

**PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN KENYAN TELEVISION
ADVERTISEMENTS**

By

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**A research project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the award of Master of Arts Degree in Communication Studies of the
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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated:

To my mom - Mary Wangari, My dad - Joseph Komu and my wife - Judy Wacera

To the Kenyan woman, and all those dedicated to her real empowerment

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ABSTRACT

This study is an assessment of the portrayal of women in television advertisements in Kenya. Specifically the study was interested in establishing if advertisers in Kenyan television use gender stereotypes in commercials. This was achieved by seeking to determine which type of products and services that women are featured mostly in television commercials, whether there are gender inequalities in regard to roles portrayed in the commercials and what type of portrayal of women is most prevalent in television commercials. The study adopted a descriptive research design. A code sheet was used to enter the data that was collected from commercials aired at prime time on Citizen Television over a one month period (April 1st to April 30th 2013). The data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and presentation of the findings was done in tabulated format. Findings indicated that women are portrayed stereotypically in television advertisements in conformity with traditional gender stereotypes more specifically as users of personal and household products, belonging to the home settings, parents and spouses, passive users of products and services and as decorative and sexual objects.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

USA	United States of America
PATH	Programme for Appropriate Technology in Health
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
VoK	Voice of Kenya
TV	Television
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
KIPPRA	Kenya Institute of Public and Policy Research and Analysis

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a background of the study by looking at the current situation of women in Kenya in regard to their participation in economic, social and economic development. The background also addresses stereotypes and how the mass media through advertising perpetuate and reinforces negative stereotypes and how this impact on women empowerment. It also defines the statement of the problem that shed light on compelling issues that necessitated this study. In doing this, the issue of television as a tool that is shaping societal attitudes in regard to gender has been addressed and how what is portrayed becomes a problem. The objectives of the study have also been spelt out by stating the areas of focus to be addressed in the study. The research questions that the study seeks to answer so as to achieve the objectives of the study have also been formulated. The chapter also states the rationale and justification of this study and its scope and limitations.

1.2 Background of the Study

Women in Kenya are still lagging behind men in national development participation. The Global Gender Report (2012) indicates huge gender gaps in key indicators of development participation such as labour force, income and education, where men are shown to have an upper hand.

1.2.1 Causes of Gender Disparities in Developmental Activities

Low involvement of women in key development activities is attributed to cultural beliefs, norms, attitudes and behaviours that insist on women and men occupying traditional roles assigned to them by society. A 2007 report titled, “Status of Women and Girls in Kenya” traces this situation to how the society has been raising boys and girls in discriminatory ways as fed by traditional gender stereotypes. According to the report, due to the cultural norms still held by many, girls in many communities are still seen as homemakers who do not deserve to go to school. This has led to girls being less likely to attend and complete school, thereby putting them at disadvantage when it comes to competition for opportunities in social, economic and political development fields. According to Chesaina (2013), traditional marginalization of women in decision making roles has spilled over into our contemporary society and has placed Kenyan women in a difficult situation.

1.2.2 How Gender Stereotypes Impact Negatively on Women

In a publication titled, “The Kenya’s Women Manifesto” (2005) the media in Kenya is accused of perpetuating negative gender stereotypes against women. According to scholars such as Blum (2004), Eisend (2009), Stangor and Schaller (1996), Lindsay (2010), Kray et al (2001) and Brannon (2000), stereotyping of women adversely affect how they perceive themselves and also how the society perceives them. Seeing women stereotypically blinds the society about the potential and the range of characteristics constituting each woman as a distinct individual. This works to make more and more women invisible or unacknowledged. On the other hand, the stereotypes hinder women from expressing their full potential due to anxiety and tension about their performance and self-concept.

1.2.3 The Role of Mass Media in Perpetuating Gender Stereotypes

The mass media, mostly television (Jefkins 2000) is a powerful socialization and acculturation medium (Tan 1985: 243) through which most people develop standardized roles and behaviours (Infante et al 2003: 364). This power of television in socialization and culture transmission is gaining currency in Kenya as more people have access to television. Findings of studies on portrayal of women in advertising indicate that women have been stereotyped in television commercials (Mwangi 1996, Neto and Pinto 1998, Mazella et al 1992 and Holthausen et al 2011), in conformity to traditional female stereotypes that show women as being passive, weak, carers of families and raisers of children (PATH 2010, Mwangi 1996, Mazella et al 1992).

Television perpetuates these gender stereotypes by choosing to use them in advertising as a persuasion strategy. Davis (2001 as cited by Vela 2003: 11) asserts that the advertising industry help shape popular notion of gender identity. This cultivates in the mind of the viewers the perception about how women and men are expected to play their roles in the society. A research in 2001 by Kray et al on effects of gender stereotypes showed that when women are made aware of traditional gender stereotypes, they behave in a way to confirm those stereotypes. Morgan (1982 as cited by Stangor and Schaller 1996: 62) carried out a study whose results indicated that adolescent girls who watch relatively traditional portrayals of female roles in television endorsed traditional gender stereotypes. According to Eisend (2009: 418) one of the consequences of portrayal of gender stereotypes in advertising is the possible reinforcement of social stereotypes such as those based on gender portrayals, particularly the ones related to women. This has been seen as fomenting women's perception

of their defined traditional roles. Shields and Heinecken (2002 as cited by Vela 2003: 1) argues that advertising has been putting women “in their place” for decades.

On the other hand, stereotypical portrayals of women in advertisement cultivates in the rest of the viewers a narrow way of looking at women as stereotyping involves seeing individual members through a narrow and rigid lens of group-based image, rather than being alive to the range of characteristics constituting each member as a distinct individual (Blum 2004: 271, 275). In some situations, the way that stereotyping masks group internal diversity can result in a subgroup of the stereotyped group being unseen or unacknowledged in a way that is damaging or harmful to it (Blum 2004: 271, 275).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The mass media is an important medium of socialization and acculturation in the modern world. According to Tan (1985: 243), the mass media has become important socialization agent, creating and shaping many of our shared attitudes, values, behaviours, and perceptions of the social reality. He terms television as one of the medium of communication considered powerful in changing and reinforcing opinions, attitudes and behaviours as well functioning as a socialization agent. This implies that television has become a tool through which we learn values and attitudes of our society.

The problem arises when television portrays negative beliefs, norms and behavior in society because this may end up perpetuating these adverse values. Gender stereotypes are one of the negative portrayals in many media texts including commercials. Advertising in particular has been accused of putting women “in their place” for decades with images containing texts that perpetuates gender stereotypes (Shields and Heinecken 2002 as cited by Vela 2003: 1)

thereby fomenting women's perception of their defined traditional roles, and at the same time making them appear less significant than they really are in the eyes of the rest of the members of society. This has acted to hinder women from expressing their full potential, and being denied opportunities in social, economic and political arena, a situation that breed gender inequality in Kenya.

This study therefore seeks to find out how television advertisement in Kenya portrays women. This study hypothetically argues that television advertisement in Kenya portray women in traditional gender stereotypes.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to examine and analyse how women are portrayed in television advertisement in Kenya. To achieve this, the study will focus on the following specific objectives:

- i) Determine the frequency that women feature in television advertising.
- ii) Determine which type of products and services categories that women are featured mostly in television commercials.
- iii) Find out whether there are gender inequalities in regard to roles portrayed in the commercials.
- iv) Determine what type of portrayal of women is most prevalent in television commercials.

1.5 Research Questions

- i) If one were to analyse the content of television advertisement in Kenya, what is the frequency of women appearance in commercials?

- ii) What type of product and service categories are women mostly featured in Kenyan television advertising?
- iii) Are there gender inequalities in regard to roles portrayed in television advertising?
- iv) What type of women portrayal is most prevalent in Kenyan television commercials?

1.6 Rationale and Justification

According to the Global Gender Report (2012), women in Kenya are still lagging behind men in social, economic and political participation. Literature on the status of women in Kenya attribute this situation to cultural beliefs, norms, attitudes and behaviours that insist on women and men occupying traditional roles assigned to them by society. With television becoming an important agent of acculturation and socialization in Kenya, it is important to find out whether this form of communication is playing a role in the perpetuation of gender stereotypes. This is important in helping players in the advertising industry understand the role they are playing in promoting or stifling women empowerment. The study is also important in helping advocates of women empowerment to ground their campaigns in empirical findings.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study focuses on advertising in electronic media narrowed down to television, with Citizen Television studying study samples. Citizen Television was selected as it attracts the highest volume of television advertisement. It looks at all commercials aired on Citizen Television during the prime time (6:00 PM to 10:00 PM) for a period of 30 days (April 1st to April 30th 2013).

The following limitations were encountered:

- i) Closed out commercials aired outside the prime time: During other times of the day, there are commercials that are aired. It was however practically not possible to

capture all of the commercials aired over the rest of 20 hours during the day. As a result, only commercials featured during the prime time (6:00 PM to 10:00 PM), which is only four hours, were coded and analyzed.

- ii) Failed to capture commercials aired in other television channels: Due to the fact that advertisers and advertising agencies may choose to book spots in other television channels and not necessarily in the mostly watched television station, Citizen Television in this case, the study failed to capture such commercials. This is due to practical difficulties in capturing all the adverts aired in all the television stations.

1.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has given the background of the study by providing an overview of the focus of research in this field. The objectives of the study have been spelt out as well as the statement of the problem. A hypothesis for the study has been formulated as have been the research questions, the rationale and justification of the study and limitations that it encountered.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on building a case for the research on portrayal of women in television advertising by looking at previous studies and other literature that addresses the current area of study. It gives an overview of empirical studies that have been carried in other parts of the world and locally to provide a picture of the trends across the world and the gaps that exist in relation to the current study. It also looks at literature relating to this study that addresses the issue of why women and men are represented differently in advertising, what makes advertisers use gender stereotypes in commercials and the impacts these have on the society. The chapter also looks at gender situation and television in Kenya with the aim of providing an understanding of local situation in the context of this study. Two theories anchoring this study have also been addressed.

2.1 Empirical Research on Portrayal of Women in Television Advertising

Over the years, the topic of portrayal of gender stereotypes in advertisement has attracted significant attention from researchers across the world (Bretl and Cantor 1988 in USA; Mazella 1992 in Australia, Mwangi 1996 in Kenya; Neto and Pinto 1998 in Portugal, Shartiely 2005 in Tanzania, Holtzhausen et al 2011 in South Africa). Analyses have included the frequency of female and male portrayals, social roles, setting, and characteristics of female and male characters. Most of these studies have indicated that males have consistently outnumbered females in television commercials and also presented both gender in traditional stereotypes.

2.1.1 Gender Representation in Television Commercials

Bretl and Cantor (1988) studied the content analysis and comparisons of the studies on portrayal of men and women in USA television commercials over a 15-year period. They found that the studies indicated some changes in the direction of more equal representation of men and women, but several differences, such as showing women in domestic settings and advertising products used in the home, remained. Being a developed country, the gender situation in the USA is expected to be more equal compared to a developing country like Kenya. According to the study, there is more equal representation of both genders in television commercials, a reflection of the American society. By reflecting the American society as more equal in regard to gender representation in television commercials, this research provides a research gap to the current study to find out whether television advertisements in Kenya are a reflection of the prevailing gender situation.

The findings of a study conducted in Australia by Mazella et al (1992) showed that men and women appearing in the sample of Australian television commercials were portrayed in different ways. According to the researchers, the nature of these differences were systematic and in line with traditional gender-role stereotypes as shown in findings obtained in earlier studies in North America and Britain. For instance, men were over-represented in Australian commercials, and were portrayed as authoritative experts who provided objective and knowledgeable reasons for buying the advertised products. They were depicted in traditionally masculine settings, and occupied roles which were independent of other people. Male figures were also concerned with the practical consequences of buying a product, and were likely to emphasize social and career advancement as a reward for purchasing an advertised product. On the contrary, women were typically shown as consumers of inexpensive products, particularly those associated with food and the body. They were not

likely to provide a reason for buying a product, but emphasized the social rewards for product purchase. Females appearing in commercials also occupied roles which were defined in relation to other people, and were more frequently depicted in domestic settings than were men. The findings by Mazella et al (1992) provides a gap to the current study in regard to whether women in Kenya are presented as mere consumers, and whether they occupy roles defined stereotypically by the society.

