

KENYAN MEDIA AND WOMEN IN POLITICAL NEWS



REPORT BY AFRICAN WOMAN AND CHILD FEATURE SERVICE

This report is published by African Woman and Child Feature Service, an organization that works to advance gender justice in social, economic and political spheres using media platforms in Kenya and East Africa to catalyze this change.

Women in Political News Study

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Acknowledgement

This report details the treatment of women views in the political news, and is part of the interventions by African Woman and Child Feature Service to document, using empirical evidence, how Kenyan media treats gender issues in its content. In this case, gender in political news. Production of this report was coordinated by African Woman and Child Feature Service. First and foremost AWC Feature Service is deeply indebted to World Association for Christian Communications for the financial and technical support they gave towards the production of this report. Thanks to Arthur Okwemba who trained the monitors and oversaw the process of producing this report.

We also want to take this opportunity to thank the Monitors who ploughed through the newspapers and listened to radio and television news to code the news items. Thanks to Rosemary Okello (who has since joined Ford Foundation) for her initial thoughts around this project. Ruth Omukhango, the Program Manager, for her support and guidance to the monitors.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AMWIK	Association of Media Women of Kenya
AWC	African Woman and Child Features
IWMF	International Women's Media Foundation
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KTN	Kenya Television Network
KUJ	Kenya Union of Journalists
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MOA	Media Owners Association
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
KEWA	Kenya Education Writers' Association
NDIMA	Network for the Defense of Independent Media in Africa
AFAJ	Association of Food and Agriculture Journalists
MDA	Media Development Association
KCOMNET	Kenya Community Media Network
AMNET	Alternative Media Network
KCA	Kenya Correspondents' Association
EAFCFA	East Africa Foreign Correspondence's Association

Summary of the findings

- Only 18 per cent of those whose views were read, heard or seen in print, radio, and television political news were female. In contrast, 74 per cent are male.
- Only nine per cent of journalists who reported in the print media on political news were female compared to 72 per cent male.
- Men enjoyed seven times of television news time compared to women.
- Men were the main sources of information in professions like law (92 per cent), police/military (89 per cent) and politicians (88 per cent).
- In print media, males were covered more in articles (79 per cent), Editorials (67 per cent), Letters to the Editor (47 per cent) compared to the females who averaged 17 per cent in coverage in all sections of the newspaper.
- On average, more men (71 per cent) than women (21 per cent) were covered across all geographical news sections (international, regional, national and local) in TV, radio and newspapers).
- On space allocation, at 77 per cent, males got the lion's share of the space allocated in newspapers, while females got a paltry 17 per cent.
- More men (74 per cent) are portrayed as victims, compared to women (18 per cent).
- Male sources predominate in all genres, including those that are seen as being most authoritative, such as the editorial and opinion pages (79 per cent compared to 16 per cent for female).
- Although there are more women than men in media houses, the percentage of stories on television, radio, and newspapers, done by female journalists was 32 per cent compared to 53 per cent by male journalists.
- The findings show that women journalists were more dominant as news anchors (74 per cent) than men (22 per cent). But almost a half of the reporters were male compared to 30 per cent female.
- Of the political news monitored, 52 per cent was on domestic politics, followed by political power and decision making at 24 per cent, security and defense at nine per cent and international politics at eight per cent of the coverage.

Introduction

Recent studies on gender mainstreaming in media content and structures have revealed disturbing results. In Kenya, only 19 per cent of those whose views are read or heard in the media are women, according to the Global Media Monitoring Programme – Kenya 2010 report published by African Woman and Child Feature Service.

The media continues to exclude women's voices in their content and structures because they are never held to account. There is no regular empirical data to hold them accountable, or to be used as a basis to advocate for the inclusion of women in content and structures.

Where it exists, the data is generalized in regard to various spheres of influence where women and men operate. One of these spheres is the political one.

In the political sector, anecdotal evidence has shown that this exclusion has contributed to low visibility and performance of women vying for political positions. Although there has been an outcry over this, editors and journalists have always insisted they give balanced coverage to both genders. Some have challenged gender advocates to prove their claim of marginalization of women's voices.

The AWC Features Service undertook this study to establish the extent of marginalization or exclusion of women voices and views in political news in Kenya. The report presents the evidence of the exclusion or inclusion, giving readers the opportunity to draw their own conclusion on the issue.

It is hoped this report will stimulate discussion and guide the formulation of interventions that will result in equal opportunities for men and women to participate in the political discourse at all levels, and have their views heard or read in the media.

These findings are also valuable information for AWC Features Service and other organizations that advocate increased representation of women's voices in the media. The information is also useful as a basis to justify the need for training of media practitioners on equal treatment of female and male news makers.

KENYA MEDIA CONTEXT

The modern Kenyan media sector is more than 100 years old. This history is presented by various writers, including Abuoga and Mutere 1988; Beachey 1996; and Loughran 2010.

The mass media was first introduced to Kenya by missionaries, followed by the Indian merchants and the early colonial administration, before settler interest took over and dominated the scene. The first African-owned press appeared in the early 1920s, but it was not until after World War II that a vibrant nationalist press emerged (Ngugi 2012). After Kenya's independence in 1963, the country's media became famous and unique for its freedom, diversity of ownership and professionalism (Lamb 1982).

Today, Kenya media is diverse, vibrant and largely free (Nyanjom 2012). According to the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) annual Status of the Media Report for 2012, the country has 301 radio stations categorized as being "on-air," six daily national newspapers and, at least, 11 weekly newspapers. Under the print media, there are more than 20 monthly magazines, as well as eight bi-monthly and six quarterly ones.

The country has 83 television channels classified as "on-air" available in major towns across Kenya. The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation holds 25 digital channels classified as "not-on-air."

While there are 110 individuals listed as owning media houses, the scene is dominated by less than 10 major players with interests in print, broadcast and online media.

The Government owns the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) as the only public broadcasting station. The corporation in turn has over 11 other radio stations broadcasting in various regions.

Among the wide range of institutional challenges that confront the media are the working conditions of journalists and the question of gender representation.

The media has been accused of failing to equally and equitably reflect the voices of both genders. Women tend to be portrayed stereotypically, with a kind of quaint cynicism about their abilities (Mbugguss 2013). Moreover, emphasis seems to be placed on portraying women as victims in most stories and discussions, while women's engagement and participation in development and policy-making is not given prominence (Afrobarometer 2009:55). Unfair portrayal of women can also be seen in reporting, which is mainly judgmental, with stories carrying women's views often being relegated to fillers (Afrobarometer 2009:32).

As journalist Njoki Chege, writing in the Standard, has observed:

Statistics indicate that in every graduation from a media or journalism faculty, one in every five graduates is a man. However, women remain heavily under-represented at top-level media management. While there are few women who manage to shatter the glass ceiling, most simply remain in middle-level positions, or quit altogether after a few years. In Kenya, the number of women in top-level management is very small, almost negligible (Chege 2012).

But in recent years, civil society and lobby groups have been active in advancing media causes, including training, advocacy, gender sensitisation, monitoring and empowerment. Many act without the involvement or support of the media. Engagement between civil society, media lobby groups and the media is sporadic and issue-based (Afrobarometer 2009).

These organisations include the Kenya Education Writers' Association (KEWA), Media Owners Association (MOA), the Kenya Professional Journalists' Association, the Editors Guild, African Women and Child Feature Service (AWC), the Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), the Network for the Defense of Independent Media in Africa (NDIMA), the Media Institute, the Association of Food and Agriculture Journalists (AFAJ), the Media Development Association (MDA), Kenya Community Media Network (KCOMNET), Alternative Media Network (AMNET), Kenya ICT Network (Kictanet), the Kenya Correspondents Association (KCA), and the East Africa Foreign Correspondence's Association (EAFCA). Apart from AMWIK and AWC, the organisations do not specifically address issues of gender justice in the media.

Methodology

Newspapers, television and radio stations in Kenya were monitored over a period of 15 days spread over April and May, 2013, by 11 monitors, who recorded their observations on coding sheets. The information was then analyzed using set parameters (See annex for the coding sheets and the guide).

