

**SUSTAINED GENDER STEREOTYPING AS SHOWN IN KENYAN
TELEVISION COMMERCIALS, POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE IMAGE
OF WOMEN AND THE WAY FORWARD:**

By

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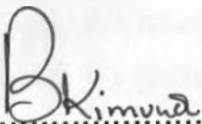
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DECLARATION

This paper is my original work and has not been presented for a degree examination in any other University.

Sign: 

Date Nov. 14. 2003

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This paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor:

Sign : 

Date 18 Jan. 2005

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To

My husband Joe W. Kimuna, our children Vanessa Nekesa Moraa and little Ray Wekesa Choti Mokamba for their love, support, guidance, patience, encouragement and prayers throughout the period of the programme.

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This work could not have achieved its present form were it not for the good health and care from the Almighty God during the long journey to completing the Master of Arts. Special appreciation goes to my supervisor Mumbi Machera for her positive criticism, motivation, kind and intellectual guidance during the correction of this paper. As my supervisor, she allowed me the independence to succeed, God bless her. I am also highly indebted to Ken Omoke, Geography Department for his guidance during the statistical analysis of this project paper. I cannot forget Dr. P. Mbatia, Dr. R. Ocharo and Dr. P. Chitere, Sociology Department for their readiness to give a word of counsel whenever I asked for their help. I also give special thanks to all my classmates for providing vital information or advice and encouragement. Special thanks also go to all those I came across as I sought literature material like the staff of the School of Journalism Library, University of Nairobi and many others.

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To all who wished me success and prayed for me, I say God bless you abundantly!

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to look into the degree to which adverts promote stereotypes, the impact of this on society's expectations and subsequent treatment of women. The study sought to describe the role television commercials play in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes in Kenya and also to investigate the contribution television commercials have made in creating and sustaining gender differentials in social status. It also sought to establish the extent to which the Kenyan advertiser uses women's sexuality to sell various products.

Sources of the data included both primary and secondary data.

The study was carried out at Steadman Media House, Westlands, Nairobi where a sample total of 740 television commercials in five categories aired between 1989-2002 were viewed. Fairly more than 10% (75) of the 740 commercials grouped into the five categories consisting of 148 commercials each was randomly selected using the lottery method. A sample of 15 commercials was selected from each category.

A recording of these commercials was done and a coding scheme established. Each commercial was given a number starting with one and running consecutively upto 75. Evidence of stereotypes associated with roles, traits and activities, for both males and females were documented. Evidence of females engaging in stereotypical male behaviors and males engaging in stereotypical female behaviors was also documented.

The primary data was mainly collected by the use of a data sheet (appendix 1) which included five categories of commercials; cosmetic and beauty products, household (e.g. Detergents), baby and children's products, luxury items (Guinness, tusker export, embassy etc) and pharmaceuticals (e.g lucozade, vicks etc).

Observation method (both direct and indirect) was employed while viewing the commercials and content analysis as a methodology to analyze the data was adopted. The study utilized mainly descriptive statistical tools such as percentages

together with quantitative statistics mainly correlations. Data coding and entry was done using the computer Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

Analysis of data related to 10 variables showed that these variables have a lot of influence on the message that is passed on by the type of advert in question. That there is a direct relationship between roles, traits and activities for both males and females and the message a television commercial viewer gets i.e. for example if the advert shows the female character permanently within the home setting or domestic sphere and the male character predominantly outside the domestic sphere as is the case in this study, the message the viewer gets from this kind of advert is that the home and the roles in the home belong to the female and anything outside the domestic sphere belongs to the male.

These results show that Kenyan television commercials play a major role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes, that they have helped sustain the different social status ascribed to both men and women and that the Kenyan advertiser uses the woman's sexuality to sell various products.

Development takes place with the active participation of both men and women. Women's participation in national life can no longer be down played or taken for granted. If images of women in advertisements are demeaning, we can not fail to appreciate the kind of possible harm this can cause to both social and economic aspects of society. If on the other hand the portrayals are positive, the larger community is likely to view woman's position as being positive, and contributory to social wellbeing.

On the basis of these findings and the related conclusions made, recommendations to future researchers and relevant policy makers are drawn; mainly that, the media has a big role to play in correcting the prevailing gender imbalances to ensure equal treatment of both genders. That the media portrayals of women in television commercials need to be updated in order to encourage the development of more flexible and equal gender role representation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

TV	-	Television
KTN	-	Kenya Television Network
KBC	-	Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation
STV	-	Stellavision
MNET	-	Magic Entertainment Network
KDKA	-	Pittsburg Local Television Network (USA)
NARB	-	The National Advertising Review Board
C.R.T.C	-	Communication Research Training Centre
W.A.C	-	Women's Advisory Council
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for Social Scientists

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information on the Media, Advertising and Gender

According to UNESCO (1979), mass media can be defined as the means or instruments serving as carriers of messages from a communicator to a mass audience. The principle mass media are; radio, television, film, music, books and magazines. Apart from providing mere entertainment, mass media is also used to disseminate information, educate, persuade and shape people's lives. One other use of mass media which plays a significant role in the socialization process and on which this study is focusing on, is advertising.

Gender on the other hand, is a word with a long history of diverse usages. It's sociological meaning refers to cultural ideas that construct images and expectations of females and males. It is usually defined around ideas about male and female personality traits and behavioral tendencies that take the form of opposites. Taken as sets of traits and tendencies, these make up femininity and masculinity. Masculinity, for example, typically includes aggressiveness, logic, emotional inexpressiveness and dominance, while femininity is associated with peacefulness, intuitiveness, emotional expressiveness and submissiveness. Numerous authors point out that traits typically attributed to males and females do not infact describe most people accurately i.e wives may be relatively submissive in relation to their husbands but as mothers, not so in relation to their children. In this sense, to describe women as "submissive" confuses personality with cultural expectations associated with particular roles and social situations.

Gender is a universal and yet very sensitive issue, because of it's impact on personal identity and ultimately on power values which are culturally determined. Traditional gender roles are restrictive in nature and have led to

negative consequences, harmful activities and unhealthy interactions for many individuals (especially women) in society.

Advertising's potential for power is recognized worldwide; it has been called "the most potential influence in adapting and changing habits and modes of life, affecting what we eat, wear, the work we do and our leisure time". Advertising dominates the media, has vast power in the shaping of popular standards, it is a source of learning and conditioning with cognitive and affective results, it exercises social control and has role-modeling aspects which impact on social-behavior. Society has elevated advertising to an invisible podium from which we learn/are influenced. Advertising images have increasing capacity to influence people Kamweru, E. (1996).

Advertising is of vital importance to the continued functioning of mass communication media which are financially dependent on it. It is the primary means by which communications media sustain themselves and advertisers who revert to mass media in order to maximize marketing potential for their products. In this process, *women are most solicited consumers and instrument of persuasion* UNESCO, (1979).

UNESCO (1979) further shows how advertising covers all the ways that individuals and organizations publicize the goods and services they have to offer and promote a positive self-image.

In both developed and developing countries, public attitudes regarding the role of women in society are major determinants in deciding the status of women. In shaping these attitudes, the media exerts a very strong influence.

According to Jefkins, F. (1992), commercials present the most persuasive possible selling message to the right prospects for the product or service at the lowest possible cost. It is the means by which we make known what we have to sell. The main aim of advertising therefore is to sell.

According to Damato B, J et al (1987), advertising is a paid form of communication. It's special feature is that it is paid for by some interested party who stands to benefit from the communication of the message. The nature and the wordings of the message are under the control of this interested party. Subject to the law and codes of practice, an individual can say what he likes in the way he prefers and with the impact and fluency which he chooses.

Most people have come to believe that advertising agencies and media have no ethics. The advertising trade, they claim uses any means no matter how unscrupulous and tell any story no matter how untrue, to get customers to buy products no matter how ineffective or dangerous Parenti, (1992)

Social critics of advertising charge that advertising manipulates our lives; in particular women's lives, molds and makes women believe that consumption is a major part of life irrespective of social consequences Roberts, T. (1996).

According to Carmen L. (1990), portrayal of women and men in the global media in the last decade remains limited to stereotyped representations. Men continue to outnumber women across all program genres by three to one. Men dominate voice-overs regardless of product. Men "age" on the screen whereas women virtually disappear at about the age of 30 years, only to be revived in grandmothering roles. Facial lines, rotund physique and grey hair in a male are considered "distinguished" and "mature", whereas the same features in women are deemed unseemly and "old" not fit for public consumption on TV screens. Men solve most political and social problems whereas women generally wait to be rescued, to be told how to do something right, or to be romantically pursued.

According to The National Advertising Review Board, (1975), the portrayal of women in household-related roles, mostly in advertisements for household products, is a cause of concern, particularly because of the repetitiousness of the housewife image. Showing women performing domestic tasks and using household products in their homes is not objectionable per se. The endless repetition of such portrayal suggests that women's place is only in the home.

The images mediated through advertisements affect perception and behavior of men and women in their relationships with each other. The domestic portrayal of women in advertisements and depiction of men outside the home in a diversity of roles and in a wider range of settings has led to psychological allocation of certain roles to a particular gender and despite the strides that women have made over the years since the emergence of the women's liberation movements and attaining universal suffrage, the media still portrays women as homemakers who would not venture outside the home. Advertising as part of the media thus reinforces these attitudes. In aiming to sell, the advertisers pass certain attitudes, views and stereotypes.

Women are the larger segment of the media audience. As they obtain more education and economic independence, they become more critical of societal structures that suppress them.

Development takes place with the active participation of both men and women. Women's participation in national life can no longer be down played or taken for granted. However, Media organizations that pride themselves in impartiality and balanced reporting ignore the role played by women in development. If images in advertisements are demeaning, we can not fail to appreciate the kind of possible harm this can cause to both the social and economic aspects of society. If on the other hand, the portrayal is positive, the larger community is likely to view woman's position as being positive and contributory to societal wellbeing. Unfortunately, negative portrayals of this kind have led to discrimination in job opportunities. Young Kenyan girls may not see the need for high aspirations since the role models on screen are not senior executives or professionals. This would lead to detriment in the economic, social and political spheres of the Kenyan nation.

Women need free access on equal terms with men in education, social participation and communication if they are to participate in solving the problems of their society. Unfortunately, this is not the case in the Kenyan society. Their success is impeded by social customs, religion, discriminatory

laws and disproportionate share of responsibility for taking care of the home
Kamweru, E. (1996)

Studies carried out in the past show that the media plays a key role in reproducing and propagating stereotypical identities. Women in the media gain their identity and the loving admiration of family members through domestic accomplishments, which always hinge on her embodiment in the correct product choice. The lesson for girls is that women are generally mindless and powerless, either domestic drudges or saintly supermums, sexual sirens or brain-dead bimbos. The lesson for boys is that men are supposed to be competitive at work and play, keen sportsmen, decision-makers and knowledgeable about almost everything, and able to solve all minor and major problems Carmen L. (1990).

This study recognizes the fact that sustained gender stereotyping is deeply rooted in our economic, social and cultural set-ups and would like to point out that it does not in any way try to suggest that television is the only cause/source of gender stereotyping in our society but as already pointed out, it plays a major role in sustaining gender stereotypes thus through this study, we aim at identifying, understanding, addressing and analyzing the portrayal of women in television commercials as a sustained phenomena in Kenya based on the content analysis of commercials aired on Kenyan televisions.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The broad objective of this study is to look into the degree to which adverts promote stereotypes, the impact of this on society's expectations and subsequent treatment of women.

Specific objectives include to;

- 1) Describe the role television commercials play in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes in the Kenyan community
- 2) Investigate the contribution television commercials have made in creating and sustaining gender differentials in social status;

- 3) Establish the extent to which the advertisers use women's sexuality to sell various products.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What role do television commercials play in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes?
2. How have these television commercials helped sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society?
3. To what extent has the Kenyan television advertiser used the woman's sexuality to sell various products?

1.5 Justification of the study

Literature used in this study is derived mainly from studies conducted in the United States, Australia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Italy, Mexico, Portugal and to a very small extent due to lack of literature Kenya. This study will therefore go along way in augmenting to the limited literature that exists in the area of gender stereotyping in television commercials; the Kenyan situation. This area has not been, if at all, adequately covered by previous studies in Kenyan. It will definitely fill in a very important gap. It is the intention of this study therefore, to enrich literature in this area.