2.1.2 Conformity with Traditional Gender Stereotypes

A research conducted by Neto and Pinto (1998) found that men and women appearing in the sample of Portuguese television commercials were portrayed in conformity with traditional gender stereotypes. The findings of this study indicated that Portuguese television commercials manifested similar traditional gender stereotypes to those found in studies carried out in other countries. The study found a greater tendency for males to dominate television commercials at 66%. Previous studies found a similar trend (Mazella et al 1992 in Australia at 74%; Holtzhausen et al 2011 in South Africa at 60%). The researchers concluded that this global tendency reflected that television commercials are faithfully representing gender imbalances in the kind of situations they depict, rather than themselves distorting the picture. According to the findings, women were most likely to be represented as dependent on others, portrayed at home, as youthful and attractive. The study also found a significant association between gender of product user and reward type, where men were more often portrayed as rewarded with pleasure than women who were more portrayed as rewarded with self-enhancement. These findings are informative to the current study as they bring out the need to find out the kind of rewards that televisions commercials associates with a particular gender as a result of purchasing and using the advertised products.

2.1.3 Products and Gender Roles Stereotyping

Holtzhausen et al (2011) studied how women are portrayed in South African television commercials. In this study, almost 40% of the television commercials featured women. Women as product users were prevalent in this study where they were depicted as users of the advertised product in the majority of the studied commercials. It was found out that products such as personal care, food and households were most often advertised featuring women. The researchers concluded that the results indicated that South African advertisers link women to consumer decision-making for low-involvement products rather than for high-involvement products, as women were rarely represented in categories that are high-involvement, such as electronics and motor vehicles. In regard to the current study, this research provides a gap to find out whether women in Kenya are presented as passive users of advertised products or as people having in-depth knowledge of the products and services.

In a study of the women portrayal in Kenyan television commercials (Mwangi 1996), distinct gender patterns emerged for the type of product or service that were content analysed. Women were significantly represented in commercials for household and personal/baby products. Men were significantly represented in commercials for auto/hardware and financial services. The study also found out that the commercials analysed portrayed women as less persuasive and passive product users. The results of this study were largely consistent with previous findings in other countries and provided evidence of the persistence of gender stereotypes in Kenyan television advertisement as in other countries. However, unlike in most commercials analyzed in other countries in which men are over represented (Neto and Pinto 1998 in Portugal at 66%; Mazella et al 1992 in Australia at 74%; Holtzhausen et al 2011 in South Africa at 60%) women were more represented than men as central characters in Kenyan commercial – women at 52.6% and men at 47.4%. In the study, women were found

more likely to be depicted as passive household and personal care product users and in the home. On the other hand, men were depicted as product authorities and users of non-domestic goods and services. According to the researcher, although both men and women in Kenyan commercials were equally depicted as having occupations, the nature of occupations held were not only stereotyped, but portrayed women as having a limited choice of four (domestic, teaching, office/secretarial, and sports) out of the 13 occupations coded. The researcher says that these occupations were not only viewed as less prestigious, but reminiscent of the occupational avenues generally viewed as ideal for educated Kenyan women soon after independence. These findings provide a gap to the current study in regard to whether the association of certain occupations to a particular gender is persistent in today's television advertisement in Kenya.

2.1.4 Stereotypical Portrayal of Women as Sex Objects

Shartiely (2005) analyzed how television commercials in Tanzania portray women. According to the study, advertisers in Tanzania employs linguistic and non-linguistic strategies that indicates how advertising in Tanzania perpetuates gender stereotyping. The researcher concluded that the commercials indicated gender bias in that they assigned women lighter and domestic roles than they do men. Most females were portrayed as homemakers by presenting them in home settings. Female characters were also shown as attractive, tender, sensual, passive, submissive and mere consumers of products. A gap emerges in relation to this study in the issue of presentation of women as sex objects. This brings the need to find out whether television commercials in Kenya portray women as sex or decorative objects.

2.3 Stereotypes

Stereotypes are considered to be the "pictures in the head" of individuals looking out into the social world (Lippmann 1922 as cited by Stangor and Schaller 1996: 3). According to Blum

(2004: 251), stereotypes are false or misleading generalizations about groups held in a manner that renders them largely, though not entirely, immune to counter-evidence. In doing so, argues Blum, stereotypes powerfully shape the stereotyper's perception of stereotyped groups, seeing the stereotypic characteristics when they are not present, failing to see the contrary of those characteristics when they are present and generally homogenizing the group.

Stangor and Schaller (1996: 4) conceptualized stereotypes from two complementary perspectives: From one viewpoint, stereotypes are represented within the mind of the individual person. From the other standpoint, stereotypes are represented as part of the social fabric of the society, shared by the people within a culture.

Many scholars have looked at stereotypes from two fronts. One focus has concentrated on the purpose that stereotyping serves the society in regard to social relations. According to Lippmann (1922 as cited by Quadflieg and Macrae 2004: 216), stereotyping is a tactic used by humans to understand their fellow human beings. He observed that people often relied on stereotypes to make sense of an overwhelmingly complex and constantly changing world. Quadflieg and Macrae (2004: 216) conceptualize stereotypes to be cognitive structures that provide knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about individuals based on their social group membership. Eisend (2009: 419) argues that stereotypes lead to expectations that can provide a useful orientation in everyday life.

Other researches and academic writings have dwelt on stereotypes from its negative plane (Eisend 2009; Blum 2004, Stangor and Schaller 1996; Lindsay 2010, Kray et al 2001, Brannon 2000). According to Eisend (2009: 419) stereotypes can lead to oversimplified

conceptions and misapplied knowledge evaluations, and thus to wrong evaluations of subjects of a social category. Blum (2004: 271, 275) asserts that stereotyping involves seeing individual members through a narrow and rigid lens of group-based image, rather than being alive to the range of characteristics constituting each member as a distinct individual... In some situations, the way that stereotyping masks group internal diversity can result in a subgroup of the stereotyped group being unseen or unacknowledged in a way that is damaging or harmful to it. According to Begley (2000 as cited by Brannon 2000: 159), stereotypes present a trap into which many people can fall. Brannon refers to a study in 1995 by Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson that showed how the existence of negative stereotypes affects those who are part of the stereotyped groups. The two researchers argued that people feel threatened in situations in which they believe that their performance will identify them as examples of their group's negative stereotype. They labeled this "situation stereotype threat" because the presence of these negative stereotypes threatens performance and self-concept. According to these researchers, even if the person does not believe the stereotype or accept that it applies, the threat of being identified with a negative stereotype can be an ever-present factor that puts a person in the spotlight and creates tension and anxiety about performance.

From the perspectives presented above, it is possible to conclude in relation to the current study that stereotyping of women has adverse effects on how they perceive themselves and also how the society perceives them. Seeing women stereotypically blinds the society about the potential and the range of characteristics constituting each woman as a distinct individual. This works to make more and more women invisible or unacknowledged. On the other hand, the stereotypes hinder women from expressing their full potential due to anxiety and tension about their performance and self-concept. This explains the inequalities that have persisted

between men and women in Kenya owing to perpetuation of negative traditional gender stereotypes through different avenues including the mass media.

2.4 Advertising

Advertising is defined as any form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, and services, directed toward a large group of anonymous people and is typically paid for (Dominick 2009: 336). Advertising is an important tool in marketing that is used by manufacturers and sellers to persuade consumers to purchase their products. According to Jefkins (2000: 3), mass production requires mass consumption which in turn requires advertising to the mass market through the mass media.

Advertising presents the most persuasive possible selling message to the right prospects for the product or service at the lowest possible cost (Jefkins 2000: 5). Many factors such as the intense competition in the marketplace, high media and advertising costs, and the fact that consumers are exposed to various advertising and marketing media on daily basis compel marketers to use the correct approach or advertising appeal to convey their advertising message effectively to the target market (Holtzhausen et al 2011: 171).

Advertisers prefer television to advertise their products due to its high viewership and the ability of television to give life to the advert. Jefkins (2000: 98, 99) terms television as a high impact medium since it takes the advertisement right into the home where it will be seen by the prospective buyer including others in the household who influence purchasing. Because of combination of colour, sound and action, television has assets no other medium can offer (pg 99).

2.5 Advertising and Persuasion

As a form of persuasion, advertising seeks to influence people to believe in something and to persuade them to purchase a product or service being advertised. Shields and Heineken (as cited by Vela 2003: 1) say that advertisers persuade people to think in a certain way by presenting messages that prescribe particular gender identities to the aspirations of women and specific parameters on how men should relate to women, and how women should relate to themselves. Basically, advertisement show and tell women how to “gender” themselves. According to Vela (2003: 1), commercials persuade people by tapping into insecurity about fitting into the stereotype and then sell the product being advertised as the solution to the problem. Williamson (1978 as cited by Vela 2003: 2) argues that the major objective of advertising is to make the person feel she is not a unified being, a complete entity unto herself, but instead a work in progress made up of separate parts each in need of continual improvement. According to Shields and Heineken (2002 as cited by Vela 2003: 20) advertisement persuades women in particular by making them feel bad about themselves, incomplete or lacking. Advertising creates this problem for women and then offers itself a solution by telling women that if they buy the advertised product, their problems will be solved. This is achieved by presenting adverts in ritual like displays such as gender stereotypes that make it easy for the viewers of the commercials to relate to them and even find a familiarity with the events taking place in the commercial. Gender displays in advertisement are familiar to the consumer because they show rituals in which consumer engages in real life.

Davis (2001 as cited by Vela 2003: 11) asserts that the advertising industry help shape popular notion of identity – and by extension, gender, race, and class. This view presents the

argument that by presenting women in advertising in conformity with traditional stereotypes, the commercials are just mirroring the society. Schudson (1984 as cited by Ibroshcheva 2007: 411) argues that the promotional culture of advertising has worked its way into a mean of acculturation, particularly in the case of portrayals of gender roles, which are presented, validated through frequent exposure, and ultimately, adopted by the general population as acceptable norms of behavior.

2.6 Gender Stereotypes and Advertising

PATH (2010: 15) defines gender as the ideas and expectations people have about men and women. These include ideas about what is considered feminine (characteristics associated with women) and masculine (characteristics associated with men) and how men and women should behave. According to this document, a person's gender is complicated, and is made up of roles, rights, duties, appearance, speech, movement, and more.

The society also defines the roles of each gender. Gender roles are the kinds of activities that a community considers appropriate for people because of their sex. Each community expects women and men to think, feel, and act in a certain way, simply because they are women or men (PATH 2010: 15). It is from these societal labeling and expectations of gender that gender stereotypes emerge.

Gender stereotypes are beliefs that certain attributes differentiate women and men (Ashmore and Del Boca 1981 as cited by Eisend 2009: 419). A gender stereotype consists of beliefs about the psychological traits and characteristics of, as well as the activities appropriate to men or women. According to Eisend (2009: 419) when people associate a pattern of behaviour with either women or men, they may overlook individual variations and exceptions

and come to believe that the behaviour is inevitably associated with one gender but not the other.

Brannon (2000: 159) see gender stereotypes as being very influential; they affect conceptualizations of women and men and establish social categories for gender. These categories represent what people think, and even when beliefs vary from reality, the beliefs can be very powerful forces in judgments of self and others. According to Stangor and Schaller (1996: 12), men and women feel pressure to comply with the appropriate gender-based social norms rather than risk the collective derogation attendant on norm violation.

Previous studies have found that mass media is a major form through which most stereotypes are transmitted in modern societies. The media plays this role of gender stereotypes transmission by mirroring men and women in line with the traditional gender stereotypes inherent in the society it serves. Morgan (1982 as cited by Stangor and Schaller 1996: 62) carried out a study whose results indicated that adolescent girls who watch relatively traditional portrayals of female roles in television endorsed traditional gender stereotypes. The study found that young women who watched traditional commercials later expressed lower self-confidence, less independence and fewer career aspirations than did those watching the non-traditional commercials. A research in 2001 by Kray et al on effects of gender stereotypes on negotiations found that when women are made aware of traditional gender stereotypes, they behave in a way to confirm those stereotypes. They attributed this to arousal and fear of confirming the stereotypes, which in effect hinders their performance.