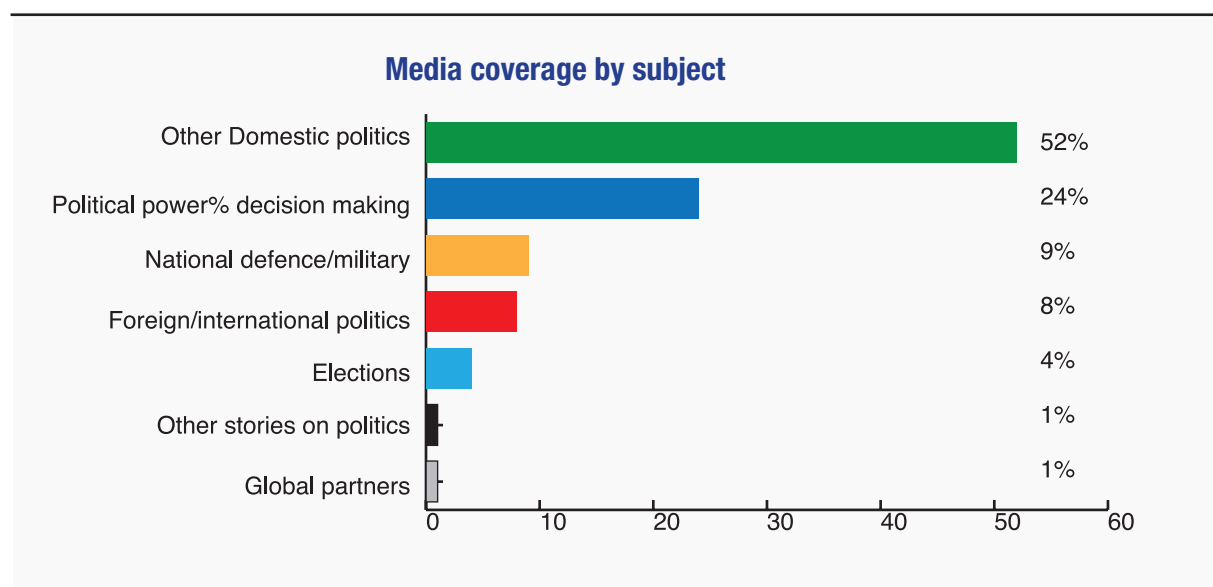
The research covered a total of 514 news items from five newspapers involving 507 news subjects and 549 journalists in the print sector; a total of 201 news items from two radio stations involving 566 news subjects; and 207 news items from two television stations involving a total of 598 news subjects. Quantitative content analysis was used to code and analyse data, which was subsequently interpreted.

Analysis and Interpretation

In this study, a total of 922 news reports from various media houses were monitored to gauge the representation of voices in the news. Following are the findings:

Types of Political Subjects Covered in the Media

Figure 1: Media coverage by subject



Domestic politics took the bulk of the local media coverage at 52 per cent, followed by political power and decision making at 24 per cent, while issues of security and defense and international politics command nine per cent and eight per cent coverage respectively. The results reflect the prevailing situation in the country. The monitoring happened at a time when the country was in intense political campaign mood. Media coverage was especially defined by the presidential election petition and the aftermath of the Supreme Court ruling that affirmed the results as declared by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, as well as the formation of the new government and security challenges the country faced.

There was also the politics surrounding the then looming trial of the President and Deputy President by the International Criminal Court (ICC) where they were charged with committing crimes against humanity.

Gender and News Subjects

Only 18 per cent of political views published in newspapers or broadcast on television or radio were of females, while 74 per cent were from males. In the print media, which is viewed as the traditional dominant media format in Kenya, males were covered more in articles (79 per cent), editorials and opinions (67 per cent), Letters to the Editor (47 per cent) and other sections of the newspaper as well. In comparison, females averaged 17 per cent in coverage in all sections of the newspaper. This scenario is illustrated in the following graph:

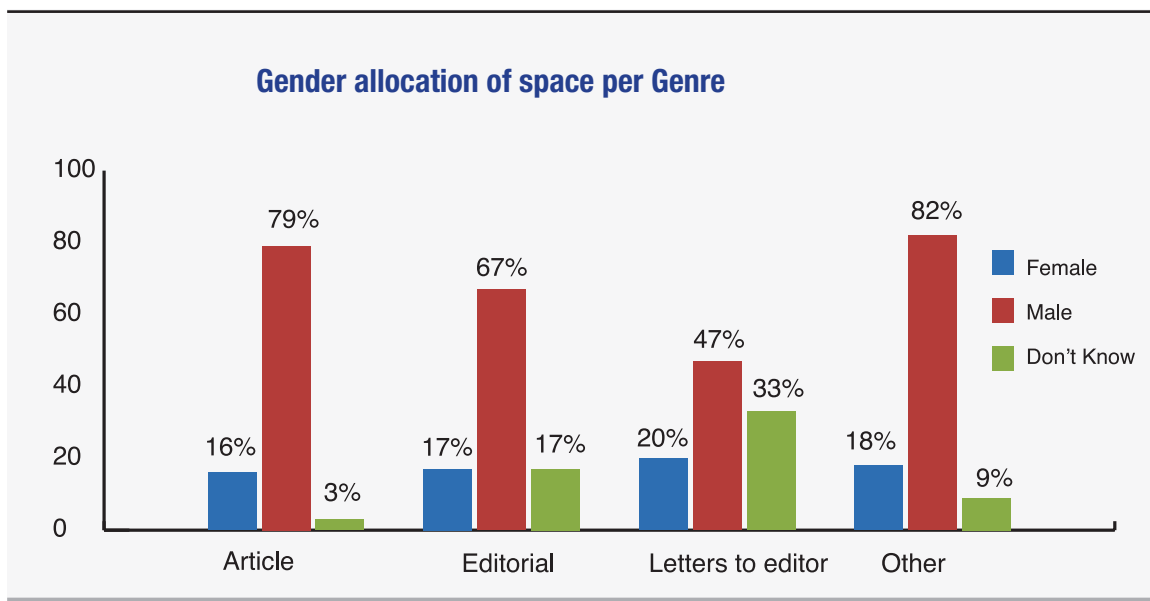


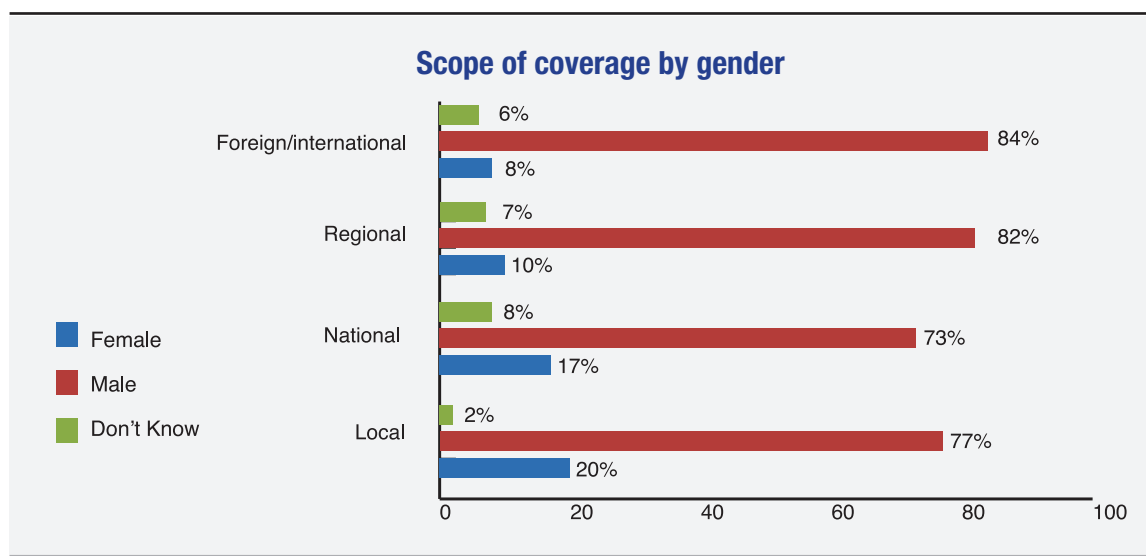
Figure 2: Gender and space enjoyed by genre

This means the scales in the coverage of print media – the most established media, which tends to be viewed as being more credible – are significantly tilted in favour of males. Male sources predominate in all genres, including those that are seen as being most authoritative, such as the editorials and opinions (79 per cent compared to 16 per cent for female).

