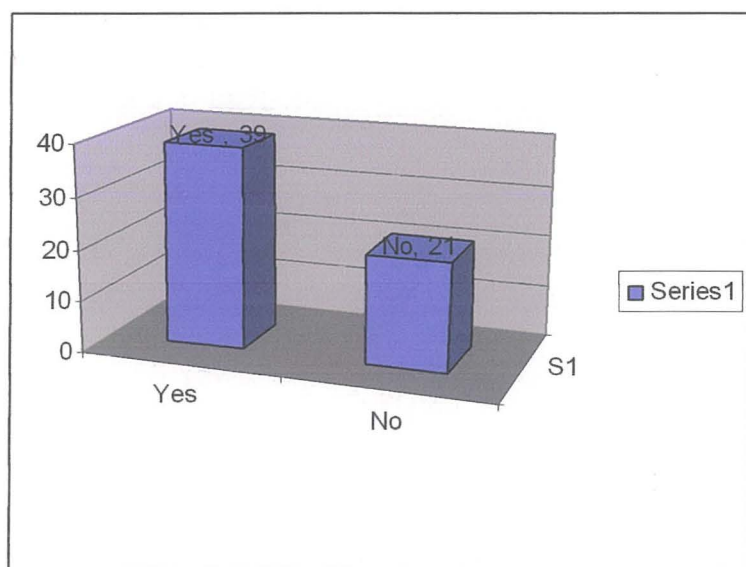
Others said some articles also identified challenges such as registration procedures. In this case women were seen as lacking key knowledge of the registration process, lack of necessary documentation, while some spouses were reluctant to release documents for their wives. With such challenges brought out to the limelight, the respondents said that it was time for women to unite and fight as a team not to impress their parties but rather fight to boost their numbers in terms of representation in the Government since they control a big number of Kenya's population. The respondents also noted that women in Kenya, including the current women MPs must push for the principal affirmative action bill to improve women's representation in parliament. Through such an initiative, their issues will be given greater voice due to greater representation in government structures.

That the challenges facing women politicians are not only party based but rather in the constituencies where negative perception about women's place in the society are still common. It is about cultural issues. Women are still being placed at a family level rather than seen as people who can lead. To some the articles pointed out on how to build confidence in the electorate. It's an uphill task.

Lastly, some articles touched on how to prepare women to work with the media. Women were told to come up with media strategies that will work for them.

They should be given knowledge on how to create positive media relations and how to woo the media in to advocating for their aspirations and dreams for this nation.

4.2.2.3 Whether the media played a great role in highlighting political women and their political needs and career?



Source Field Data December 2007 Fig 9

Most respondents agreed that the media is playing a big role in highlighting the challenges that most women politicians go through. However they are quick to add that the relation with the media is yielding results at a very slow pace. At the same time they note that women have not displayed aggressiveness in dealing with the media. On the other hand, much as the media has been praised for highlighting and putting forth women issues, it has been put on the spot for neglecting women for a very long time to an extent that the public has a particular perception about women. The media should not only go and cover every political woman's event but should also go an extra mile and initiate columns and articles that would highlight the challenges, show the public the potential we have on women and give areas where women have triumphed.

The respondents say that learning is a daily process and therefore the media needs to point out all the positives and negatives of the aspiring and existing women politician's activities.

Another respondent says that women must come together and work as a team regardless of parties. At the same time, organizations that champion the rights of women among other interests must also come out strongly to work for women and particularly link them with the media.

It is only through the media that the masses will be able to know and understand what our women politicians go through and besides this know why our women must be given a chance to govern. Those already in top seats must equally work hard and be role models. The respondents note that failure by one woman to perform might spoil for the best talents that are upcoming.

Some respondents suggested that for the media to really be seen as doing something for women, it should not give un-balanced space in the paper but rather challenge each aspirant woman politician or existing ones to engage the media daily with something to be told to the public. Women are also encouraged to come up with a media campaign drive which should run throughout the years with an aim to point out the needs in the society that men have failed to address.