Most content analyses have found that traditional stereotype roles have been used to portray women in advertisement. A study carried out by Eisend (2009: 418) showed that stereotyping

is prevalent in advertising. According to the study, stereotyping occurs mainly related to gender's occupational status. However, researchers are asking themselves whether these stereotypes are an actual representation of women in today's society. The changing social climate and the evolution of the role of woman in the home and in the workplace have given rise to questions regarding the appropriate portrayal of women in the media today (Holtzhausen et al 2007: 168).

On the other hand, scholars in the behavioural and social sciences have been concerned about social and cultural consequences of advertising. According to Eisend (2009: 418) advertising frequently uses gender to promote products. Consumers are exposed to a wide variety of advertising in different media every day, and from these exposures, certain thinking patterns evolve (Holtzhausen et al 2007: 168).

Ibroscheva (2007: 409) holds that gender stereotypes in the media are authenticated through regular exposures and then adopted by the public as the norm. According to Brannon (2000: 173), when people see women portrayed in stereotypical ways, those presentations influence the way they think about and judge women. This means that biased portrayals perpetuate stereotyping. He asserts that groups that are minimized, distorted, or marginalized are at risk because these portrayals make the groups seem less significant than they really are. Thus, media content is important not only for the power that it exerts on individuals' views but also for how it reflects and shapes cultural values. Stereotypical portrayals of women and ethnic minorities abound on television, and these presentations have the power to do harm (Brannon 2000: 173).

According to Eisend (2009: 418) one of the consequences of portrayal of gender stereotypes in advertising is the possible reinforcement of social stereotypes such as those based on gender portrayals, particularly the ones related to women. This has been seen as fomenting women's perception of their defined traditional roles. Shields and Heinecken (2002 as cited by Vela 2003: 1) argues that advertising has been putting women "in their place" for decades with images containing subtexts that perpetuates gender stereotypes. Goffman (1976: 8) asserts that given our stereotypes of femininity, a particular woman will find that the way has been cleared to fall back on the situation of her entire sex to accord to herself for why she should refrain from vying with men in matters mechanical, financial, political and so forth. This view supports the one by Shields and Heinecken (2002 as cited by Vela 2003: 1) that television adverts have been putting women in their place as defined by stereotypes held by society. According to Mwangi (1996: 207) the analysis of gender roles depicted in various forms of mass media has broader social implications in developing countries like Kenya. As millions of women living in these countries strive to overcome deep seated cultural barriers to equal participation in the social, economic and political arenas, it is important to appraise the role of television in overcoming and/or sustaining cultural obstacles to gender equity (Mwangi 1996: 207).

2. 7 Gender Situation in Kenya

According to the Global Gender Report (2012), women in Kenya are still lagging behind men in social, economic and political fields as shown below:

Table 2.1

<u>Gender Gap sub-indexes</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Labour Force Participation (%)	78	89
Estimated Earned Income (USD)	1352	2085
School Enrolment- Primary (%)	83	82
Secondary	48	52
Tertiary	3	5

Source: Global Gender Report 2012

This status of women in Kenyan society is attributed to cultural beliefs, norms, attitudes and behaviours that insist on women and men occupying traditional roles assigned to them by society. A 2007 report titled, “Status of Women and Girls in Kenya” traces this situation to how the society has been raising boys and girls in discriminatory ways as fed by traditional gender stereotypes. According to the report, due to the cultural norms still held by many, girls in many communities are still seen as homemakers who do not deserve to go to school. The report asserts that women in Kenya have been side-lined with their role being domesticated - being seen as belonging in the home. This has led to girls being less likely to attend and complete school. While boys attend school, girls stay at home to be groomed for marriage and matrimonial responsibilities (pg 18). Where the mothers are not gender-sensitive, the daughters are brought up in the traditional way and therefore they are encouraged to perpetuate stereotyped images to their own children when they themselves become mothers (Chesaina 2013).

Omondi (2008: 81) sees this situation as having its genesis in the colonial era. According to her, Kenya inherited the colonial legacy of male dominance, which suppressed female

hierarchies due to its patriarchal nature, and therefore gender bias. This legacy, she argues, boosted the hegemony of men while extreme domestication was imposed on women.

According to Chesaina (2013), traditional marginalization of women in decision making roles has spilled over into our contemporary society and has placed Kenyan women in a difficult situation. She asserts that in the private as well as the public sector, women get secondary consideration for managerial or other top-level positions.

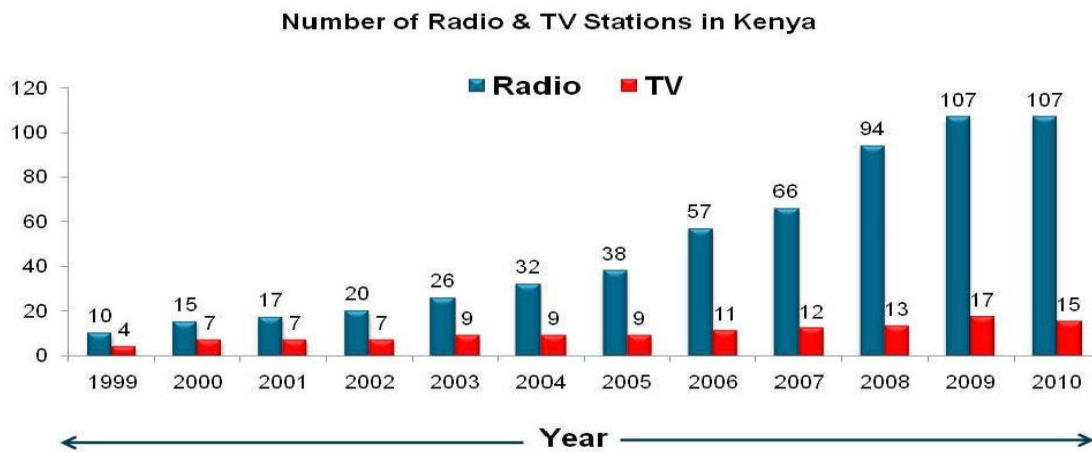
In a publication titled, “The Kenya’s Women Manifesto” (2005) the media in Kenya is accused of perpetuating negative gender stereotypes against women. According to the document, women have been portrayed by the media as objects of advertisement, sex, entertainment, wives, mothers, weaker sex and dependent on men for direction and decisions.

2.8 Television and Advertising in Kenya

Television was launched in Kenya in 1962, a few months before independence, when Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) was set up (Oriare et al 2010: 14). In 1964, the new government run by Africans nationalized KBC and changed its name to Voice of Kenya (KBC) to reflect on the interest of indigenous Kenyans. The government controlled VoK and used it as its propaganda machine, and establishment of privately owned broadcasting stations was hindered by the then political climate of a one party state that felt threatened by an alternative voice. It was not until the 1990s following the re-introduction of political pluralism that broadcasting was liberalized, opening the doors for private investors (Oriare et al 2010: 14). This led to exponential growth of mass media in Kenya.

According to a study titled “Explosion in Media Changes Audience and Advertising Trends” by Ipsos Synovate (2011), Kenya experienced a huge growth of television stations over the period under study - 1999 to 2011.

Figure 2.1



Source: Synovate 2011

The figure above indicates that the number of television stations quadrupled from four stations to 15. According to the report, these changes in the media landscape have had a profound impact on the way people consume information and by extension, advertising trends as the private media looked to advertising to generate income. According to Ali (2009: 177, 178), the survival of the private mass media in the now liberalized environment depended on advertising revenues. As a result, the post-1990 mass media in Kenya saw a higher level of advertising because of increased corporate activities in the country.

Television viewership in Kenya is also high. An “Audience Consumer Trends Survey” commissioned by Kenya Film Commission in 2010 indicated that 59% of Kenyans are exposed to television viewership on daily basis. The figures are corroborated by the findings

of another survey, “Kenya Media and ICT Use in Focus” conducted by Intermedia Survey Institute (2010) that found that 58% of respondents watched television over the past one week during the study. These figures show that television is a widely watched medium by Kenyans.

In regard to competition, a study conducted by Deloitte & Touche (2012) titled: “Competition Study – The Broadcasting Industry in Kenya,” Citizen Television is way ahead of the competition in viewership enjoying 47% across the country.

Figure 2.2

Frequency allocation to TV broadcasters

Frequency Operator	Television station	% Spectrum Allocated	% Spectrum for own use	Average Share of Viewing	Ratio viewing share to spectrum used
KBC	KBC Channel 1	44%	25%	13%	0.52
Royal Media Services	Citizen TV	10%	13%	47%	3.42
KTN Baraza Ltd	KTN	8%	11%	12%	1.09
Nation Media Group	NTV	6%	10%	14%	1.40
Stellavision	K24	5%	8%	1%	0.13
Others		27%	33%	13%	
Total		100%	100%	100%	

Source: CCK, Synovate, Deloitte analysis

2.9 Theoretical Background

There are two theories that anchor this study on why advertisers choose to portray women in traditional stereotypes in television commercials, how the portrayals influence social perception about gender roles and the effect these portrayals have in perpetuating gender stereotypes in Kenyan society.

2.9.1 Cultivation Theory

The Cultivation Theory of mass communication was developed by Gerbner (1980). It asserts that the media, especially television, exerts a tremendous influence by altering individuals' perception of reality (Gerbner et al 1980, 1986 as cited by Infante et al 2003: 364).

Today, television serves as the major socialization and acculturation medium (Tan 1985: 243) through which most people develop standardized roles and behaviours (Infante et al 2003: 364). The mass media has made us aware of cultures, social issues, and events that few of us could experience directly. Thus we rely on the pictures presented in the media as guides for the construction of our own social realities (Tan 1981: 299). This view implies that television shapes the way viewers see and judge other people as it cultivates in them its own version of reality. Gross (1994 as cited by Gentry and Harrison 2010: 81) argues that the differential media representation of individuals influences the way audience members perceive and react to members of the groups represented. These representations regularly contribute to the social knowledge media users cultivate about the real world and the wide-range of individuals who live there (Gross 1994 as cited by Gentry and Harrison 2010: 81).

According to this theory, viewers tend to mistake television images for the real thing, a situation which Gerbner and Gross (1976 as cited by Infante et al 2003: 364) describe as confusing media constructed reality with actual reality. One reason the influence of television in the cultivation process is so strong is that many of us do not have an opportunity to observe mediated reality (Infante et al 2003: 365).

According to Infante et al (2003: 364), the influence of the media's messages on perception of reality is intensified when what people see on television is what they see in real life. This

double dose of televised message tends to amplify the cultivation effect. Griffin (2008: 349) argues that Gerbner was convinced that television's power comes from the symbolic content of the real-life drama shown hour after hour, week after week. The basic assumption of media cultivation is that the media are able to determine our perceptions about facts, norms, and values of society through selective presentations and by emphasizing certain themes (Tan 1981: 299).

Findings of studies on portrayal of women in advertising indicate that women have been stereotyped in television commercials (Mwangi 1996, Neto and Pinto 1998, Mazella et al 1992 and Holthausen et al 2011). The presentations conform to the traditional female stereotypes that show women as being passive, weak, carers of families and raisers of children (PATH 2010, Mwangi 1996, Mazella et al 1992). But the question in regard to cultivation theory is how these portrayals affect women's perception of themselves, society's expectations on women, and cultivation of children's conception of social reality in regard to women as they will most likely grow with that perception. According to Tan (1981: 304) television shapes stereotypical views of children regarding gender roles. This can in effect work to perpetuate the traditional stereotypes as society increasingly uses television as a guide to appropriate gendered behaviour in real life.