According to Emery et al; (1965), values are acquired in the socialization process, to the extent that the mass media is involved in socializing human personalities. There is an inherent possibility that the media does affect the way people acquire values and the kind of values they acquire.

According to Kamweru, E. (1996), Kenyan women are described as the 'invisible force' behind national development. They are socially oppressed second class citizens despite the major roles they play in the economic development of this country. In the popular "Kimbo" advert, we see a lady entrepreneur selling fish to win bread for her family. She ends her busy hawking day with these *remarks "I am going home to cook for my husband"*. As an entrepreneur, she contributes to the smooth running of her family yet at

the end of the day, this is not recognized as a contributor to national development but rather as one of her many domestic chores. The rights of women in Kenya are theoretically guaranteed but in practice, such guarantees are difficult to implement.

According to Kibutiri L.W (1990), the media to an extent has ignored women's issues in Kenya. Today, what we listen to, watch and read about women is a negative portrayal of their contribution to human welfare. Women are active participants in the bread winning process of the family as well as in the economic development of the country but is she ever portrayed in these roles? Images of women in the media do not reflect the reality of their lives whatsoever! this study will therefore try to uncover the social factors and processes that are bound to suppress women's contribution to development and to society's smooth running.

This research will be important for advertising firms and media houses in order to change the trend that reinforces negative attitudes against women. Some negative attitudes could result in counter efficiency e.g girls and women rebel against adverts that show them as subservient. In turn, this will change the belief and traditions we hold and the target media will have to change. An appreciation of roles regardless of performer would reinforce a more positive attitude on all concerned/affected.

1.6 Hypotheses

The following statements have been formulated for testing as hypotheses:

1. H0: Television commercials do not play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes
H1: Television commercials play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes

2. H0: Television commercials do not significantly help to sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society
H1: Television commercials significantly help to sustain the different

social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society

3. H0: Advertisers do not significantly use women's sexuality to sell various products

H1: Advertisers significantly use women's sexuality to sell various Products

1.7 Scope and Limitations

Kenya has six television stations namely; Nation TV, KTN, KBC, Family TV, STV and MNET that reach a large number of its population. Owing to the installation of new booster stations, television transmission has expanded. Television has therefore become a medium of communication that has fast gained momentum thus making it a potential area for research. Unfortunately, only KBC and KTN have a wide network and to a small extent Nation TV. These two stations reach an estimated one million people. The rest are restricted to Nairobi only. This study will therefore limit itself to television commercials aired in Nairobi on these three channels KTN, KBC and Nation TV.

1.8 Conceptualization of Terms

Media: Used to refer to radio, television, film, music and the print media (e.g. books, magazines). Emphasis of this paper is however on television as a medium of communication

Stereotype: In this paper, the word stereotype is used to mean a rigid, often exaggerated belief that is used repeatedly without thought or change e.g. men cannot take care of children, woman's place is in the kitchen.

Role: Here, the term is used to mean, a person's task or duty in an undertaking or set of ideas associated with a social status that defines it's relationship with another person.

Gender Roles: These are the patterns of behavior in which women and men engage based on the cultural expectations associated with their gender for instance women as homekeepers and men as bread winners.

Gender Identity: This is an individual's specific definition of self based on that person's understanding of what it means to be a man or a woman i.e. character, behavior, personality, capabilities and attitude.

Gender role identity: This term is often used parsimoniously to describe a complex development process that includes gender role preference, gender role identification, gender role orientation, knowledge of sex determined role standards and gender role adoption.

Gender Stereotyping: This is a rigid, exaggerated belief that is used repeatedly to refer to cultural ideas that construct images and expectations of females and males in society. Gender stereotyping plays a prominent role in social oppression based on gender

Gender Image: This refers to the picture that is often portrayed of females and males in society.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Television - General

This chapter presents a review of literature and theoretical framework. The literature review shows how television commercials play a major role in the construction of gender identities among Women. The literature is derived mainly from studies conducted in the United States, Australia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Italy, Mexico, Portugal and due to lack of literature to a very small extent Kenya.

The Social Learning Theory is used as the main theory in this study. Bandura's (1966) Social Learning Theory, which focuses upon the relationship between certain stimuli and human behavior puts forward the suggestion that there are a set of "learning principles" upon which are based any forms of human behavior. The main three principles of the Social Learning Theory have been noted as observation, reinforcement and imitation. In terms of acquiring the concept of gender, Social Learning theorists argue that this occurs through children observing gender-typed behavior, having it reinforced through attitudes and example, until the child imitates it and eventually adopts it. This school of thought plays a major role in affirming that television plays a major role in the acquisition of sex roles. Other relevant theories that have also been used in this study include the Cultivation and Gratification theories.

According to Harte L. (April 1996), much attention today is given to the so-called "effects" of television, particularly the "extremes" of violence portrayed. Recent concern has focused upon certain somewhat disturbing films and the influences they may have had in encouraging human acts of violence and cruelty. However, due to such specific attentions, the possible influence of the "everyday" television, which we take for granted, is often overlooked, or perhaps underestimated. The importance of this everyday television as a research area is often undermined.

Almost every home in the city has a television and both adults and children spend a lot of time watching programs including commercials. Children spend on average

more time in front of it than they do attending school; as an "informal curriculum" it would thus seem unwise not to pay some research attention to it, after all, much time, money and effort is paid to our formal education system and it is arguable that television is even more important in the lives of our children. It is thus to such an area that this dissertation turns. Albeit relatively short, in consideration of the vast topic area it will as such be narrow in its scope. It will focus on television commercials and their role in the construction of gender identities among women in Kenya.

With television being so prevalent in our lives, it is crucial that we examine the images we get exposed to on a daily basis. The subject of the representation of women on television is an important area to study because in any society, television plays a considerable role in the socialization of sex roles. According to Signorelli, N. (1993) and Ingham, H. (1997), television is regarded by many as the most real form of media. If this is the case, it is important for us to question how real the representation of women on television is and how this affects the attitude of those who watch television".

The society in which we live plays an enormous role in shaping the attitudes and behavior of all those who are a part of it. Humans, as social beings, are constantly being bombarded with information from the environment which can influence the way we perceive the world and also shape our attitudes and beliefs, gradually molding each and everyone of us into an "accepted" member of society. In the past, these influences which dictate how we should behave in a "normal" society have emanated from sources such as the community, family and school. However, in today's world, the influences these institutions have seem to be declining as our changing society adapts to a more technological age. The growth of the mass media has had a significant impact on the lives of everyone, with specifically television becoming an enormous powerful medium.

In society today, the television set, which is so prominent in so many households, is not only a means of entertainment, but is also an important source of information. With recent research indicating that, on average, children spend 3.3 hours a day in front of the television B.A.R.B, in Beasley E. (1997), it seems inevitable that, as a

learning source, it has an important role in helping the "vulnerable and impressionable" minds of children to develop certain social roles and behavior traits that are carried on to adulthood thus providing a vicious cycle.

Television presents to its attentive audience a certain image of the world, providing a framework for what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in society, and also sends out implicit and explicit messages of what the world is like. In its portrayal of "normal" life, it reflects many important social roles, one of the most important and pervasive of these being "gender". Television has the potential to teach children about how men and women act in society, and to mould their views of what is expected of them in society as either a man or a woman. Although Gunter B. and McAleer J.L. (1990) are dubious in stating that television alone is "*molding innocent young viewer's conceptions of gender*" (p.61), it is widely accepted that what children see on television can, and sometimes does influence their attitudes and behavior in the area of gender.

According to Chandler, D. (1997) there is a general consensus that the mass media act as important agents of socialization, together with the family and peers, contributing to the shaping of gender roles. We learn to be male or female – it doesn't come naturally and the mass media contribute to making such roles seem natural and there is no doubt that television presents powerful, attention-grabbing images of gender.

Chandler continues to say that television offers a wide range of potential role-models, both positive and negative. Many people find these models of some use to them. It is not inevitable that viewers accept television gender images without question.

According to Ingham, H. (1997) in an ever-changing world, television has been accused by many of representing gender in an extremely stereotyped and traditional manner, which is no longer appropriate for the variety of roles taken on by the sexes. Even the percentage of time devoted to the sexes on-screen is accused of being unrepresentative of the "real" world, or the world beyond the screen. Indeed, these stereotypes are generally supported by the television industry as a whole,

frequently presenting women in the home via the housewife-type role, with the man as the strong, bread-winning husband.

As well as implicit messages, television also sends out many explicit messages of how men and women act in society. This is mainly through the way that television still seems to adopt a very traditional view of society, and in doing so tends to under represent women and portray men as dominant figures. Studies have indicated that television still adheres to sex-role stereotypes presenting women as dependent, emotional, domestic caregivers, while men are the supporting "bread winners". Depicting a society in this way has disturbing implications of what kind of world children believe they are living in. Portraying the sexes in dated and traditional roles can not only influence a child's choice of toys or clothes, but more importantly than that, television can "*strongly influence what opportunities children see for future work and what sense of self respect and pride they have*" Evra, (1990, p.112). Evra V. also states that the representation of sex roles on television is very pervasive and that it is inevitable that it will influence young children's views.

Television perpetuates traditional gender stereotypes because it reflects dominant social values. In reflecting them television also reinforces them, presenting them as "natural". As one might expect in a society still dominated by men, men dominate TV production and, influenced by these stereotypes, unconsciously reproduce a traditional "masculine" perspective, perpetuating dominant gender stereotypes, Chandler D. (1997).

Gallagher M. (1981) contends. "*.....the effect of the portrayal of women in media is to reinforce, rather than to reduce prejudices and stereotypes*"

According to Gross, R.(1993), "*gender role stereotyping is the belief that it is only natural and fitting for males and females to adhere to traditional gender role patterns*" (p.689)

The role of television Advertising in portraying Gender Stereotypes

According to Ingham H. (1997), one area of television, which has been heavily criticized for its gender representation, is advertising, which is widely acknowledged to place women in more subordinate roles.

There has been an abundance of global research done on the stereotypical gender roles of women in television commercials but criticism of advertising gained a new perspective in the early sixties when feminists began to question the roles women play in advertising Manca et al, (1994, p.6)

The power of advertising is in its ability to make intriguing suggestions that affect people in spite of their insistent denial of its role in shaping culture and personality. Archetypes that were offered through mythology, legend, literature and art history are now born and sustained in advertising. It is by the roles of the archetypal models that we model ourselves. Through even the most insipid of advertising we are affected by the subconscious power of the image, and representations of people in situations that start to suggest how we could and should model ourselves.

The lie of advertising is that we do not experience the same pleasure suggested in their images when we use the product. Yet, it is the images that compel us to buy the product, whether it be of Michael Jordan soaring through the air thanks to his marginal Nike sneakers or of Halle Berry whose beauty is credited to her use of Revlon cosmetics. The products they offer are of little use to us except as vehicles of association between ourselves and the lifestyle or qualities of a person or place represented. As Marshal McLuhan in Ravi S. (1997-1998) proclaimed to the consumer public's disbelief, we are buying advertising, not product. This absurd lie replaces our thin truth that we buy quality, when actually we buy artifice. But the purchase of a product because of its associated imagery goes far beyond leaving us with uncomfortable sneakers and runny mascara ----- it leaves us with a new self-definition.

But the power of images is in their convincing suggestion, their devious cunning, and their truthful lies. Picasso said that art was a lie posing as the truth; I'd be

inclined to say that advertising, by that definition, is one of the most sophisticated of arts!

Fejes, F.J (1992) agrees that in advertising "*there is a high degree of stereotyped gender roles*" (p.13). He however does not study the exploitation of the female body in advertisement.

How are these gender roles portrayed in society?

An extensive study by Scheibe (1983) in Beasley E. (April 1997) who examined over two thousand television commercials, illustrated that she found the world of television to depict men advertising cars and financial services while women were restricted to beauty products and cleaning equipment.

According to Manca (1994), women in commercials could be categorized into maternal, housekeeping, and aesthetic beauty.

Function ranking is another one of Goffman E. (1979) focuses. He found that when women and men are shown together in a commercial or advert, that the man is likely to perform the "executive role". Also, women more than men are seen receiving help from the opposite sex. An interesting theory presented by Goffman is that when men are seen doing traditionally female tasks such as mopping the floor, they are usually smiling because they are doing something funny. The men are basically mocking the importance of the tasks stereotypically assigned to women.