4.3 Contributions from the respondents that would enhance women politicians and media relationship.

The respondents pointed out six major areas which they think would help women politician enhance their relationship with the media. These include organizing and holding frequent meeting with the top news editors from all media houses. This would enable the two parties share ideas and point out areas that need to be improved. The respondents say that women politicians should assess themselves just like an existing product in the market. Do a SWOT analysis and strategise on how best their ideas can sell to the public through the media.

They also suggested that women politicians should work towards having enough talk shows and interviews in the electronic and print media respectively. These talk shows will help them have a feel of the public; its opinion and concerns through live on air engagement. At the same time, they suggest that women should show the public unity and should run joint documentaries on their colleagues and what they want to do as women. Through these documentaries they are likely to push their agenda further.

It is also important for women politicians to note that opening an effective channel of communication is important. This shall include developing a website that will highlight what women want to do and areas they want to address.

Through the website, they will be able to reach out at all the people around the world, borrow ideas and get contributions. These would also enable them carry out their own research which according to the respondents is also a very important component of gathering information and opinion from the public.

Lastly they also suggested that women should initiate events and development projects that would attract media attention. Through these events they would definitely push for their agenda and at the same time aggressively look for publicity so as to get maximum visibility.

4.3.1 Conclusion

The International community has taken steps to protect and enforce the rights of women. More than 25 years ago the UN approved a treaty called the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women. The 1979 treaty is considered a bill of rights for women to date 180 nations have approved the treaty but women in many of these UN member countries are still treated as unequal citizens though their numbers in political positions is ever increasing.

Religious traditions and beliefs have had a greater influence of women's political and leadership career today. Some religious organizations have neither elevated women to positions of higher authority nor provided them avenues for uplifting themselves. In the Middle East Islamic traditions have influenced women's rights to participate in politics for instance the Islamic Culture prohibit women from becoming leaders such retrogressive practices should be abolished and highlighted by the media in order to empower women aspiring to join politics and other leadership capacities.

From this research it has emerged that not only does the media play a role in building the women politician's career but also in shaping the public's perception.. Those women who are also aspiring to be politicians and those who have already made it ought to note that Kenyans think that very few women can cope with pressure and the challenges that come with presidency. That men are viewed as more influential when it comes to power play.

However, women have desirable qualities like being more caring and less corrupt than men and that should place them as better leaders. Despite all these qualities women are seen as lacking a hard skin and economic power to survive in the dirty politics we have in Kenya. Another big concern for Kenyans about women in politics is that they seem unreliable and most are easily swayed. In politics women feel inferior to men hence they allow themselves to be treated inferior. These women also do not have trust in their fellow women considering the fact that they contribute to 52% of Kenya's population. Therefore women in politics should put in a lot of efforts in fighting illiteracy, economic disempowerment that are fuelled by social stereotypes.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the recommendations and conclusions of the research.

5.1 Conclusions

From the analysis done in the research it emerged that most people get involved with the press indirectly or directly most frequently as daily. A good percentage of the respondents recognize the media and are aware of its powerful nature and influence of disseminating information.

The researcher realized that of the daily studied, there were various articles that were run and this is encouraging. However with the rate of illiteracy and poverty in the country, other means of communication can be used. This may include alternative media like vernacular FM stations, sensitization events and door to door campaigns.

Majority of the correspondents are between the age of 27 -47 and are willing to vote in women aspirants. This is actually the productive age group in any given population structure of developing nation. It is one which is characterized by the ability to understand their needs and those of the country.

The research questions used in this research mainly aimed at gauging the media relations with the public as well as the women politicians. After a thorough analysis, it can be revealed that there is a mutual relationship between the media and women politicians. It's only that this strength is not being utilized maximally. Women media personalities should also come out strongly and give a hand to their colleagues' in the political field.

Nevertheless with all the attention focused on refurbishing and revitalizing Kenyans political environment and the economy, in the next ten or so years there is hope that the media and major stakeholders in political reforms will start working closely.