From the standpoint of cultivation theory, television perpetuates gender stereotypes by choosing to use them in the promotion of products. This cultivates in the mind of the viewers the perception about how women and men are expected to play their roles in the society. As the research in 2001 by Kray et al on effects of gender stereotypes on negotiations suggested, when women are made aware of traditional gender stereotypes, they behave in a way to confirm those stereotypes. On the other hand, stereotypical portrayals of females in

advertisements cultivates in the rest of the viewers a narrow way of looking at women as stereotyping involves seeing individual members through a narrow and rigid lens of group-based image, rather than being alive to the range of characteristics constituting each member as a distinct individual (Blum 2004: 271, 275). In some situations, the way that stereotyping masks group internal diversity can result in a subgroup of the stereotyped group being unseen or unacknowledged in a way that is damaging or harmful to it (Blum 2004: 271, 275).

Cultivation theory is therefore important to the current study in understanding how the portrayal of women in television advertising perpetuates stereotyped attitudes, values and behaviour.

2.9.2 Cognitive Dissonance Theory

This social psychology theory was postulated by Leon Festinger in 1957 and tries to explain how people maintain cognitive consistency (consonance) by resolving inconsistency (dissonance), which is psychologically uncomfortable. According to Festinger (1957: 3), the basic assumptions of the theory are:

- a) The existence of dissonance, being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try to reduce dissonance and achieve consonance.
- b) When dissonance is present, in trying to reduce it, the person will actively avoid situations and information which would likely increase the dissonance.

According to the theory, two beliefs are related either in a state of consonance or dissonance. The dissonance state motivates us to get rid of the uncomfortable feeling by changing our beliefs and attitudes to ones that bring a mental state of comfort.

As a form of persuasion to sell their products, advertisers use gender stereotypes that conform to the targeted society's cultural beliefs, attitudes and behaviours by utilizing the concept of selective attention. Severin and Tankard (2001: 144) argues that more typically, individuals will pay attention to the parts of the message that are not contrary to their strongly held attitudes, beliefs, or behaviours, a situation he termed as selective attention and not pay attention to the parts of the message that are counter to strongly held positions and might cause psychological discomfort or dissonance. Therefore, by presenting television commercials in conformity with gender stereotypes, advertisers seek to avoid upsetting traditional cultural beliefs, attitudes and behaviours regarding men and women roles by maintaining consonance with the target group's culture. By doing this, advertisers maintain a mental consistency with the culture of the targeted group, thereby making it easier to persuade both men and women that the product or service being promoted conforms to their culture. The advertisers therefore avoid dissonance that could create cognitive tension and in effect complicate decision making in regard to purchasing of the products or services being advertised.

According to Festinger (1957: 49), advertising material is a potential source of cognition which would be consonant with having purchased the product being advertised. This view is supported by Severin and Tankard (2001: 143) who affirm that cognitive dissonance theory predicts that individuals will avoid dissonance-producing information.

The cognitive dissonance theory is therefore helpful to this study as it explains why advertisers prefer using gender stereotypes in commercials.

2.7 Chapter Summary

It is clear from this chapter that research on women portrayal in advertising has been extensive in Africa and beyond. The findings of these studies concur to a large extent that gender portrayals in conformity to traditional gender stereotypes in television commercials are prevalent across the world. The chapter has also shown how society defines gender and go ahead to assign roles and expectations on the respective genders, a situation that gives rise to gender stereotypes. It has also been explained why advertising is a form of persuasion that seeks to influence audiences to change their mind about a product or service and eventually make a decision to purchase. Use of gender stereotypes has been seen as one of the ways that advertisers use to persuade audiences. The usefulness of the two theories anchoring this study have also been provided in regard to why advertisers prefer using gender stereotypes in their commercials and explaining how advertisers influence audiences to purchase products or services being advertised.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section looks at the research design used in this study and provides the rationale for its selection and what it entails. The chapter also addresses how the sample selection for this study was arrived at and sampling technique approach used. The instruments to be used in data collection have also been identified. Coding procedure for the study has been spelt out and how it was arrived as well as the selection of the variables to be measured. A coding frame has also been developed.

3.1 Research Design

KIPPRA (2005: 29) defines research design as the process of constructing the structure that will make it possible to test the hypothesis. According to Wyk (2013), research design articulates what data is required, what methods are going to be used to collect and analyze data and how this is going to answer the research questions.

To systematically and objectively establish a factual picture of how women are portrayed in television advertisements in Kenya, this research is descriptive with content analysis method being used to collect data. According to Plooy (1995: 154), content analysis is particularly well suited for this kind of research. He defines content analysis as a research method based on measuring the amount of something such as negative portrayal of women, found in representative samples of mass-mediated popular art form (pg 152). Thomas (2003: 59) asserts that content analysis is the lone technique suitable for gathering information about what communication contains. This research design has been used in many communication

studies on gender (Brett and Cantor 1988; Mwangi 1996; Shartiely 2005, Ibroscheva 2007, Holtzhausen et al 2010, Paek et al 2011).

3.2 Sample Selection

Webster (1985 as cited by KIPPRA 2005: 38) defines sample as a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole. To ensure that a representative sample has been selected, this study focuses on a television channel receiving the highest volume of commercials. The samples analyzed were those aired on prime time, which is the preferred segment for airing of commercials by most advertisers. To arrive at this, the study looked at researches and surveys conducted in the country regarding television advertising and viewership.

A study by Deloitte and Touche (2012) titled “Competition Study - The Broadcasting Industry in Kenya” shows that most of the television advertisements are sourced from advertising agencies.

Figure 3.1

Share of broadcaster advertising revenue negotiated through particular agency

Agency	Citizen TV	KTN TV	NTV	KB C TV	Kis s TV	K24	ETV
Scan	69%	76%	78%	77%	58%	72%	60%
Ogilvy	11%	11%	7%	12%	1%	27%	11%
Young	11%	4%	8%	8%	0%	1%	11%
Other	9%	9%	7%	4%	40%	0%	18%
Total	100%	100	100	100	100	100	100
		%	%	%	%	%	%

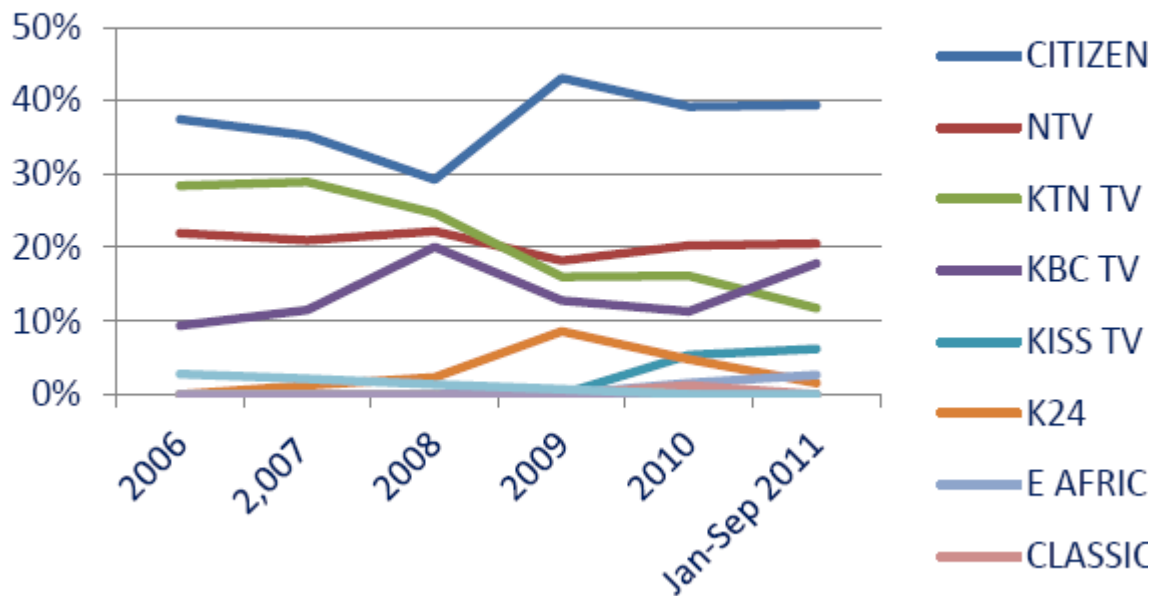
Source: Synovate

From the figures above, it is indicative that different agencies supply commercials to almost all the stations, making it possible for a commercial to be run in more than one television channel. This means that most commercials aired in one station are repeated in others, implying that a sample in one station is representative.

In this study, samples of advertisements aired on Citizen Television channel were content analyzed. Citizen Television has been picked to provide study samples as it attract the highest volume of advertisements as shown in the figure below.

Figure 3.2

TV broadcasters, shares of advertising revenue



Source: Synovate

A recent survey by Ipsos Synovate shows Citizen Television is the most watched channel in Kenya.

Table 3.1 Television viewership in Kenya

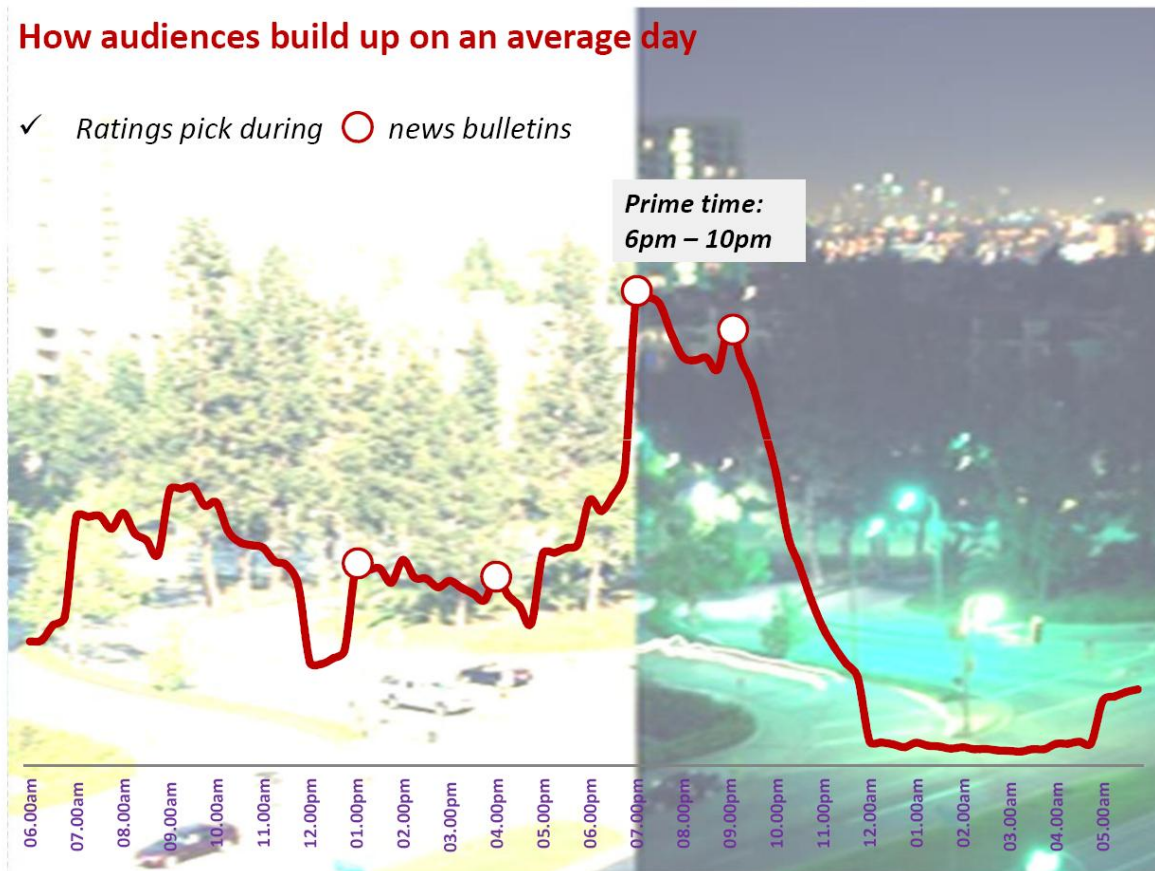
Station	Viewership
Citizen TV	50%
KTN TV	13%
NTV TV	13%
KBC TV	7%
QTV	7%
K24	6%

Source: Synovate 2013

Selecting the most popular channels to obtain samples is consistent with the research practices of other researchers (Bretl and Cantor 1988: 597, Ibroscheva 2007: 412 and Holtzhausen et al 2011: 174) in studying the portrayal of women in television advertising.

