

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**GENDER FRAMING IN KENYA'S ONLINE RECRUITMENT
ADVERTISEMENTS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
BRIGHTERMONDAY.CO.KE WEBSITE**

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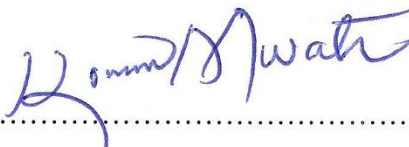
**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
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DECLARATION

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This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree or diploma in any other University.


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DEDICATION

To my wife Grace and our children- Ben, Gladys and Felista

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My supervisor Dr. Joseph Nyanoti: From the project conceptualisation to this final report - you patiently advised, encouraged and were available. Thank you.

The faculty, School of Journalism and Mass Communication: The course was a journey of self-discovery that was immensely satisfying. Thank you.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Overview.....	1
1.1 Gender.....	1
1.2 Background to the Study.....	2
1.2.1 Online Recruitment Advertising	3
1.2.2 Gender and Development	4
1.2.3 Gender and Employment	6
1.3 Problem Statement	8
1.4 Objectives	9
1.5 Research Questions	9
1.6 Rationale	9
1.7 Research Goal	10
1.8 Justification.....	11
1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study	12
1.10 Operational Terms	14
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.0 Overview.....	15
2.1 Empirical Literature	15
2.1.1 Gender and Language	15
2.1.2 Gender Discrimination against Men.....	17
2.1.3 Gender in Recruitment Advertisements.....	18
2.1.4 Gender in Kenya	19
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	20
2.2.1 Framing	20

2.2.2 Collective Action Framing and Social Movements	22
2.2.3 Gender Equality Framing	22
2.2.4 Social Dominance Theory	23
2.2.5 Rational Bias Theory	25
2.3 Gaps in Literature	27
2.4 Conceptual framework.....	27
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	29
3.0 Overview.....	29
3.1 Research Design.....	29
3.2 Research Approach	29
3.3 Population	30
3.4 Sampling and Coding.....	30
3.5 Data Collection	33
3.6 Data Analysis	33
3.7 Validity and Reliability.....	35
3.8 Research Ethics.....	37
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION ...	38
4.0 Overview.....	38
4.1 Findings.....	38
4.1.1 Gender Frames used in Kenyan Recruitment Advertisements.....	38
4.1.2 Extent of Gender Framing in Kenyan Recruitment Advertisements	40
4.1.3 Determinants of Gender Frames in Kenyan Recruitment Advertisements	41
4.2 Discussions of Findings	43
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND	
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	48
5.0 Overview.....	48
5.1 Summary of findings.....	48
5.2 Conclusions.....	49
5.3 Policy Implications	51
5.4 Policy Recommendations.....	51
5.5 Suggestions for Further Research	52

REFERENCES.....	54
APPENDICES.....	ii
Appendix I: Code Book.....	ii
Appendix II: Coding Sheet.....	iii
Appendix III: Study’s BSRI Corpus	iv
Appendix IV - BSRI Corpus- Advertisement sections	vi
Appendix V: BSRI word count	viii
Appendix VI: Krejcie and Morgan Sampling table.....	ix
Appendix VII: ILO Categorisation.....	x
Appendix VIII: Coding/Tally sheet (data-set).....	xiv
Appendix IX: Brightermonday.co.ke’s Consent	xxii
Appendix X: Certificate of Field Work.....	xxiii
Appendix XI: Certificate of Corrections	xxiv
Appendix XII: Turnitin Originality Report.....	xxv

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 Ten most used BSRI terms	41
Table 4.2 Gender frames in job categories	42
Table 4.3 Gender frames in qualifications demanded for sampled jobs.....	42

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Social dominance theory- An overview	25
Figure 2.2 Conceptual framework	27
Figure 4.1 Implicit advertiser gender preference	39
Figure 4.2 Explicit advertisers' gender preference	39
Figure 4.3 Gender frame intensity within advertisements' sections.....	40
Figure 4.4 Gender frames within required qualifications	43

ABSTRACT

This study set out to investigate how recruitment advertisers frame gender in recruitment advertisements. It identified gender frames used in Kenyan online recruitment advertisements, investigated to what extent employers frame gender in recruitment advertisements and what determines gender frames in recruitment advertisements. The study adopted the quantitative content analysis approach to establish how employers use recruitment advertisements as they respond to gender inequality in society and within their own institutions. The population was specified; the sampling frame was the list of 988 online recruitment advertisements that appeared on brightermonday.co.ke's website on the 25th of August, 2017. Sampling was done systematically - every third advertisement starting from the last one on the sampling frame was selected. The variables analysed were masculine and feminine phrases and words, obtained from a sex-role inventory first proposed by Bem & Bem (1973) in their investigation of femininity and masculinity in recruitment advertisements. Sex-role words and phrases were tallied using the Simple Concordance Programme 4.07. The study's theoretical base was the Framing Theory. Two other theories, the Social Dominance Theory and the Rational Bias Theory, helped to interpret data. The study found that Kenyan online recruitment advertisements are complicit in feminism's gender equality agenda that uses stereotypical words to amplify its cause; that the most common advertising frames in recruitment advertisements are 'risky choices', 'attributes' and 'action' and; that employers have embraced affirmative action - framing femininity in advertised manager positions as a method of increasing the number of feminine individuals in senior positions and changing organisational gender perceptions in the process. It recommends that employers adopt policies that guard against undue gender advocacy influence in human resource practice, that governments encourage responsible masculine gender activism to counter forms of feminisms that promote dichotomous world-views of gender and ensure that affirmative action does not interfere with equal access to opportunities for either gender. It further recommends that development experts who promote affirmative action models review their policies to ensure that everyone regardless of gender has equal access to opportunities.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter introduces the concept of gender in human society; provides background information to the study; introduces the concept of online recruitment advertising, the relationships between gender and employment, between gender and employment and between gender and development. It states the study's problem; outlines the study's objectives and research questions, provides the study's rationale, goal and justification. It also identifies the scope, limitations and assumptions of the Study.

1.1 Gender

Gender roles expressed through the social division of labour are the main cause of gender tensions in contemporary society; they determine who occupies what social position (Bosak, Sczesny & Eagly, 2012). These roles, as the Social Role Theory postulates, result from society's tendency to categorise men as breadwinners and women as homemakers; agency and nurturance (Eagly, 1987). Patriarchy - social dominance by the male gender and a common social organising principle - views agency as more important than nurturance (Holter, 1995).

But feminists are challenging agency's claim to importance; asserting that it is subjective; unsupported by evidence. While the claims of feminists have considerable support from gender research, there is little from research on the possibility that the way society perceives gender roles may be changing; undergoing a reversal, where nurturance is being perceived as more important than agency. This situation has not been contemplated in Kenya where feminists have

claimed, even as more women are being absorbed into formal employment, that patriarchy discriminates against them; ignores their breadwinner input and is unappreciative of their homemaker role. However a few studies in other regions indicate that the fortunes of patriarchy may be changing; that women are becoming more assertive and claiming what patriarchy has always reserved for men in way of job opportunities. But this has not received much attention within the Kenyan context. This study investigates the possibility that gender activism may be turning the tide against stereotypical patriarchy.

The study is organised into five broad sections: the introduction chapter; a review of literature; the research methodology; data presentation, analysis and interpretation; and the conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

1.2 Background to the Study

Formal employment—a popular resource provision activity- is one of the more visible theatres of gender inequality tensions in society today, where those who provide are regarded more highly in the survival game than those who consume. Company boards are a popular gender advocacy space, with feminists insisting there should be parity in the way boards are constituted (Coleman, Martinez, Röhsler & Turnbull, as cited by García, 2014). This agitation is a response to social pressure that emanates from the perception that women are more often the targets of labour market gender discrimination. Gender sensitive boards, it is hoped, will nudge organisational human resource practice into enhanced gender sensitivity. This, when coupled with Affirmative Action - preferential treatment for those that are socially disadvantaged as Freeman (2007) defines it - sets the stage for combative gender relations in society.

In the recruitment advertisement, employers communicate who they want to be part of the organisation and how they come in- it is the first point where combative gender relations within organisations present. Gender inequality is an urgent social concern and organisations are not averse to using their gender parity status as a public relations tool; enhancing their social capital by branding themselves 'gender sensitive'. Post & Holtmaat (2014) note that labour markets would find it easy to institute gender discrimination into employment using discriminatory recruitment advertisements. Employers cue job seekers on an advertised positions' preferred gender through words and phrases - framing the preferred gender in advertisements.

Bem & Bem (1973), one of the earliest studies on gender discrimination in recruitment advertisements, observe that when advertisements express their issuer's preferred gender - implicitly or explicitly - the preferred gender feels encouraged to apply for the position while the non-preferred gender is discouraged from applying. Labour market gender discrimination is a product of occupational gender stereotyping (Carlsson & Rooth, 2008). This study analyses the content of a sample of online recruitment advertisements obtained from brightermonday.co.ke website; identifying frames used, investigating to what extent and why Kenyan employers may frame gender into recruitment advertisements.

1.2.1 Online Recruitment Advertising

Online job-sites are a mass media; accessible to all those that are motivated enough to attend to them. Advertisers and jobseekers create their own content - advertisements and profiles - using online forms. In job recruitment websites advertisers pay for their use of online spaces, while job seekers view jobs and upload their profiles free of charge.

Online recruitment advertising is popular: it is not costly, does not consume a lot of time, has a wide geographical reach, creates branding opportunities for advertisers, allows for confidentiality among recruiters and job seekers, and is amenable to sophisticated tools that help employers shift through job applications (Kaur, 2015). It accounts for over 50% of all new hires (Gregory et al., 2013).

However, the strengths of online recruitment advertising are also its weakness and the subject of this study. It is a mass media and therefore, an ideal enculturation tool; recruiters may find it easy to institute or perpetuate organisational cultures by framing advertisements in ways that signal what kind of employee they want. The electronic nature of online job advertisements makes it easy to shift out or in candidates, that exhibit ‘undesirable’ or ‘desirable’ attributes using data mining software tools.

1.2.2 Gender and Development

Gender equity- how genders enjoy socially valued goods, resources, opportunities, and rewards equally- is an urgent development concern (UNDP, 2016). Kenya as a developing country is part of the global development partnership that has embraced the United Nation’s (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG’s), as well as the earlier Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s) (UNDP, 2016; UN, 2015). Franz-Balsen (2014) alludes to the negative effects of gender tensions in development when she observes that traditional masculinity is in tension with the ecological, ethical, and social implications of the SDGs. The SDGs assert that gender discrimination denies a significant portion of society a chance to contribute to the human development agenda.

The idea that women's development opportunities are unequal to those of men is common in literature. SDG number 5 and MDG number 3 leave no doubt that within the current global development narrative; gender discrimination is synonymous with the social disenfranchisement of women. The UN, which advocates for a rights-based development model has adopted gender mainstreaming as a sustainable development tool (KfW, 2006). This symbiotic relationship between gender equality and development is starkly illustrated by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the UN which avers that gender equality for women when accessing farming development funds and incentives can increase farm productivity by about 4%; food to over 150 million extra people in the developing world (Otobe, 2011). The African Development Bank notes that women own a majority of Africa's informal business and are therefore the hope of the continent's development aspirations (African Development Bank, 2015). Many other multilateral development organisations: the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); the World Bank; the African Development Bank (AfDB); the Asian Development Bank (ADB); UK's Department for International Development (DFID); the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and; the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) - demand gender inclusivity in development projects they support (JICA, 2007).

Gender mainstreaming is the development industry's response to this situation. Walby (2003) notes that gender mainstreaming gained root after the 1995 Beijing Conference. It is a development approach that has created a global value system, where institutions and governments work hard to draw up and implement policies that promote gender inclusivity (Nyancham-Okemwa, 2006). The development industry has adopted Affirmative Action as a

tool- a tool that is also popular with feminist gender activists. But no one has any idea what the optimum point is, so that society can guard itself against a reversed situation; where gender discrimination against men becomes the norm and consequently the new gender equality concern.

1.2.3 Gender and Employment

Hiring is a three-stage process: 1) Announcement- communicating the existence of a position to potential employees; 2) interviewing - deciding whom to employ and whom to leave out; and 3) offer of terms - benefits and responsibilities (Petersen & Togstad, 2004). The recruitment advertisement communicates all these aspects of recruitment and is therefore a potent management tool. Gender equality is a social issue and organisations are social animals that must respond to social realities in order to survive. Understandably, gender equality is an important principle in human resource management and many organisations take pride in the gender parity status of their workforces (PwC, 2016). Consequently, recruitment becomes an ideal point to institute or perpetuate organisational culture transformation without fear of social backlash.