Scope of Coverage and Gender

The leading stories analyzed were classified as national news (69 per cent) while 11.8 per cent were regional news. Men were covered highly in all scopes of news stories with their views in the foreign and international news stories being the highest at 84 per cent. It is noteworthy that females get more coverage in local news as opposed to regional and international news, although still lower than their counterparts. This suggests that women's views are marginally captured in matters international, but their presence is more felt in local news where they get coverage as farmers, teachers, nurses, and providers of care, more prominently, home-based care

Figure 3: scope of coverage and gender



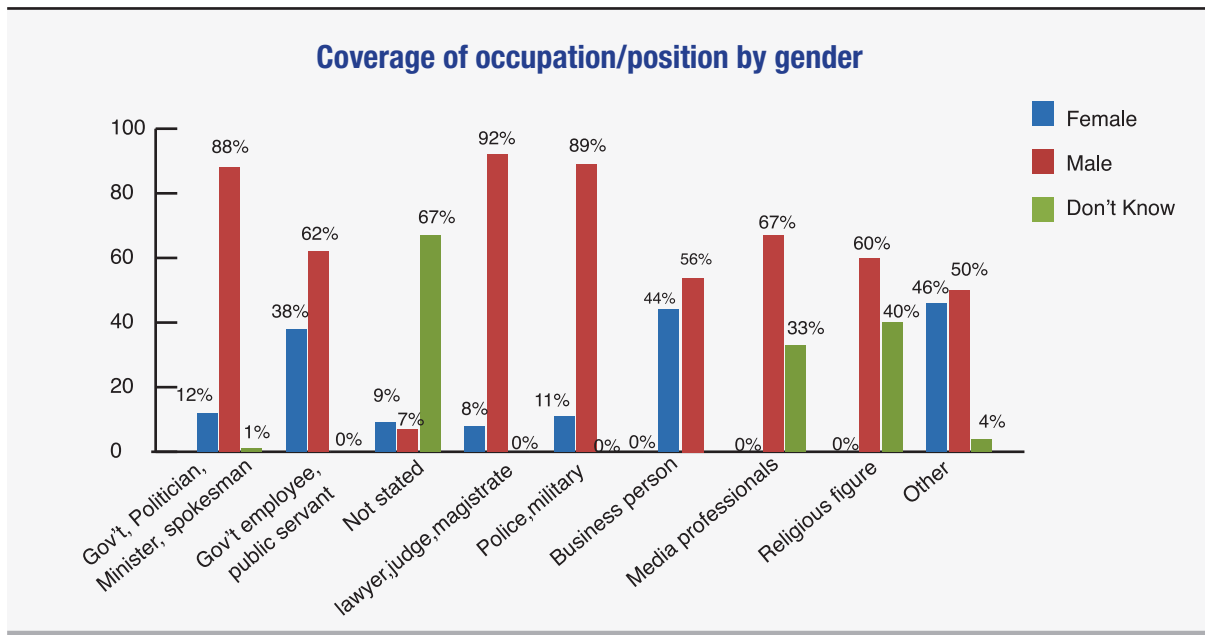
Occupation/ position of the sources of information

In all occupations/positions, male numbers as sources of information on political issues surpassed those of their female counterparts. Men were found to be the main sources of information in prestigious professions like law (92 per cent), police/military (89 per cent) and politics (88 per cent) compared to eight per cent, 11 per cent, and 11 per cent enjoyed by women, respectively. It is instructive to note that male sources got more coverage for wielding political, coercive, adjudicative, economic, and expert power. This may mean two things: one, fewer women are represented in this powerful positions or enjoy these sources of power; and secondly, media perceives, even those women wielding similar power, as being less knowledgeable, unwise, and subjective. These findings are at variance with reality where more women are acquiring professional training, owning media outlets, and getting into influential positions in both government and corporate sectors.

Table 1: Gender and Occupation of the source of information

Occupation/ Position	Female	Male	Don't Know
Gov't, Politician, Minister, spokesman	11%	88%	1%
Gov't employee, public servant	38%	62%	0%
Not stated	9%	7%	67%
lawyer,judge,magistrate	8%	92%	0%
Police,military	11%	89%	0%
Business person	44%	56%	0%
Media professionals	0%	67%	33%
Religious figure	0%	60%	40%
Other	46%	50%	4%

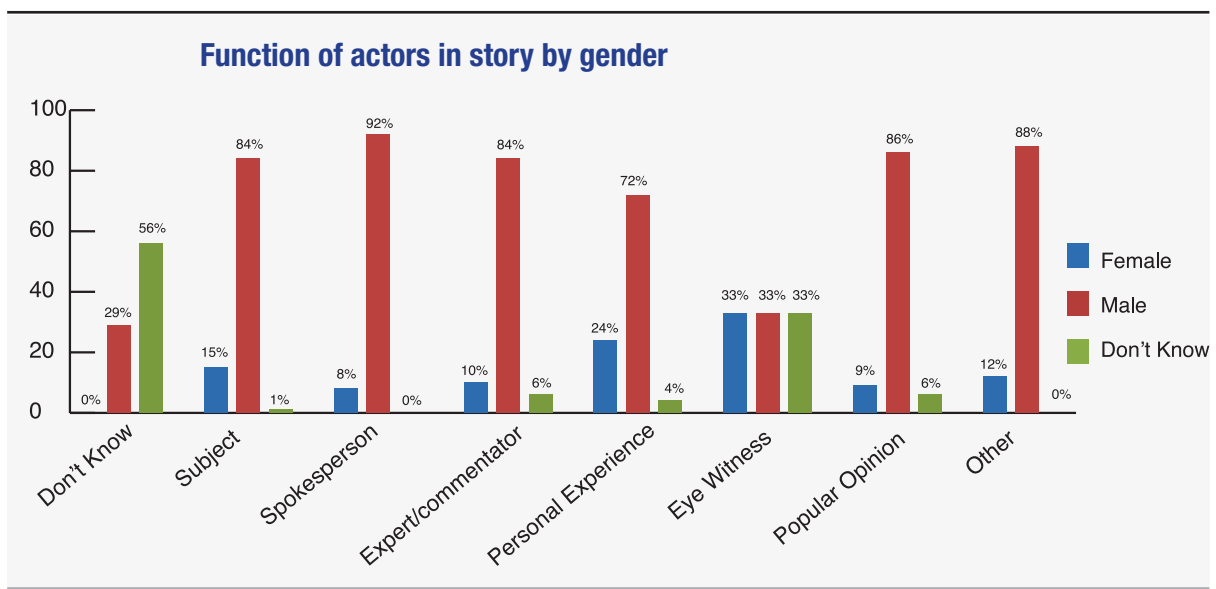
Figure 4: Gender and Occupation/ position of source of information



These findings indicate a world in which men outnumber women in most occupational categories when it comes to those whose views were sought by the media. Women are mostly represented in domestic roles, while men are more likely to be portrayed in occupational roles or nondomestic activities. This is a reflection of the stereotypes the media continues to perpetuate about women and men's roles in society. It further indicates marginalization of women from influential decision making positions and sectors of the society.

Function of women and men news Sources

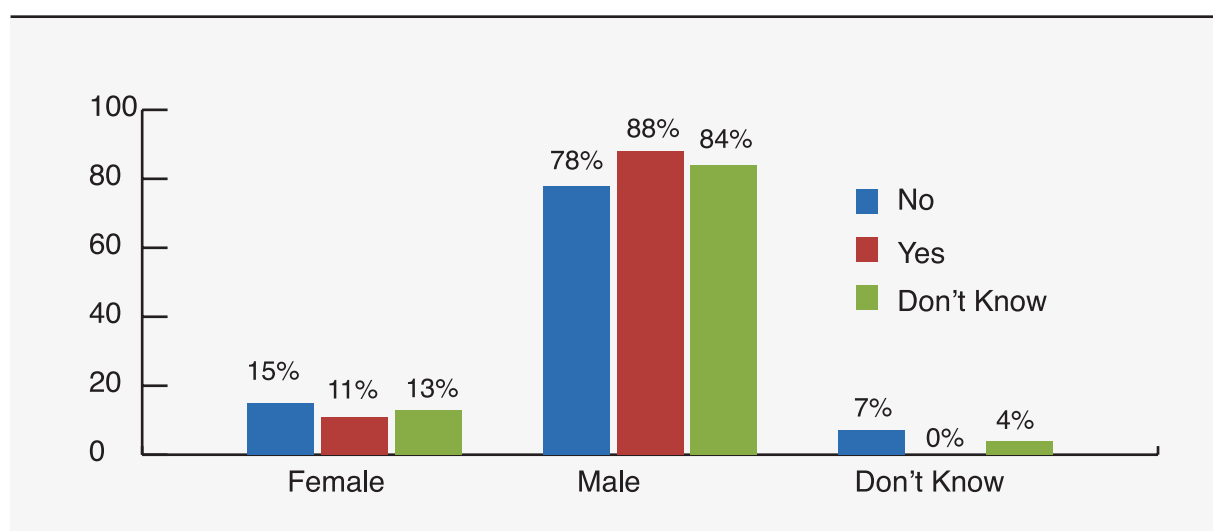
Figure 5: Function of actors in story by gender



As persons interviewed or heard in the news, men dominated as experts (84 per cent) and spokespersons (92 per cent) while women's views appeared more as eye-witness accounts (33 per cent) and narration of personal experience (24 per cent). This is telling because experts are consciously chosen while witnesses are determined by the act of witnessing, rather than conscious choice. This means that whenever journalists have to use their discretion to select an expert to interview, they consciously elect to interview men, whom they consider to be experts on various issues. Scholars of mass communication argue that in most cases, the media is more likely, to look out for elite voices when seeking views on national discourse.

Persons Quoted directly in the story

Figure 6: persons quoted directly in story



A similar trend is witnessed in the composition of male views (81 per cent) and females' (18 per cent) in television content.