The selection of the prime time was settled from the Ipsos Synovate (2011) survey that ranked 6:00 PM to 10:00 PM as the prime time in Kenyan television viewership. This being the case, most advertisements are concentrated on this segment as advertisers target to reach the highest number of audience.

Figure 3.3



Source: Synovate (2011)

3.3 Sampling Technique

A non-probability purposive sampling approach was followed. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003: 50), non-probability purposive sampling technique allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. The cases are hand-picked because they are informative. In this study, all commercials aired at prime time (between 6:00 PM and 10:00 PM) on Citizen Television for 30 days were coded for analysis. Commercials repeated during this period were not included. Political campaigns, commercials with inanimate characters, and publicity adverts such as competitions were not captured. The focus was confined to commercial products and services advertised.

3.5 Coding Procedure

The coding framework for this study was adopted from a composite of earlier studies in the field under focus (Ibroscheva 2007, Mwangi 1996, Nasif and Gunter 2008, Bretl and Cantor 1988, Mazella et al 1992, Eisend 2009). According to Kuhn (1970 as cited by Macnamara 2005: 9), the scientific requirement for deduction should be based on past research, theories and bodies of evidence. By basing the adoption of coding framework from past research, this study conforms to scientific practices.

Previous studies on portrayal of women in television advertisements have collected data only on the central character in the coded commercials (Ibroscheva 2007, Nasif and Gunter 2008, Mwangi 2006 and Mazella 1992). Central characters have been defined in different ways in previous content analyses. McArthur and Resko (1975 as cited by Bretl and Cantor 1988: 599) defined central character as adult males and females playing a major role in a commercial by virtue of either speaking or having prominent visual exposure. Schneider and Schneider (1979 as cited by Bretl and Cantor 1988: 599) defined central character as male and female characters with on camera appearances of at least three seconds and/or at least one line of dialogue. Bretl and Cantor (1988: 599) defined the central character as the character with the greatest amount of on-screen time. If two characters were tied on this measure, the one with the longest speaking time was considered the central character. Ibroscheva (2007: 412) considered voice over as central character unless they appeared visually in the commercials in which they were coded as visually speaking. Mwangi (1996: 210) used exposure time and voice over to obtain a single central character in each commercial. According to Bretl and Cantor (1988: 599), the use of only one character per commercial ensures that all adverts receive equal weight.

This study collected data on the central character only, which in this case was adult male or female playing a major role in a commercial by virtue of either speaking the longest in a commercial or having the most prominent visual exposure. If two characters tied on this measure, the one with the longest speaking time was considered the central character.

3.6 Coding Frame

According to Neundorf (2002 as cited by Macnamara 2005: 9) a deductive scientific approach to research design requires that all decisions on variables, their measurement, and coding rules be made before the observation begins. Macnamara (2005: 9) says that exploratory work can and should be done before a final coding scheme is established for content analysis to identify the issues and messages appropriate for study. This criterion was followed in this study in identifying the indicators appropriate for providing an accurate picture on the portrayal of women in television advertising in Kenya. A pilot coding was conducted using 15 local television commercials watched on You Tube. This helped fine tune the variables to be studied. In this study, the following variables were coded: Sex; mode; credibility; reward type; product type; setting; role; dress; contact

3.6.1 Sex

Helped to determine the frequency of men and women featuring in commercials. The central characters were classified as: 1- Male; 2 – Female.

3.6.2 Mode

This variable was intended to inform the manner in which the central character was presented in commercials. The central characters were categorized according to the type of their appearance in the commercial: 1 – voice over; 2 – visually speaking; 3 – visually not speaking.

3.6.3 Credibility

This variable was meant to determine the trustworthiness of the central character in regard to the information he or she offered about the products and services being advertised. The central characters were categorized as: 1 – Expert (high degree of skill/knowledge of the product); 2 Personal Experience/user of advertised product; 3 – Other (if the role of the central character was not as user or authority).

3.6.4 Reward Type

This variable provided information on the outcome of using the product or service being advertised. The categories of rewards were coded as: 1 – Approval by opposite sex; 2 – Approval by family; 3 – Friends approval; 4 – self-enhancement; 5 – practical benefits; 6 – social/career advancement; 7 – other; 8 – none.

3.6.5 Product Type

This variable was important as it informed whether advertisers associated certain products or services to a particular gender. Products were classified according to the following categories: 1 – Body/personal care (lotions, beauty products, perfumes, bathing soap, toothpaste, shavers, clothes etc); 2 – food; 3 – Households (cleaning products, medicine); 4 – household appliances (fridge, microwave, furniture); 5 – entertainment (radio, television); 6 – auto; 7 – sport; 8 – services (communication, bank, insurance, electricity); 9 – leisure (alcohol, caddy, beverages); 10 – other.

3.6.6 Setting

This was meant to provide information on whether the association of a particular gender to certain settings is present in commercials. Central characters were categorized according to whether they were depicted in: 1 – home (living room, kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, home

compound); 2 – Store (supermarket/market/shop); 3 – workplace; 4 – leisure (bar, restaurant); 5 – outdoor (street; beach, field, forest, playground, sport); 6 – other.

3.6.7 Roles

This variable helped in finding out whether advertisers portray traditional gender roles in the commercials. The central characters were classified according to their apparent role in the commercial: 1 – parent; 2 – household chores; 3 – worker (informal jobs); 4 – professional; 5 – celebrity (popular musician, actor, sportsperson, comedian); 6 – narrator/interviewer; 7 – spouse; 8 – partner; 9 – sports person; 10 – other.

3.6.9 Contact

This measure was intended to shed more light on whether men and women are presented as objects of pleasure. This was achieved by evaluating the level of intimacy when the central character engage in contact with members of opposite sex: 1 – no contact; 2 – basic contact (holding hands, talking in close proximity); 3 – intimate contact (kissing, embracing); 4 – very intimate (clear suggestion of sexual relation or behavior).

3.6.8 Dress

This variable was important in shedding more light on whether men and women are portrayed as decorative or sexual objects in the commercials. This was done by assessing the type of clothing in which the central figure was featured in the advertisement to measure sexual suggestiveness: 1 – common (everyday dress excluding underwear and short skirts); 2 – suggestive (clothing which partially exposes the body such as tight skirts and trousers, unbuttoned blouses, and mini-skirts); 3 – partially clad (underwear, bathing suits, workout outfits); 4 – nude (actual nudity, suggested nudity – holding a cloth to conceal genitals or breast).

3.7 Chapter Summary

This research is quantitative and qualitative as it seeks to describe how women are portrayed in Kenyan television commercials. To get this data, the research design used was content analysis, in which specific message characteristics were systematically and objectively identified, with the purpose of making inferences about the presentation of women in television commercials. To get this information, commercials aired on Citizen Television on prime time were content analyzed. The selection of this sample was arrived at by looking at statistics provided by various sources.

The chapter also dwelt on sampling where a non-probability purposive sampling was followed to allow for the use of cases that had the requisite information with respect to the objectives of this study. To facilitate data collection, a coding procedure developed from a composite of previous studies with only the central character in each commercial is used for analysis. To collect the required data, a code scheme containing eight variables was used in data collection.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the data collected from the samples of the television advertisements that were coded for the purposes of this study. The analysis of the data collected has been presented graphically according to the variables and attendant categories for both men and women, for purposes of comparisons, accompanied by a description of the data. A table summarizing the data has also been provided including the Chi Square calculations of each variable to help determine the statistical significance of differences in the way men and women are portrayed in Kenyan television advertisements for the purposes of testing the hypotheses proposed in this study. The null hypothesis for this study is: Television advertisements in Kenya do not portray women according to traditional gender stereotypes. The alternative hypothesis for this study is: Television advertisements in Kenya portray women in traditional gender stereotypes.

4.2 Results

The data collection procedure yielded a total of 117 advertisements. Out of these, 62 featured male as central characters (representing 53%) while 55 (47%) portrayed females as central characters.

Figure 4.1: Frequency of Central Character by Gender

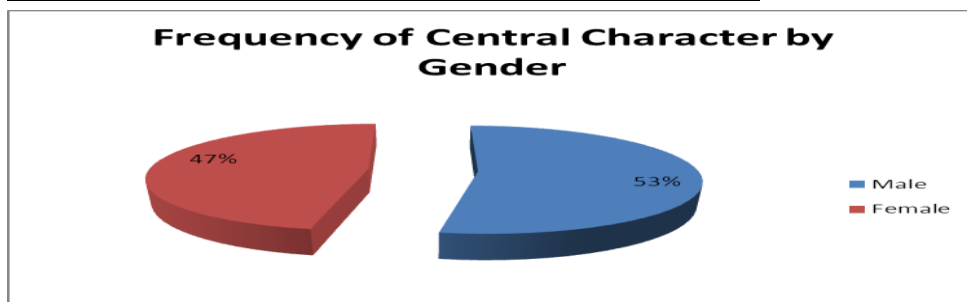


Table 4.1. Distribution of advertising factors by the gender of the central character

Variable	Category	Male		Female		Total		Chi Square X ²
		No	%age	No	%age	No	%age	
Mode	Voice over	39	63	23	42	62	53	5.31 (df=2)
	Visually speaking	12	19	18	33	30	25.6	
	Visually not speaking	11	18	14	25	25	21.4	
Credibility	Expert	48	77	26	47	74	63.2	11.4 (df=2)*
	Personal Experience	14	23	29	53	43	36.8	
Reward ^a	Social approval	6	9.6	1	1.8	7	6.1	3.21 (df=2)
	Self-enhancement	8	13	8	14.6	16	13.6	
	Practical benefits	48	77.4	46	83.6	94	80.3	
Product ^b	Personal care	1	1.6	14	25.5	15	12.8	30.67 (df=6)*
	Food	3	4.8	8	14.6	11	9.4	
	Households	9	14.5	14	25.5	23	19.7	
	Auto & Electrical	13	21.1	1	1.6	13	12	
	Services	25	40.4	12	22	37	31.6	
	Leisure	6	9.6	3	5.4	9	7.7	
	Other	5	8	3	5.4	8	6.8	
Setting ^c	Home	7	11.3	27	49	34	29	23.44 (df=4)*
	Store	2	3.2	2	3.8	4	3.4	
	Workplace	0	0	1	1.8	1	0.9	
	Outdoor	13	20.9	9	16.4	22	18.8	
	Other	40	64.6	16	29	56	47.9	
Roles ^d	Parent & Spouse	2	3.2	20	36.4	22	18.8	24.75 (df=6)*
	Worker	2	3.2	0	0	2	1.7	
	Professional	1	1.6	0	0	1	0.9	
	Celebrity	6	9.7	6	11	12	10.2	
	Narrator	44	71	25	45.4	69	59	
	Sports person	2	3.2	0	0	2	1.7	
	Other	5	8.1	4	7.2	9	7.7	
Contact	No contact	16	25.8	19	35	35	30	3.17 (df=2)
	Basic contact	3	4.8	6	11	9	7.7	
	Other	43	69.4	30	54	73	62.3	
Dress ^e	Common	18	29	20	36.4	38	32.5	10.29 (df=2)*
	Sexually Suggestive	0	0	7	11.6	7	6.0	
	Other	44	71	28	51	72	61.5	