When hiring, organisations seek to attract individuals who have the best person-organization fit. Ployhart et al (2006) advises recruiters to emphasise personality traits they prefer in their communications with potential employees. This underscores the importance of wording in recruitment advertisements. Research points to the possibility that personality- descriptive words in recruitment advertisements attract individuals who exhibit these traits (Stevens & Szmerekovsky, 2010). Kuhn & Shen (2012) assert that an employer's preference for particular personality traits in an employee depends on their business. Consequently, employers will not

hesitate to discriminate against genders if being feminine or masculine will impact positively on the bottom-line.

The World Development Report 2012 (World Bank, 2013) notes that service industries are Kenya's largest creator of jobs; 47% of all formal employees in services are women compared to the 40% that are men. Khanna, Papadavid, Tyson, & teVelde, (2016) enhance this view when they observe that services are the bedrock of the Kenyan economy and that is where most formal jobs are currently being created. Services are associated with support - a stereotypical feminine trait- and are therefore likely to attract employees who exhibit feminine rather than masculine traits. Ngai & Petrongolo, (2017) note that women have a comparative advantage in service sector employment. Naturally this means feminine respondents stand a better chance when they apply for positions advertised by Kenyan employers.

Cornwall & Rivas (2015) are concerned that the terms 'women's empowerment' and 'gender equality' have pervaded the international development sector, where the ideas this sector espouses are important drivers of the development practice in employment and funding opportunities. They argue that these two terms are a method of framing issues of gender inequalities that should be discarded and new words and frames that are better aligned to a more inclusive conception of justice adopted.

1.3 Problem Statement

Historical epochs have always had issues that define them; issues that are cross-cutting and universal. Gender equality which, is the product of Liberal political philosophy that sees individual human beings as deserving of certain basic human rights and finds expression in Article 7 of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, seems poised to be the defining issue of our age. Feminism, a social movement that aims to change the way society conceives gender, is a product of liberalism. It argues that gender is a social rather than a biological construct and therefore changeable. Despite feminism's long history - Mary Wollstonecraft first wrote on the rights of women in 1792 - it is not clear whether there has been any change in the way Kenyan society, which is mostly patriarchal, conceives gender.

Affirmative Action, which is feminism's most potent tool against gender inequality, has its philosophical base in compensatory justice; fair compensation for injustices by those that are responsible (McElroy, 2005). Compensatory justice is not concerned with injustices against individuals, but with the impacts of systemic bias on social groups (Leiter & Leiter, 2011). However, the rationale behind affirmative action is incompatible with the 'Fair Equality of Opportunity' idea, a standard concept that addresses inequalities such as those occasioned by gender inequality (Nagel, 2003). It is therefore not clear whether within the Kenyan context, affirmative action delivers on Article 7 of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, especially in regard to human development; the UN's vision of justice is more encompassing than what is envisaged by gender activism.

This study investigates the possibility that in the service-oriented Kenyan economy, employers frame gender in recruitment advertisements, that the gender relations pendulum may have exhausted its swing range and may now be hurtling to the opposite end, where men, previously the ‘aggressors’ are being transformed into ‘victims’ in a reverse discrimination process that might impact negatively on development paradigms adopted by service economies like Kenya’s (Larwood, Szwajkoski & Rose, 1988).

1.4 Objectives

- i. To identify gender frames used in Kenyan online recruitment advertisements
- ii. To investigate the extent to which Kenyan employers frame gender in online recruitment advertisements
- iii. To investigate what determines gender frames in Kenyan online recruitment advertisements

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What gender frames do Kenyan employers use in online recruitment advertisements?
- ii. To what extent do Kenyan employers frame gender in online recruitment advertisements?
- iii. What determines gender frames used by Kenyan employers in online recruitment advertisements?

1.6 Rationale

The United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) 2016 Human Development Report reveals that at least two-thirds of developing countries have achieved gender parity in primary

school education. Basic literacy improves the earning capacity of women, preparing them for breadwinner roles. Literate women are more receptive to gender activism than illiterate ones. They are therefore able to escalate gender activist ideas into child rearing. This, together with improved communication technology can change the way society perceives gender within a short period. Gender activism that promotes the rights of women is a popular concept in development circles and an urgent social concern, happening within social environments where gender tensions are rife; where men are stereotyped as unwilling to take on breadwinner gender roles. An analysis of recruitment advertisement content will show to what extent gender tensions in Kenyan society influence employer-to-employee communications and by extension, the wider human development agenda.

1.7 Research Goal

This study investigated what recruitment advertisements are saying about gender relations in Kenyan society. It hopes to interest actors in the development sector into re-examining current gender narratives; get policy-makers to seriously think about the effect of gender-focused Affirmative Action on human resource practice and the appropriateness of this development paradigm. As an investigation of how business environments maybe encouraging or discouraging employers into or from framing gender in recruitment advertisements, it will serve as a basis for further investigations into how gender maybe impacting the Kenyan development agenda. Finally as a snapshot of a current situation, this study will be helpful to longitudinal studies on how gender attitudes may have changed over time.

1.8 Justification

Gender parity is a popular concept on the contemporary employment scene; where men are perceived as the favoured gender and demand for parity in employment opportunities common (Coleman, Martinez, Röhsler, & Turnbull, 2013). But this is only one side of the gender relations conundrum; research (Riach & Rich, 2006; Booth & Leigh, 2010) suggests there could be another side, where men are systemically being edged out of their favoured cultural position and could soon be on the receiving end of gender inequality.

Feminists have pushed the gender equality agenda relentlessly since Wollstonecraft (2012/1792) published on the 'Rights of women', managing to keep the issue on society's consciousness for over two centuries. But the narrative is still the same: that there has not been any meaningful change in the cultural relations that discriminate against women, even as gender parity in basic education has almost been achieved (UNDP, 2016). Bussey & Bandura (1999) assert that changes within the socio-cultural and technological spheres will necessitate revision of current gender conceptions. Technologically assisted educational access will ensure more women get education, putting them firmly on the path to freedom from culturally imposed gender servitude.

Gold in (2014) sees the world going through a figurative last chapter in the history of gender relations before a grand convergence happens. She suggests altering labour market dynamics, changing the way employers remunerates and structures jobs and; enhancing temporal flexibility. Structure is already changing; in the technological age, machines operated by both sexes are performing gender roles previously based on brawn and therefore the preserve of men. While women nowadays perform roles that men have always claimed as their own- breadwinner roles -

they have not given up the homemaker personal roles that have ensured their survival in an ‘unfair’ gender regime since these are not easily mechanised. However, society has not changed- institutional dominance is still a fact of existence. If men are not the dominant gender in society, then women will be. An investigation into whether our communications show evidence of this happening is therefore necessary.

1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study confined itself to investigating gender frames in sampled recruitment advertisements. It analysed the content of Kenyan online recruitment advertisements; the communicative aspects of the content of sampled advertisements in relation to gender; making conclusions based on a quantitative analysis of sampled advertisements. All sampled advertisements, regardless of positions and industries, were considered.

While brightermonday.co.ke has a wide range of advertisements from different employment sectors, it does not capture the majority of vacant positions that are available at any one moment; many are advertised through oral networks that may be more liberal in their discriminative tendencies. This limits the study since services are labour intensive and may trust oral networks more than formal advertisements.

English is not a first language for most Kenyans, many of whom have a first ethnic language. This limits the study in terms of universality. Applicants and advertisers from the various Kenya communities not only have to contend with the fact that English is a second language, but that even among them there is no universality of values. Fortunately English is widely used as the

language of instruction and business in Kenya; gender frames in recruitment advertisements are therefore standard for potential employees and employers.

1.10 Operational Terms

Affirmative Action: Giving preferential treatment as compensation for wrongs perpetrated against groups by others

Discrimination: By-passing employment candidates based on subjective rather than objective attributes

Elementary Education: Where an employment candidate has no school certificate or when only a primary school certificate has been achieved

Employment: When one offers to work for another in exchange of wages

Equitable: Where candidates' chances of getting a job does not affect other candidates' chances

Feminism: Advocating for the rights of women

Gender: Socially defined role of being man or woman

Patriarchy: Social dominance of females by the male gender

Service: Contracts in which parties fulfill their contractual obligations over time.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

Recruitment advertisements are inherently discriminative; they are meant to lock out those that do not meet certain standards. However, equality considerations driven by feminism and technological developments in communications largely acknowledge that gender should not lock out anyone from employment access. This review clarifies the concept of gender inequality in textual online recruitment advertisements. The empirical literature review covers four topics: 1) the concept of gender - how it interacts with language; 2) gender in job advertisements and; 3) male gender discrimination in recruitment advertisements; 4) gender within the Kenyan constitution. The theoretical review introduces the Framing Theory - the main theory informing the study and two others - the Social Dominance and Rational Bias theories that explain the possible effects of gender coded recruitment advertisement texts.

2.1 Empirical Literature

This is an overview of literature on how gender is expressed through language, aspects of gender discrimination against men, gender in recruitment advertisements, and how the Kenyan constitution treats the concept of gender.

2.1.1. Gender and Language

Communication is interactive - message receivers actively participate in interpretation, understanding and in storage; cognitive processes that are strongly based on language (Malmi, 2009). Language is a potent tool, a purveyor of cultural values that change as societies evolve. It shows the values society holds dear; shaping its users' value perception as the Linguistic

Relativity Hypothesis asserts (Whorf, 2012/1956). Common language use serves as a poignant reminder of how widespread segregation based on sex in society is (Kmec, 2005). A key plank of feminism is changing common language use so that it conveys feminist values that attempts to deal with gender stereotypes; where human worth is evaluated using biological/reproductive roles rather than individual human ability or capacity. This notion, referred to as sexism, drives gender discrimination and is ingrained in human society where women have been on the receiving end (Annandale & Clark, 1996).

Language and imagery perpetuate ideological and cultural values, even when these values are used as tools of domination. Society imbues moral values into language. In patriarchal societies, moral value ascribed to common language discriminates against women. This is expressed through semantics, morphology, syntax, honorifics, and non-parallel terms; language facilities. All these terms describe words that in human society, serve as vehicles of meaning. Words and the mental images they create are subtle and insidious - powerful; they have deep and lasting psychological impacts on message receivers (Orchardson-Mazrui, 2004).

Umera-Okeke, (2012) gives examples of connotative sex-paired words used in the English language - mistress vs master, spinster vs bachelor, madam vs mister - that are negative when describing women but positive when describing men. The English language imbues these words with discriminative moral value; the basis of its user's view of the sexes. For example, 'master' refers to a powerful male while its opposite, 'mistress' is not a powerful female but a woman who is maintained by a man for sexual favours. Spender (as cited by Sunderland, 2006) notes that in most societies, semantic rules of language construct male supremacy. Personification

within the English language is gendered; reflective of the power relations between the sexes. In common language use, where a man is a tiger or lion, the woman is a chick (en) - edible (Umera-Okeke, 2012).

Researchers have observed gender differences in human speech patterns, where feminine speech is characterised as full of euphemisms and politeness; making it emotional, non-assertive and supportive (Haas, 1979; Carli, 1990; Umera-Okeke, 2012). This supports a popular social notion that women are naturally nurturers. Masculine speech on the other hand is characterized as commanding and assertive- attributes most societies associate with agency. The notion that women are nurturers has far reaching implications; women are the stewards of culture - they have the power to nurture or un-nurture society into or out of cultural systems. Language is an acculturating agent; it carries ideas: that men are natural leaders by describing their speech as commanding and assertive and that; women are supporters when their speech is described as non-assertive, supportive, and nurturing.

2.1.2 Gender Discrimination against Men

Statistically significant discrimination against men in stereotypical female and mixed occupations has been observed in the English labour market (Riach & Rich, 2006). This is attributed to two processes: systemic and structural sexism that allow women to participate in role pressure and discrimination through age old cultural values like chivalry; and masculine cultural frames that paint men as authoritative - favouring only those that have power (Edley & Wetherel, 1995; Connell 2000). In situations where the chivalrous breadwinner agency roles cannot be enacted, the foundations of masculinity are shaken. In contemporary society, dominant

males- those that have authority are few compared to the majority who do not have the power that would allow them to dominate. Where dominant women take on breadwinner roles, social power dynamics ensure that both dominant men and women discriminate against subordinate men who are the majority in society.