Women's views and experiences remain unheard in the popular opinion (22 per cent) and subject categories (30 per cent) across newspaper, TV and radio platforms.

In addition, more men (88 per cent) than women (11 per cent) were quoted in newspaper news stories. The upshot is that women remain lodged in the 'ordinary' people categories, in contrast to men who continue to prevail in the 'expert' categories. By not sourcing information from the female experts, the media leaves the society to conclude and construct an image of women as "not cut for expert jobs", further reinforcing the stereotype that women are not fit to hold positions that require knowledge power.

Table 2: identification of the source as a victim

	Sex			
	Female	Male	Don't Know	Total
Not victim	130	925	32	1094
Victim of accident/Disaster	1	3	0	4
Victim of domestic violence	2	2	0	4
Victim of sexual violence only	3	7	0	10
Victim non-domestic crimes	2	2	0	4
Victim of war, terrorism	4	3	0	7
Victim of discrimination ie gender based	0	1	0	1
other Victim	0	1	0	1
Don't Know	0	1	8	9
Total	142	945	40	1134

From the above table (Table 2), more men (74 per cent) are portrayed as victims than women (18 per cent). The greatest disparity is witnessed in the coverage of discrimination on the basis of gender and race where 90 per cent of men and zero representation of women are displayed as victims in the newspaper and television platforms.

While there have been a few highly publicized cases of husband battering in some parts of Kenya, this finding is totally incongruent with the reality where more women are victims, often of men.

Does the story identify the person as a survivor?

Table 3: Story identifying person as survivor

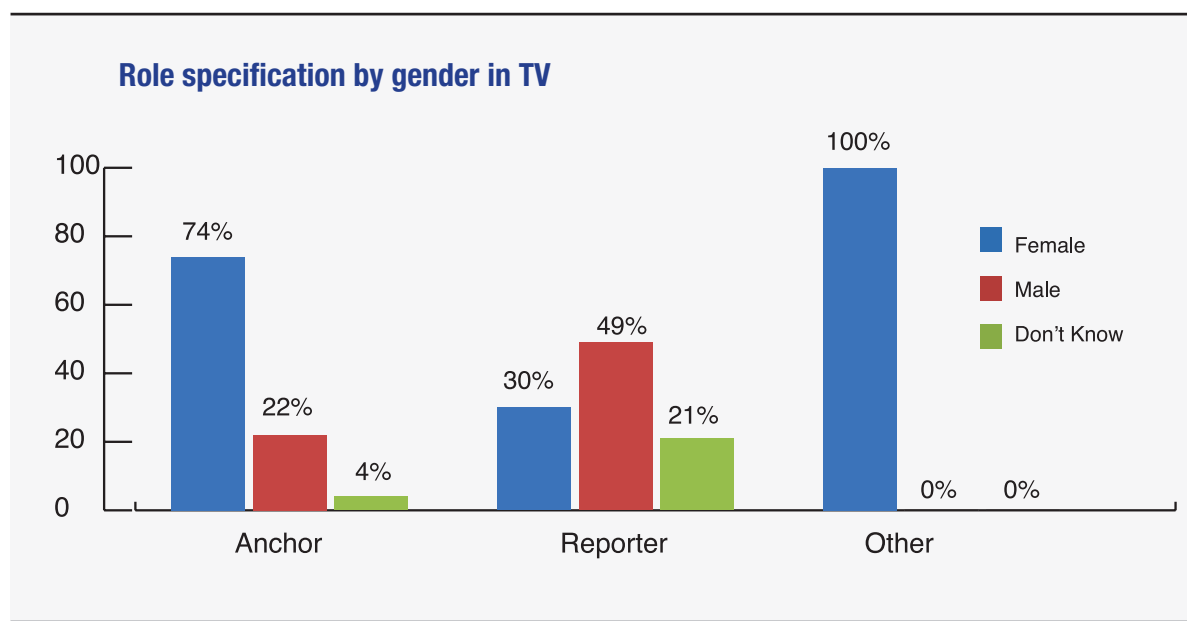
		Sex			
		Female	Male	Don't Know	Total
survivor	Not a survivor	107	474	5	586
	Accident, Natural disaster	1	4	0	5
	Non-domestic violence	1	0	0	1
	War terrorism, vigilantism	0	4	0	4
	Don't Know	0	1	0	1
	Total	109	483	5	597

In television news, 70 per cent of those portrayed as survivors are men while 30 per cent are women. While recognition that men can also be victims and survivors is commendable, it should not obscure the fact that in reality, majority of victims and survivors are women. One of the reasons for this representation is because

men tend to participate more in violent politics, they are more likely to be covered by the media. This is the reason why they are reported as survivors of violence.

Role of women journalists in the Kenyan Media: The Television

Figure 7: Role specification by gender in TV



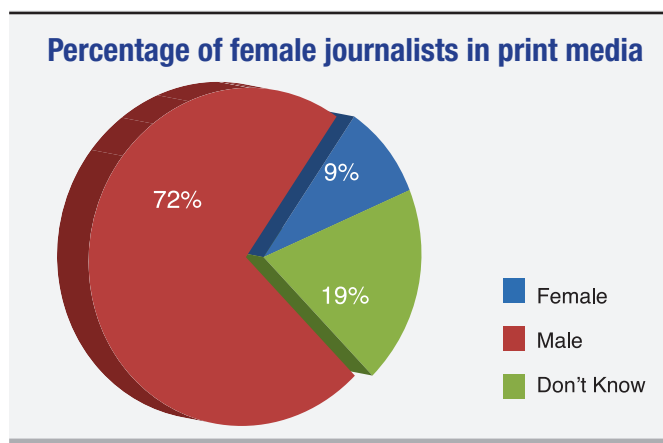
The findings show that women journalists were more dominant as news anchors (74 per cent) than men (22 per cent). But almost a half of reporters were men compared to 30 that were female. Majority of those who covered political stories were male journalists. A key issue to note here is that the male reporters tended to get assigned hard roles of going to the field and filing reports, while women were assigned the softer roles, such as news anchors. Given that gate-keeping starts with the reporter, the preponderance of males as reporters could explain why more news sources are men. This finding also suggests that during recruitment, more females are hired by the television stations as news anchors than as reporters. Although the age composition of anchors and reporters cannot be established using the approach and instrument used in this study, it is generally true that the women on television are young and attractive. Hence, the stereotype that young and attractive can only do better in increasing the viewership of the station, than, perhaps, through their stories. It is an indication of the media's stereotypical portrayal of women as objects of attraction rather than professionals. Assignment of women mainly as news anchors also betrays a proclivity to exploit the sexual appeal of women for commercial gain by the media houses. But it also underlines another worrying trend – the short careers of female anchors. In Kenyan TV, perhaps only one female anchor is over 40 years old while the majority are in their 20s and early 30s.

Overall, there are more men than women in Kenyan media. But men are to be found in other aspects of media work, in addition to the newsroom. They make up the majority of media owners and top managers. In the newsroom, content generated by men by far overwhelms that of their female counterparts. For stories reported on television, radio and newspapers, those by female reporters accounted for 32 per cent compared

to 53 per cent by men. There were more women in the newsrooms than in the field. In radio too, women were in more visible as presenters.

It is also likely that the women in the newsroom serve in roles like copy editors and designers, rather than as editors or reporters. This is an important distinction: copy editors and designers (as content enhancers) have limited gate-keeping authority, while reporters and editors (as content producers) have the final say on what appears in the media.

Figure 8: Percentage of female journalists in print media

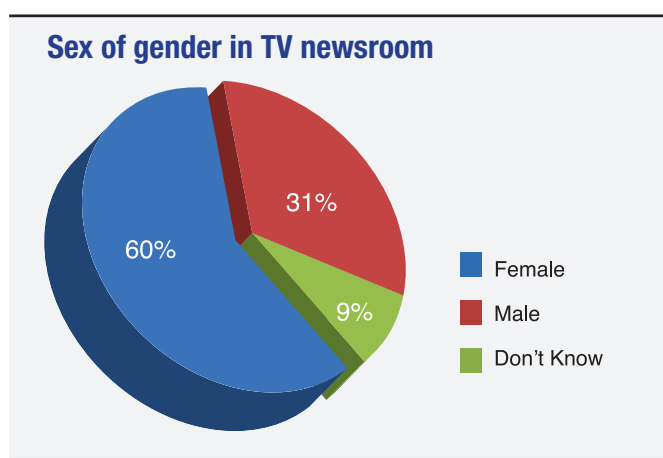


This data show that there are more men than women reporting on political issues in the print media. From the analysis of the sex of the reporter, only nine per cent of the journalists who reported in the print media on political news were female compared to 72 per cent male. This represents a considerable discrepancy that needs to be explained through further research. There is need to conduct in-depth interviews and study the processes of recruitment, assigning of duties, and selection of employees for

further training by various media houses, as well as gender-based specialization trends.