Males and females in children's television commercials are present in dramatically different numbers as shown in various studies done by Sternglanz S. H & Serbin, L. (1974). Although females make up 51% of the population, the world of television commercials is made up of 39% females Riffe, Goldson, Saxton & Yu, 1989). When women are portrayed they are most often talking to someone, such as a child, or something, such as a pet, in a subordinate position Lovdal, L.T (1989). Even greater differences appear when analyzing the use of male or female spokespersons and voice-overs in commercials. Hillyer, K.O (1992) found that nearly 81% of the non-program spots used male voices, while commercials utilizing female voices are mostly for dolls, accessories and stuffed animals. Similar results

are shown by O'Donnell & O'Donnell (1978) in a study which showed that when a female is speaking she is speaking to pets, babies, children and women dieters. Women, once again, spoke to those in inferior status and spoke to other women about feminine hygiene, headaches and dieting. In the same year, they also found that 93% of the commercials used male voice-overs.

One significant indication of the authority position of men with regard to women is the off-camera voice – over, which is used in many TV-commercials to summarize the virtues of the advertised product. All studies of role portrayal in television advertising unanimously report an overwhelming predominance of male voice-overs.

Various studies concerning males and females in television commercials consistently show that females are circumscribed by limited roles and ambitions, while males hold significantly greater social prestige and mobility in the media presentations Busby L. (1975). Advertisements do not present an accurate view of the spectrum of roles that females actually hold in society, or the variety of opportunities that are available and attainable by females.

A further description of the male-female relationship of authority/dependency was given in a comparative study by Cortney and Whipple (1974). Two of the four studies they reviewed analyzed the tasks and activities of product representatives in television advertisements. Females were usually shown performing domestic tasks related to the product. Male product representatives were mostly depicted demonstrating the product or giving advice and instructions, but never using it. Men were also shown as the beneficiaries in 54% of the food advertisements and in 81% of the cleaning products advertisements. The product categories featuring females in their advertising are also indicative of the advertiser's view of women's capacities.

In television content analyses of commercials three social roles for women are identified – maternal, housekeeping and aesthetic. There is also open discrimination as women and girls are seen less frequently than men. Certain characteristics are attributed to women differently from men – less authoritative, active, powerful, rational, decisive and more youthful. Women are portrayed as

housewives in low-status occupations and less intelligent. In this way therefore, advertising reinforces stereotypes of women.

Kiiru, M. (Friday, June 11, 1993) questions the rationale of using female models to promote products. He observes that: "The images portrayed in advertising included scantily dressed beauty objects, passive hipgyrating dancers, child minders, escorts as husbands go to work, cooks and nurses tending to sick children or husbands". He goes on to add: "*most advertisements leave a picture of a woman who is dependent on man – a stay-at-home who cooks for the family or a seductive enchantress who confuses as much as she attracts men.*"

Mutiso, T. (1989) notes that there is commercial infringement on the editorial decision. He however overlooks sexism in advertising.

Like Rugene, N. (1991), Goffman also studies the portrayal of women in humour columns. Her study is opportune because it shows exploitation of female stereotypes as a source of humour. The study overlooks the humour in advertisements and its exploitation of the female body to amuse the potential customer.

Wagaki, M. (1991) assesses the change in the portrayal of women in the media before and after the UN decade for women. The study focuses its attention on the news component of the publications and occludes advertisements. However, it is important to this study in that it shows the dynamic nature of the press.

Karega and Onyango (1997) show that the language Kenya's print media use is sexist in its bias against women, but they overlook the language of advertising used.

According to Chandler, D. (1997), majority of women on television commercials are restricted to only a few roles. Male roles are far more extensive and more exciting. Women are often shown on television adverts in "traditional" roles such as housewives, mothers, secretaries and nurses; men are shown as husbands and fathers, but also as athletes, celebrities and tycoons. Marital status is more often revealed for women on television commercials than for men. Men on TV are more

often portrayed in employment, tend to have a higher status and are less likely to be shown in the home. Where women are shown as successful outside the domestic sphere they are frequently portrayed as unhappy in their personal lives.

Chandler goes on to say that though not as strongly as in earlier years, the portrayal of both men and women on television commercials is largely traditional and stereotypical. This serves to promote a polarization of gender roles.

In television advertisements, gender stereotyping tends to be at its strongest because the target audiences are frequently either male or female. In adverts, men tend to be portrayed as more autonomous. They are shown in more occupations than women, women are shown mainly as housewives and mothers. Men are more likely to be shown advertising cars or business products, women are mostly advertising domestic products. Men are more likely to be shown outdoors or in business settings, women in domestic settings. Men are more often portrayed as authorities. According to Daniel Chandler, as far as television adverts go, with age men seem to gain authority, whilst women seem to disappear with advancement in age.

According to Lucy Komisar (1971), advertisers present women and men in stereotypic ways. Men celebrate the end of another day by stopping at a local bar with their pals. If not in a bar, a man is out in distant woods or by a remote stream all because he chose the right kind of four-wheel-drive vehicle. In contrast, women, in most commercials seem interested only in stemming the telltale signs of age, marveling over the softness of bathroom tissue, bemoaning the waxy buildup on their kitchen floors, or standing seductively by some car as a man describes the car. Lucy (p.30) further sees the treatment of women in advertising as follows:

Advertising legitimizes the idealized, stereotyped roles of woman as temptress, wife, mother, and sex object, and portrays women as less intelligent and more dependent than men. It makes women believe that their chief role is to please men and that their fulfillment will be as wives, mothers, and homemakers. It makes women feel unfeminine if they are not pretty enough and guilty if they do not spend most of their time in desperate attempts to imitate gourmet cooks and eighteenth-century scullery maids. It makes women believe that their own lives, talents and interests ought to

be secondary to the needs of their husbands and families, and that they are almost totally defined by these relationships. (p.30).

2.4 **What are the three dominant aspects of women portrayed by television advertisements?**

According to the National Advertising Review Board (1975), recurrent sexist charges focus on three aspects of the female image in advertising: as employed woman, as housewife, and as sex object

2.4.1 **The representation of the employed woman**

Cantor, M. (1972) found that women in television commercials were mostly represented in domestic roles, while men were more likely to be portrayed in occupational roles or non-domestic activities. Occupationally portrayed women rarely held high-status jobs. In television commercials aired in the US, (Miles, 1975), working males outnumber working females by 2 to 1. Women appear mostly as housewives or, if employed, in traditionally female occupations. Miles B. (1975)

Courtney and Whipple (1974) compared results of four studies done America on female portrayal in television advertising covering a two-year time span. The overrepresentation of women in home/family roles, and of men in media/celebrity and business management occupations was apparent. Women were further shown in a limited variety of occupational roles, not reflective of their real-life activities. The range of occupations males were portrayed in was much wider than that of females.

In an analysis of commercials aired during the 1975 season on KDKA-TV, Pittsburgh, males held a much greater variety of occupations than females (70 vs. 17). As revealed in other studies, the majority of females (72%) were portrayed in domestic roles. Only 28% of the portrayed women were employed and almost invariably in traditionally female occupations. 54% of the males were in occupations, frequently of high status. However, the study observed that roles that are not depicted are as indicative as those that are. No women were shown as lawyers, doctors, judges, or scientists. Even occupationally portrayed women were seldom shown at work.

Once again, such a distribution of occupational roles lags well behind current realities in the workplace (however limited these may still be).

As identified by Evra V. (1990), "*television adverts present a distorted and stereotypic picture of occupational choice for women*" (p-118).

Cherey (1983) in Beasley E. (1997) identified the main occupations she observed for women on the English television adverts as being a model, nurse, maid or secretary, and they also often seem assistants or care workers. This representation is not socially realistic and is generally very limited, and the C.R.T.C. (1982) in Beasley E. (1997) state that it is the cumulative effect of the many repetitions of such images which is of concern to many. It has been recognized that television can provide an important and powerful source of knowledge of occupational status, more so than general or personal contact.

In the television shows packaged in between the commercials, we find women generally excluded or portrayed in very narrow and traditional roles. Two rather exhaustive government-sponsored studies of television programming in the US U.S commission on Civil Rights, (1977 and 1979) concluded that television portrayed most women as having no definable occupation or means of support. Of those women employed outside the home, a majority held occupations associated with traditional "women's work" like nurses and household workers Kalisch & Kalisch, (1984). Besides showing women performing traditional feminine tasks, the studies also found that women, for the most part, were portrayed as being dependent on men for their livelihood; men were generally portrayed as being more independent and in charge of a variety of situations.

From a layman's observation, the Kenyan television commercials never show women in occupational roles that reflect their real life activities e.g. doctors, judges etc. Like Kundu and Wambui (1994) in their study, my paper would also like to ask, have advertisers used women executives to advertise a beauty product to show how the product improves her poise and elegance in business meetings? An example in a currently running advert where Njeri Luseno, a public Relations Manager with the Kenya Railways and housewife only reinforces the old stereotype of home caretaker.

The Omo advert seems aimed at "women of her class" to encourage them to consider buying omo for their washing. "Afterall, even executives use omo", the ad seems to suggest. They are always shown as models, secretaries, mums etc. Men TV commercial characters on Kenyan televisions are shown in ambitious, adventuresome, strong and dominant roles, whereas women are more often cast in dependent, submissive, and weak or auxiliary roles. Despite the fact that Kenyan working women appear frequently in advertising, they remain restricted to traditionally female occupations Mwangi M. (1996).

Even when women and men are in the same occupation, they are portrayed as performing gender role related behavior. For example, in the American soap opera, "the doctors," male physicians performed surgery while female physicians filled out hospital admission forms Bergmann, (1974).

4.2 The portrayal of woman as housewife

According to the National Advertising Review Board, (1975) the issue of housework occupies a special place in feminist criticism of sexual role divisions. Housework is considered women's special burden, and, the routine and drudgery involved in the performance of domestic tasks are perceived as a waste of women's time, energy and talents yet it is a vital necessity of the harmonious working and wellbeing of society.

The portrayal of women in household-related roles, mostly in advertisements for household products, is a cause of concern, particularly because of the repetitiousness of the housewife image. Showing women performing domestic tasks and using household products in their homes is not objectionable per se. The endless repetition of such portrayal suggests however that women's place is only in the home. The National Advertising Review Board (1975). Culley and Bennett's study (1976) revealed that in TV-Commercials aired in 1974 as well as in 1971 in America, the largest role category for women was the housewife/mother role. Most studies report the overwhelming representation of women in household roles.

Housewives are often shown as stupid, incapable of performing simple tasks, and dependent on male advice Courtney,A.E and Lockeretz, (1971).

Culley, J.D and Bennett, R. (1976) also revealed that females predominated in advertisements for personal and home-related products, while advertisements for non-household products featured either women and men together or males only.

In television commercials, men are also more likely to represent non-domestic products, while female representatives are more likely to appear in advertisements for household-related products O'Donnell and O'Donnell, (1978). According to Culley, J.D and Bennett, R. (1976), the implication inherent in this practice is that women do not operate independently other than in inexpensive and household-related purchases. Besides defining the relationship between the sexes as one of female dependency and male authority, many advertisements reflect unflattering portrayals of women in domestic roles. Women's Advisory Council (W.A.C) to KDKA-TV, (1975).

The housewife appears as a person obsessed with cleanliness and embarrassed or guilty about dirt. She is frequently shown as either envious of other women's achievements or boastful about her own cooking or cleaning accomplishments. Advertising continues to show housewives as dependent on male advice and assistance in the purchase and the use of products, which often include those associated with the performance of tasks traditionally considered female. Women's Advisory Council; (W.A.C) to KDKA-TV (1975). The frequent unflattering depiction of housewives as being over-achieving because of guilt feelings, embarrassment or envy, further defines the already narrow image of her as a person with a distorted sense of values. National Advertising Review Board (1975).

The representation of women doing Mundane domestic tasks and demonstrating household products is common in many television advertisements and as Evra, V. (1990) states: "*Many television advertisers appear to be clinging tenaciously to an image of women as creatures who become unbelievably excited over a detergent's cleaning power, whose worlds are narrow and totally house bound and who never discuss anything complicated or stimulating*" (p-117).

Craig, R.S (1992) found that television adverts generally portray women in the traditional stereotypical roles of subservience. Women are usually seen in a home setting and doing such activities as cooking, cleaning, childcare, or maintaining their physical appearance. Similarly, Friedan's analysis of commercials found the "advertiser's woman" to fit into two categories of "the true housewife" and/or "the balanced homemaker" Manca (1992). Friedan hypothesized that the constricting roles that women are seen in would limit women's hopes for better careers.