5.2 Recommendations

For the Daily Nation and other media houses to increase their news and features content the researcher recommends that it liaise with other political reformers and women agencies such as African Woman and Child. It is through these institutions that the media or pressmen will be able to know what exactly is affecting the progress of women politicians and what needs to be done to get out of this deadlock.

It also has to liaise with the public so as to get the idea of what it expects of those women that are aspiring to be parliamentarians or for any elective post. Women politicians still lack a strategic media campaign plan. They need to be trained through workshops and given skills on how to improve on their relation with the media.

The media in general should also increase their news content both in the electronic and print sections. Creating special columns and programmes to champion for women leadership would boost this quest to have more women representation.

5.3 Further area of study

This research covered Nairobi and its environs. Various issues were tackled including media habits of the public, public's attitude towards women politicians and the media itself.

Studies can further be carried out on the role of media in cubing stereotypes in women. Research can also be done on what particular cultural practices influence the decision by the public to vote for women politicians. The women politicians can also find out exactly what is expected of them by the media so as to get that visibility so as to increase women representation in parliament and other public offices.

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[www.kenvironews@wordpress.com](http://www.kenvironews.wordpress.com)

APPENDIX ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE.

Hi my name is Stephanie Achoki; I am a Mass Communication under Graduate student at Kampala International University. I am conducting a research to find out **how the print media covered women politicians in Kenya in the 2007 General Elections**. Kindly, be part of this endeavor by honestly and accurately filling in this questionnaire. All information will be held in confidence. Thank you for your time.

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please tick where necessary. Where specifications or reasons are required, please write as briefly as possible in the space provided on the questionnaire.

Section A

Biographical data

1. (i) Full Names..... (Optional)

(ii) What age bracket do you belong to?

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| a) Below 20 years | () | b) 21-25 | () |
| c) 26-30 | () | d) 31-35 | () |
| e) 36- 40 | () | f) 41-45 | () |
| g) 46-50 | () | h) Above 50 years | () |

(iii) What is your Marital status?

- | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----------|-----|
| a) Male | () | b) Female | () |
| c) Divorce | () | d) Single | () |
| e) Widowed | () | | |

Section B

Perception and Media habits

1. Are you ready for a woman president?

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2. Which part of the Daily Nation do you read?

a) Politics

b) Sports

c) Business

d) All

3. Did you read Newspaper publications / articles touching extensively on women and politics during the month of December 2007?

(Y)

(N)

4. From the article (s) you read what tangible information did you get regarding women politicians?

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5. According to you, do you think the media has played a great role in highlighting political women and their political needs and career? Explain briefly.....

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6. Are there any other issues which you wish to contribute that would enhance women politicians and media relationship?

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7. Is there any additional information which you would like to contribute to this research?
Please state in a point form.

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END: THANK YOU FOR THE COOPERATION.

APPENDIX TWO:

WORK PLAN

The researcher spent a period of 18 weeks to complete the research.

Activity	Duration
Familiarization	2 weeks
Literature review	2weeks
Propose the questionnaire	1 week
Writing the proposal	2 weeks
Mailing of questionnaire	1 week
Receiving respondents feedback	2 weeks
Data analysis	3 weeks
Final report	2 weeks
Editing of the report	1 week
Submission and defense	2 weeks

APPENDIX THREE:

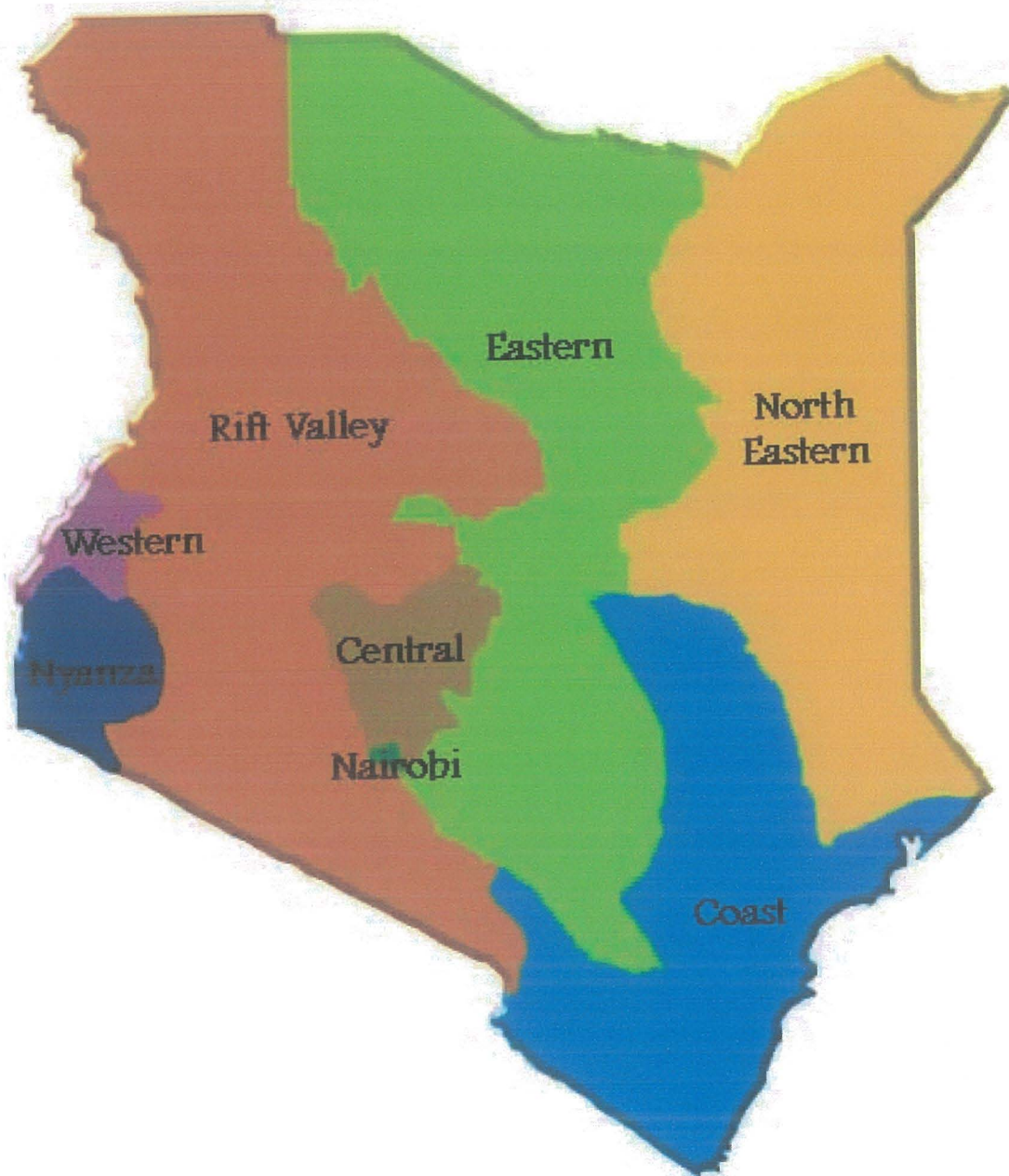
BUDGET PLAN

The researcher used the following amount of money in order to complete the project.

ACTIVITIES	COST(UGX)	NO. OF HOURS PER WEEK	TOTAL
Typing	1000 per hour	6	6,000
Phone calls	200 per minute	3	36,000
E-mail	20 per minute	5	5,000
Photocopy	50 per page		50,000
Printing	200 per page		40,000
Binding	10,000 per copy(3)		30,000
Total			167,000

This amount was for a period of 5 weeks, with researcher using UGX 167,000 per week

APPENDIX FOUR: MAP OF KENYA



DAILY NATION
Wednesday September 26, 2007

A QUESTION OF GENDER
WANJIKU KABIRA

How could Vision 2030 leave women out of the loop?