Sommers (1994) talks of victimization feminism that paints the American Health Care and School System as against men and boys while Malmi, (2009) asserts that feminine studies on power relations at the domestic level paint women as victims and men as aggressors; preparing the ground for discriminative practices in divorce, criminal trials and custody issues. Power is a resource and when it increases as in the case of women breadwinners, it is because someone else, in this case, that man who is not a breadwinner, loses it (Thye, 2000). At the national development level, nations and institutions that have power impose their value systems on those that do not have it. If feminine ideals adopted in the United States of America are representative of Western thought, then the West, which holds considerable economic, political and cultural power at the global level, may impose their brand of feminism through national development institutions that insist on feminine gender components in the projects they fund.

2.1.3 Gender in Recruitment Advertisements

Feminism sees gender bias in recruitment as directed at women rather than at men. A 2016 report by PriceWaterhouseCoopers asserts that discrimination against women in employment access and remuneration is still a problem (PwC, 2016). However, evidence of subtle changes within employment is being accumulated and documented. The World Bank's 2012 Development

Report for example reveals that between 1980 and 2009, women's access to the labour market steadily rose while that of men fell (World Bank, 2013).

Bem & Bem (1973) conclude that employers write advertising copy intended to appeal to their preferred gender, discouraging potential applicants of the non-preferred gender from applying for these positions. Advertisements, communication texts issued to attract job candidates, use language that attracts those that are in tune with the values that advertisers espouse (Stevens & Szmerekovsky, 2010). Impressions from advertisements signal candidates on the recruiter's institutional character and to whether skills, competences, and values required are those that are associated with certain genders (Goldberg & Allen, 2008; Gaucher, Friesen & Kay, 2011).

2.1.4 Gender in Kenya

The Constitution of Kenya- 2010 recognises the rights of women as human rights. It allows Kenyan women to bestow citizenship to their non-Kenyan spouses and children sired through these relationships (Lichuma, 2017). On the political front, gender affirmative action is part of the new constitutional dispensation, where no gender is supposed to have less than a third of political leadership positions available. However the constitution does not provide for an affirmative action implementation framework (Kaimenyi, Kinya, & Chege, 2013). Within the social-economic sphere, affirmative action does not feature explicitly and gender equality advocacy has had mixed results. Indangasi (2015) contends that widening gender inequalities in education opportunities will lower Kenya's economic growth, while labour access and participation have no effect on the country's economic growth rate. Research on gender equality perceptions however indicate that majority of Kenyans consider gender equality a reality

especially in regard to education and job opportunities, even though cultural beliefs still hinder female gender equality in respect to property ownership and inheritance (Mitullah, 2017).

2.2. Theoretical Framework

This study is based on three theories: 1) the Framing Theory- a message production theory that is the basis for the study's assertion that Kenyan advertisers frame gender in recruitment advertisements; 2) the Social Dominance Theory that explains the contexts in which gender is framed in recruitment advertisements and; 3) the Rational Bias Theory that explains what motivates advertisers to frame gender in recruitment advertisements.

2.2.1 Framing

Framing is an expression of the idea that message sources have a perspective and communicate messages intending them to be interpreted in a particular way (Vlieger & Leydesdorff, 2011). It is the stressing of certain objects and relations and/or applying certain standards to objects. Frames are expressed through presentation styles and phrases used - actual words and images (Goffman, 1974). Frames define problems by determining what causes what, with what benefits and at what cost using cultural values as a gauge. They diagnose the causes of defined problems; make moral judgments by evaluating the causes and effects of problems and; suggest remedies - offering and justifying treatments as they predict their likely effects (Entrant, 1993).

Frames are cultural and like culture, are dynamic. In short communications like advertisements, framing is done using words or phrases that represent certain concepts and beliefs. Advertising text frames mostly use key words; how these words relate to each other or through formats

(Vlieger & Leydesdorff, 2011). Message creators define and limit the meanings of messages by making sure receivers reach pre-determined conclusions (Hallahan, 1999). They create messages that suit both mediums and receivers by using frames that are rooted in culture; leading receivers into understanding and interpreting messages through existing cultural lenses (Cornelissen, 2011). Online recruitment advertisements have standard formats that suit this medium and can be used to frame messages. Their creators can also use them to make receivers think and react in particular ways through word choice - framing.

Hallahan (1999) has summarised seven advertising framing models: 1) attributes, 2) situations, 3) risky choices, 4) issues, 5) responsibilities, 6) actions and, 7) news. Aspects of these framing models are observable in the text of most recruitment advertisements. Framing for attributes uses themes that the advertiser would want to convey- these maybe values or capabilities that the advertiser would like to be associated with. Companies that wish to be seen as gender sensitive might frame their communications in ways that reflect this. Situational frames are concerned with the way language creates reality. Risky choices involve framing issues in terms of risk - leading receivers towards less risky choices. Issues framing involves making an issue the subject of a communication so that receivers are led into thinking and acting on the issue. Framing for responsibility attributes communicative responsibility on the entity under review. The news frame is used by media to construct preferred social realities. Action framing is based on the action a communicator wants the receiver to take.

2.2.2 Collective Action Framing and Social Movements

Feminism is a social movement whose main aim is to change the way society conceives gender. To achieve its aims, it has adopted collective action framing - innovative extensions and amplifications of existing ideologies (Benford & Snow, 2000). Action framing is a process that starts with core framing before proceeding to the discursive and interactive processes that inspire action - 'to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists' (Snow & Benford, 1988). Core framing is a three stage process: 1) diagnostic - feminism identifies gender inequalities as being precipitated by patriarchy and consequently the injustice frame is adopted to counter patriarchy; 2) prognostic - the plan of attack where feminism adopts the equality frame and; 3) motivational stage - the call-to-arms - stage where feminism adopts affirmative action. Discursive processes refer to communications surrounding and in relation to framing activities. Articulation - framing the plan of action - in feminism is a two-stage process: 1) frame articulation - where stereotypical terms that are used to describe gender are identified and; 2) frame amplification - where advocates pick an issue and use it as a lever. Feminism has been very strategic about this and have used tactics such as bridging - connecting gender equality to the concept of development for example; amplification - connecting their equality quest to attributes like 'care' that society stereotypically attribute feminine people with; extension - elevating gender equality into a social justice issue and; transformation - where social ills like rape, traditionally perpetrated on women, become part of the agenda (Benford & Snow, 2000).

2.2.3 Gender Equality Framing

Ely & Meyerson (2000) describe four conceptual frames to describe gender equality initiatives in organisations: 1) fix the women; 2) celebrate gender differences; 3) create equal opportunities

and; 4) revise work culture. The 'fix women' frame sees men and women as naturally equal, where differences can be dealt with by developing the skills of women to be able to take on roles that men perform. It is individualistic and directed at individual women - seeing the problem as individual rather than social. The 'celebrate gender differences' frame accepts that gender differences exist but argues that differences are not weaknesses or strengths and offers diversity training as a solution to gender inequality, reinforcing stereotypes in the process. The 'create equal opportunities' frame acknowledges differences and offers solutions such as affirmative action to address the structural barriers to gender equality. It operates in such areas as recruitment and promotion within organisations. The 'revise work structure' frame seeks to change unequal regimes incrementally but has little effect because systems of gender inequalities are deeply ingrained in society as sex typing literature has revealed (Bem, 1983).

2.2.4 Social Dominance Theory

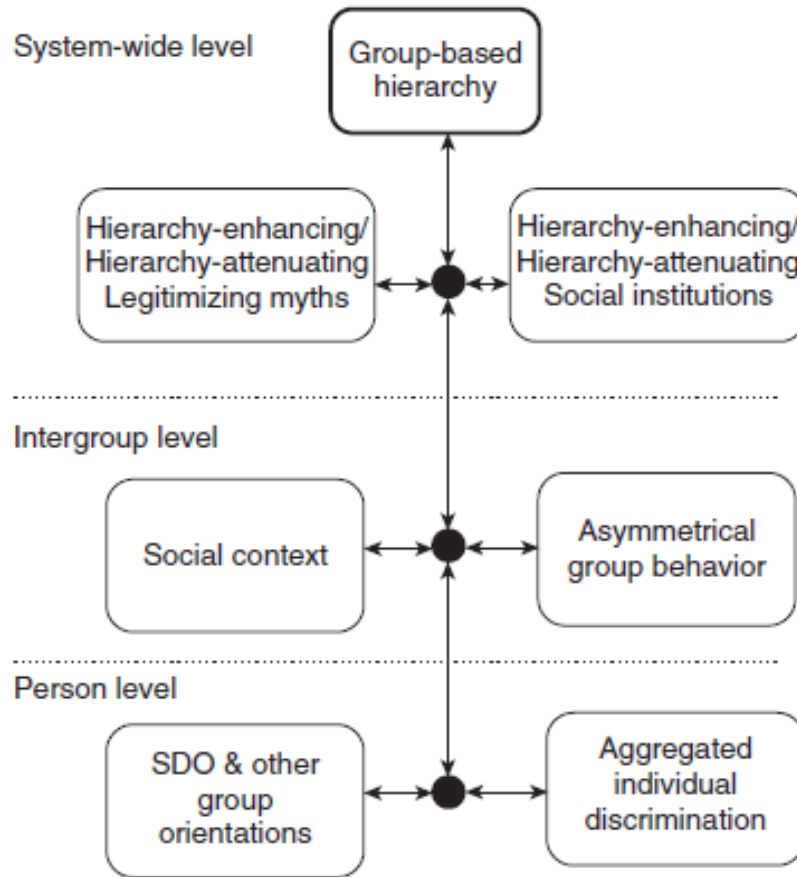
Culture espouses high levels of uniformity within social systems (Rathje, 2009). To achieve this, stratification of human beings into group-based hierarchies is encouraged. The tendency to appropriate more power to dominant groups at the expense of subordinate groups is an inescapable feature of hierarchies. This is done through stratification- the basis of the Social Dominance Theory. There are three hierarchical stratification systems: 1) the age system - where the elderly and the middle age disproportionately apportion themselves social power over children and younger adults; 2) the patriarchal system - where men disproportionately apportion themselves social and political power at the expense of women and children; and 3) the arbitrary - set system - where society constructs categories hierarchically (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Three basic assumptions underpin the Social Dominance Theory: 1) that even as human beings continually reorganize their social systems, they still maintain hierarchical structures; 2) that certain forms of oppressions (e.g., sexism, racism, nationalism, ethnocentrism, classism) are temporal expressions of group-based social hierarchies, 3) that within any society and at any particular time, the intensity of group social hierarchy tendencies will be the net of multi-leveled interactions of hierarchy attenuating and hierarchy enhancing forces within society then (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The first and the second assumptions allude to the possibility that while the tendency to discriminate against groups may remain, discriminated-against groups can change with time. The third assumption indicts pro and anti-discrimination forces as agents of gender discrimination, leading to the conclusion that female gender activism success may catalyse male gender discrimination.

Social Dominance Theory research has investigated an alternative hypothesis: behavioral asymmetry where subordinate groups, especially within institutions, are not as loyal to themselves and their groups as dominant group members are to themselves and their groups (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Subordinate groups may not be as loyal to patriarchy/matriarchy as dominant groups are and will therefore not reap from these social organising principles. Individuals within hierarchies react to roles, prejudices, and social beliefs that contribute to discrimination as expected by their group. This complicates the popular tendency to frame gender discrimination as a woman concern - men, especially when they are the subordinate group, can also be discriminated against. This hypothesis leaves open the possibility that if more men fall into subordinate group status and women continue taking up stereotypical male roles while keeping their home-maker roles, then in future men will find themselves even more

intensely discriminated against than women are now; where even more intense efforts to get them out of this situation than society is currently expending on women will be required.

Figure 2.1: Social dominance theory - An overview



From Sidanius & Pratto, 2011

2.2.5 Rational Bias Theory

The Rational Bias Theory is a motivational theory proposed by Larwood, Szwajkoski & Rose (1988). The theory envisages gender discrimination as becoming more legitimate in the minds of perpetrators in situations where it attracts rewards. It accounts for patterns of prejudice against employees by managers based on behavior that might be beneficial to the managers' careers and the entities they manage. Managers make decisions based on subjective considerations; the

apparent risks of ignoring what significant others think or the apparent benefits when they make decisions that are in harmony with these significant others' will. Where powerful forces are in control, managers even when not personally biased, might discriminate against groups that these powerful forces discriminate against (Larwood, Szwajkoski & Rose, 1988).