According to the Journal of Communication, (Summer 1979), advertisements typically emphasize how women use cosmetic and household products, while girls play with dolls and domestic implements. Boys, in contrast, play with vehicles and thrive on competition and war games, while men are generally associated with cars and sport. Consequently, men tend to be more aggressive, dominant and independent (p. 202)

Goffman E. (1979) found that in media advertisements men tend to be located higher than women and women are pictured on floors and beds more than men. He noted that lowering oneself physically performing domestic chores in some form or other of prostration is a classic stereotype of deference. It effectively presents women as inferior to men.

Goffman also found out that when men are seen with children, it is usually a boy and involves some sort of "pushing into manhood activity" such as arm wrestling. Women on the other hand are seen with their daughters in a more nurturing way.

According to Ingham H. (1997), when men are shown to be in roles traditionally associated with women, i.e. the home, they invariably become incompetent, and we see them having trouble working out how to use the washing machine etc. The same also seems to happen to women who take on the traditionally masculine roles. Therefore, one might argue that being faced with such concepts for perhaps, hours a day will inevitably come to accept such examples as the norm and reality!

4.3 Depiction of woman as sex object

Women are resentful of the exploitative use of the female body in advertising. The National Advertising Review Board (1975). They feel that the use of the female body as a mere decoration or as an attention-getting device diminishes women's self-esteem and ignores other aspects of women's personality and their human potential. The effect of the sexual-sell advertising on male-female relationships and on children's sense of values is perceived as potentially harmful.

The use of the female body for its sexual appeal is a well-established advertising practice in Kenyan television commercials. There is always an emphasis on female physical beauty in relation to the product used with the hope that the males will notice this female.

Dispenza, J. (1975) suggests that women are primarily used by advertisers to sell products to both male and female on the basis of their sexual appeal to men. In female oriented adverts, women are invited to identify with the female product representative who is offered the ultimate reward, this is to say success with males as a result of using the product. In male oriented adverts, male consumers are promised the portrayed female as a bonus that comes with the product. Most adverts represent women as sex objects and as physically beautiful.

This study concurs with Treneman A. (199, p.154-165). Not only does she show how advertisements exploit the female body to sell sanitary products, but she demonstrates the sexism behind use of feminist ideas to sell sanitary products.

In his new book, *The Great Disruption*, Fukuyama, F. (1990) shows how women have been "commodified" and mass circulated until, as opposed to the past where beautiful women were available only to the rich they are now accessible to poor men because of beauty products and their advertisements.

With regard to the woman model, the paper seeks to find out how "success" is measured in terms of her advertising of the product. There have been allegations by scholars like Gallagher M. (1981), that women are used to sell products for both men and women on the basis of their sex appeal.

In female-oriented adverts, women identify with the female representative who achieves success with men after using the product. In adverts directed at men, the men consumers are promised women as rewards accompanying the use of certain products. Gallagher also asserts that the advertiser uses beauty as a prerequisite for success. "Youth and beauty" become yardsticks of success and finding a husband is paramount.

We think it is of interest to find out, for example, if the female models' success is measured economically, politically, socially; or merely in terms of the number of male heads that turn or the male hearts she conquers with her beauty acquired after using a product i.e. has the Kenyan television advertiser used the woman's sexuality to sell various products?

2.5 What is the dominant character or qualities for women portrayed in television commercials?

From Scheibe's (1979) observations, she found that women were often portrayed as "powerless, helpless or seeking approval or reward"

In Sanderson's (1990) study, she stated that the stereotypical image of females as being fragile, passive, vulnerable and powerless is reinforced by advertising.

Goffman E. (1979) looked at the feminine touch. He found that women are seen more frequently than men, caressing or caressing an object with their fingers and hands. This is significant that women are seen as delicate, even in their touch.

According to Chandler, D. (1997), even within a culture, masculinity and femininity may be defined differently by various groups, in particular according to ethnicity, age, social class and sexuality. In this sense there is no single masculinity or femininity, but rather multiple masculinities and femininities. That is to say not all men are "leaderlike", "aggressive", "assertive", "independent", "risk-taking" and so on; and not all women are "affectionate", "gentle", "sympathetic, dependent, emotional, nurturing etc. Such qualities are found in varying degrees in most people and like

Chandler this paper disagrees with the manner in which television commercials portray women!!!!

With femininity are associated traits such as emotionality, prudence, co-operation, and communal sense, and compliance, Chandler D. (1997). Masculinity tends to be associated with such traits as rationality, efficiency, competition, individualism and ruthlessness.

Meehan D. (1983) has shown how on television commercials, "good" women are presented as submissive, sensitive and domesticated; "bad" women are rebellious, independent and selfish. The "dream-girl" stereotype is gentle, demure, sensitive, submissive, non-competitive, sweet-natured and dependent. The male hero tends to be physically strong, aggressive, assertive, takes the initiative, is independent, competitive and ambitious. Television male heroes represent goodness, power, control, confidence, competence and success. They are geared, in other words, to succeed in a competitive economic system. Many boys try to emulate such characteristics through action and aggression.

2.6 What emphasis do television commercials give to the slim female body size?

In the advertising world, preference for slim women is an obvious factor. The hungry man croons to the sensuously presented chocolate cake offered lovingly by the always-present female. Female hunger, on the other hand, is depicted as needful of containment and control, and female eating is seen as a furtive, shameful and illicit act Bordo, S.R (1986). As analyzed by Bordo, food is obviously not the real issue here; rather, female hunger for public power, for independence and for sexual gratification and that this must be contained!

Goffman E. (1979) extensively researched the women's image in television advertising in comparison with the male's image. "Relative size" was one of Goffman's many areas of concentration. He found that males are shown as superior over females because they are most often greater in height. Goffman assumed that "*differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight*" (p-28).

Award-winning lecturer and creator of *Still Killing Us softly*, Kilbourne J. (1979 & 1987) offers an in-depth analysis of how female bodies are depicted in advertising imagery and the devastating effects of that imagery on women's health. Addressing the relationship between these images and the obsession of girls and women with dieting and thinness, *Slim Hopes* offers a new way to think about life-threatening eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia, and it provides a well-documented critical perspective on the social impact of advertising on the female body.

Who said thin is beautiful or sexy? What the commercials try to show is that fat women are not beautiful enough to catch the attention of the male eye. It is as if first, for a female to catch the attention of the male, she has to be slim and coupled with the use of the beauty products, then they get even sexier/more beautiful to merit even more admiration from the male. What then happens to the fat woman's self esteem?

Because of societal expectations of the size of female models, females are permanently forced to trudge to the gym everyday and must fiercely resist both their urge and their desires to soothe and baby themselves. According to Foucault, M. (1979), the anorexic pursues these traits with single-minded, unswerving dedication. "*Energy, discipline, my own power will keep me going*," says ex-anorexic Aimee Liu in Foucault, recreating her anorexic days. *I need nothing and no one else..... I will be master of my own body if nothing else, I vow*".

2.7 Influence of television commercials on children

According to Ceulemans M. et al (1977-1978), little girls grow up to be housekeepers, wives and mothers. The assignment of traditional sex-roles to children is a significant indication that advertising is primarily concerned with preserving and reinforcing the **status quo**.

It is true that for most children in our society, television offers many more opportunities to view differences in sex-role relationships, than does their immediate, everyday world of reference. As such, its potential influence upon their outlook should not be overlooked or dismissed. Indeed for many, if not most, children gender identification is perhaps the most fundamental and salient of all the

frames of self-reference available. Above all, it is understood that it will remain as a constant, despite changes in other developmental areas; from childhood to adulthood gender will remain, and as such is understandably regarded as a key element of the "self" and utilized as a primary building block towards the development of a sense of 'place" in the world. Given that gender identification is employed from an early age, Richards (1991) in Buckingham, D. (1993 p-45), it seems somewhat unrealistic to expect the child to question stereotypical representation.

Indeed as an area of such stability, it may well be argued that children actually like and enjoy "being gendered", continually seeking reinforcements which the media would perhaps be foolish to ignore. According to Richards (1991) in Buckingham, D. (1993) throughout the world, children actively seek reinforcement as "*futures where the power of adulthood will be available*". "*Boys do choose blue and girls do choose pink, actively making selections for their own uses and purposes, be they socialization, information, escapism or identification; as active interpreters, if not endorses, of their own environment*" (p-39), should their judgement then be questioned?

According to UNESCO (1979), the assignment of traditional sex-roles to children is a significant indication that advertising is primarily concerned with preserving and reinforcing the status quo. In the longer term, television has the potential to shape children's sex-role attitudes..... Tannis, Macbeth & Williams (1986), in Gunter & McAleer (1990:64).

Television commercials can play a significant role in a child's growing beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be male or female in the world. Evra V. (1990 p-13).

2.8 Summary of literature review

The overall conclusion from the above studies is that advertising continues to present narrow images of women. Women are mostly depicted as social people appearing in a predictable environment. Emphasis is on women as alluring, decorative or traditional. Advertising contributes and continues to broaden the perspective of women as housewife/mother images, sex objects and nothing else.

In general, TV commercials portray women almost solely in the helping role, waiting on others and living out their lives in service to others, never really taking charge of their own lives. Such a view perpetuates traditional views of women's and men's roles in society ; Coltrane, S. & Allan, K. (1994).

A few television sponsors in the United States have made an effort to introduce counterstereotypic gender presentations. For example, we occasionally see "Josephine the plumber" tackling a stopped-up drain and showing a man what needs to be done. But do such commercials have an effect other than being novel? Jennings Walstedt J. et al, (1982) found that women who watched counterstereotypic commercials may have positive effects for women in the TV audience in terms of their building self-confidence as a self-determining and achievement-oriented individuals. The question is, how many of such counterstereotypic commercials do we have in our Kenyan television commercials? It's the aim of this study to find out.

According to Smith, L.J (1994), "*it seems that ongoing sexist advertisements will continue the ideology which will continue the lag, which will continue the sexism, which will continue the circle-generation after generation*" (p. 323-337). She suggests that to break the cycle we need to change the message or the message maker or both.

Unfortunately, the impression is positively endorsed by the behavior of some women, prompting some people to conclude that, indeed, women accept this ascribed positions. The result is the marginalisation of women in social, economic, political and cultural spheres. Some viewers are likely to accept the images in adverts as being a reflection of reality.

This literature review is by no means exhaustive. However, it helps to demonstrate that television commercials play a role in the construction of gender identities among women in the Kenyan society and therefore deserves attention. From the foregoing review of literature, the need to isolate, in summary, the main gaps, which the present research intends to fill, emerges. These gaps are stated as below:

2.9 Gaps emerging from the literature review:

- i) studies carried out in the past on television commercials and their role in the construction of gender identities among women in society are mainly focused on the developed world. Not much research has been done on this problem in our local Kenyan concept hence the lack of literature and the undertaking of this study.
- ii) Over the years, several studies in Kenya have focussed on the construction of gender images and messages relayed by various forms of media e.g. print media, electronic media and only very few studies on television commercials.
- iii) Research carried out in the past even in the developed world has not looked into the presence of females engaging in stereotypic male roles and vice versa.
- iv) Media houses only monitor the number of adverts and how many times these adverts are aired on television. They do not monitor the impact the message of these adverts is likely to have on society. Their data is not of much use to anybody. This study will hence shed some light to society on what they are exposed to in television commercials thus providing data and reference material in this area.

It is on this basis that the problem under investigation was identified and on which the present research intended to make a contribution.

2.10 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Kerlinger F. N. (1964), a theory is a hypothetical deductive system because it states deductive connections among the hypotheses. It is "a set of constructs (concepts), definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of predicting the phenomena" (p-9). A Theoretical framework is essential to the

understanding of factors that may influence or are associated with the identified problem Khasakhala, (1994 p.51). It is in recognition of this that this study adopts the Social Learning Theory. This theory is discussed below:-

2.10.1 Social Learning Theory

One theory that is considered important to the learning of gender identity is Bandura Albert's (1966) Social Learning theory. According to this theory, gender typing is explained as being neither biologically determined nor inevitable, but a result of day to day interactions between the developing child and his or her immediate social environment. Through social learning, children learn behaviors that are considered appropriate for their sex through observations of others such as a same sex parent; as well as, through messages communicated by the media. Research on social learning theory and the learning of sex roles, supports the view that children learn by imitation what behaviors and roles are expected of them and by observing other's behavior being reinforced or punished. Seeing someone reinforce nurturing behavior such as a girl playing with a doll may be expressed as what is appropriate behavior for a female. Therefore, a girl may associate reinforcement with that behavior which may make that behavior appear positive for a female. Also, a male may be seen being reinforced for being aggressive on a TV commercial, which may create an association between aggression and reinforcement for a male.