This unequal representation is a contrast to what is happening at the schools of journalism from which almost an equal number of women as men are graduating. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the recruitment processes of media houses. These need to be interrogated to either confirm or dispel the suspicion that media houses are biased, unsystematic and do not respect labour laws on gender parity.

Figure 9: Sex of gender in TV newsroom



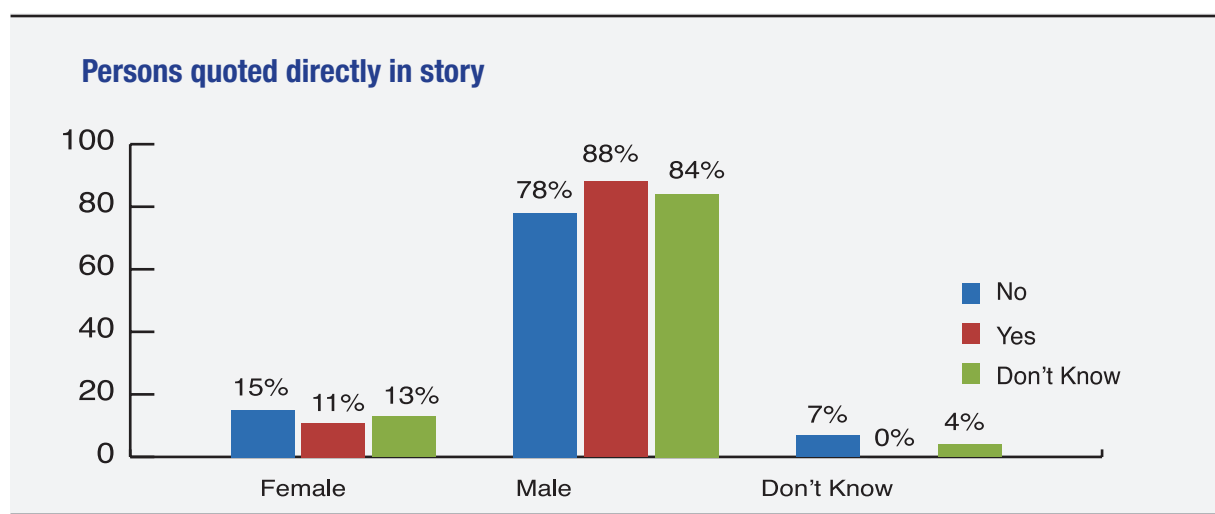
The data shows that there were more women in TV newsrooms than men, reinforcing the fact that electronic media seem to have a bias towards women. There are varied reasons for this, with two emerging as dominant: One is that the TV management usually employs women purely for commercial purposes, using their beauty and gender to attract viewership, which translates into more advertisements. The second is that more female graduates transit from Schools of Journalism into electronic media because the environment in print media is believed to be hostile. Further

research is needed to test these statements.

Another finding is that the high number of females in the newsrooms does not translate into better or more coverage of females by the media. With male reporters' stories exceeding those by their female counterparts, it would seem the male journalists covered more male news sources and actors.

In addition, men were allocated seven times more airtime on TV than women, showing the skewed perspective of news collection and analysis with reference to media coverage of gender-based issues. The situation has persisted despite similar studies in other countries showing that stories by female reporters tend to contain more female news subjects than stories by male reporters

Figure 10: Persons quoted directly in story



More male sources (88 per cent) were quoted directly in the stories than females (11 per cent), meaning the views of the male gender were likely to be transmitted as said, but those of female sources were paraphrased

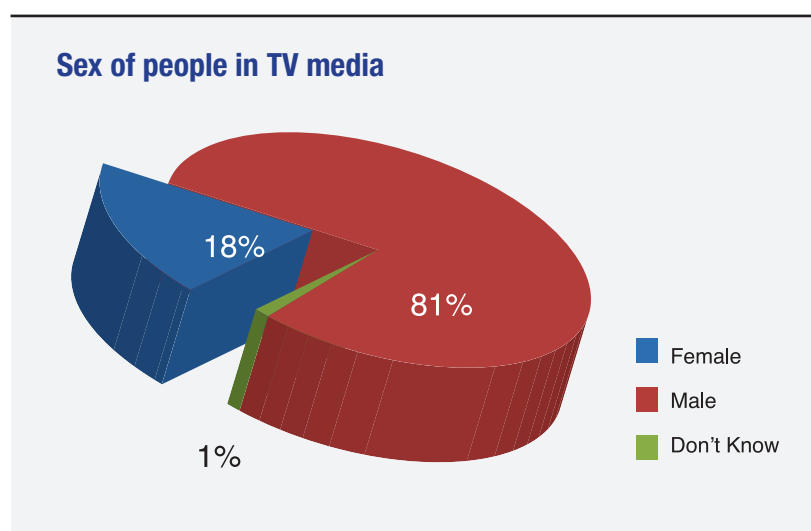


Figure 11: Sex of people in TV media

Men's images appeared on television five times more than those of women in news features.

Gender comparison of Accompanying Photograph of the Person in the Story

Table 4: Gender comparison of accompanying photograph of the person in the story account

		Sex			
		Female	Male	Don't Know	Total
photograph	No	97	691	38	826
	Yes	44	233	2	279
	Don't Know	1	11	0	12
	N/A	0	3	0	3
	Total	142	938	40	1121

Figure 12: Images of women and men in political news

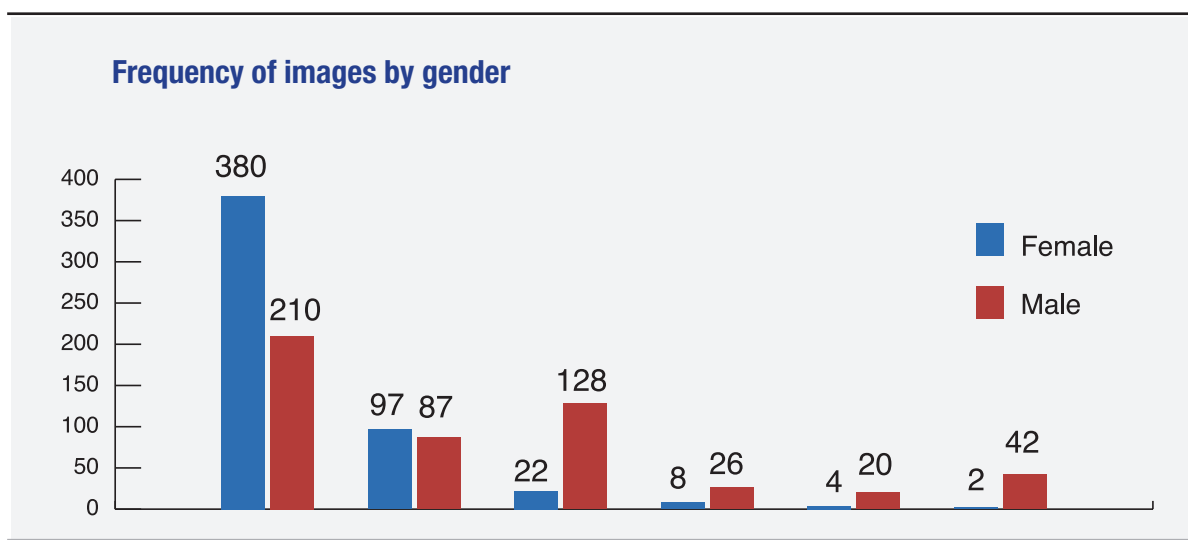


Figure 12 shows that overall; there were more images of males in political news compared to those of females. This is at variance with the findings of other studies where women have dominated in images. But this study focused on gender in political news, an area dominated by men, perhaps explaining the high number of male images. These findings indicate that while women's images may dominate in other news stories, they dim in comparison when it comes to political stories.

Of all the news stories reported by male journalists on television, 76 per cent were of men while only 29 per cent of stories reported by female journalists were of women.

This may imply that male journalists prefer to source news from their fellow men. The male sources were allocated seven times more airtime in the TV than their female counterparts. This shows the skewed perspective of news collection and analysis with reference to media coverage of gender based issues.