The Rational Bias Theory, its proposers assert, is an amalgamation of the Correspondent Inference Theory that was first proposed by Vroom (1964) and explains how alert perceivers infer what others feel about particular issues and; the expectancy theory proposed by Jones & Davis (1965) that explains why decision makers prefer decisions that yield maximum subjective value. An ambitious advertiser who understands the benefits that goes with being conformist may curry favour with society or with their seniors by framing the gender of potential employees in recruitment advertisements, especially when this helps satisfy Affirmative Action quotas. In the development sphere, where funders are of the opinion that women are discriminated against, ambitious leaders and managers might support policies that promote the advancement of women at the expense of men if the benefits of doing this - access to funds for example - are considerable.

Garwood, Szwajkoski & Rose, (1988) in their research on workplace sex and race discrimination hypothesised that managers in second tier positions discriminate based on what they think their seniors believe, but would eliminate or reverse it if their seniors explicitly indicate a different preference. They observe that reversal, rather than elimination, is the more common response to explicit instructions not to discriminate, a situation that might arise where development institutions explicitly demand gender components in funding proposals. If those that are more

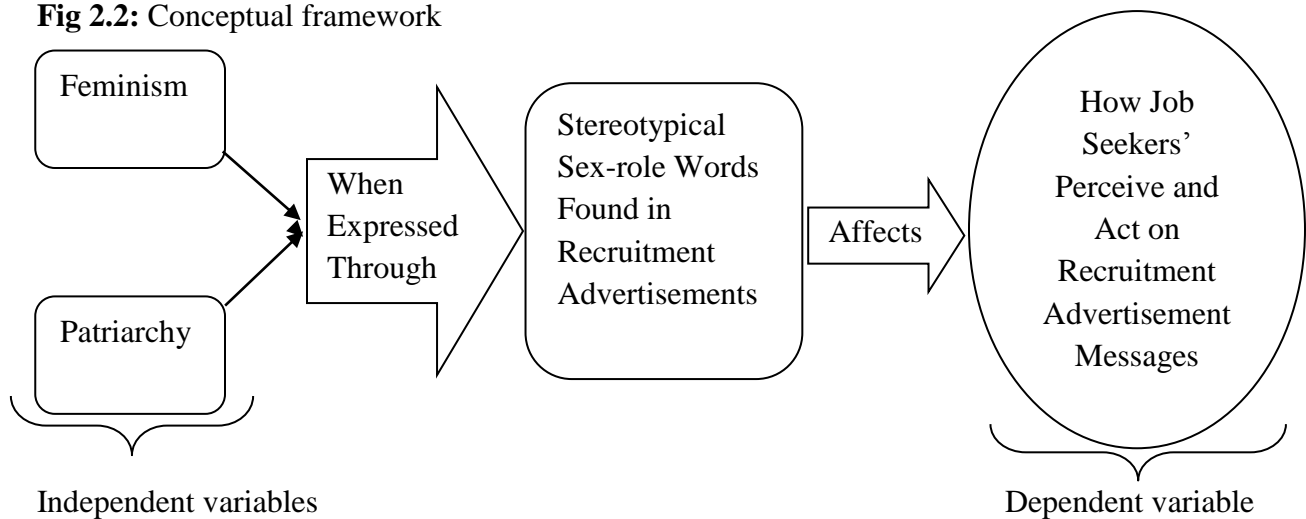
senior than second tier managers espouse feminine ideas, then they will discriminate against masculine employees. Larwood et al conclude like others (Northcraft & Martin, 1982; Charcko, 1982) that discrimination requires unusual effort to counter and that affirmative action is a covert admission that discrimination is normal rather than an attempt to deal with it.

2.3 Gaps in Literature

The idea that patriarchy is responsible for gender inequalities against femininity is popular in literature, but it not clear why sex-typing; a child development strategy in contemporary settings has not worked despite child upbringing being a stereotypical feminine role. There is also a dearth of literature on how the globalised and networked workplace interacts with masculine/feminine attributes.

2.4 Conceptual framework

Fig 2.2: Conceptual framework



When job seekers come across a recruitment advertisement, only one goal drives them; getting the job, regardless of whether they are men or women. However within the social environments

in which men and women compete for jobs, patriarchy or feminism may skew advertisement messages to encourage or discourage either gender through framing. Men have used and still use patriarchy to maintain uneven access to employment opportunity while feminism tries to counter this using gender affirmative action. Words and phrases used in advertisements may frame the message as feminine or masculine - cueing job seekers on the preferred gender for advertised positions.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter deals with the strategy that the researcher adopted to arrive at the answers to the research questions. It describes the: 1) research design adopted, 2) research approach, 3) study's population, 4) data collection method adopted, 5) sampling and coding, 6) data analysis, 7) study's validity and reliability aspects and, 8) statement on research ethics that were considered.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted the descriptive quantitative design that described how employers frame gender in recruitment advertisements. Jones (2011) recognises framing as an important tool for measuring public campaigns' influence; gender equality advocacy is among social campaigns that is attracting a lot of public attention currently. Grove, Burns & Gray (2013) describe the descriptive quantitative research design as useful in theory development, identifying problems within common practices, justifying practices, making judgments about situations and determining how others handle similar situations. The specific design adopted was the descriptive cross-sectional, where data was collected at a particular point in time. This was considered appropriate since the study investigated frames used in current recruitment advertisements.

3.2 Research Approach

The study used the conceptual content analysis approach which is concerned with whether certain words and concepts appear in communication texts and with what frequency.

Krippendorff (2004) defines content analysis as a research technique that makes inferences that can be replicated and are valid. This study is concerned with quantifiable units - words used in advertisements - that can be analysed for their gendered meanings.

3.3 Population

The primary population was recruitment advertisements that were on the Brightermonday.co.ke website on Friday, 25 August 2017 at 2.20 p.m. Kenyan time; a snapshot of 988 'live' advertisements on the website as at that particular moment. Brightermonday.co.ke is a popular English language recruitment website owned by Ringier One Africa Media (ROAM). It accepts recruitment advertisements from all parts of Kenya and for all positions. Advertisements remain on the website until they expire or for up to forty-five days after which they are automatically deleted. The website is accessible to both advertisers and job seekers. Advertisers create their own advertisements using a standard online data entry form; the advertisements are therefore a reflection of their issuers' value system rather than that of the website.

3.4 Sampling and Coding

Brightermonday.co.ke only features 'live' advertisements - those that have not expired. There were 988 advertisements on the website when the data was collected; this study's sampling frame. The study used the Krejcie & Morgan (1970) sampling table (Appendix VI) to establish the sample size. Two hundred and seventy-seven advertisements were selected using systematic random sampling - every third advertisement starting from the last one on the sampling frame. Where hyperlinks had no details, the next third advertisement was selected until the desired number was reached. One repeat was identified and removed to arrive at a final sample of 276 advertisements.

The researcher trained two coders who helped code data from the sampled population. The coders were given a codebook that helped them code uniformly (Appendix I). Data from sampled advertisements was collected using a coding/tallying sheet (Appendix II). This had two major sections - a coding section that captured aspects of sampled advertisements that described sampled advertisement's characteristics and a coding/tallying section that captured BSRI word tally within colour-coded advertisement sections of individual sampled advertisements. The coding section had three columns that contained the sample advertisement's serial code, the category code, and the qualification code. The coding/tallying section had three columns that contained the colour-coded advertiser information, job description and the skills, character & qualifications sections. Individual colour-coded sections had subsections in form of columns that captured individual advertisement's section code, individual advertisement's word tally and the total word tally.

Sampled advertisements were categorised into five job categories: Management jobs - 210, Support jobs - 220, Craft jobs - 230, Elementary jobs - 240, and Armed forces jobs - 250. These were arrived at after collapsing the International Labour Organisation's (ILO, 2012) categorisation system that identifies ten major occupations (Appendix VI). Collapsing categories was deemed necessary because ILO's categorisation system duplicates functions. For example it emerged that most manager functions were also included in professional and Technicians/Associate professional jobs. This complicated coding since positions could effectively have been coded twice or even thrice. Collapsing the categories reduced the category number and captured overlapping responsibilities within categories.

Individual advertisements were coded into three analytical sections; 410 - Advertiser Information, 420 - Job Description, and 430 - Skills, Character and Qualifications. On the sampling frame, these were colour-coded yellow, blue and green respectively. This coding scheme sought to establish what part of the recruitment advertisement under review was gender - framed more strongly than others and to capture descriptive dissonances in sampled advertisements; the possibility that job descriptions may be framed differently from the way advertisers frame themselves, or that applicants' skills, character or qualifications descriptions are incongruent with the gender frame exhibited in the job description.

Five levels of academic qualifications were used to categorise sampled advertisements. These are: elementary education - 510, high school education - 520, College or tertiary education - 530, University level education - 540 and Uncategorised - 550. This was done to establish whether there is a relationship between gender and the qualifications required for advertised positions.

Sampled advertisements were also coded on their explicit opportunity pronouncements. Those that pronounced themselves as preferring women were coded 330, men - 320, Equal Opportunity (EO) - 330 while those that were silent were coded 340. This was deemed necessary for establishing dissonances between explicit and implicit pronouncements.

After tallying the feminine and masculine phrase incidences, advertisements were then coded as feminine (F) when the proportion of BSRI feminine terms was higher than the masculine terms, masculine (M) when the proportion of masculine terms was higher than feminine terms or

neutral (N) when the proportion was equal. Coding and tallying of sampled data was combined into a data set that was used for analysis (Appendix VII).

3.5 Data Collection

On 25 August 2017, advertisement headers and hyperlinks to the actual advertisement text were copied onto a Microsoft Word file, starting from the last page. This checked the possibility that more advertisements would be added as the data was being harvested. The hyperlinks were serialised as they were copied; where the most recent advertisement on the website became the first one of the population list. The actual advertisement text was extracted from the hyperlinks and copied onto another Microsoft Word file. This was done in line with the availability approach - messages available in a medium within a particular time - that is ideal for studies that investigate message structure or how messages are produced (Neundorf, 2011).

3.6 Data Analysis

Analysis was done using a concordance of sex-role words developed by Bem & Bem (1973). It established whether advertisers frame gender in recruitment advertisements and; whether advertisers show preference for feminine or masculine attributes in potential applicants even when there was no objective reason why one gender would be preferred over the other.

The process started with the creation of the codebook/coding instructions (Appendix I). The researcher refined this tool by practically coding data harvested from the Brightermonday.co.ke portal at an earlier date before releasing it to the coders. The codes created by the two coders were then reconciled by comparing values recorded on individual coding sheets; casting them side-by-side on two excel sheet columns and investigating differences. Where job categories for

example were incongruent with expected qualifications, the coding was investigated to establish whether it needed to be reconciled.

The analysis tool was an enhanced form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) proposed by Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay (2011). The unit of analysis was words - gendered words and phrases listed in the enhanced BSRI (Appendix IV). The researcher made some few adjustments to the Gaucher et al list, especially on BSRI terms considered as a prefixes and suffixes. For example two-word phrases that had the word 'self' as a prefix - for example in a phrase like 'self-centred' - were considered masculine but were ignored when they appeared as suffixes like in the word 'yourself'. The words 'female' and 'attractive' were added as feminine terms and 'male' as a masculine term.

Descriptive statistics were used to compare categories; interpreting the data in order to draw conclusions. Inconsistencies in data, for example where explicit preference for a particular gender was communicated yet implicit preference through words indicated a different preference, were noted as pivotal analytical points. Ratios were used to score sampled advertisements on gender preference- masculine or feminine words as a fraction of total words in an advertisement. When a gender had a higher score than another, then the advertisement was coded as one that showed a preference for that gender. Where the scores were the same, then that advertisement was coded as neutral.

Reviewed theoretical frameworks were used to explain these observations. Relational conceptual strengths - for example how strong the concept of masculinity was in relation to the corpus of the

advertisement analysed - was used as an analytical point. Analysis was done by considering the narrative resulting from the coding system the study adopted and the ability of the data thus coded to address the study's questions and objectives.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability were achieved through the study's research process: 1) the research design- the choice of communication text analysed and; 2) the research data - collection method, the sample size, the unit of analysis and the analytical tool adopted. These addressed the study's credibility, conformability, dependability, transferability, and authenticity concerns (Lincoln & Guba, 1994 in Elo et al, 2014).