The social learning theorists believe that all aspects of behavior are acquired as a result of observation and reinforcement, with imitation and modeling playing an important role. Bandura A. (1966) concluded that, from a series of experiments that children were more likely to imitate same-sex models, and that the imitation was intensified if reward was given. This theory runs along the lines of a child observing a character of the same sex as them on television acting in a particular way, (i.e. girls caring for their dolls and toy ponies, boys acting out a super hero adventure and imitates it which is then met with approval from others in the environment, which encourages the child to do it again Fleming, D (1996 p.59). However, evidence relating to this theory is rather contradictory. Wolf (1973) in Beasley E. (1997) did find evidence to support Bandura A. (1966) when he found that children were more likely to imitate the same sex model, even when the model's behavior was sex inappropriate. This indicates gender to be an identifying factor rather than

behavior. Barkley et al. (1972) in Beasley E. (1997) found the reverse to be true. From their study they concluded that children imitate behavior appropriate to their own sex regardless of the sex of the model.

The concern of the Social Learning Theory has largely rested with the behavior modeled for children in film and television. In such a context, television becomes one of many variable factors which contribute to sex role development; although there has been little research conducted with the specific intentions of examining television's influence in the forming of gender roles; Ingham H. (1997).

This type of evidence is disturbing as children who see the sexes depicted in this way are assimilating the information they observe and picking up cues about how they should behave and act, unaware that what they are observing is a biased and distorted view of the world. Atkin and Miller (1975) in Beasley E. (1997) are just one set of researchers who have found that television commercials and their portrayals can shape children's views of gender roles.

Children do not simply absorb television information; they actively process it and impose their own interpretations and expectations. Durkin K. (1984) in Evra V. (1990 p-129).

According to Chandler D. (1997), most social scientists distinguish gender from sex. Gender roles are not biologically determined, but vary according to culture and epoch, and even for individuals during the course of their lives. Gender roles are consequently described by social scientists as socially constructed. Most of the behavior associated with gender is learned rather than innate. People learn what sorts of behavior and personality are regarded in their cultural context as appropriate for males or females. TV plays a major role in portraying these gender roles.

According to Furnham A. & Bitar N. (1993), since viewing television involves the observations of others' behavior and its reinforcement contingencies, "*television is considered to be a major vehicle through which children learn about appropriate behaviors, particularly gender-appropriate behaviors*" (p.298).

Sex role information, which is provided to children during this period of socialization, may have long lasting implications; Ruble, Balaban & Cooper (1981) in Evra V. (1990). The kinds of toys and activities which are appropriate for girls, and for boys are conveyed through television commercials. If children are exposed to this information during a period of gender identity formation, a stage of development in which children actively seek information about what is appropriate for their sex, there may be a tendency to hold stereotypical views about what types of roles and activities boys and girls should identify with.

This theory sheds more light on the research problem by expounding the fact that television commercials contribute immensely in creating and sustaining gender differentials in social status; that most aspects of behavior are acquired as a result of observation and reinforcement with imitation and modeling playing an important role; that human beings as they grow from childhood are more likely to imitate same-sex models, and that the imitation is intensified if rewarded. When girls play with dolls and boys with cars, this is met with approval from others in the environment which encourages the child to do it again.

There is a general consensus that the mass media act as important agents of socialization. Emphasis is given by these theorists to the modeling of behavior on observed examples. That we learn to be female or male – it does not come “naturally”. And there is no doubt that television presents powerful, attention-grabbing images of gender. Thus, for testing, this study has incorporated the views highlighted in this theory.

Other than the Social Learning Theory adopted by this study, other theories i.e. the Cultivation and Gratification theories have also been adopted to highlight the immense contribution television makes in sustaining the gender stereotyping in the Kenyan society and the possible effect this has on the image of women.

10.2 Cultivation theory

Another aspect of television's influence that a fair amount of research has been conducted on is with reference to the amount of time that a child spends watching

television. It seems reasonable to assume that the more television a child watches, the more likely they will be to believe and assimilate the gender stereotypes they see represented. This theory is known as the television cultivation effect, in so far as viewing is considered to be a contributory factor in the cultivation of common perspectives among what could otherwise be referred to as a relatively diverse audience.

It has been identified that television presents a "*distorted and stereotypic picture of occupational choice for women*" Evra V.(1990 p-118) and Cherey (1983) in Beasley E. (1997) identified the main occupations observed for women on television as being a model, nurse, maid or secretary, and they are also often seen as assistants or care workers. This representation is not socially realistic and is generally very limited, and the C.R.T.C. (1982) as indicated in Beasley E. (April 1997) state that it is the cumulative effect of the many repetitions of such images which is of concern to many." It has been recognized that television can provide an important and powerful source of knowledge of occupational status, more so than general or personal contact. Defleur and Defleur (1967) in Evra V. (1990) believe that, without a doubt, "*children do derive significant occupational information from television*" (p-118). This indicates how important television is in determining the choices that children make about their future, and studies such as that by Beuf (1974) in Evra V. (1990) support this. The results of this study indicated that heavier viewers of television preferred more stereotypical choices of occupations than lighter viewers. Rothschild (1983) in Beasley E. (1997) also found that school children who watched more television had more stereotypical views of gender roles in terms of the activities they participated in and the values and attitudes they held. The evidence from these kind of studies supports the cultivation theory which argues that heavy viewers of television perceive the world they see portrayed on the screen to be the world in real life. In this way, children will be observing the biased representations on television and assimilating them as the norm, thereby developing a stereotypic attitude and outlook to life and the society in which they live.

Greenfield P.M. (1984) has also concluded that children who are heavy television viewers have a more stereotypical view of sex roles than do light viewers; that they

predict stereotypical adult jobs for themselves and give more stereotypical answers to questions.

In an early study of this issue, Terry Frueh and Paul McGhee (1975) in Durkin K. (1985) found children who were heavy television viewers (i.e. 25 or more hours a week) held more traditional gender role stereotypes than those who were light viewers (i.e. 10 or less hours a week). Others have also found that heavy television viewing, as well as how television portrays gender roles, has an effect on the viewers' conceptions about gender role stereotypes among preschoolers and young adults.

Durkin k. (1985), cites a study conducted by McGhee and Frueh (1975) which they argued, correlated higher amounts of television viewing with an increase in their acquisition of stereotyped gender roles.

There is some research evidence suggesting that heavy television viewing may contribute to gender role development and reinforcement amongst children and adolescents, and some associating sexism or stereotyping of gender roles with heavy TV viewers Gerbner in Beasley E. (1997). Durkin, K. (1985) finds this evidence so far inadequate. However, there is evidence that counterstereotypical portrayals do seem able to influence children's perceptions of their options, but such portrayals are generally rare.

Like the Social Learning Theory, this theory also sheds more light on the research problem, by expounding the fact that television watching plays a major role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes; that the more television a child watches, the more likely they will be to believe and assimilate the gender stereotypes they see represented!. That heavy viewers of television perceive the world they see portrayed on screen to be the world in real life. Thus, for testing, this study has also incorporated the views highlighted in this theory.

2.10.3. **Gratification Theory**

Scholars like McQuail D. et al (1984), developed the uses and gratification theory which postulates that the media audience is not just a passive recipient of media

messages. The audience, it is argued, has needs that they seek to gratify through media messages.

Driven by these needs, the audience goes to the media market and "shops" for particular messages which they think will satisfy their needs. They then selectively expose themselves to these messages, shutting out all other "irrelevant" messages which the media may be disseminating at the same time. This has also been questioned and other theories, subsequently developed.

The theory views the media audience as passive recipients of all the media messages. However, other studies showed that not all mass media messages reach the audience, nor do all messages influence him.

This paper will look at the television audience as one which has needs it is seeking to satisfy through the messages disseminated by the television. In advertisements, we see the audience's needs envisaged in their aspiration to be like the woman model in the advert.

The audience is often coaxed by the advertiser to identify with the model and wish to be like him or her. This encourages the viewer to buy the product which the model advertises. That way, many women are coaxed into buying products that are advertised and even wanting to identify with the models advertising such products. Consequently, they subtly accept the stereotypes bestowed upon womanhood.

The research will look at allegations such as this in the light of specific advertisements to see what gratification the advertiser is offering the audience of both men and women through television models.

This theory like the Social Learning and Cultivation theories sheds more light on the research problem, by expounding the fact that advertisers offer gratification to the audience. The viewer aspires to be like the model in the advert. The viewer is often coaxed by the advertiser to identify with the model and wish to be like him or her. The viewer is hence encouraged by the advert to buy the product and thus accepting

the stereotypes bestowed upon them. Television can play a significant role in a child's growing beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be male or female in the world. Thus, for testing, this study has also incorporated the views highlighted in this theory.

In as much as the three theories discussed above are relevant to this study, there is a weakness in that we cannot fully hold television responsible for the stereotypic nature of society. Television alone is not responsible for shaping people's gender roles; there are other socio-cultural forces that play a part in the socialization process. There are plenty of examples of gender-typed behavior around us in the social world. Wherever they get their ideas from, children by the age of about 6, it seems have already developed clear-cut stereotypes about what the sexes can or cannot do. And given that television is not short of sexist images and that children watch a lot of television, it's tempting to assign the blame to television. Despite this common weakness, the contribution of these theories in highlighting the research problem is immense and can not be ignored.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

1 Introduction

The research employed a sampling method that included viewing television commercials aired between June 1989-2002. The research differed from other researches in this field in that instances of females engaging in stereotypical male roles and instances of males engaging in stereo-typical female activities were looked for and documented through content analysis.

This study focussed on Steadman Media House, Westlands, Nairobi for data collection. Registered in Kenya in 1982, Steadman Media House now operates throughout East Africa and is described by many as “the only source of reliable media advertising in East Africa” and “a really excellent operation; possibly the best single source in the world”.

Steadman Media House was purposively selected for its accessibility. Additionally, it has a library of broadcast commercials thus providing a wide range of audio and videotapes of all commercials by product that have been broadcast since 1985.

Television commercials in five categories aired in Kenyan television channels; KTN, KBC, and Nation Television between 1989 - 2002 were viewed and analyzed at the Steadman Media House. This period was chosen because it is a sufficient length of time to identify any change in trends. A shorter period would have made comparisons between different adverts difficult. Additionally, the five categories gave the study a variety of data. The types of commercials viewed included:

1. Cosmetics and beauty products
2. Households (e.g. detergents)
3. Baby/children's products
4. Luxury items (Guinness, Tusker Export, Embassy etc)
5. Pharmaceuticals (e.g. Lucozade, vicks ect)

The above five categories were selected because they are the most popular and most commonly aired commercials on Kenyan television; secondly, out of observation, these commercials feature a lot of gender biased messages. Gender discrimination seems obvious in these categories and finally, it is in these five categories where women are most likely to feature.

2 DATA SOURCES

2.1 Primary Data:

This raw data was obtained from the field. The sources of primary data for this study included the use of a data sheet during viewing/observation of television adverts at the Steadman Media Group office in Westlands, Nairobi.

2.2 Secondary Data:

For the purpose of the present study, secondary data was extracted from previously published and unpublished material sources such as: books (literature review), annual reports, topographic sheets, magazines, study reports, journals, theses and dissertations, general library publications, occasional papers and coursework lecture notes.

3.3 Sampling

A total of 740 commercials in the five categories mentioned above were included in the sample. Given the similarity in the message the viewers would be likely to get from viewing these 740 commercials, fairly more than 10% (75) of the 740 commercials, grouped into five categories consisting of 148 commercials each was randomly selected using the lottery method. A sample of 15 commercials was selected from each category. The study used 10% of these commercials as this was adequately representative of the entire advertisement population in terms of variety. A fewer number than this would not be completely representative of the five categories of the sampled advertisements.