Allocation of TV airtime to women and men in seconds

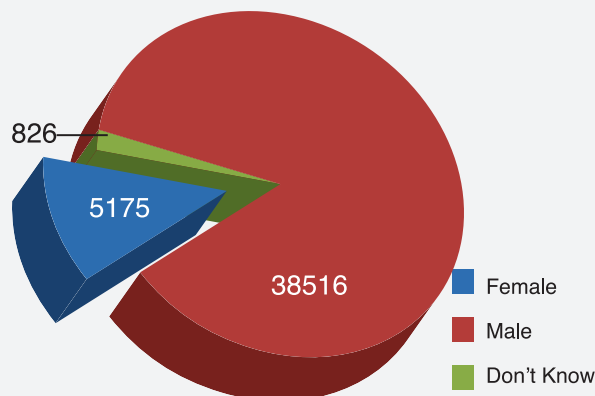
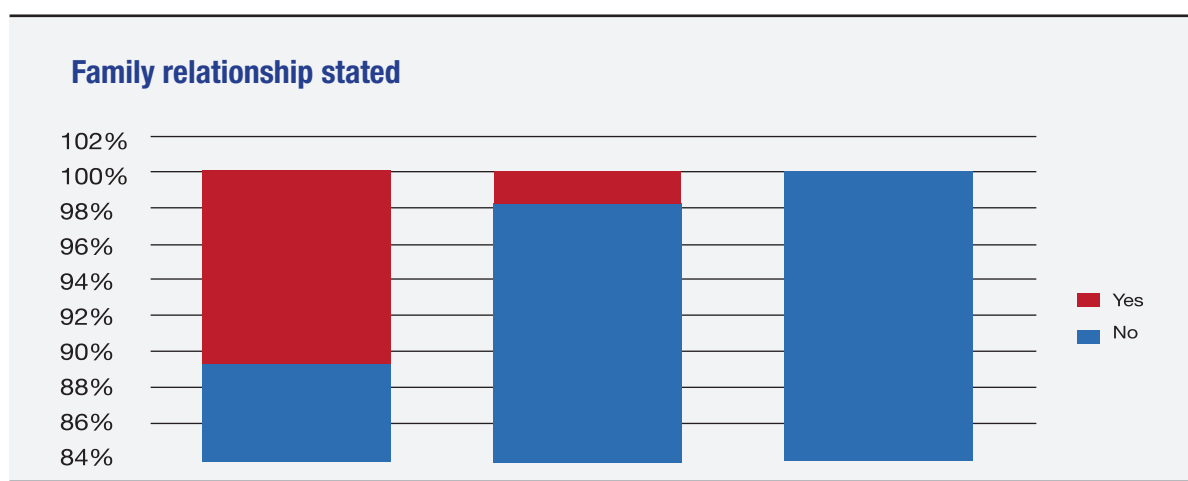


Figure 13: Allocation of TV airtime to women and men

Figure 13 shows that men enjoyed seven times of television news time compared to their female counterparts. Such allocation enabled them to explain their views and get more visibility in the media than women. In view of the fact that television is a powerful platform to influence opinion, the more time the men enjoyed increased their political fortunes, and entrenched their dominance as political actors. This contributes to the reinforcement of their stranglehold on power in society and the perception that only men can make good leaders

News sources and identification of their family relationship

Figure 14: Family relationship stated

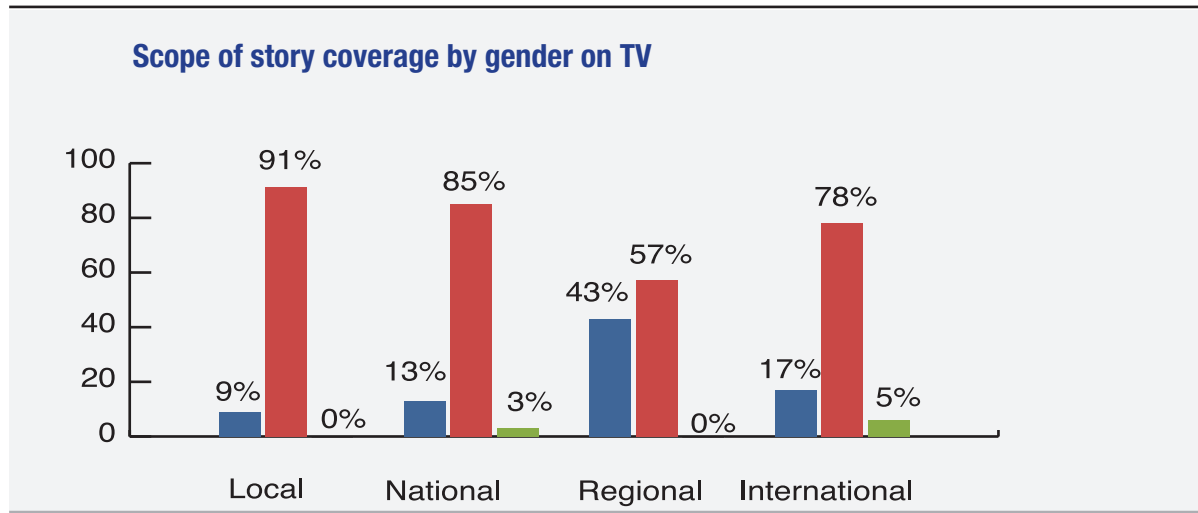


In 43 per cent of the political news covered, women's family relationship was stated compared to 26 per cent for men. This preference to portray family relationship of females perhaps shows the stereotypes in the media that women in politics are not a force unless they are attached to other persons. Since the women in politics were always being associated with their husbands or male relatives, it points to the myth that women politicians are incomplete, inadequate or socially unacceptable without male companionship or association. Sometimes the media uses this to portray women as good women only if they are married.

It further entrenches the misconceptions that women need male patronage to succeed in politics, and that only married women, or women who can demonstrate a relationship with men are acceptable in political positions.

Scope of Coverage

Figure 15: Gender representation in local, national, and international TV news



On average, more men (71 per cent) than women (21 per cent) were covered across all geographical news sections (international, regional, national and local) in TV, radio and newspaper media). However, women received more coverage in regional news (43 per cent) and International news (17 per cent). What this shows is that, while the share of coverage for local and national news pales in comparison of that of their male colleagues, women in regional news fair better in terms of attracting coverage (43 per cent, compared to men's 57 per cent; and even international news where they get 17 per cent of the coverage. this, would suggest more bias towards covering men in Kenya, compared to the regional and international platform. This needs further research to establish the reasons behind this treatment of women sources in regional and international news.

Women and men views and issues in the genre

Figure 16: Women and men views and issues in the genre

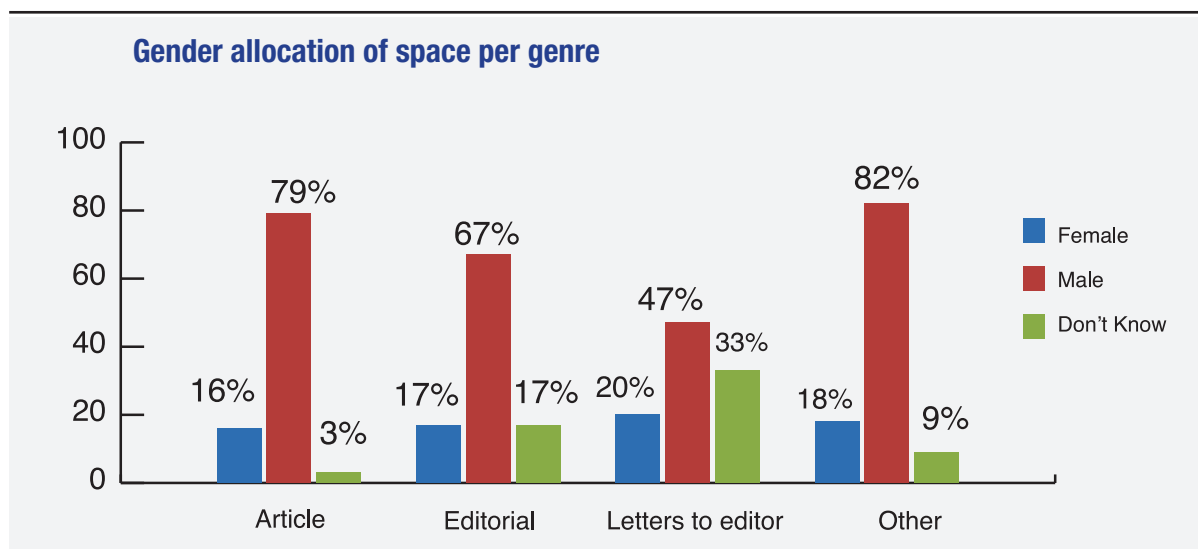


Table 5: Genre where articles related to gender appeared in newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Article	408	29.4	80.3	80.3
	Editorial	24	1.7	4.7	85.0
	Opinion	50	3.6	9.8	94.9
	Letter to the Editor	15	1.1	3.0	97.8
	Other	9	.8	2.2	100.0
	Total	506	36.6	100.0	

Articles (81%) had the highest percentage of gender coverage while the Opinion and Editorial (Op-Ed) section had coverage on gender issues totaling 9.8 per cent and 4.7 per cent respectively. In addition, males were covered more in articles (79 per cent), Editorials (67 per cent), Letters to the Editor (47 per cent) and other sections of the newspaper as compared to females who averaged 17 per cent in all sections of the newspaper.