Content validity concerns were addressed using the recruitment advertisements sourced from a recruitment website - Brightermonday.co.ke. The website was purposively selected because it carries advertisements for a wide range of positions and from multiple industries. This characteristic satisfied criterion validity concerns because gender framing in advertisements predict the possibility that recruiters, oblivious of equity concerns, may prefer particular genders for advertised positions. It also addressed content analysis transferability concerns. The sample content was selected as it was - the availability approach; satisfying research tenets for studies that investigate message structure (Neundorf, 2011).

The data used was a one day snapshot of live advertisements appearing on Brightermonday.co.ke recruitment portal; the sample size was large and sampling was done systematically; the unit of analysis - words was appropriate and; a credible analysis tool was used - the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) that is made up of words whose capacity to communicate gender stereotypes

have been extensively researched. Identifying and describing the data source ensured the study's credibility. The BSRI was first developed for similar studies - gendered wording in recruitment advertisements - by Bem & Bem (1973) and later enhanced by Gaucher, Friesen & Kay (2011) who added agentic (masculine) and communal (feminine) words drawn up by Rudman & Kilianski (2000). This took care of the salience elements of the textual elements of the words analysed - conformability. Using the updated list by Gaucher et al made the content valid and the results therefore more dependable.

Data collected for the study was coded into different categories in preparation for the analysis. The researcher trained and explained the objective of the exercise to a team of two coders. This enhanced the reliability of analytical data. The different coding schemes and the fact that they were reported on served to show the range of realities that were possible within the general idea that Kenyan employers maybe framing gender in recruitment advertisements; it fortified the study's authenticity.

Reliability was further enhanced by the use of computer software. The Simple Concordance Programme (SCP) that has a Key Word in Context (KwiC) facility was used to tally feminine/masculine words in sampled advertisements, minimising mistakes that would have been introduced by manual tallying. An online concordance tool - <http://someya-net.com/wlc/> - was also used to tally the actual BSRI terms used in the advertisements under review - serving as a control for the SCP tallying. Defined advertisement sections - Advertiser Information, Job Description and Skills, Character and Qualifications - were analysed in totality rather than individually. The two programmes searched words and phrases as prefixes and suffixes, and the researcher made decisions as to which terms would be left out or retained in tallies. SCP unlike

the online tool had an added advantage in that words were observed within their sentence contexts.

3.8 Research Ethics

The research project followed the procedures laid down by the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SOJMC). The researcher first developed the research concept in consultation with his research supervisor. He was then issued with a Certificate of Fieldwork (Appendix X). The researcher then sought permission from brightermonday.co.ke to use information on the website since they explicitly declare the content as their property and prohibit its use unless they give explicit consent. Consent was given after an exchange of e-mails through brightermonday.co.ke's public information email address after the researcher explained the purpose of this research (Appendix IX). The researcher then defended his work before a research defense panel drawn from SOJMC faculty and selected scholars from related disciplines. A Certificate of Corrections (Appendix XI) was issued by the school after suggestions and corrections arising from this exercise were incorporated into this final report. Finally the researcher submitted this report to the SOJMC for a quality control check and a Certificate of Originality was issued (Appendix XII).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents and discusses the study's findings based on its objectives. The findings were arrived at after tallying the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) words used in sampled advertisements. To achieve the first objective - 'To identify gender frames used in online recruitment advertisements issued by Kenyan employers' - gendered words were tallied. To achieve the second objective - 'To investigate the extent to which Kenyan employers frame gender in online recruitment advertisements' - sampled advertisements were coded into sections and gendered words in these sections tallied and noted. The third objective - 'To investigate what determines gender frames used by Kenyan employers in online recruitment advertisements' - was achieved by noting which BSRI words appeared in advertisement sections.

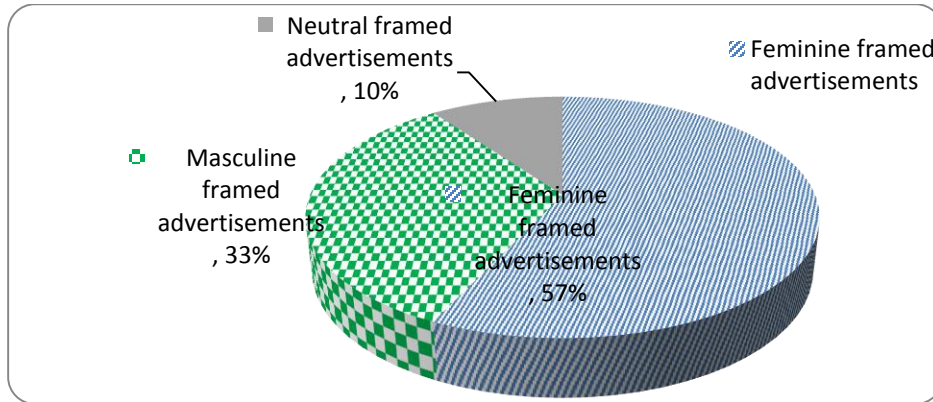
4.1 Findings

4.1.1 Gender Frames used in Kenyan Recruitment Advertisements

Sampled advertisements used more feminine terms/words than masculine ones. Within the corpus of 4,069 Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) gender words found in the 276 sampled advertisements, 55% (2,244) were feminine and 45% (1,825) were masculine (Appendix III). BSRI terms were fairly distributed within sampled advertisements. From a list of 78 BSRI terms drawn up by the researcher after updating the Gaucher, Friesen & Kay (2011) list, 53 appeared in the research sample's corpus. One hundred and fifty eight (57%) of the 276 sampled recruitment advertisements used more feminine than masculine BSRI words; ninety-two (33%) used more

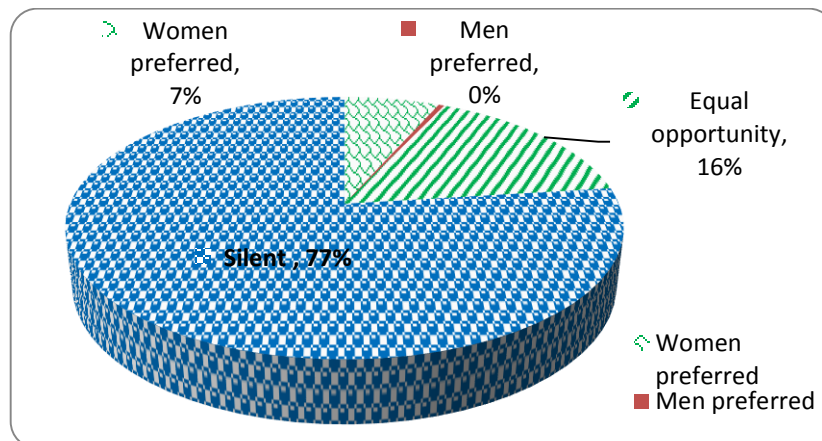
masculine than feminine words, while twenty-six (10%) used equal or had no gender frame words.

Figure 4.1: Implicit advertiser gender preference



Gender preference within sampled recruitment advertisements was implicit rather than explicit. Two hundred and sixteen (77%) of the 276 sampled advertisements did not explicitly express any gender preference- were silent; forty-four (16%) proclaimed themselves equal opportunity while nineteen (7%) were specific about their gender preference. Explicit pronouncements were not always backed by implicit pronouncements. Of the 4 advertisements that proclaimed themselves Equal Opportunity, two were implicitly neutral - BSRI counts were the same for either genders or gender words were missing - and two were implicitly feminine.

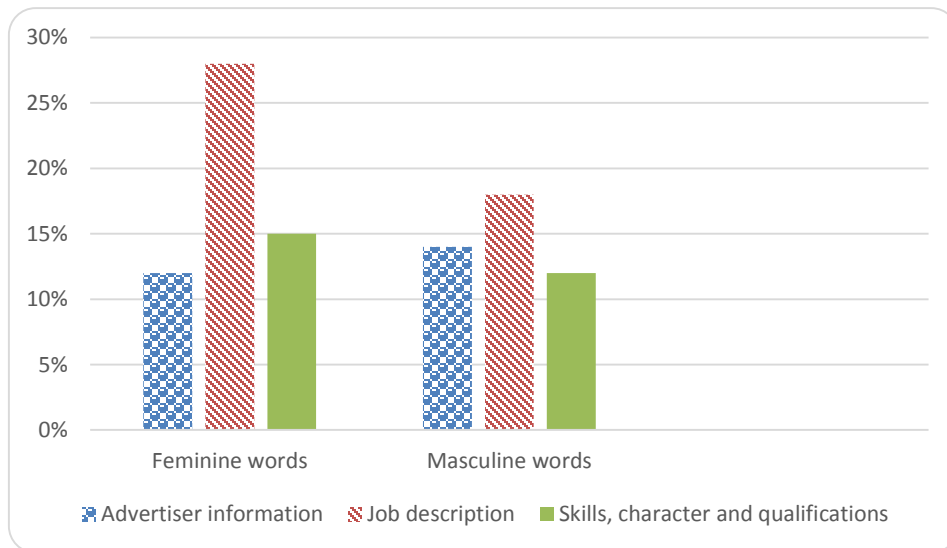
Figure 4.2: Explicit advertisers' gender preference



4.1.2 Extent of Gender Framing in Kenyan Recruitment Advertisements

Advertisers described themselves using masculine words but described the jobs on offer and candidates' traits using feminine words. Fourteen percent of BSRI words found in the advertiser information sections of sampled advertisements were masculine while 12% were feminine. Twenty eight percent of the BSRI words found on the job description sections were feminine while 18% were masculine. Within the skills, character and qualifications section, 14% of all the BSRI words used in sample advertisements were feminine while 12% were masculine.

Figure 4.3: Gender frame intensity within advertisements' sections



This confirms Goldberg & Allen (2008) and Gaucher, Friesen & Kay (2011)'s observations that employers use language to frame recruiter's institutional gender in recruitment advertisements and to make sure that the skills, competences, and values required for advertised positions are those of the preferred gender.

Advertisers preferred candidate traits that emphasise cooperation - a feminine trait. The three most common BSRI feminine words and phrases used in the study's sample were Respon* -

repeated 562 times; Commun* - repeated 478 times and; Support* - repeated 389 times. These were feminine terms - the words Respon* and support* were mostly used in the job description sections of sampled advertisements. The word commun* was mostly used within the Skills, Character and Qualifications sections of sampled advertisements where is repeated 240 times. The most common BSRI masculine terms in the sample were: lead* - repeated 318 times, confiden* - 290 repeated times and activ* - repeated 287 times.

Table 4.1: Ten most used BSRI terms

	BSRI Term	Gender	Advertiser Information	Job Description	Skills, Character & Qualifications	Total tally
1	Respon*	F	33	471	58	562
2	Commun*	F	85	153	240	478
3	Support*	F	92	268	29	389
4	Lead*	M	99	154	65	318
5	Confiden*	M	247	4	39	290
6	Activ*	M	31	202	54	287
7	Analy*	M	12	111	84	207
8	Compet*	M	35	52	67	154
9	Understand*	F	5	48	83	136
10	Individual*	M	41	37	31	109

4.1.3 Determinants of Gender Frames in Kenyan Recruitment Advertisements

The study established that feminine frames are popular in Kenyan online recruitment advertisements where femininity is more a valued trait in management positions and that, academic qualifications required for masculine framed positions are not as high as those required in feminine framed positions.

Sixty-three per cent of all sampled advertisements were for management positions; 29% were support positions, 7% elementary positions while, 1% were for craft positions. Thirty-nine per cent of management positions' advertisements had more feminine BSRI words than masculine words; 19% were more masculine while 5% were neutral. Twenty-nine per cent of the 276 job advertisements sampled were for support positions - they had more feminine BSRI words than masculine words; 14% of these were feminine framed; 12% were masculine framed while; 4% were neutral.

Table 4.2: Gender frames in job categories

	Management jobs- Code 210		Support jobs- Code 220		Elementary jobs- Code 240	
	No	% tage	No	% tage	No	% tage
Feminine framed	109	39%	38	14%	11	4%
Masculine framed	52	19%	33	12%	6	2%
Neutral framed	15	5%	9	4%	3	1%
Total	176	63%	80	30%	20	7%

Masculine high school graduates are likely to get jobs faster than those that exhibit feminine traits. Sixty-one percent (61.5 %) of all jobs that required high-school-level of education were masculine framed; 60.4 % of advertised jobs that needed college/tertiary level education were feminine framed; 59.6% of jobs that needed university education were feminine framed and; 54.5% of uncategorised jobs were feminine framed.