A data sheet (*see attached appendix 1*) which included along with the five types of commercials, the gender of the voice over, the roles performed by the male/female character, with whom/to whom the action is done, how the roles are performed and what the performers say, the dominant setting, the long lasting impressions, the

impact of the message on the male/female socialization, incidence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa, nature of dress and the type of advert was used during viewing of the above category of commercials.

A recording of these commercials was then done. After recording of commercials was completed, a coding scheme was established. Each commercial was given a number starting with one and running consecutively up to 75. For each commercial, the sex of the main character, the product, the TV station (KTN/KBC/Nation & other), the doer, with whom and how the role is performed, the dress type, what is said, the roles performed, the dominant setting (in or out of the home), correspondence to reality, the message the viewer is likely to get and the impact of this message on the male/female socialization were identified. The products advertised were divided into five groups i.e. cosmetic and beauty products, household (e.g. detergents), baby/children's products, luxury items (e.g. Guinness, tusker export, embassy etc), and pharmaceuticals (e.g. lucozade, Vicks etc).

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

To process, analyze and present the data collected from the field, a number of relevant statistical and analytical tools have been used. Given the enormous amount of data collected during fieldwork, it became imperative to make use of a computer especially in data processing and analysis. Data coding and entry was skillfully done so as to allow for specific analysis of the data using among other tools, the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

At the initial stages, data was summarized into tables which proved useful in preliminary investigations and conclusions, as well as forming a basis for statistical analyses of the relevant aspects of ***sustained gender stereotyping as shown in Kenyan television commercials, possible effects on the image of women and the way forward.***

It is worth noting that the kind of technique used in analyzing data depends, in part, on the nature of the data available for analysis and the assumptions underlying the technique in question. Content Analysis and observation, quantitative and

qualitative/descriptive methods were used in analyzing and presenting the raw data collected in this study.

4.1 **Content Analysis and Observation:**

This study adopted content analysis as a methodology to analyze data alongside qualitative and quantitative methods. Mcquail (1987) proposes this method for the study of communication processes or social behavior. According to Coulemans, M. (1979), content analysis is the most commonly used approach in the study of media images of women and according to Andersen L.M (1997), it is the research method most often used to study media images. This is a descriptive method whereby researchers systematically analyze the actual content of documents or other artifacts. By counting particular items within a defined category, researchers are able to systematize their observations of the content of the media.

It is important to note at the onset that observation here implies the use of the eyes to accurately watch and take note of phenomena as it is or as it occurs. Both direct observation (what is actually seen) and indirect observation (inferences of implications of what is actually observed) were used in this study. Observation method is very important in assessing behavior practices and provides valuable non-verbal clues to the situation and happenings. The above-mentioned commercials were viewed/observed and the variables mentioned above recorded on the data sheet for analysis.

4.2 **QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS**

This study involved an elaborate use of Qualitative/Descriptive analysis .

The justification for the utilization of descriptive and inferential statistics in this study can be summarized as follows:

- a) They facilitate easy assimilation of data
- b) They help in comparison between different sets of raw data; and
- c) They assist the researcher in the presentation of data in a summarized form, for ease of communication to other people
- d) They provide a means of measuring the strength of relationships along with the confidence that can be placed on the results.

4.3 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

For purposes of this study, computations of statistical tests e.g. correlation coefficients were used. The basic statistics used widely for data analysis in this study are the Pearson Correlation Coefficient (r) and the coefficient of determination (r^2). Whereas the Pearson Correlation Coefficient (r) reveals the strength of the relationship between variables, the Coefficient of Determination (r^2) shows the percentage of variability in the dependent variable (Y) which is explained by X (predictor variable). In other words, it determines how much (in percentage) of the change or effect in Y is accounted for by X . The Significance of the correlation coefficient (r) calculated is determined using the T-test statistic at $\alpha = 0.05$ level of confidence. If the calculated T is greater than the table T , then there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis and adopt the alternative hypothesis i.e. there appears to be a tendency of the variable (Y and X) having a quantitative impression of a causal relationship.

Conclusions were made by cross checking against set objectives to determine whether they have been achieved or not and recommendations given.

4.2 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES

This study regarded the portrayals as being stereotyped when:

- a) Women were dependents while men were job holders
- b) Women were in the home while men were out of the home
- c) Women were users of the product they were recommending while men were authorities on the product
- d) Women did not explain why the product was good while men provided explanations.

This chapter will hence examine the relationships between these variables in the hope of answering the research questions and objectives posed at the onset of this study in the following ways:-

- a) The gender of the voice- over and the message the advert will relay to the audience i.e. if the voice over in the advert is predominantly male or female, what kind of message does this particular advert hope to pass on to it's audience? Does the gender of the voice-over influence the message of the advert? How about the relationship between the roles performed by the different genders and the message the advert will pass on to its audience i.e. if the female is permanently seen as performing domestic roles and the male non-domestic roles, what kind of message then does this particular advert pass on to it's audience? Do the roles performed by the male/female character influence the message of the advert? What about the relationships between the person with whom/to whom the roles above are performed and the message the advert will pass on to its audience i.e. if the female is performing the role of taking care of the children at home and the male performing the role of a sportsperson with his male children or the role of a breadwinner then what kind of message does this particular advert pass on to its audience i.e. if the female character is always seen doing something to the children, or a male and the male character doing something to a female or male child, how is the message of this advert interpreted? Is the message of the advert affected by the person with whom/to whom the action is done? How about the way roles are performed by the two genders, what these two genders say as they perform these roles and the subsequent message the advert will pass on to it's audience i.e. if the female

character performs the role of an office executive, does she do it competently, happily, dutifully? If the male performs the role of a cook at home, does he do it competently, happily or dutifully? What message then does the audience get from these adverts? Is the message of the advert influenced by these variables?

b) The dominant setting the two genders are frequently portrayed in and the message the advert will pass on to it's audience i.e. if the female character is frequently depicted within the home setting or domestic sphere and the male character outside the domestic sphere, what kind of message then does this advert pass on to it's audience? Does the dominant setting in which the male/female character is portrayed in therefore affect the kind of message the advert passes on to it's audience? How about the long lasting impressions the message of the advert will leave on the male/female audience and the impact these impressions will have on the male/female socialization i.e. will the message of the advert have an influence on the impressions the audience is likely to form? If yes, will these impressions have an impact on the male/female socialization? What about incidences of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa and the message the advert will relay to it's audience i.e. if there's a presence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa, what message therefore will the advert be passing on to the male/female audience? If a male for example is seen bathing a child and a female doing an outdoor activity, what message will the audience assimilate?

c) Last but not least, the manner of dress of the male/female character and the subsequent message the advert will be passing on to it's audience; If for example the male character is decently dressed and the female character flimsily or also decently dressed, what message will the advert be passing on to it's audience?

The dependent variables considered in analyzing this data include; Voice over, the performer of the role and the role he/she is performing, with/to whom the action is done and how and what the characters say. The independent variable is the type of advert.

4.3 **Analysis of data relating to Kenyan television commercials and their role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes**

In this, the objective was to describe the role television commercials play in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes in the Kenyan community. This was recaptured/restated as a null hypothesis stating that: *Television commercials do not play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes.*

The dependent variables considered in analyzing this data include; Voice over, the performer of the role and the role he/she is performing, with/to whom the action is done and how and what the characters say.

The independent variable is the type of advert.

Given the number of dependent variables, a number of relationships between variables were examined as follows:-

4.3.1 **Voice Over and type of Advert**

It is obvious from the study that in all the adverts viewed, there were more male voice-overs than women. Male voice-overs covered 47.3% of the adverts and female voice-overs covered 33.8% of the adverts. 18.9% of the adverts did not have voice overs. Women voice-overs were present mainly in domestic spheres and only 2% in non-domestic spheres. The study also notes that even where the advert was purely cosmetic or domestic; where we expected a female voice over, we had a male voice over. There was an absence of women voice-overs in commercials for luxury items e.g. guinness, tusker export and embassy except when the male used them for companionship. This trend suggests a preference for men as voice-overs and portrays women as passive product users. When women were heard as narrators, it was overwhelmingly for products classified as body products, household e.g. detergents, baby products, food and pharmaceuticals.

An analysis of the relationship between the gender of the voice over and the message of the advert carried out in this study revealed that there exists a

weak but positive relationship between these two variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.129) confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (2.150) indicates that with an increase in number of a given gender of the voice over, there occurs an increase in the kind of message passed on by the advert.

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.017) indicates that the gender of the voice over alone accounts for about 1.7% of the changes in the message of the advert. Thus, the remaining 98.3% of the change is explained possibly by other factors such as:- who's doing the action, to whom the action is done, how the action is done, the body language or the roles performed by the two sexes.

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (R) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (8.370) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes*". Thus, and in conformity with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the gender of the voice over is related to the message of the advert i.e. that more often than not, the gender of the voice over has significantly impacted on the message of the advert. This is evidenced in a majority of Kenyan commercials where a majority of voice-overs are male.

4.3.2 The doer and what they are doing - (The roles performed by the male/female character) and the type of advert

As can be seen from the study, a greater proportion of women than men are portrayed as central characters in most commercials. Female central characters perform 75% of the roles and male characters perform 25%. This great proportion of women is however represented in just a few occupations mainly domestic i.e. childcare e.g. feeding kids, taking care of the husbands, cooking, cleaning, or maintaining their physical appearance as is the case in the Kimbo, Omo, robb, pressol Jik, Johnson's products and many more adverts. They are restricted to aesthetic beauty i.e. beauty products, cleaning equipment, maternal products, housekeeping detergents and equipment and, tending to sick children and husbands.. They are generally restricted to traditional feminine or women's occupations.

On the contrary, men are portrayed mostly in occupational categories outside the domestic sphere as is the case in the Embassy, Guinness, Tusker adverts. They play the executive role. They are seen mainly as beneficiaries of food adverts and cleaning product adverts as well as the women who now look "beautiful" after the use of a beauty product.

Although in the study we can see a few women beginning to be depicted in more occupational roles that are traditionally male's, men are rarely seen in "traditional" female roles such as child care, and housework. Women predominate in adverts for personal and home-related products while men predominate in non-domestic adverts. Drinking beer and smoking remain primarily male activities.

Also, women who are shown as having a successful career outside the domestic sphere are regularly portrayed as being unhappy or as neglecting their responsibilities as a wife, or mother. It does not recognize that women can successfully mix marriages, homemaking and raising children with careers.

The study also revealed that when women are seen in activities other than the mother or the homemaker, that they are still unfairly represented. Women are

seen as 24-hour women expected to play as many as ten different roles in an average day unlike their male counterparts. These roles include taking care of the children, satisfying work related and their man's need including taking care of themselves.

An analysis of the relationship between the doer of the action and what they are doing and type of advert revealed that there exists a weak but positive relationship between these three variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.096) and R (0.173) respectively confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (2.020) and B (6.254) indicates that with an increase in the doer of the advert and what they are doing, there occurs an increase in the message of the advert.

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.009) and r^2 (0.030) indicates that the doer and what they are doing alone accounts for about 0.9% and 3% of the changes/variability in the message of the advert. Thus, the remaining 99.1% and 97% of the change is explained possibly by other factors such as:- the voice over, who's doing the action, with whom the action is done, how the action is done, or the roles performed by the two sexes.

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (8.471) and t (6.312) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes*". Thus, and in line with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the doer and what they are doing is related to the message of

the advert i.e. that more often than not, the doer of the action and what they are doing significantly impacts on the message of the advert.

4.3.3 **With whom/to whom the action is done and type of Advert**

From the study, we established that when a female was doing something, 23% of the time she did it to children i.e. feeding them, bathing them, talking to them, cheering them up when they were in competitions or when they did something commendable. 8.1% of the time she did something to her husband or any other man i.e. cooking for him or doing something to please him or her family. If seen doing something to a fellow woman i.e. at 10.8%, it's praising a certain beauty product or recipee or recommending it. When she is talking to the viewer at 20.3% of the time, she is telling the viewer how effective a certain recipee/ beauty product, food, detergent or beverage is i.e. trying to coax the viewer into buying it. Women are also seen doing something to the whole family i.e. at 12.2% of the time. She is seen attending to children of all ages not only the grown ones since diaper changing, feeding and bathing are traditionally her chores. 22% involved "others" not male or female.