Feature stories (Eight per cent) and the headlines (14 per cent) had minimal stories that represented gender issues as compared to the second segment of the news report which carried 38 per cent on television.

Feature stories (8%) and the headlines (14%) had minimal stories that represented gender issues as compared to the second segment of the news report which carried 38% in the TV news platform.

Figure 17: Space allocation to women and men

In terms of overall space allocation, males got the lion's share of the space allocated in newspapers, getting 77 per cent of the space compared to females who got 17 per cent of the space.

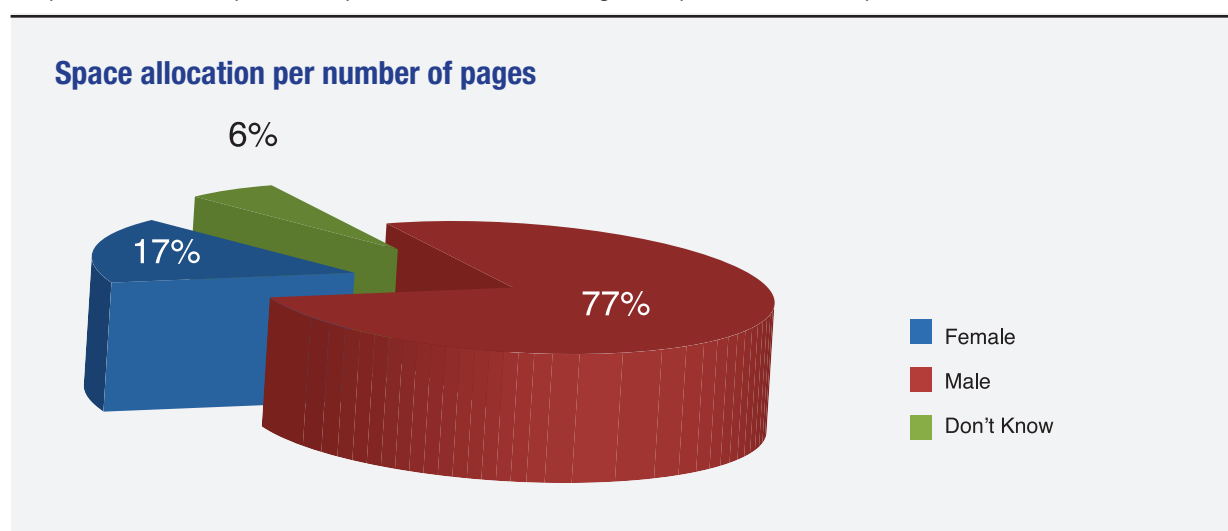
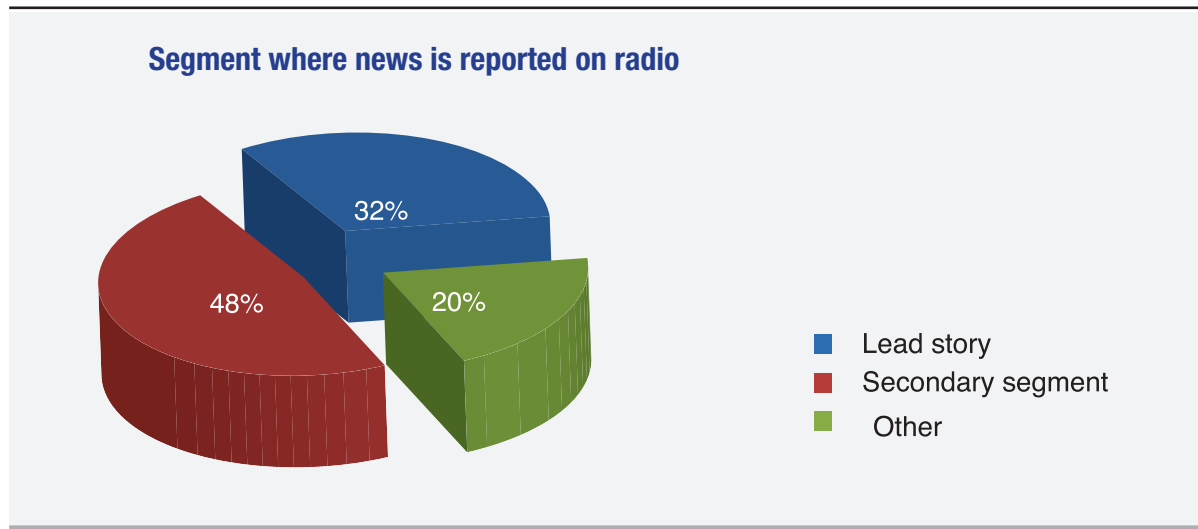


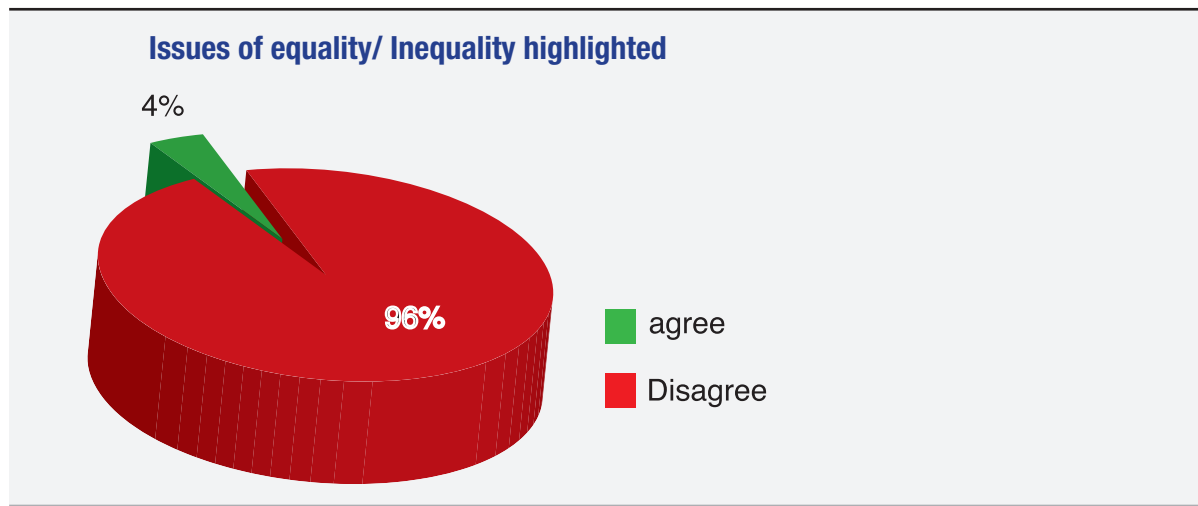
Figure 18: Segment where news is reported on radio



In radio, the highest percentage of gender related stories were reported in the second segment at 48 per cent while 32 per cent were reported as lead stories. A fifth of them were reported under others.

Issues of Equality/Inequality highlighted

Figure 19: Issues of equality/ Inequality highlighted



Only four per cent of the stories highlighted issues of equality/inequality, meaning majority of the journalists did not interrogate deeper, from a gender perspective or seek the gender dimension of the issues they were writing about. The findings raise the question of whether media practitioners are aware, or if they have been sensitized about gender rights and covering issues using a gender lens.

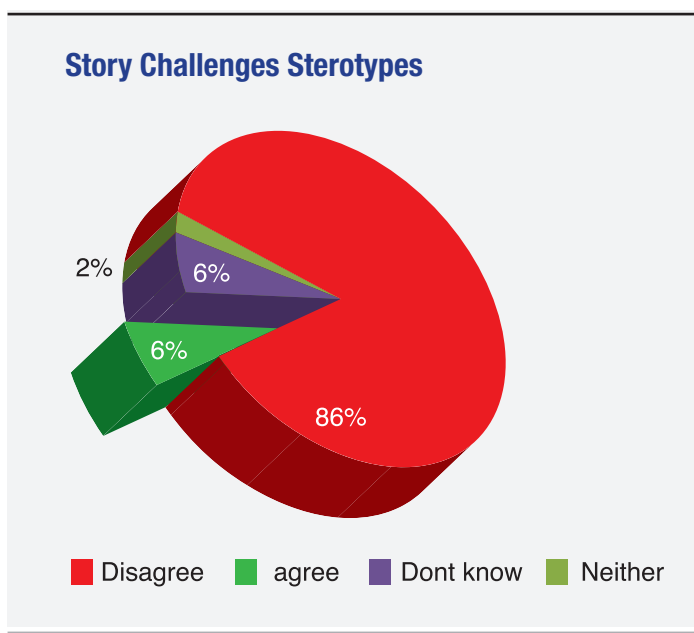


Figure 20: Story challenges stereotypes

Only six per cent of the stories covered challenged gender stereotypes. Yet, we know that stereotypes greatly inhibit women's and girls' advancement in society. A lot needs to be done to ensure the media plays a critical role in challenging these stereotypes.