VISION 2030 IS SUPPOSED to propel Kenya into higher economic, social and political heights and improve the quality of life of Kenyan men and women. Through the three pillars — economic, social and political — the architects of the vision argue that we shall achieve this dream.

The project has been led by public and private sector leaders and institutions. Many key local and international stakeholders have been consulted. The document proposes to focus on tourism, agriculture, retail and wholesale businesses, and manufacturing.

It also proposes to address public sector reforms, infrastructure development, people-centred development, land reforms and insecurity. In addressing the social sector, the focus will be on education, health, water, the environment, gender, vulnerable groups, and youth.

HAVING STUDIED THE DOCUMENT from a gender perspective, I want to raise some issues that would enrich the vision.

First, I acknowledge that the document has gone a little further than the previous policy documents. It acknowledges some of the problems related to women and then quickly goes to the traditional categorisation — gender and others. It is, as lawyers say, my humble view that Vision 2030 needs to take cognisance of the following:

■ There is need, at this stage, to shift focus from supply signals to understanding how institutions regulate societies, and how policy makers interpret people's needs. We have to think about making institutions right for women and other socially excluded groups.

Concern with gender justice and equity must be core values. There is little information to indicate that there are flagship programmes to address gender equality by 2030.



Mother and child: Women's care work does not count in the country's GDP.

Gender justice as a core value needs to be used in analysing our vision and the institutions we are creating, and in making proposals for change. We must begin to change institutional rules in order to level the playing-field and promote equity both in terms of gender and other marginalised groups.

Take the postings to foreign missions made earlier this month. In spite of the presidential directive that 30 per cent of all new recruitments and promotions be women, only two out of 12 were women.

Efforts to entrench this directive in the Employment Bill that is awaiting debate in Parliament have been strongly resisted by Labour ministry. Even the women there resisted the amendments arguing they were discriminatory, and that public service is neutral.

These are arguments one hears all the time. We must not underestimate the role of discriminatory gendered patterns in the incentive systems, accountability structures and bureaucratic procedures in our institutions.

Public and private sector institutions are assumed to have nothing to do with the structural nature of women's disadvantaged position. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Public institutions fail to include

women equitably in the "public" that they serve. The gendered preferences are embedded in the norms, structures, and practices of institutions. Even the markets that Vision 2030 wants to focus on fail to invest in and reward women's productive and reproductive work.

Women's care work is of no value when we come to evaluate their contribution to GDP. We are told that the tools used to calculate the contribution to GDP can't recognise care work? Why not? If they can't, why can't we make them do it? Other countries have done it.

Why are we incapable of thinking outside the box from the West? Vision 2030 must be more creative.

■ Vision 2030 must be guided by the spirit of fairness and equality. It must rethink the development model to ensure we transform the polarising energies of all society into energy of connection.

A GOOD EXAMPLE, AGAIN, IS OUR electoral system that often promotes division, wastage of votes, and masculine competition. Given our ethno-centric societies, would it not be possible for us to consider other electoral systems like proportional representation in our party lists? Why is equal representation of women and men not one of our goals?

■ The vision ought to transform our cultures and institutions from promoting destructive behaviour to more friendly cultures and institutions. We must re-evaluate our patriarchal institutions that divide the values of the marketplace and home, where feminine values are considered inappropriate in the rat race of business, and where masculine values reign.

■ As we create wealth, we must also be guided by the interest to empower communities to take charge of their lives by devolving both economic and political power to them.

Prof Kabira teaches Literature at the University of Nairobi.

LET'S SAVE BUDALANGI
BENJAMIN KITHEKA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

To.....

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This is to introduce to you Miss Stephanie Achoki BMC/5489/51/DF who is a bonafide student of Kampala International University. She is working on a research project for a dissertation, which is a partial requirement for the award of a degree. I here by request you, in the name of the University, to accord her all the necessary assistance she may require for this work.

I have the pleasure of thanking you in advance for your cooperation!

Yours sincerely,