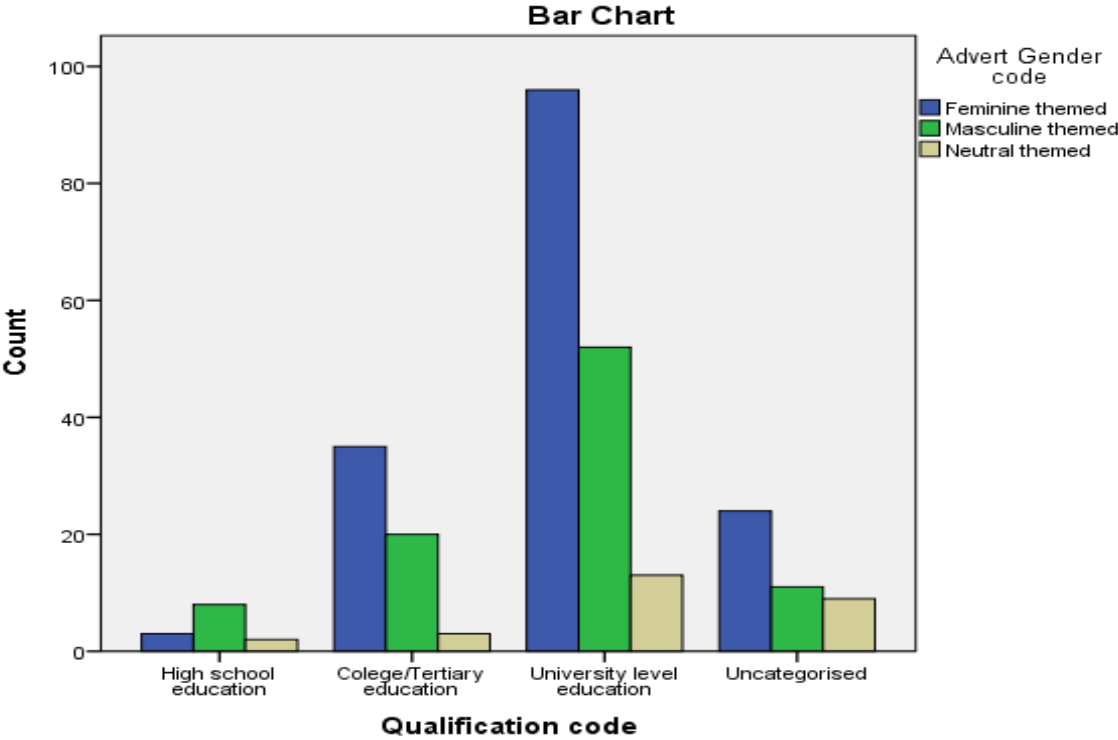
Table 4.3: Gender frames in qualifications demanded for sampled jobs

							Total
	Feminine frame words	%-tage	Masculine frame words	%-tage	Neutral frame words	%-tage	
High school Level	3	23.1%	8	61.5%	2	15.4%	13
College/Tertiary Level	35	60.4%	20	34.4%	3	5.2%	58
University Level	96	59.6%	52	32.3%	13	8.1%	161

Uncategorised	24	54.5%	11	25.0%	9	20.5%	44
Total	158		91		27		276

University graduates who exhibit feminine traits are likely to get jobs faster than those that exhibit masculine traits. Employment positions that required university level education preferred feminine employees. These positions had the highest variance range between feminine, masculine, and neutral framed advertisements.

Figure 4.4: Gender frames within required qualifications



4.2 Discussions of Findings

The fact that there were few explicit references to gender preference in sampled advertisements even as advertisers implicitly show preference for either femininity or masculinity through word choice indicates that Kenyan employers are complicit in the promotion of language as a gender

equality lobbying tool. Advertisements that explicitly proclaimed themselves as ‘equal opportunity’ but were implicitly gendered strengthen this observation.

In line with Benford & Snow (2000)’s description of amplification strategies that social movements use to achieve their goals, sampled recruitment advertisements used stereotypical words to amplify their gender preference. The heavy use of the BSRI terms respon* and commun* suggests advertisers’ preference for employees that emotionally connect with the jobs they offer, even as they demand commitment. These are stereotypical feminine traits. The term Commun* is also used heavily, suggesting that Kenyan employers value people skills highly. This is at variance with the individuality traits suggested by the use of masculine terms Lead*, Confiden*, Activ*, Analy*, Compet* and Individual*. In the dichotomous world of gender, the country may find itself in a vicious circle if investors perceive it as only good at service provision - a view that would be strengthened by comparative advantage economic considerations.

Kenyan advertisers frame recruitment advertisements using the ‘attributes’ ‘risky choices’ and ‘action’ advertising frames described by Hallahan (1999). Framing expected attributes in advertisements automatically introduces the attributes frame. Vlieger & Leydesdorff (2011) observation that advertising frames are developed through word choice for example means masculine applicants who perceive advertisements as preferring feminine applicants, shy away from applying for these positions; acting exactly the way advertisers intended them to. They may perceive these positions as risky- the risky choice frame - since attributes framed in the advertisements as not congenial to their character; getting such a job would be risky since one

cannot hold it for long. When candidates react by not applying for advertised positions, the expected action frame becomes operational since they behave just the advertisement expected them to do. Such reaction destabilises the country's social fabric - as patriarchy fights for space, it negatively affects the social and economic development goals.

When describing the jobs on offer - expected skills, character and qualifications - advertisers used more feminine words than masculine words but used more masculine when describing them. This finding suggests that the gender equation status quo is intact; advertisers are on top in the employer/employee equation, where they still claim the stereotypical superior masculine gender space. This casts aspersions on Goldin (2014) assertion that 'a grand gender convergence' is in the offing.

Stereotypical feminine BSRI terms are used heavily in the skills, character and qualifications sections of sampled advertisements - an expression of the 'celebrate gender differences' and the 'fix women' gender equality frames described by Ely & Meyerson (2000). The 'celebrate women' frame puts the focus on the employee rather than the job and is therefore anti-business while the 'fix women' removes the humanity from those that are more feminine - reducing them to being factors of production that can be manipulated to serve business. Management positions were clearly feminine themed. That these positions are framed in stereotypical feminine terms and require university education indicates that at high academic levels, where employees are expected to take up positions of responsibility, feminine attributes stands jobseekers better chances of securing jobs. Consequently those with high education will need to be more feminine than masculine - be women or acquire feminine traits- be feminised. The gender regime revealed

by this research show men in management positions exhibiting more feminine traits than those in other positions considered.

Since manager positions involve taking care of employers' resources- both human and material- it suggests that feminine traits are better suited for resource management. This is a common narrative in development literature: the AfBD's 2015 gender equality index report notes that women produce most of the continent's food, owns a third of all businesses despite prevalent gender discrimination and, make up 70% of all employees. While support positions followed management positions' trend in their feminine word usage preference, the margin was narrower, indicating that for these positions, employers were not very particular about the gender traits of employees. Consequently, employers' preference for any gender depends on the advertised position's responsibility.

Manager positions are well remunerated, making it easy for managers to take up masculine provision gender roles. When these positions are disproportionately framed as feminine, it shows that advertisers are actively supporting gender affirmative action; encouraging naturally feminine employees or those that acquire feminine traits to take up provision roles in society that are associated with masculinity. This contradicts Goldin's (2014) gender convergence theory- it indicates reversal rather than convergence in the way society conceives gender.

Jobs that require high school level education are masculine framed; reserved for men. That they were few in the analysis sample may indicate they are also few in the economy - confirming that the country has fewer jobs that require masculine traits than those that require feminine traits. It could also mean that the Kenyan labour market is flooded with high school graduates and there is

therefore no need to advertise for these positions since potential employees are abundant. Conversely, the fact that Kenyan employers preferred masculine traits for jobs that were not intellectually challenging - those that do not ask for high academic qualifications - may indicate a devaluation of masculinity; masculinity is stereotypically associated with brawn, which can be mechanised.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter summarises the study's findings, makes conclusions on the findings, notes the policy implications of the study and, makes suggestions for further research and policy actions. The summary and conclusions are based on the study's objectives: i) identifying gender frames used in online recruitment advertisements, ii) investigating to what extent employers frame gender in online recruitment advertisements, iii) investigating what determines gender frames in online recruitment advertisements. Policy implications and recommendations are derived and made based on the study's findings. The section ends by recommending further research into how listeners react mentally when they hear gendered words; validation of the BSRI analysis tool; and further investigations into whether gendered word usage in advertisements is indicative of changes in the way Kenya society perceives gender or is a furtherance of masculine gender hegemony.

5.1 Summary of findings

Advertisements accessed from an online recruitment website - brightermonday.co.ke - were used to interrogate the possibility that gender perceptions in Kenya society are changing. The study's guiding theory was the framing theory. Two other theories - the Social Dominance Theory and the Rational Bias Theory were used to explain the results of the study. The investigation was motivated by the researcher's insights gained from available literature that gender is one of the most important components of development, and that communication around the issue is driven

by feminine activism that may be using the same exclusion model that masculinity uses; a model that is detrimental to equitable human development. The researcher adopted a quantitative research approach, where stereotypical words and phrases associated with femininity or masculinity found in the research sample were tallied to establish which of the two gender identifications were more prominent than the other.

Major findings that came out after an analysis of sampled online recruitment advertisements were that Kenyan recruitment advertisers; 1) are complicit in the use of language as a feminist tool; 2) frame recruitment advertisements using the 'risky choices', 'attributes' and 'action' advertising frames to advance the feminist agenda ; 3) mostly use the 'fix' and 'celebrate' women gender frames that are described by Ely & Meyerson (2000) and; 4) show preference for feminine traits in manager positions - responding to gender parity agitation in leadership. The study also found out that: 5) majority of sampled recruitment advertisements, do not explicitly express their gender preference but implicitly prefer feminine candidates and that; 6) advertisers approach recruitment rationally; employing based on the candidate's ability to advance business objectives. Consequently most gender frame words are used in the job description sections of recruitment advertisements.

5.2 Conclusions

The study investigated gender communication in recruitment advertisements; what online recruitment advertisements issued in Kenya are saying about gender relations in the workplace. It concluded that Kenyan recruitment advertisers are complicit in feminisms' gender equality agenda that uses stereotypical words to amplify the gender equality cause; confirming Benford &

Snow's (2000) observation that one of social movements' most popular strategies is amplification through stereotypical words. This may be counter-productive for the gender equality agenda; it raises the possibility that the language tool that patriarchy has used to degrade femininity will be used against it with the same results. The most popular advertising frames used by Kenyan employers are 'risky choices', 'attributes' and 'action'. It shows that the 'problem identification-solutions-action' business model is also applicable to business communications; affirming positive action's position as the ultimate goal of development communication. That the 'fix' and 'celebrate' gender frames are the most popular gender frames used in the sampled advertisements is indicative of two complimentary views of gender; the 'fix' frame that promotes the idea that what stereotypical society think is wrong with femininity can be fixed and the 'celebrate' frame that advances the idea that what is different is not necessarily bad. It could also be pointing to the need for feminism to change tact by promoting proper sex-typing among nurturers, most of whom are women (Bem, 1983). These frames may also support Goldin's (2014) assertion that the world is headed towards convergence in the way it conceives gender; emphasizing complementarity rather than competition. However, the finding that Kenyan advertisers show preference for feminine traits in manager positions is evidence that the affirmative action approach to gender equality may enhance an 'us-against-them' dichotomy, promoting competition rather than complementarity among the genders. It supports the view advanced by Garwood, Szwajkoski & Rose(1988) that in issues of discrimination, reversal, rather than elimination, is the more common response to explicit instructions not to discriminate against on the basis of gender and contradicts Goldin's (2014) grand convergence narrative, suggesting a passing rather than a meeting point as the genders move in opposite directions.

5.3 Policy Implications

The study's findings have huge policy implications for employers, gender activists, development experts and governments that have identified a social problem - employment discrimination against those that exhibit feminine traits - but are not sufficiently sensitive to the possibilities of reversed gender discrimination, where today's gender issues will be the same tomorrow, but affecting the other gender. Feminism brought to the fore society's consciousness that people who are more feminine than masculine - were being left out and needed to be incorporated into the development agenda. However, there is need to put in place measures that will guard against society sliding into a situation where with increased feminine advocacy, those that are more masculine than feminine are transformed into the next victims of gender intolerance.