In the study, when a man was seen with a child i.e. at 1.4% of the time, it's a grown boy and he is teaching him the importance of sports or taking his height wondering when he'll grow older probably so they can do things together as is seen in the "blueband" advert. When seen with a little girl, he is trying to comb her hair but not effectively as in the "nescafe" advert. We see him needing help. When men are seen with children, it is usually a boy and involves some sort of "pushing into manhood activity" such as jogging. The male would rather deal with the already independent age group to whom he doesn't have to change diapers - generally be a caretaker.

As we can see from the study, when women and men are shown together in a commercial, the man is performing the "executive role" and the female is being used by the man as a companion to make him look good. She must look sexy and show some part of her body to make him feel "total". She is either walking or smiling suggestively to the man. An example is the "guinness" advert where we see a woman as an escort to the man; to make him look good.

Also women more than men are seen receiving help from the opposite sex. The study also reveals that when both female and male are seen together, the woman is either cooking while the man reads the paper as he waits to eat the food or he will be playing music as he waits; this is seen in the "Roiko" advert. The man admires the female who after use of a certain product is lighter and traditionally seen as "beautiful" as in the case of "palmers cocoa butter" and "justin range of products" adverts.

An interesting thing to note, and as seen previously is that when men are seen doing traditionally female tasks such as mopping the floor, that they are usually smiling or doing something funny. An example is the "Jik" advert where the entire family is seen doing general cleaning of the house. The man of the house is smiling as he cleans. An assumption that the man is therefore basically mocking the importance of a "woman's job" could easily be made.

At 2.7% of the time, when the male is seen doing something to the female, he is admiring her after dressing flimsily and making herself up with beauty products as is seen in "palmers cocoa butter" advert or giving her company as she cooks for him as in the case of "haria curry mchuzi mix" advert where the man plays a drum as she cooks or handing her some shopping he has brought home as in the case of the "Kasuku advert".

An analysis of the relationship between the person with whom /to whom the action is done and the type of advert revealed that there exists a weak but positive relationship between these two variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.121) confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (5.346) indicates that with an increase in the gender of the person with whom/ to whom the action is done, there occurs an increase in the message passed on by the advert?

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.015) indicates that the person with whom/to whom the action is done alone explains about 1.5% of the changes in the message passed on by the advert. Thus, the remaining 98.5% of the change is explained possibly by other factors such as:- the voice over, the doer of the action, how the action is done, the body language or the roles performed by the two sexes.

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (9.451) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that *"Television commercials play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes"*. Thus, and in line with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the person with whom/to whom the action is done is related to the message passed on by the advert i.e. that more often than not, the person to whom the action is done significantly impacts the message of the advert.

4.3.4 How the roles are performed, what the performers say and the type of advert

From the study, it is clear that when the man talked, it was in praise of the tasty food cooked by the female e.g in the "Kimbo" advert where the man says "my wife cooks excellent Biriani therefore I should surprise her with a present" or asking fellow females to try out a product e.g. "Rama" as it's good for their families (the male voice over does not ask fellow men), ordering a naughty child or asking the female/wife "mama watoto wapi chakula? And only when the food is tasty then he will find it necessary to call her by name e.g. "Rose, hiki chakula nikitamu"

We also see that when the female talks to a fellow woman, it is to share a good recipe. She is seen lovingly (14.9%) of the time, dutifully (16.2%) of the time and happily (43%) of the time asking the husband or children to come and eat or inquiring about their injury or nappy rash or praising a certain product she used or she thinks is good for her family. She worries about her husband when he comes home late so she dutifully comes up with a solution to stop him from coming home late. "Baba watoto hatakuja nyumbani mapema nikipikia Kimbo" she is seen also caring for her whole family as she says "I know what's best for my family" .

When the children are hungry, they refer to mum and not dad "Home to mum and Roiko" "Nasikia sauti, sauti ya mama, sasa ni saa sita.....".

Women in many instances of this study are seen talking to a child or a pet, in a subordinate position, talking to other women about feminine hygiene or cookery. They are also seen as escorts to husbands and children as they go to work or school.

What comes out clear from the study is that whatever the female does, she does it lovingly, happily and dutifully - it's like this is her life and she embraces it fully. The men are also seen performing their outdoor, out of the home or domestic roles happily and dutifully.

An analysis of the relationship between how the role is performed and what is being said by the characters and the type of advert revealed that there exists a weak but positive relationship between these variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.076) confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (3.074) indicates that with an increase in how the action is done and what is being said, there occurs an increase in the message of the advert.

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.006) indicates that how the role is performed and what is being said alone explains about 0.6% of the changes

in the message of the advert. Thus, the remaining 99.4% of the change is explained possibly by other factors such as:- the voice over, the doer of the action, to whom the action is done, the body language or the roles performed by the two sexes (F&M).

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (6.504) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes*". Thus, and in conformity with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level how the role is performed and what is said by the characters is related to the message of the advert i.e. that more often than not, how the action is done and what is said significantly impacts the message of the advert.

In conclusion, there's enough evidence therefore from the findings of this study that television commercials do play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes. Female viewers from a tender age will grow up to be housekeepers, wives and mothers and little boys to be athletes, celebrities, career people and nothing to do with the domestic sphere because to them, what is portrayed in the adverts is the norm. They interpret what they see as the reality. The assignment of traditional sex roles right from childhood is a significant indication that advertising is primarily concerned with preserving and reinforcing the status-quo. The study will therefore reject the null hypothesis that states that "*Television commercials do not play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes*" and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials play a significant role in creating and sustaining gender stereotypes*".

Analysis of data relating to Kenyan television commercials and their contribution in sustaining the differences ascribed to men and women in social status

In this, the objective was *To investigate the contribution Kenyan television commercials have made in creating and sustaining gender differentials in social status*. This was recaptured/restated as a null hypothesis stating that:

Television commercials do not significantly help to sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society.

The dependent variables considered in analyzing this data include;

The dominant setting, long lasting impressions, impact the adverts have on the male/female socialization and presence of incidences of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa. The independent variable here is the type of advert.

Given the number of dependent variables, a number of relationships between variables were examined as follows:-

4.4.1 Dominant setting and type of Advert

From the study, it is apparent that men are more likely to be seen in outdoor and in the workplace 32.9% of the time while women are more likely to be seen in the domestic sphere or at home 65.8% of the time. The study also indicates a slight increase in the number of men in the home over the years - indicating that the stereotypic portrayals are showing signs of decreasing but this is very very minimally.

An analysis of the relationship between the dominant setting in which the female/male character is found and the type of advert revealed that there exists a weak but positive relationship between these two variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.049) confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (1.322) indicates that with an increase in the dominant setting in

which the female/male character is found, there occurs an increase in the message passed on by the advert.

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.002) indicates that the dominant setting in which the female/male character is found alone accounts for about 0.2% of the changes in the message of the advert. Thus, the remaining 99.8% of the change is explained possibly by other factors such as: long-lasting impressions likely to be formed by viewer, impact of the advert on male/female socialization or incidence of males engaging in traditional female roles or vice versa.

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (9.881) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials significantly help to sustain the different social status*". Thus, and in conformity with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the dominant setting in which the female/male character is found in is related to the message of the advert i.e. that more often than not, the dominant setting in which the male/female character is frequently seen significantly impacts the message of the advert. This is evidenced in a majority of Kenyan commercials where a majority of females are found in the domestic sphere and the males outside the domestic circle.

4.4.2

Long Lasting Impressions. impact of message on male/female socialization and type of Advert

As depicted in the study, one might argue that being faced with concepts such as those in the adverts for perhaps, hours a day, that the viewer will inevitably come to accept negative portrayals as the norm. That after the viewer has

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (17.929) and t (17.264) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials significantly help to sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society*". Thus, and in line with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the long lasting impressions the viewer is likely to form from viewing the advert and the impact these impressions are likely to have on the female/male socialization significantly impact the message of the advert.

4.4.3 The Incidence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa and type of Advert

The study agrees with Ingham, H. (1997) that when men are seen in roles traditionally associated with women which is very rare, they invariably become incompetent. We see them having trouble working out how to use domestic products or we see them smiling as though the "female domestic chores" are a joke. Incidences where females are seen in stereotypic male roles and vice versa are minimal only at 27%. At 73.0% there is no incidence of females in stereotypic male roles or vice versa.

In the study, as in the "Ketepa tea" advert, we see a female who educates her daughter as a single mother. Her daughter completes university. There's also a lady technician in a "omo" advert. The Omo she is telling us about is a domestic product but she is performing a stereotypic male role!!!!. There's a male character in the "OYO" advert trying to cook but mixes the ingredients and the result of the cooking! A disastrous dish. He is however seen getting help

from a female. Performance of these stereotypic roles by the other is however, a very rare occurrence in this study.

An analysis of the relationship between the incidence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa and the type of advert revealed that there exists a weak but positive relationship between these two variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.142) confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (1.644) indicates that with an increase in the Incidence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa, there occurs an increase in the message of the advert.

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.020) indicates that the incidence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa alone explains about 0.2% of the changes in the message of the advert. Thus, the remaining 98.00% of the change is explained possibly by other factors such as:- the dominant setting, the long lasting impression, impact or the incidence of males engaging in female roles.

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (15.426) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials significantly help sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society*". Thus, and as per the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the presence of incidences of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa is related to the message passed on by the advert i.e. that more often than not, the incidence of males

engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa significantly impacts the message of the advert.

In conclusion, it is therefore evident from the findings of this study that advertising has divided the world into male and female spheres:- woman's place in the home and the world of work and outside the home is a man's territory. These roles are perceived by the viewer to be appropriate and suited to them. They are perceived to be for the real world. The few incidences that males performed stereotypic female roles and vice versa depict the doer as being incompetent or needing help from the opposite sex to perform the task.

The presence of the female in a predominantly domestic setting and the male out of the home sends the wrong messages to viewers who will perceive this as the norm.

This study will therefore reject the null hypothesis that states that "*Television commercials do not significantly help to sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society*" and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Television commercials significantly help sustain the different social status ascribed to both sexes in the Kenyan society*".

4.5 Analysis of data relating to Kenyan television advertisers and how they use women's sexuality to sell various products

In this, the objective was *To determine/establish the extent to which the Kenyan advertisers use women's sexuality to sell various products*. This was recaptured/restated as a null hypothesis stating that: *Advertisers do not significantly use women's sexuality to sell various products*

The dependent variable considered in analyzing this data includes; The manner of dress and the independent variable here remains the type of advert.

Given the number of dependent variables, a number of relationships between variables were examined as follows:

4.5.1 The Nature of dressing and type of Advert

From the study, it is clear that in luxury items e.g. 'tusker export', 'embassy cigarettes' etc, where the male is the central character, the female is seen dressed scantily 5.2% of the time. In this study, the woman appears flimsily dressed when advertising body products - where she has to expose beautiful skin that's as a result of using a certain body product - she is then admired by a male. Scantily dressed ladies are used to promote the products. She is seen offering companionship to the man as he enjoys these luxury products and must dress in a way that makes him feel really good and that makes him happy !- she must dress sexy to please him and by dressing like this, she makes him look good!!

When at home in the domestic sphere, the study reveals that at 94.6% she almost all the time dresses decently so as to appear like a respectful "mama watoto". Society expects a lady to be decently dressed especially if married and while at home taking care of the family!!. From the study, what comes out clear is that since she spends most of her time within the home anyway, she has to be decently dressed at all these times hence the 94.6%. The male is almost all the time decently dressed - after all, society does not expect him to be impressing anyone except himself.

In luxury items e.g. tusker which are male-oriented adverts beautiful sexy women are portrayed as the ultimate reward to men for using the product advertised e.g. tusker, embassy cigarettes etc. The message the viewer gets is that the woman is an object of pleasure fit to give a man the company he deserves while he enjoys these luxuries of life. In female body product adverts, women seem to have a fear of being rejected by men because of body odour, bad breath, excessive body hair, dry or oily skin hence the reason the women dress scantily so as to expose their bodies - that they have acquired after using a certain body/beauty product so as to avoid rejection by the man.

The beautiful woman's primary concern as seen in most adverts is with the effect of her physical appearance on men. This is the most frequently found female image in this study.- the message to the viewer is "where are the men to see me now that I look good? she is concerned with the way she looks in order to attract male attention and attain "social success".

The female is seen in the study as a means for advertisers to sell products to both women and men on the basis of their sexual appeal to men.