N = 117, * p <.05

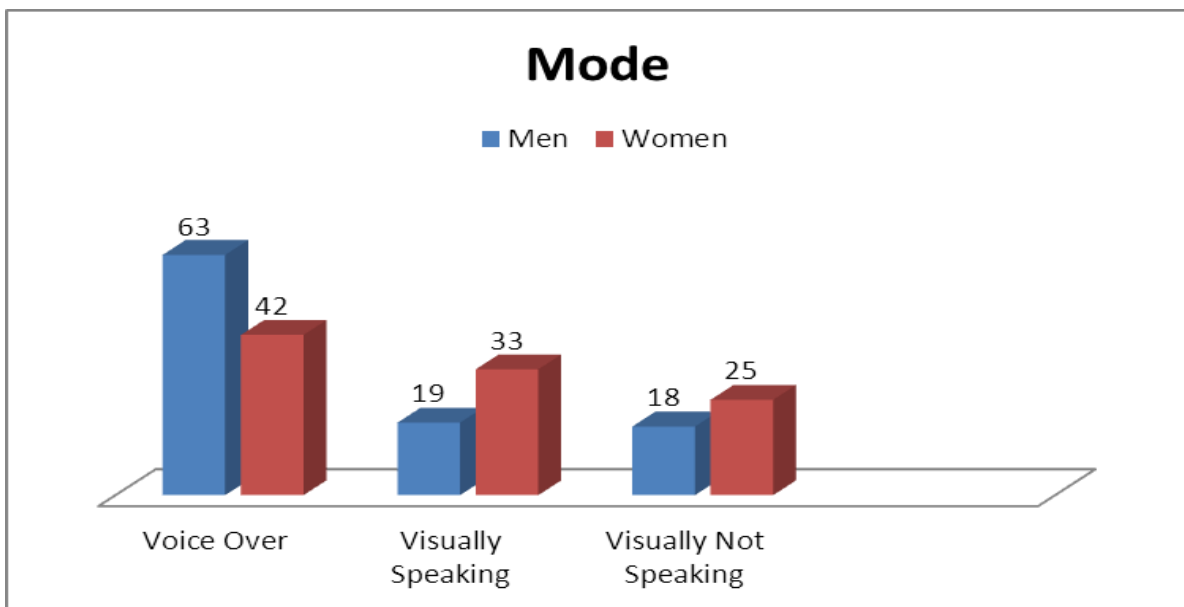
P - Critical value of chi square; N – Total number of coded samples; chosen significance level – 5%

- a) Collapsed categories for reward includes opposite sex approval, friends approval, social advancement and other
- b) Collapsed categories for products includes household appliances, entertainment, and auto and electrical
- c) Collapsed categories for setting includes outdoor and leisure
- d) Collapsed categories for roles include parent, household chores, spouse and partner
- e) Collapsed categories for dress include suggestive and partially clad

4.3 Mode of Portrayal

The results indicated that women featured more significantly visually as central characters than men who appeared more prominently in voice over. In total, 58% women were presented visually, either speaking (33%) or not speaking (25%) while 37% males were portrayed visually in the commercials at 19% speaking and 18% not speaking. The rest of the males, representing 63% did not feature visually in the commercials but rather in the voice over, while 42% female central characters featured in the voice over.

Figure 4.2 Mode of Portraying the Central Character



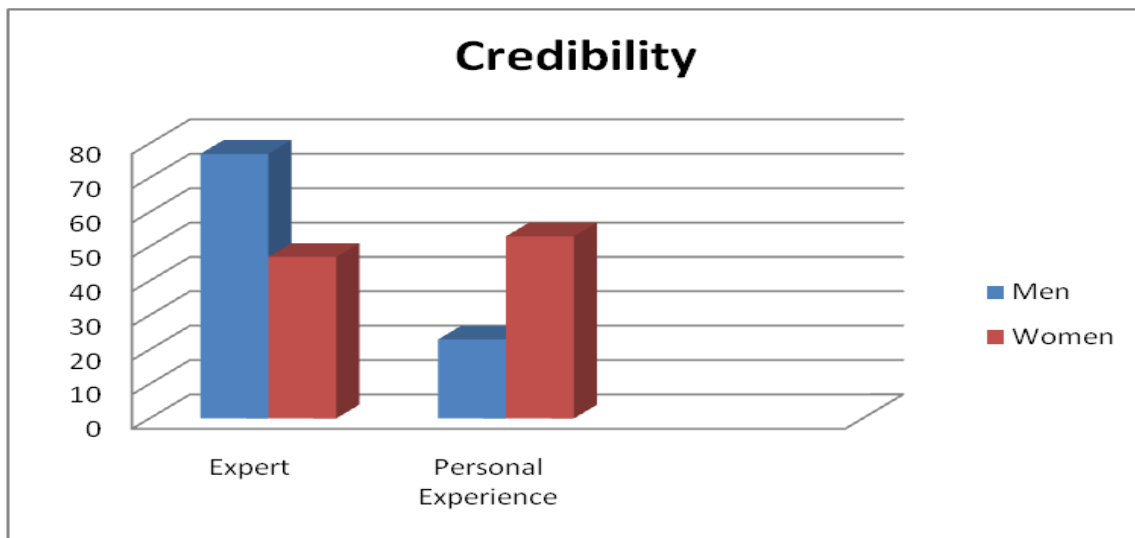
The difference in the representation of both characters in voice over and visually is however one of more equal representation rather than significantly different (X^2 5.31, $df = 2$) indicating that television advertisements in Kenya do not portray women in traditional gender stereotypes when it comes to how they are presented in the commercials.

4.4 Credibility of Central Character

The results obtained indicated that the credibility of women in regard to the products they were advertising was dependent on personal experience as users. The category of women as

users scored 53% compared to 23% of men whose credibility came from personal experience. On the other hand, the adverts observed presented men as experts at 77% compared to 47% of women who were presented as experts. Significant differences were observed in how advertisers establish the credibility of male and female central characters in commercials ($X^2 = 11.4, df = 1$).

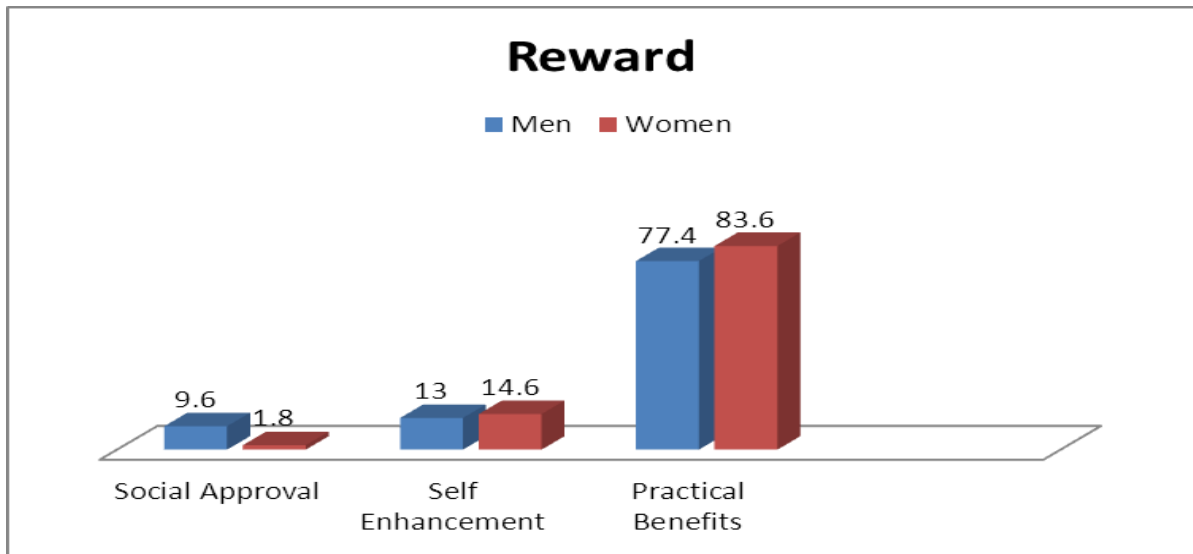
Figure 4.3 Credibility of Central Character



4.4 Reward Type

According to the results obtained, the greatest reward for both females and males is the practical benefits obtained from using the product or service advertised at 83.6% for women and 77.4% males. The results also showed the social enhancement reward came second for both genders at 14.6% for women and 13% for men. Social approval ranked lowly for women at 1.8% compared to 9.6% for men. The findings indicate that there are no significant differences in the kind of rewards that advertisers associate with women and men ($X^2 = 3.21, df = 2$).

Figure 4.4: Type of Reward Achieved

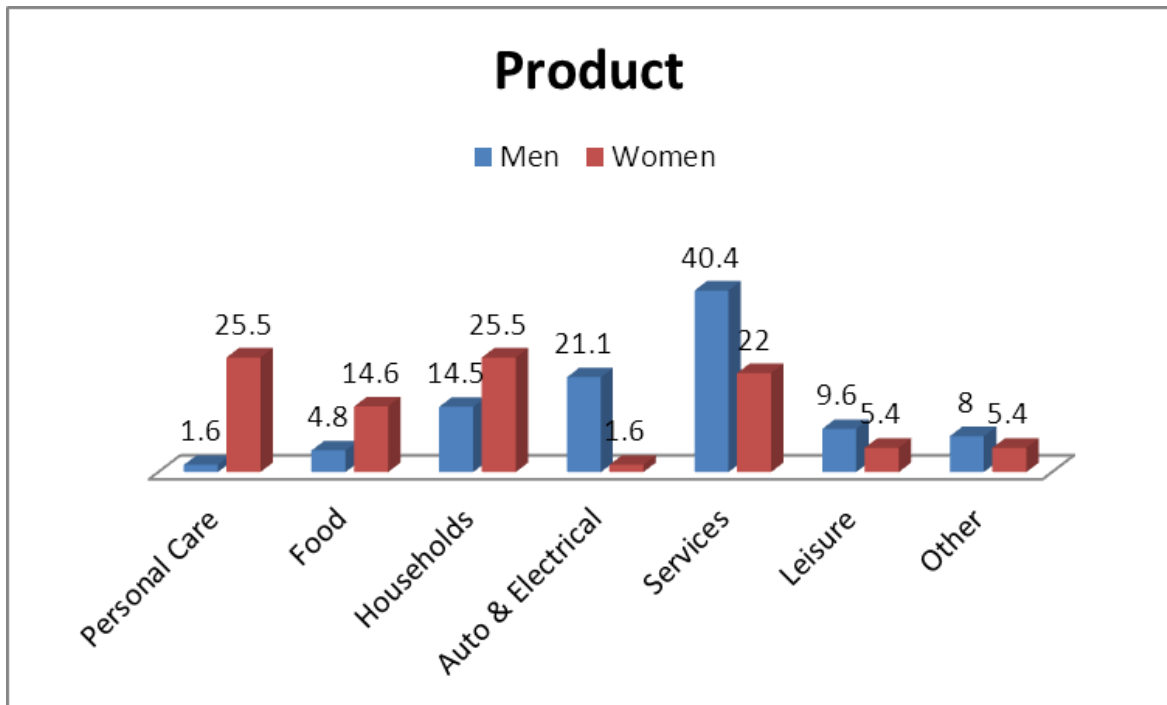


4.6 Type of Products

The predominant products associated with women are those in personal, home and family care categories. In the adverts that were coded, female main characters appeared equally for personal care and household products at 25.5% for each category, while 14.5% featured in commercials advertising food products. The number of men associated with these products was quite low compared to women at 1.6% (personal care), 4.8% (food) and 14.5% (households). On the other hand, male were portrayed prominently in adverts on services such as communication, bank and insurance at 40.4%, while women featuring in service category ranked at 22%. The adverts also associated males with highly technical products such as motor vehicles and their accessories, and electrical at 16% while no single woman was presented in this category. On products associated with leisure activities such as alcohol, more male featured at 9.6% compared to 5.4% for females. According to the results, there are significant differences ($X^2 = 30.67$, $df = 6$) between the products associated with men and

women in the commercials. This indicates portrayal of women in traditional gender stereotypes in regard to the products they are associated with.