5.4 Policy Recommendations

From the earliest times, gender discrimination has rested on regimented social structures, made worse by lack of access to information. Women's access to education has been extremely restricting. But with increased access due to technological advancements like the internet and mobile telephony, coupled with urbanisation; restrictions on women's human aspirations have been relaxed. The government should speed up the equal-access-to-education initiatives to minimise the risk that any particular gender may slide into a state of unawareness.

The government should encourage responsible masculine gender activism as a counter-narrative based on the Social Dominance Theory that advances the idea that if masculinity does not dominate, feminism will. Unchecked feminine gender activism will naturally act out its mission in ways that will be detrimental to those that are more masculine than feminine.

Employers should set in motion policies that ensure self-correcting human resource practice without being overly influenced by gender advocacy. These will no doubt take into account the actual jobs being performed and cultural changes in the way societies operate and conceive gender.

Development experts who promote models based on affirmative action- where initiatives disproportionately favour women - should review their access-to-opportunity policies. At the human development level, focus should be on sex-typing rather than affirmative action. At the economic development level, the research findings encourages stakeholders to re-assess development initiatives that are hinged on a quantitative development model that sees the development of women as serving communities while that of men as serving individuals.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Though this study has established that Kenyan employers are complicit in feminisms' gender equality agenda - where they prefer employees that are more feminine than masculine, it has not established how and what BSRI terms in advertisements communicate to jobseekers. This researcher suggests experimental research that will shed more light on this mental process.

Donnelly & Twinge (2017) used the BSRI tool to review current gender conceptions among US college students and observed a marked devaluation of femininity. They opine that this could be because the scale items do not match modern gender stereotypes. BSRI words usage in this study's population could be an issue; only 68% of the terms are part of this study's corpus. The tool needs to be validated to establish whether it is still relevant within the Kenyan context.

While advertisers described the jobs and the candidates' character using feminine terms, they described themselves using masculine terms (Appendix II). This is dissonance; further research should be done to establish whether it indicates convergence in gender perceptions or is a furtherance of the masculine gender hegemony - where employees and the jobs they perform serve the masculine employer master.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Code Book

Individual advertisements on the sampling frame will be coded serially and recorded as such on the coding sheet. Codes for the advertisement's other analytical attributes will be recorded on the same row

Analytical advertisement sections will be colour-coded in terms of what they describe: 1) Advertiser information- **YELLOW**; 2) Job description- **BLUE**; 3) Skills, character and qualifications - **GREEN**.

Note content: Sub title may read 'job description' but the content might not be. Where employers train employees before starting the job, treat these as skills Advertiser information will be treated as all that information that does not fit the two other categories

The colour coded advertisement sections on individual advertisements will be coded on a coding sheet: Advertiser information- **410**; Job description- **420** and Skills, character and qualifications- **430**.

Words on colour coded advertisement sections will be tallied and recorded on the coding sheet.

Sampled advertisements will be coded on the basis of job categories: Management jobs- **210**, Support jobs- **220**, Craft jobs- **230**, Elementary jobs- **240**, and Armed forces- **250**. (Check Appendix VII for the description).

Not all positions referred to in their descriptions as 'managers' etc fit the operative descriptions of that position (supervisors may be referred to as managers)

Professional as opposed to academic qualifications (professional qualifications may be required but the actual duties may not be professional as per appendix I)

Where two functions that do not belong to the same category are described, select the one you consider 'better/higher'

Academic qualifications required for an advertised position will be coded into five categories: elementary education- **510**, high school education- **520**, College/tertiary education-**530**, University level education- **540** and uncategorised-**550**

Where two levels of qualifications are indicated- 'either, or'- pick the lowest level (e.g. KCE B+ or a Bachelor's Degree)

Where a school certificate and university level education- 'this and that'- is mentioned as a requirement, pick university as the desired level (e.g. KCE B+ and a Bachelor's Degree)

Appendix II: Coding Sheet

Serial Code	Category code	Qualification code	Sections											
			Advertiser information			Job Description			Skills, Character and Qualifications					
			Code	Tally	Total	Code	Tally	Total	Code	Tally	Total			

Appendix III: Study's BSRI Corpus

Advertiser Information				Job Description				Skills, Character and Qualifications			
Masculine		feminine		Masculine		feminine		Masculine		feminine	
activation	1	childcare	4	activity	157	childcare	4	active	9	child	9
active	3	child	37	actively	13	child	14	actively	4	cheerful	1
actively	1	childhood	1	active	8	childhood	1	activist	1	commit	3
activity	23	commit	36	activation	5	subcommittee	1	activity	17	commitment	12
proactive	1	commitment	8	activist	1	commitment	3	activities	2	communicate	31
ambition	2	committee	5	proactively	9	committee	37	proactive	15	communication	183
ambitious	3	communicate	3	proactive	4	commit	1	proactively	5	community	17
analysis	8	communication	33	reactive	1	communicator	1	reactivity	1	communicator	9
analyst	2	community	49	activations	1	communicable	2	aggressive	4	connect	4
analytic	2	connect	5	aggressively	1	communicate	21	ambitious	5	connection	2
autonomous	2	connection	1	ambitious	3	communication	83	analysis	19	consider	11
challenge	16	consider	26	ambition	2	community	46	analyst	6	consideration	2
competence	5	consideration	12	analyse	1	disconnections	1	analyze	11	cooperation	1
competent	8	cooperation	3	analysis	91	connection	3	analytic	47	cooperative	1
competition	1	cooperative	1	analyst	9	connect	1	analytics	1	cooperatively	4
competitive	13	depend	10	analyse	1	consideration	2	assertive	2	cooperativeness	1
competitiveness	7	dependent	4	analytic	7	consider	3	autonomously	1	dependability	1
competency	1	independent	7	analytics	2	cooperative	9	autonomous	1	dependable	1
confident	2	independently	1	autonomous	1	interdependent	1	autonomy	1	independence	3
confidential	242	kindly	18	challenge	9	independently	2	challenge	16	independent	3
encourage	38	respond	6	competence	4	independent	8	competence	9	independently	16
decide	2	response	2	competitor	19	independence	1	competent	4	emotional	1
decision	4	responsibility	9	competition	8	dependability	1	competition	1	emotionally	1
determine	4	responsible	15	competitive	10	interdependent	1	competitive	2	honest	4
predominantly	1	responsive	1	competitiveness	2	honest	2	competitor	1	honesty	7
reinforce	1	sensitive	1	competent	3	interpersonal	4	competencies	46	interpersonal	70
workforce	5	submission	4	competencies	3	interdependent	1	competency	3	kind	2
enforcement	1	submit	64	competency	1	interpersonal	4	competitively	1	loyal	1

force	2	support	91	competences	1	kind	4	confidence	4	loyalty	1
hierarchy	1	supporter	1	competently	1	loyalty	3	confident	10	pleasant	2
independent	7	together	30	confidently	2	nurture	1	confidential	4	respond	7
independently	1	trust	9	confidentiality	1	responsiveness	1	confidentiality	19	responsibility	31
individual	41	trustee	1	confidential	1	responsible	166	confidently	2	responsible	10
lead	49	understand	2	encourage	14	responsibility	250	encourage	8	responsive	8
leader	30	understanding	3	decide	2	respond	21	decide	2	responsiveness	1
leadership	20			decision	37	correspondence	15	decision	29	correspond	1
principle	2			determine	22	response	13	decisive	1	sensitive	5
self	3			determination	1	responsive	2	determination	2	sensitivity	10
confidence	3			dominant	1	correspond	2	determine	5	sensitively	1
				predominant	1	responsiveness	1	force	2	submit	3
				force	7	sensitive	2	workforce	2	support	26
				enforce	8	submission	10	independence	3	supporter	1
				independently	2	submit	25	independent	3	supportive	2
				independent	8	support	261	independently	16	tender	1
				independence	1	supportive	2	individual	31	together	5
				individual	37	supporter	5	intellectual	1	trust	3
				leadership	37	tender	5	lead	17	trustworthy	2
				leader	26	together	12	leader	11	understand	16
				lead	91	trustee	5	leadership	37	understandable	1
				logic	1	trust	4	logic	2	understanding	66
				logical	2	understand	19	logical	2	attractive	2
				objective	47	understanding	29	objective	11		
				objectively	1	warmly	1	opinion	2		
				opinion	2	yield	5	persistence	1		
				persistence	1	attractive	2	persistent	3		
				principle	10			principle	16		
				self	7			superior	2		
				confidence	1			self	46		
	558		503		749		1124		529		606
											4069

Appendix IV- BSRI Corpus- Advertisement sections

Masculine						Feminine					
No.	BSRI Term	Advertiser information	Job description	Skills, Character & Qualifications	Total	No.	BSRI Term	Advertiser information	Job description	Skills, Character & Qualifications	Total
M1	Activ*	31	202	54	287	F1	Affectionate				
M2	Adventurous					F2	Child*	44	19	9	72
M3	Aggress*		1	4	5	F3	Cheer*			1	1
M4	Ambitio*	5	5	5	15	F4	Commit*	49	43	15	107
M5	Analy*	12	111	84	207	F5	Commun*	85	153	240	478
M6	Assert*			2	2	F6	Compassion*				
M7	Athlet*					F7	Connect*	6	5	6	17
M8	Autonom*	2	1	3	6	F8	Consider*	38	6	13	57
M9	Boast*					F9	Cooperat*	6	9	7	22
M10	Challeng*	16	9	16	41	F10	Depend*	14	2	2	18
M11	Compet*	35	52	67	154	F11	Emotiona*			2	2
M12	Confiden*	244	4	39	287	F12	Empath*				
M13	Courag*	38	14	8	60	F13	Feminine				
M14	Decide	2	2	2	6	F14	Flatterable				
M16	Decisi*	4	27	29	60	F15	Gentle				
M17	Determin*	4	23	7	34	F16	Honest*		2	11	13
M19	Domina*	1	2			F17	Interdependen*	8	13	22	43
M20	Force*	9	15	4	28	F18	Interpersona*		9	70	79
M21	Greedy					F19	Kind*	18	4	2	24
M22	Headstrong					F20	Kinship				
M23	Hierarch*	1			1	F21	Loyal*		3	2	5
M24	Hostil*					F22	Modest*				
M25	Impulsive					F23	Nag				
M26	Independen*	8	11	20	39	F24	Nurtur*		1		1
M27	Individual*	41	37	31	109	F25	Pleasant*			2	2
M28	Intellect			1	1	F26	Polite				

M29	Lead*	99	154	65	318	F27	Quiet				
M30	Logic*		8	5	13	F28	Respon*	33	471	58	562
M31	Masculine					F29	Sensitiv*	1	2	16	19
M32	Objective*		48	11	59	F30	Submi*	69	35	3	107
M33	Opinion		2		2	F31	Support*	92	268	29	389
M34	Outspoken					F32	Sympath*				
M35	Persist*		1	4	5	F33	Tender*		5	1	6
M36	Principle*	2	10	16	28	F34	Together*	32	12	5	49
M37	Reckless					F35	Trust*	10	7	7	24
M38	Stubborn					F36	Understand*	5	49	83	137
M39	Superior			2	2	F37	Warm*		1		1
M40	Self-*	3	7	46	56	F38	Whin*				
						F39	Yield*		5		5
						F40	Attractive		2	2	4
		557	746	525	1825			510	1126	608	2244
										Total	4069

Appendix V: BSRI word count

Masculine			Feminine		
No.	BSRI Term	Total	No.	BSRI Term	Total
M29	Lead*	318	F27	Respon*	562
M1	Activ*	287	F1	Commun*	478
M12	Confiden*	287	F31	Support*	389
M5	Analy*	207	F36	Understand*	136
M11	Compet*	154	F4	Commit*	106
M27	Individual*	109	F30	Submi*	106
M13	Courag*	60	F18	Interpersona*	79
M16	Decisi*	60	F2	Child*	71
M40	Self-*	56	F8	Consider*	56
M32	Objective*	59	F32	Together*	47
M10	Challeng*	41	F15	Interdependen*	43
M26	Independen*	39	F17	Kind*	24
M17	Determin*	34	F33	Trust*	22
M20	Force*	28	F9	Cooperat*	20
M36	Principle*	28	F29	Sensitiv*	19
M4	Ambitio*	15	F6	Connect*	17
M30	Logic*	13	F10	Depend*	17
M8	Autonom*	6	F16	Honest*	13
M14	Decide	6	F33	Tender*	6
M3	Aggress*	5	F19	Loyal*	5
M35	Persist*	5	F37	Yield*	5
M6	Assert*	2	F38	Attractive	4
M33	Opinion	2	F10	Emotiona*	2
M39	Superior	2	F23	Pleasant*	2
M23	Hierarch*	1	F3	Cheer*	1
M28	Intellect	1	F22	Nurtur*	1
M2	Adventurous		F35	Warm*	1
		1828		4069	2244
TOTAL					4069