Women Centrality in the Story

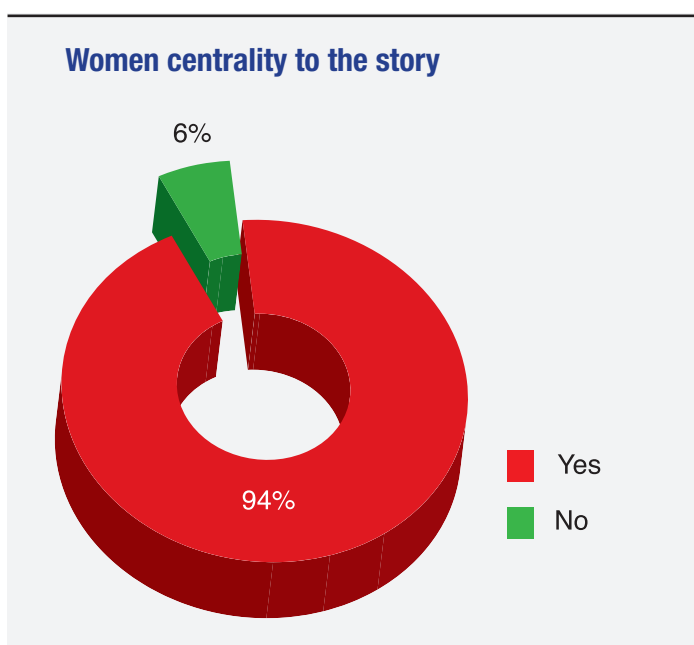


Figure 22: Women centrality in story

From Fig. 22, only 6% of the stories had women or women issues central to the story, with an overwhelming 94% of the stories not having women or their issues as a central feature. One of the reasons could be lack of gender sensitive reporting or low treatment of stories that bring out women issues in the media.

Conclusion

The findings of this study have confirmed the anecdotal evidence and experiences of women politicians and gender advocates that women get unfair treatment when it comes to coverage of political issues, events, and occasions. The findings also show that women's voices diminish as the media moves to cover areas that have traditionally been dominated or perceived to be men's domains. Yet, the media is expected to be fair to both genders when sourcing and publishing information.

Indeed, the question of mass media as mirror versus creator of culture is an enduring one in the kind of scholarship that explores the relationship between mass media and society. What is clear so far is that communication media produce message systems and symbols which structure prevailing images of social reality with considerable consequences on power relations between various social groups. While advances have been made in achieving better coverage and representation of both men and women; studying how gender is represented in the media is important in understanding whether women are inching closer to parity with men when it comes to how they are portrayed. As Aidan White, General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists remarked in *Getting the Balance right: Gender Equality in Journalism* (IFJ 2009): "Fair gender portrayal is a professional and ethical aspiration, similar to respect for accuracy, fairness and honesty."

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APPENDIX

Gender Portrayal and Representation CODING SYSTEM

SUMMARY for Newspaper, Radio and Television news

Newspaper

1) **Page Number:** Story appears on First page=1, Third page= 3, etc.

2) **Subject:** See table.

POLITICAL NEWS		ECONOMIC NEWS		RURAL DEVELOPMENT	
1	Political power and decision-making	9	Economic policies, strategies, modules, etc.	19	Credit, loans...
2	Election	10	Economic indicators, stats, stock markets, etc.	20	Education
3	Peace, negotiations, treaties	11	Economic crisis, state bailouts of companies, company takeovers and mergers, etc.	21	Employment
4	Other domestic politics, government, etc.	12	Poverty, housing, social welfare, aid, etc.	22	Health, reproductive...
5	Global partnerships	13	Employment	23	Food, nutrition...
6	Foreign/international politics, UN, peacekeeping	14	Other labour issues (strikes, trade unions, etc.)	24	Housing
7	National defence, military spending, internal security, etc.	15	Rural economy, agriculture, farming, land rights	25	Infrastructure: Roads, telecommunications...
8	Other stories on politics (specify in 'comments')	16	Consumer issues, consumer protection, fraud...	26	Land, ownership...
		17	Transport, traffic, roads...	27	Water, sanitation ...
		18	Other stories on economy (specify in 'comments')	28	Poverty
				29	Other stories on rural development(specify in 'comments')

3) **Genre:** Article=1, Editorial=2, Opinion=3, Letters to the editor=4, Poll=5, Cartoon=6, Other=7

4) **Space allocated:** Full page=1, Half page=2, One third page=3, Quarter page=4, Less than quarter page=5

5) **Scope:** Do not know or Not Applicable=0, Local=1, National=2, Regional=3, Foreign/International=4

6) **Reference to gender equality legislation or policy:** Do not know=0, Yes=1, No=2

7) **If the feature contains images, note the number of women and men in the image.**

Women=___ Men=_____

8) **Sex:** Female=1, Male=2, Other (intersex, transgender, etc.)=3, Do not know=4

9) **Sex:** Female=1, Male=2, Other (transgender, etc.)=3, Do not know or Not Applicable =4,

10) **Age (the person appears):** Do not know=0, 12 and under=1, 13-18=2, 19-34=3, 35-49=4, 50-64=5, 65 and up=6,

11) **Occupation or position:**

See table.

0	Not stated	14	Religious figure, priest, monk, rabbi, mullah, nun
1	Royalty, monarch, deposed monarch, etc.	15	Activist or worker in civil society org., NGO, trade union
2	Government, politician, minister, spokesperson . .	16	Sex worker, prostitute
3	Government employee, public servant, etc.	17	Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, singer, TV personality
4	Police, military, para-military, militia, fire officer	18	Sportsperson, athlete, player, coach, referee
5	Academic expert, teacher, childcare worker	19	Student, pupil, schoolchild
6	Health worker, doctor, psychologist, social worker	20	Homemaker, parent (male or female) only if no other occupation is given e.g. doctor/mother=code 6
7	Science or technology professional, engineer, etc.		
8	Media professional, journalist, film-maker, etc.	21	Child, young person no other occupation given
9	Lawyer, judge, magistrate, legal advocate, etc.	22	Village or resident no other occupation given
10	Business person, exec, manager, stock broker . .	23	Retired person, pensioner no other occupation given
11	Office or service worker, non-management worker	24	Criminal, suspect no other occupation given
12	Tradesperson, artisan, labourer, truck driver, etc.	25	Unemployed no other occupation given
13	Agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry	26	Other only as last resort & explain

12) **Function in the news story:** See table (refer to full monitoring guidelines for further explanation).

0	Do not know	4	Personal experience
1	Subject	5	Eye witness
2	Spokesperson	6	Popular opinion
3	Expert or commentator	7	Other

13) **Family relationships stated:** No=0, Yes=1

14) **Does the story identify the person a victim:** See table.

0	Not a victim	5	Victim of violation based on religion, tradition...
1	Victim of an accident, natural disaster, poverty	6	Victim of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state violence...
2	Victim of domestic violence, rape, murder, etc.	7	Victim of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion, ability, etc.
3	Victim of non-domestic sexual violence, rape, assault, etc. (sexual violence only)	8	Other victim (specify in comments)
4	Victim of other non-domestic crime, robbery, etc.	9	Do not know, cannot decide

15) **Does the story identify the person as a survivor:** See table.

0	Not a survivor	5	Survivor of violation based on religion, tradition...
1	Survivor of an accident, natural disaster, poverty	6	Survivor of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state violence...
2	Survivor of domestic violence, rape, murder, etc.	7	Survivor of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion, ability, etc.
3	Survivor of non-domestic sexual violence, rape, assault, etc. (sexual violence only)	8	Other survivor (specify in 'comments')
4	Survivor of other non-domestic crime, robbery, etc.	9	Do not know, cannot decide

16) **Is the person directly quoted:** No=0, Yes=1, NA (secondary source, report, article, etc.)=2

17) Is there a photograph of the person in the story: No=0, Yes=1, Do not know=2, NA (if coding a secondary source)=3

18) **IN THE NOTES SECTION OF THE CODING SHEET DESCRIBE ANY PHOTOGRAPHS INCLUDED IN THE STORY AND THE CONCLUSIONS YOU DRAW FROM THEM.**

19) **Are women central to this story:** No=1, Yes=2, Do not know, cannot decide=3

20) **This story clearly highlights issues of inequality between women and men:** Disagree=1, Agree=2, Do not know=3

21) **This story clearly challenges stereotypes:** Disagree=1, Agree=2, Neither agree nor disagree=3, Do not know=4

22) **Does this story warrant further analysis:** No=1, Yes=2, Do not know=3

KENYAN MEDIA AND WOMEN IN POLITICAL NEWS