Figure 4.5: Type of Products

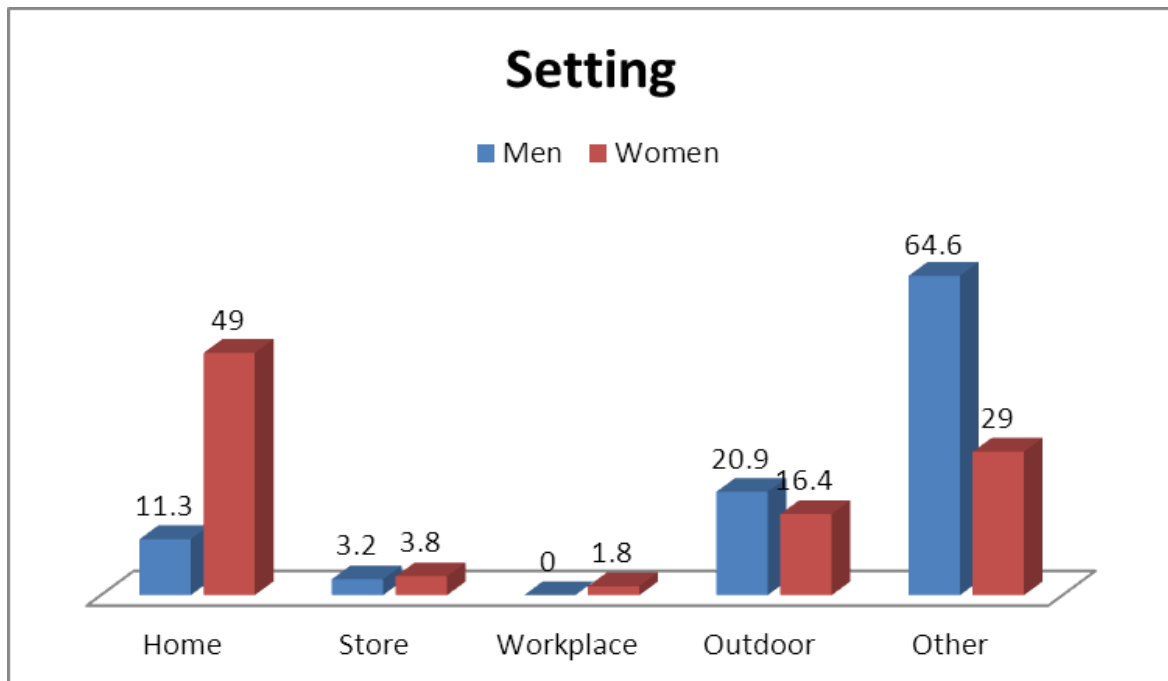


4.6 Setting

The commercials observed featured more women in the home setting at 49% compared to 11.3% men portrayed in domestic settings. Most of the men featured in the adverts were captured under the “others” category at 64.6%. This is attributable to mode used to portray main characters in the commercials observed. According to Figure 4.2, 63% of male appeared in the commercials through the “voice over” mode. This meant that the setting of the main character could not be observed. A good number of men who could be observed by visually appearing in the adverts featured in outdoor settings at 20.9% compared to 16.4% women who were portrayed in outdoor. The findings on setting reflect significant differences in

regard to the location that men and women are portrayed in television advertisements ($X^2 = 23.44$, $df = 4$), proving stereotypical portrayal of gender.

Figure 4.6: Setting

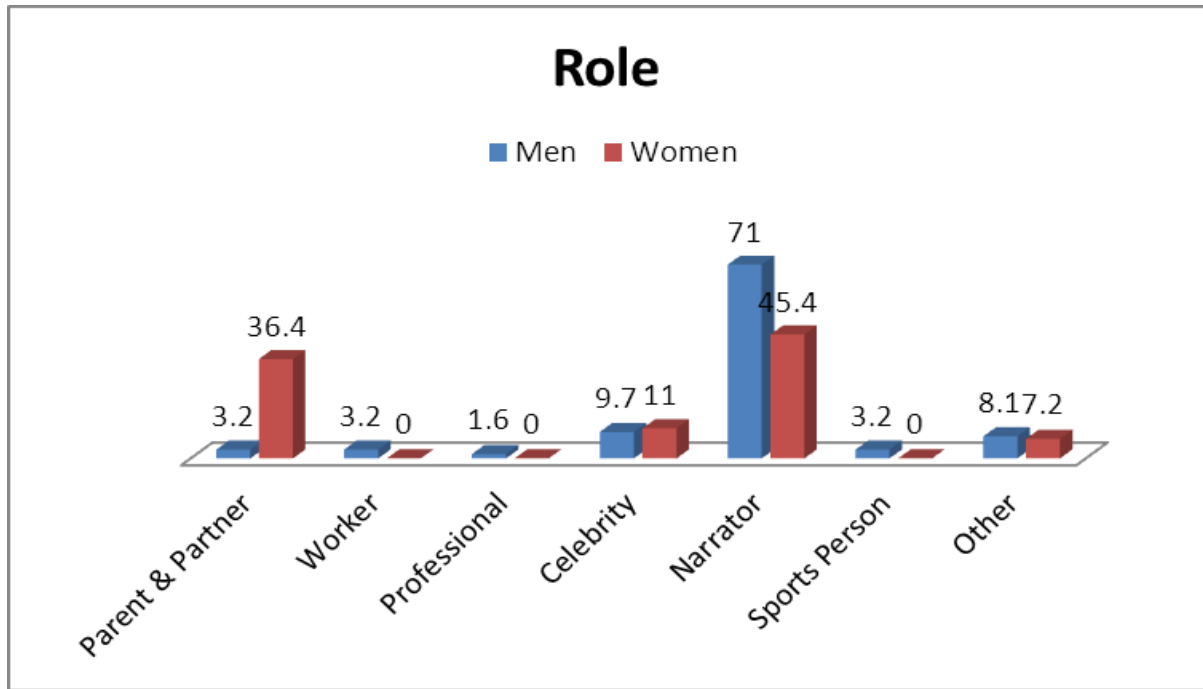


4.7 Role

In the roles performed by the main characters in the commercials, most men and women appeared as narrators or interviewers at 71% for men and 45.5% for women. Males take a lion share in the narrators' role owing to the fact that the mode in which majority of them are portrayed is voice over (figure 4.2), and when they appeared visually they were in most cases narrating about the product or service being advertised. Another feature that is indicative to this study is the portrayal of a significant number of women in the role of parents and partners at 36.2% while only 3.2% of men featured in this role. A number of celebrities also featured at 9.7% for men and 11% for women. The results indicate significant differences (X^2

= 24.7, df = 6) in the roles played by women and men in television commercials, supporting the hypothesis that women are portrayed in traditional gender stereotype roles.

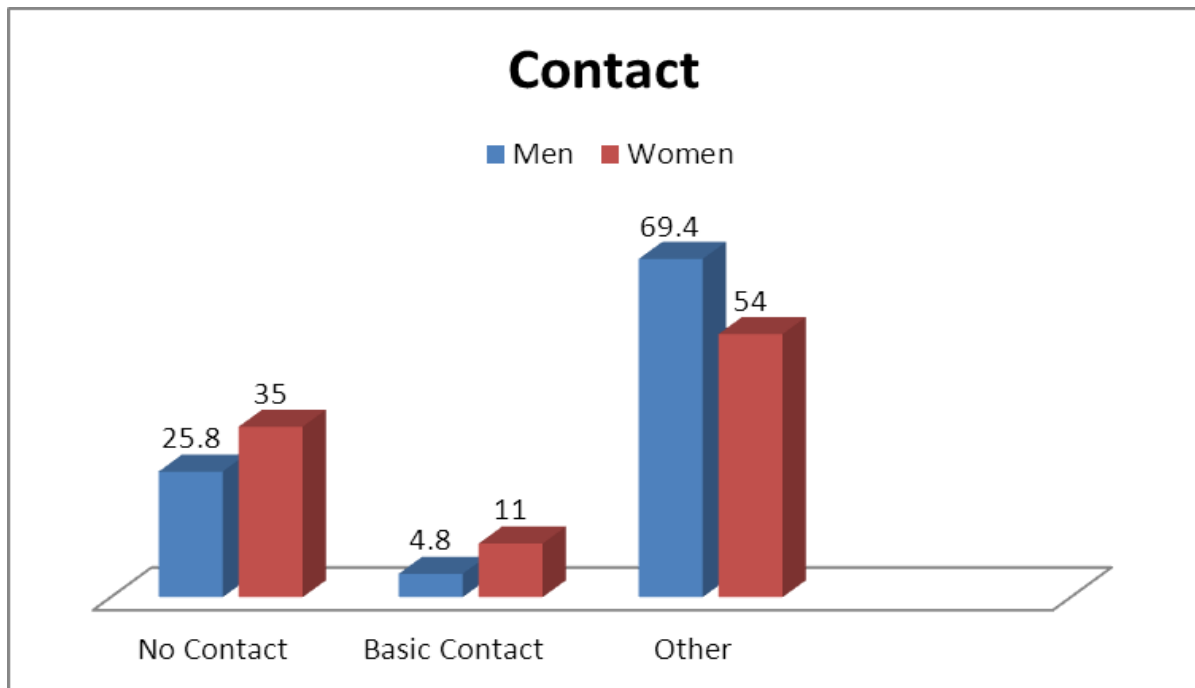
Figure 4.7 Roles



4.8 Contact

According to the results obtained, most contacts were not observable for both genders owing to overly use of “voice over” mode to present the central characters in the commercials. As a result, 69.4% of men and 54% of women could not be categorized in any of the categories indicating contact. Most of those who appeared visually in the commercials did not have any contact. However, 11% of women engaged in basic contacts such as holding hands or talking in close proximity compared to 4.8% of men. Incidents of kissing or clear suggestions of sexual relations did not feature in any commercial. The results of this variable do not reflect significant differences ($X^2 = 3.17$, $df = 2$) between men and women in regard to contacts. The null hypothesis in regard to this variable is therefore correct.

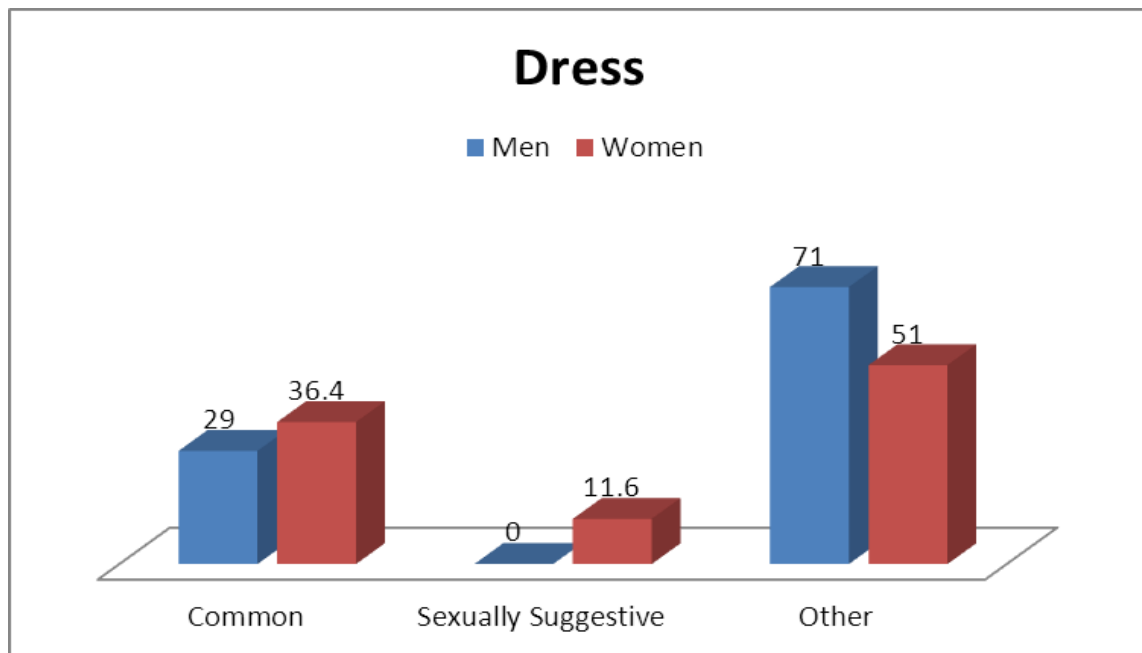
Figure 4.8: Contact



4.9 Dress

Due to the use of “voice over” as the dominant mode of presentation of the central characters for both genders, the dressing of most of them could not be observed, making 71% of men and 51% of women to fall in the category of others. Of those who could be observed, 36.4% of male and 29% of women featured in everyday kind of dressing. It is however indicative that of the observable main characters in the adverts, 11.6% of women featured in sexually suggestive clothing that partially exposed upper body such as sleeveless blouses or night dresses or partially clad especially in bath tabs. For men, no central character was presented suggestively or in partially clad dressing. For both sexes, there was no single case of nudity observed. The results show slight differences ($X^2 = 10.29$, $df = 2$) in how men and women are portrayed as sex objects, indicating that to some degree women are stereotypically represented as sex or decorative objects in Kenya’s television advertisements.