The picture left of the woman is that she is a seductive enchantress who attracts men. She will gather/learn from the adverts that her goal in life is to attract and attain a man hence the reason she should use the product.

An analysis of the relationship between the manner of dress of the female/male character and the type of advert revealed that there exists a weak but positive relationship between these two variables as the computed correlation coefficient R (0.211) confirmed.

The degree and direction of this linear association given by the computed slope coefficient B (0.951) indicates that with an increase in the manner of dress of the female/male character, there occurs an increase in the message of the advert.

The computed coefficient of determination r^2 (0.044) indicates that the manner of dress of the female/male character alone explains about 4.4% of the changes in the message of the advert. Thus, the remaining 96.6% of the changes is explained possibly by other factors such as:- the dominant setting, the long lasting impression or the incidence of males engaging in female roles.

To determine how significant the calculated correlation coefficient (r) is, the Fisher's test statistic was used at $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level. It was found out that the calculated t (11.579) is greater than the tabulated t (0.000).

Based on these computations, it is safe to suggest that there is enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis at 95% level of statistical confidence and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Advertisers significantly use women's sexuality to sell various products*". Thus, and in conformity with the expectations of this study, there appears to be a quantitative impression of a causal relationship between the variables and that at 95% confidence level, the manner of dress of the female/male character is related to the type of advert i.e. that more often than not, the nature of dressing significantly impacts the message of the advert

In conclusion, there's enough evidence therefore from this study that women's role in life as defined in advertising is to attract a man by means of her appealing physique gained after using a cosmetic/beauty product and to keep him by being deferential and subservient to him - to keep him company because she looks great!. That at home, she is supposed to dress decently like a respectable "mama watoto" - like a respectable married woman who should not try to wore men by dressing sexy!

The study thus indicates that advertising is not committed to changing woman's image. It merely adapts to social change by updating the traditional image of women as sex object

The study will therefore reject the null hypothesis that states that "*advertisers do not significantly use women's sexuality to sell various products*" and adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that "*Advertisers significantly use women's sexuality to sell various products*".

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 SUSTAINED GENDER STEREOTYPING

When used to advertise women products, she suggests success in male conquests for the female viewer. This is the beauty image that Abema Nlomo in Kundu M.A & Wambui, C. (1993) refers to when she accuses the advertiser of exaggerating her most feminine side which is superficial and dehumanizing. That when used to advertise women products, she suggests success in male conquest for the female viewer.

Kundu, M.A and Wambui, C. (1993) in their study noted that though television adverts are not the actual cause of such harassment, they may have a role to play in insinuating that beautiful women/girls can and should be a reward for one thing or other. This internalised assumption leads to men assuming a sexual right over women under them.

In such adverts where the woman is shown as a sex object as some interviewees in this study observed, beauty is often seen as a prerequisite for success as the "fab chick pursued by all the guys," - the lady being followed by all the men. When presented in such a manner, the women wish to be like her so as to "make other heads turn" while for the men, it makes them wish they could conquer her in love or/and in bed.

It is obvious that such a woman is only important in an advert as a decorative element for luxury items such as beer, cigarettes, cars or eating out places. Most interviewees agreed on the fact that such use of women is abhorable and that their sexuality rather than their intellect is what interests the advertiser.

Adverts entrench certain myths in the social and political perception of women. According to Barthes R. (1975) every myth is ideologically implicated. Adverts are texts that are loaded with a baggage of ideological

overtone. This implies that advertising tries to interpellate a certain ideology. As the society develops, it tries to naturalize its myths in the changes that have taken place.

This ideology is enhanced by the "Blue Band" advert which portrays a woman's full figure watching her son going to school. This advert creates the impression that good mothers are those who stay at home and watch the male gender advance. It is important to note that the school-going child is not female; neither is the passive parent male. The impression the advert creates is that the female should stay at home and maintain the status quo while men go out of the household to better their lot.

The ideology that women are objects for admiration to be confined to the domestic circles is further brought out in the "Johnson and Johnson Baby Jelly" advert. A woman is featured twice playing with a baby. The woman is portrayed as happy and most satisfied playing with the child. A similar scenario is presented in adverts for Kimbo, Vicks, Kasuku and Omo.

Some innovations associated with domestic work exploit the woman to enhance the myth that women are supposed to be confined to the house. A good example is the kimbo advert which features a woman happily cooking while she waits for her family to come home for dinner.

Throughout the world, children actively seek reinforcements as "*futures where the power of adulthood will be available*" (Richards (1991), in Buckingham, D. 1993). Boys do choose blue and girls choose pink, actively making selections for their own uses and purposes, be they socialization, information, escapism or identification, as active interpreters, if not endorsers, of their own environment then should their judgements be questioned?

From the results, it is clear that stereotypical gender images and roles predominate in television commercials. Despite the fact that there was a predominance of the number of females over males seen as main

characters, when male characters were seen, they were in non-domestic roles.

Most often, female characters were found in the home, and male characters were found out of the home. These findings agree with Smith's (1994) study.

Consistent with earlier international studies, men and women appearing in Kenyan television commercials are portrayed in terms of traditional gender stereotypes. That is, women in these commercials are more likely to be dependents in the home, users of domestic products, etc. They are also more likely to recommend domestic products, beauty products without factual arguments. Men on the other hand are more likely to be jobholders out of the home and authorities on the products. They are also more likely to explain why the products are good and to recommend them (voice-overs); also, men still have much higher status than women do.

This study like Morgan's (1982), supports the view that television commercials do cultivate gender stereotypes. Morgan like this study found the effect to be mainly in girls. The girls who watched greater amounts of television commercials were found to be more likely to hold the opinion that women are less ambitious than men, and find their happiness in the home and among children.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSIONS

The overall message of Kenyan television commercials continues to be extremely gender based. It is however disappointing considering the re-emergence of the Women's Movement. Based on this study, there is no evidence found that the image of the "advertiser's woman" has changed to represent females more realistically in the Kenyan society. Taking into consideration, the amount of time spent watching television commercials, the absence of a new female image should be of relevance for those concerned with challenging gender based stereotypes in their search for equality among the sexes.

Hopefully this study will help people gain insight into what extent television commercials play in the development of our social and symbolic realities. If there are in fact connections between television commercial viewing and the shaping of one's realities, then it is imperative to question the accuracy of the images that bombard the viewer on a daily basis.

With commercials being watched by so many, this study agrees with Douglas, S. (1995) that we must heed the warning "while we're laughing and enjoying, we're also sensing that we're going to pay for this not too far down the road". Our women will be kept in the home and the men will be permanently out there.

In all this process, the media has a big role to play in correcting the prevailing gender imbalances to ensure equal treatment of both genders.

As always in social science, the picture is subtle, complex, and rich in research opportunities.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The mass media is used for mass communication and it has the capacity to reach large numbers of people or the masses. The news stories and other programmes that are given out by the media are about those important events that take place in society. In other words, media reflects or acts as a mirror for society.

Much as the media is a reflection of what is happening in society, it has the capacity to influence people's thinking. Through the type of coverage, images portrayed and those created, people's perceptions are indirectly guided towards a specific direction. In addition, people tend to believe what comes out in the media as gospel truth. The media has been a major force in perpetuating a cultural ideology that relegates women to the background in a subordinate position.

Overall results of this study have shown that stereotypic portrayals are rampant in Kenyan television commercials.

Traditional, stereotypic portrayals of men and women in Kenyan television commercials continue to be common place. They do not accurately reflect contemporary social trends in Kenya. As these traditional portrayals can negatively affect attitudes toward women, greater efforts to reduce gender stereotyping in current Kenyan television commercials are highly recommended.

One interesting argument was made by one interviewee used by Kundu, M.A and Wambui C. (1993) in their study; this interviewee argues that If a man, for example, was portrayed in an advert where he is seen cooking for his family while his wife is seen outside jogging or just relaxing, this would be a complete "overhaul" of the reality. He went on to say that this does not happen in reality and as such it would jeopardize the credibility of whatever product being advertised. According to him, the advertiser should of necessity reflect changes in society.

It is true that for most kids in our society, television offers many more opportunities to view differences in sex-role relationships than does their immediate everyday world of reference. As such, its potential influence upon their outlook should not be overlooked or dismissed.

Stereotyping tends to tailor aspirations for growing children and so building a vicious circle that may be difficult to break eventually. This is because children tend to take what they see on the screen as the truth. When boys see men in decision-making roles, they make them their role models and they aspire to be like those men. In the longer term, television commercials have the potential to shape children's sex-role attitudes; Tannis, Macbeth, Williams (1986), in Gunter & McAleer (1990).

This study would therefore like to make the following recommendations:-

- 1) The media should have conscience to change society if there is need. The woman should be portrayed in all the settings that she features in her everyday life, as mother, as business executive, as architect excetera so that the audience will not just see her as only domesticated, but as one contributing equally to nation-building tasks.
- 2) There is need for a Kenyan censoring board which should decide what adverts can be aired to avoid advertisers running the prejudiced show irrespective of the ethics involved.
- 3) The media can foster or hinder development depending on the way it treats issues/events. There is urgent need to sensitize the media practitioners especially the editors on the women's needs and concerns so that women issues feature on their media agenda. This will ensure more positive coverage for women which should give the women self confidence to be able to participate in the development process. Today, most women are mere passive spectators. The media should in as much as possible portray the woman as an equal partner to his male counterpart.

- 4) There should be a body through which people can protest if they think an advert is out of proportion. This should be addressed to a certain body, probably the earlier suggested censorship board to regulate such adverts.
- 5) Women's Organizations should play a more active role in pressurizing advertisers to give women true images in adverts. They could also enlighten advertisers on the dangers of stereotyped portrayal which undermine the women's potential contributions in Nation building.
- 6) Because adverts generally emanate from clients and agencies, media managers must watch for hidden messages. Advertising as a specialized branch of the media has a responsibility of creating accurate and logical presentations to inform the public and consumers of products and services. Advertisers should have a conscience and should adopt more balanced themes. Media managers are encouraged to reject adverts which exploit subjects by gender or which mislead consumers. Media organizations need not be intimidated by paid adverts, which carry images that capitalize on the physical characteristic of any group in society.
- 7) It is also important that advertisers make moral judgement before airing any adverts. Although some of the advertisers know what is wrong with the adverts they produce, they have put money first and totally ignored the moral implications of their adverts. Advertisers should therefore be sensitized to review such issues.
- 8) Media women should take it as their responsibility (individually or collectively), to challenge and correct the distorted media images especially those that ridicule women. They should advocate for positive images. Only through these positive images would there be development of women's potentialities and this would hopefully facilitate over-all national development.

- 9) As the media is the major source of information for the people, it should endeavor to give information relevant to the various sections of the population. There is a need for the media and advertisers to move away from this kind of communication if the perception of women in society is to change. If the perception changes, then womenfolk especially in Africa can begin to win the war against prejudice and oppression by society.
- 10) The study highly recommends that women models should be educated and sensitized on the dangers of taking part in adverts that portray them only in stereotyped roles or as sex symbols. Some of them may not be aware of the effects this could have on the society's regard for women. Women, beginning with the schools, should be educated to value self-esteem more than monetary gains even when faced with economic strains.
- 11) Although it is important to focus on women, men too should be educated on their responsibilities in the domestic sphere. Kenya being a patriarchal society, a child belongs to the father's clan. Ironically, most men have very little to do with the upbringing of their children and leave it to the mothers. The media should in as much as possible portray the woman as a human being who gets tired and needs some rest, not the "beast of burden" that she is taken to be.

Lastly, more than half of the Kenyan population is made up of women. By continuing to ignore the aspirations of more than 52% of the Kenyan population, the advertisers are doing a lot of harm to the economic growth of this country. Aspirations of more than half of the country's population will continue to run low, and consequently, we shall continue to register a comparatively low economic growth rate than would have otherwise have been the case.

Thus, so long as the media continue not to give due attention or coverage to women, the belief that it is a man's world will continue to persist.

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APPENDIX 1 - DATA SHEET

Type of advert	
Product	
Voice Over (female/male)	
Roles performed by female/male character	
With whom/to whom?	
How are these roles performed?	
What is the nature of dress	
What are the characters saying?	
Incidence of males engaging in stereotypic female roles and vice versa	
Dominant setting (in or outside the home)	
Correspondence to reality/symbolic	
Message viewer is likely to get/retain	
Long lasting impressions the viewer is likely to form	
Impact on female/male socialization	