Figure 4.9 Dress



4. 10 Discussion

4.10.1 Frequency of Women Portrayal

The results of this study provide evidence of over-representation of men in television advertisements in Kenya. However, compared to studies in other countries, the situation in Kenya is of more equal representation between male and female: Neto and Pinto (1998) in Portugal at 66:34; Mazella et al (1992) in Australia at 74:26; Holtzhausen et al (2011) in South Africa at 60:40 and Ibroscheva (2007) in Bulgaria at 73:37.

Although relatively men and women are equally represented as central characters in the results of this study, there is evidence of gender stereotypes in Kenyan television advertisements.

4.10.2 Type of Products and Services Associated with Women

The results of this study indicate that advertisers link women to low involvement products such as personal care, food and household rather than high-involvement products and services such as vehicles and electrical. The high frequency of women in personal care, food and household product advertising was expected considering that the target audience for such products consists primarily of women. The prevalence of these categories is also consistent with products that are generally considered the domain of the woman in the household.

The results also indicate that Kenyan advertisers link women to consumer decision making for low-involvement products rather than for high involvement products. For instance, only a negligible 1.6% of women observed were associated with high involvement products such as auto and electrical. This was an expected scenario as these products are considered a men's reserve.

4.10.3 Credibility of Women

According to the results obtained in this study, the credibility of women in regard to the products they advertised was most likely to be linked with their personal experience as product users, while men were presented as experts who did not have to use the product to be believed. This is an indication of gender stereotype that considers women less knowledgeable, and passive users of products and services, while men are considered the authority figures with superior knowledge about products and services.

4.10.4 Reward for Using Advertised Products

No significant gender-based differences were noticed in the types of reward that were portrayed to be accruing for using advertised products and services. Both men and women were found to be rewarded more through practical benefits although more men received social rewards compared to women.

4.10.5 Gender Roles

Although both men and women appeared more in the commercials as narrators, significant differences were evident in regard to how the two genders were presented in the other roles. Women were significantly portrayed in the role of parents and spouses. Many of the commercials that portrayed women as parents showed them to be keen in ensuring the comfort of their children, protecting them from diseases and proper feeding. As spouses, women were portrayed as feeding the man well, keeping him happy and providing companionship. These portrayals show a perpetuation of traditional stereotype that considers it the woman's responsibility to raise children and at the same time take care of the man.

4.10.6 Location

According to the results of this study, television in Kenya significantly show women in home settings. Many women main characters were portrayed carrying out domestic activities such as cooking, washing clothes and bathing children in the house or the home compound. This gives evidence of gender stereotype that see women as belonging to the home.

4.10.7 Women as Sex Objects

Differences were evident in the manner of dressing portrayed for men and women. From the findings, no single man was presented wearing sexually suggestive clothes, but a substantial number of women were portrayed in such dresses, although this was not overly. This appears to be a technique used by advertisers to portray women as decorative objects in the commercials with the intention of attracting viewers to the advert, although it did not appear to be prevalent. This kind of portrayal brings out a traditional stereotype that considers women as objects of decoration, sex and entertainment. In assessing sexual suggestiveness portrayed through physical contact, this study did not find men and women engaging in intimate contacts.

4.10 Chapter Summary

It is indicative from the presented data that gender stereotypes are more profound in some categories of television advertisement than others. Out of the eight variables that were studied, five indicated significant gender differences on how men and women are portrayed in television commercials. Differences were significant in credibility of the central character, type of products associated with men and women, settings in which the two genders were portrayed in the commercials, roles played and sexual suggestiveness. However, no differences were noticeable in the mode of presentation of the central character, reward type and contact.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the findings of this study before embarking on discussion and conclusions as informed by the results of the study. The answers to the research questions raised based on the objectives of this study have been provided as well as the recommendations that need to put in place to solve the problem that was identified at the start of the study. The section has also suggested areas for further research in this study area.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The objective of this study was to examine and analyse how women are portrayed in television advertisements in Kenya. To achieve this, the study focused on determining the frequency that women feature in television advertising, the type of products and services categories that women are featured mostly in television commercials, whether there are gender inequalities in regard to roles portrayed in the commercials and what type of portrayal of women is most prevalent in television commercials.

The research used a total of 117 clips of television commercials as the sample size of the study. For purposes of collecting primary data, the use of a code sheet developed by the researcher was used and the results analysed using charts.

The findings indicated that women appeared less frequently in television commercials at 47% compared to men at 53%. Most of the women central characters were portrayed visually at

58%, either speaking (33%) or not speaking (25%), while the rest 42% were presented in voice over.

The results showed that the predominant products associated with women are those in personal, home and family care categories. In the adverts that were coded, female main characters appeared equally for personal care and household products at 25.5% for each category, while 14.5% featured in commercials advertising food products.

According to the findings, 45.5% of women main characters in the commercials performed the role of narrators or interviewers. They also indicated that a significant number of women are portrayed in the role of parents and partners at 36.2%.

On the type most prevalent portrayal of women, the results obtained indicated that most women are presented as getting their knowledge of the products and services advertised from personal use. The category of women as users scored 53% and 47% as experts with in-depth knowledge about the products. The commercials also featured more women in the home setting at 49%. They were also portrayed as users of personal care and household products at 25.5% for each category, while 14.5% featured in commercials advertising food products. Another prevalent portrayal is that of women as parents and partners at 36.2%.

5.3 Conclusions

This section presents the conclusions of the key findings of the study based on the already reported research objectives and questions.

5.3.1 Frequency of Women Portrayals in television commercials

The study sought to find whether there are gender biases in the presentation of television commercials in Kenya. Following the results obtained, it is possible to conclude that there is a more equal representation of both genders as the main characters in television advertisements. This study argues that this is a persuasion strategy by advertisers to attain cognitive consonance among their audiences in the Kenyan market. Given the awareness and move towards gender equality in Kenya, advertisers have applied this equal representation approach to avoid cognitive dissonance that could create mental tension and in effect complicate decision making to purchase and use of products and services being advertised.

5.3.2 Type of Products and Services Associated with Women

This study sought to find out whether television commercials in Kenya associate women with products that are stereotypically considered feminine. The results indicated a very strong association of women with these products that included personal care, food and households. This study therefore concludes that women are stereotypically portrayed in television advertisements for products that have traditionally been associated with them. The study argues that this is a marketing approach that seeks to avoid creating cognitive dissonance when it comes to making decisions about the products being advertised. By presenting women in advertisements of products that society considers feminine, the advertisers seeks to have most viewers pay attention to the messages as they are consistent with their strongly held beliefs, giving credence to the arguments fronted by the cultivation theory. This help advertisers attains persuasion more easily as individuals pay attention to the messages that are in sync with their strongly held attitudes and beliefs.

5.3.3 Type of Roles Associated with Women

This study also focused at finding out which roles were women more associated with in television commercials. The findings indicated a strong association of women with roles that have traditionally been considered feminine such as parenting, domestic roles and as spouses. This study therefore concludes that television advertisements in Kenya are perpetuating traditional stereotypes that consider women's role to be the mother whose duty is to raise and take care of children, homemaker and a spouse with the role of making the man feel complete, take care of him and provide comfort to him. As a persuasion strategy, advertisers have used this approach as a mean of conforming to the society's expectation of what the roles of women are supposed to be. As seen above, this strategy is applied by advertisers to persuade their audiences by presenting women in the roles that they see them in the real life. This intensifies the influence of the adverts by using messages that are in congruence with what their audiences see in real life with the aim of amplifying the cultivation effect of how things are supposed to be. This also seeks to comply with target society's beliefs and attitudes thereby attaining cognitive consonance.

5.3.4 Most Prevalent Portrays of Women

Another objective of this study was to find out the kind of portrayals that are most prevalent in television advertisements. The results showed that women are mostly portrayed in the advertisements in conformity with traditional gender stereotypes as users of personal and household products, home settings, parents and spouses, passive users of products and services and as decorative and sexual objects. It is therefore concluded that television advertisements in Kenya are perpetuating negative gender stereotypes against women by choosing to use stereotypes in the promotion of products and services, thereby cultivating in

the mind of the viewers the perception about how women and men are expected to play their roles in the society. Television has also been found to shape stereotypical views of children regarding gender roles, a situation that further perpetuate the traditional stereotypes as society increasingly uses television as a guide to appropriate gendered behavior in real life.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Frequency of Portrayal of Women in Television advertisements

It is recommended that advertisers continue featuring more women in television advertisements to achieve parity in gender frequency. This should be done to close the slight gap that currently exists in favour of men.

5.4.2 Type of Products and Services Associated with Women

To dismantle the perpetuation of gender stereotypes associating women with personal and household products, it is recommended that advertisers portray women in a variety of product categories rather than concentrating on stereotypical categories. While their goal in using the stereotypes is to attain persuasion, progress made in Kenya towards gender equality has seen more women venture out of the home and are now key decision makers in purchase and use of products outside the home. It is therefore recommended that advertisers mirror this social reality in their commercials.

5.4.3 Type of Roles Associated with Women

It is recommended that advertisers appreciate the changing role of women in modern Kenyan society and mirror this in commercials. Women nowadays are more than just parents and spouses, while on the other hand men are assuming more roles as parents, and advertisers

should come to terms with this reality and reflect it. The changing social climate and the evolution of the role of woman in the home and in the workplace should inform appropriate portrayal of women in the television advertising today rather than sticking to traditionally defined roles.

5.5 Suggested Areas for Further Research

This study recommends that future research in this area focus on finding out whether stereotypical portrayal of gender in television advertising is a key factor in persuading viewers to make decisions about the purchase of products and services being advertised. In addition, further study should consider the extent to which televisions are perpetuating gender stereotypes as a result of their portrayals in television advertisements.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Coding Scheme

Product Advertised:.....

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sex												
Mode												
Credibility												
Reward type												
Product type												
Setting												
Roles												
Contact												
Dress												

Appendix 2: Coding Keys

Sex

- 1- Male
- 2- Female.

Mode

- 1- voice over
- 2- visually speaking
 - 3- visually not speaking

Credibility

- 1- Expert (high degree of skill/knowledge of the product)
- 2- 2 Personal Experience/User of advertised product;
- 3- Other (if the role of the central character is not as user or authority).

Reward Type

- 1- Approval by opposite sex
- 2- Approval by family
- 3- Friends approval
- 4- self-enhancement
- 5- practical benefits
- 6- social/career advancement
- 7- other
- 8- none

Product Type

- 1- Body/personal care (lotions, beauty products, perfumes, bathing soap, toothpaste)
- 2- Food
- 3- Households (cleaning products, medicine);

- 4- household appliances (fridge, microwave, furniture);
- 5- entertainment (radio, television);
- 6- auto
- 7- sport
- 8- services (communication, bank, insurance, electricity);
- 9- leisure (alcohol, caddy, beverages)
- 10- other

Setting/Location

- 1- home (living room, kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, home compound)
- 2- Store (supermarket/market/shop)
- 3- workplace;
- 4- leisure (bar, restaurant, hiking);
- 5- outdoor (street; beach, field, forest, playground, sport)
- 6- other

Roles

The central characters will be classified according to their apparent role in the commercial:

- 1- parent
- 2- household chores
- 3- Worker
- 4- Professional
- 5- Celebrity
- 6- narrator/interviewer
- 7- spouse
- 8- Partner
- 9- sports person
- 10- other.

Dress

- 1- common (everyday dress excluding underwear and short skirts)
- 2- suggestive (clothing which partially exposes the upper body such as tight shirts, unbuttoned blouses, and mini-skirts)
- 3- partially clad (underwear, bathing suits, workout outfits)
- 4- nude (actual nudity, suggested nudity – holding a cloth to conceal genitals or breast).

Contact

- 1- no contact
- 2- basic contact (holding hands, talking in close proximity)
- 3- intimate contact (kissing, embracing)
- 4- very intimate (clear suggestion of sexual relation or behavior).