Appendix VI: Krejcie and Morgan Sampling table

N-population size	S - sample size	N-population size	S - sample size	N-population size	S - sample size
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

Appendix VII: ILO Categorisation

210	Managers	Tasks performed by managers usually include: formulating and advising on the policy, budgets, laws and regulations of enterprises, governments and other organizational units; establishing objectives and standards and formulating and evaluating programmes and policies and procedures for their implementation; ensuring appropriate systems and procedures are developed and implemented to provide budgetary control; authorizing material, human and financial resources to implement policies and programmes; monitoring and evaluating performance of the organization or enterprise and of its staff; selecting or approving the selection of staff; ensuring compliance with health and safety requirements; planning and directing daily operations; representing and negotiating on behalf of the government, enterprise or organizational unit managed in meetings and other forums.
220	Professionals	Tasks performed by professionals usually include: conducting analysis and research, and developing concepts, theories and operational methods; advising on or applying existing knowledge related to physical sciences, mathematics, engineering and technology, life sciences, medical and health services, social sciences and humanities; teaching the theory and practice of one or more disciplines at different educational levels; teaching and educating persons with learning difficulties or special needs; providing various business, legal and social services; creating and performing works of art; providing spiritual guidance; preparing scientific papers and reports. Supervision of other workers may be included.
230	Technicians and Associate professionals	Tasks performed by technicians and associate professionals usually include: undertaking and carrying out technical work connected with research and the application of concepts and operational methods in the fields of physical sciences including engineering and technology, life sciences including the medical profession, and social sciences and humanities; initiating and carrying out various technical services related to trade, finance and administration including administration of government laws and regulations, and to social work; providing technical support for the arts and entertainment; participating in sporting activities; executing some religious tasks. Supervision of other workers may be included.

240	Clerical and Support Workers	Tasks performed by clerical support workers usually include: stenography, typing, and operating word processors and other office machines; entering data into computers; carrying out secretarial duties; recording and computing numerical data; keeping records relating to stocks, production and transport; keeping records relating to passenger and freight transport; carrying out clerical duties in libraries; filing documents; carrying out duties in connection with mail services; preparing and checking material for printing; assisting persons who cannot read or write with correspondence; performing money-handling operations; dealing with travel arrangements; supplying information requested by clients and making appointments; operating a telephone switchboard. Supervision of other workers may be included.
250	Services and sales workers	Tasks performed by services and sales workers usually include: organizing and providing services during travel; housekeeping; preparing and serving of food and beverages; caring for children; providing personal and basic health care at homes or in institutions, as well as hairdressing, beauty treatment and companionship; telling fortunes; embalming and arranging funerals; providing security services and protecting individuals and property against fire and unlawful acts; enforcing of law and order; posing as models for advertising, artistic creation and display of goods; selling goods in wholesale or retail establishments, as well as at stalls and on markets; and demonstrating goods to potential customers. Supervision of other workers may be included.
260	Skilled agricultural forestry and fisheries workers	Tasks performed by skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers usually include: preparing the soil; sowing, planting, spraying, fertilizing and harvesting field crops; growing fruit and other tree and shrub crops; growing garden vegetables and horticultural products; gathering wild fruits and plants; breeding, raising, tending or hunting animals mainly to obtain meat, milk, hair, fur, skin or sericultural, apiarian or other products; cultivating, conserving and exploiting forests; breeding or catching fish; cultivating or gathering other forms of aquatic life; storing and carrying out some basic processing of their produce; selling their products to purchasers, marketing organizations or at markets. Supervision of other workers may be included.

270	Craft and related trades workers	Tasks performed by craft and related trades workers usually include: constructing, maintaining and repairing buildings and other structures; casting, welding and shaping metal; installing and erecting heavy metal structures, tackle and related equipment; making machinery, tools, equipment and other metal articles; setting for operators, or setting and operating various machine tools; fitting, maintaining and repairing industrial machinery, engines, vehicles, electrical and electronic instruments and other equipment; making precision instruments, jewellery, household and other precious metal articles, pottery, glass and related products; producing handicrafts; executing printing work; producing and processing foodstuffs and various articles made of wood, textiles, leather and related materials. Supervision of other workers may be included. Self-employed craft and related trades workers, who operate their own businesses either independently or with assistance from a small number of others, may also perform a range of tasks associated with management of the business, account and record keeping and client service, although such tasks would not normally comprise the major component of the work.
280	Plant and machines operators and assemblers	Tasks performed by plant and machine operators and assemblers usually include: operating and monitoring mining or other industrial machinery and equipment for processing metal, minerals, glass, ceramics, wood, paper or chemicals; operating and monitoring machinery and equipment used to produce articles made of metal, minerals, chemicals, rubber, plastics, wood, paper, textiles, fur or leather, and which process foodstuffs and related products; driving and operating trains and motor vehicles; driving, operating and monitoring mobile industrial and agricultural machinery and equipment; and assembling products from component parts according to strict specifications and procedures. Supervision of other workers may be included.
290	Elementary occupations	Tasks performed by workers in elementary occupations usually include: cleaning, restocking supplies and performing basic maintenance in apartments, houses, kitchens, hotels, offices and other buildings; washing cars and windows; helping in kitchens and performing simple tasks in food preparation; delivering messages or goods; carrying luggage and handling baggage and freight; stocking vending-machines or reading and emptying meters; collecting and sorting refuse; sweeping streets and similar places; performing various simple farming, fishing, hunting or trapping tasks; performing simple tasks connected with mining, construction and manufacturing including product-sorting; packing and unpacking produce by hand, and filling shelves; providing various street services; pedalling or hand-guiding vehicles to transport passengers and goods; driving animal-drawn vehicles or machinery. Supervision of other workers may be included.

291	Armed forces	Armed forces occupations include all jobs held by members of the armed forces. Members of the armed forces are those personnel who are currently serving in the armed forces, including auxiliary services, whether on a voluntary or compulsory basis, and who are not free to accept civilian employment and are subject to military discipline. Included are regular members of the army, navy, air force and other military services, as well as conscripts enrolled for military training or other service for a specified period.
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Appendix VIII: Coding/Tally sheet (data-set)

S/ code	C/ code	Q/ code	O/ code	G/ code	TW C	FWC	MWC	F/ W Prop	M/ W Prop	AI code	Tally	Total	JD code	Tally	Total	SCQ code	Tally	Total
1	210	540	340	F	297	5	2	0.017	0.007	410	-	19	420		187	430		91
2	210	540	340	F	501	9	7	0.018	0.014	410	23 + 143	166	420	16 +174	190	430		155
3	210	530	340	F	103	3	0	0.029	0.000	410	-	19	420		69	430		24
4	210	540	340	N	1311	28	27	0.021	0.021	410	54+69	123	420		607	430		612
5	210	540	330	M	445	8	10	0.018	0.022	410	39+52+76	167	420		228	430		59
6	240	520	310	M	726	7	10	0.010	0.014	410	285+119	404	420		179	430		133
7	210	540	310	F	441	18	8	0.041	0.018	410	97+96	193	420		172	430		82
8	220	550	340	F	160	5	0	0.031	0.000	410	-	15	420		70	430	11+65	76
9	210	540	340	M	478	7	8	0.015	0.017	410	45+38	83	420		219	430		182
10	210	540	340	F	368	9	5	0.024	0.014	410	34+90	124	420		80	430	32+137	137
11	210	550	340	F	218	5	0	0.023	0.000	410	-	40	420		72	430		105
12	220	530	340	F	351	14	2	0.040	0.006	410	34+29	63	420		158	430		131
13	210	540	340	M	271	3	5	0.011	0.018	410	-	97	420		108	430		70
14	210	540	340	F	422	5	2	0.012	0.005	410	-	114	420		239	430		68
15	210	540	340	M	310	3	6	0.010	0.019	410	-	100	420		140	430		70
16	210	540	340	F	697	16	4	0.023	0.006	410	114+3	35	420		546	430		22
17	210	540	340	F	831	15	11	0.018	0.013	410	-	563	420		142	430		114
18	210	540	310	F	928	15	11	0.016	0.012	410	129+ 129	258	420		203	430		242
19	220	530	310	F	915	14	13	0.015	0.014	410	241+137	378	420		468	430		66
20	210	540	340	M	1321	12	28	0.009	0.021	410	392+288	617	420		437	430	-	195
21	210	540	340	F	377	9	4	0.024	0.011	410	73+149	222	420		105	430		76
22	210	540	340	F	318	9	4	0.028	0.013	410	151+65	216	420		76	430		25
23	240	550	340	M	318	3	7	0.009	0.022	410	162+50	212	420		94	430		17
24	210	540	330	F	477	20	5	0.042	0.010	410	191+96	287	420		100	430		90
25	210	540	340	F	401	6	5	0.015	0.012	410	121+48	169	420		190	430		47
26	220	550	340	F	126	2	1	0.016	0.008	410	40+11	51	420		58	430		18
27	210	540	340	F	481	11	6	0.023	0.012	410	137+59	196	420		151	430		128
28	210	540	330	F	514	14	5	0.027	0.010	410	79+ 194	273	420		110	430		141
29	210	540	330	F	520	14	5	0.027	0.010	410	84+195	279	420		109	430		141
30	210	540	330	F	514	14	5	0.027	0.010	410	78+196	274	420		110	430		141
31	210	540	330	F	520	14	5	0.027	0.010	410	84+196	280	420		110	430		141
32	210	540	330	F	495	15	6	0.030	0.012	410	89+188	277	420		95	430		132
33	240	520	340	F	441	10	4	0.023	0.009	410	17+174+151	342	420	11+28	39	430		96
34	210	540	340	F	288	8	7	0.028	0.024	410	45+19	64	420		172	430		57

S/ code	C/ code	Q/ code	O/ code	G/ code	TW C	FWC	MWC	F/ W Prop	M/ W Prop	AI code	Tally	Total	JD code	Tally	Total	SCQ code	Tally	Total
35	210	540	340	M	704	9	11	0.013	0.016	410	378+52	430	420		65	430		194
36	220	530	340	M	337	4	5	0.012	0.015	410	33+18	51	420		229	430		61
37	210	540	340	M	301	3	13	0.010	0.043	410	43+16	59	420		158	430		87
38	210	540	340	M	410	5	11	0.012	0.027	410	-	32	420		238	430		138
39	210	540	340	F	559	16	9	0.029	0.016	410	57+55	112	420		341	430		115
40	220	540	340	M	247	5	8	0.020	0.032	410	50+43	93	420		77	430		83
41	210	540	340	F	1413	46	20	0.033	0.014	410	191+105	296	420		959	430		183
42	210	540	340	M	552	6	12	0.011	0.022	410	158+71	229	420		190	430		117
43	210	540	330	F	1232	22	18	0.018	0.015	410	104+67	171	420		574	430		519
44	210	540	310	F	1298	31	23	0.024	0.018	410	102+54	156	420		953	430		216
45	210	540	340	F	364	7	4	0.019	0.011	410	117+68	185	420		109	430		85
46	210	540	330	M	757	8	9	0.011	0.012	410	146+74	220	420		396	430		152
47	210	540	330	F	552	11	10	0.020	0.018	410	275+7	282	420		161	430		103
48	210	540	330	M	661	7	12	0.011	0.018	410	-	45	420		366	430		267
49	210	540	340	F	552	12	5	0.022	0.009	410	98+25	123	420		270	430		59
50	210	540	340	N	469	10	10	0.021	0.021	410	-	57	420		279	430		136
51	210	530	340	F	634	9	3	0.014	0.005	410	41+21	62	420		535	430		40
52	210	540	340	F	288	7	2	0.024	0.007	410	40+90	130	420		46	430		121
53	210	530	340	M	567	14	17	0.025	0.030	410	32+5	37	420		367	430		157
54	210	530	340	F	390	9	8	0.023	0.021	410	36+52	88	420	106+60	166	430		142
55	240	520	310	F	475	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	129+157	286	420		77	430		111
56	220	540	310	F	463	7	3	0.015	0.006	410	95+156	251	420		162	430		51
57	210	540	310	F	404	5	4	0.012	0.010	410	102+155	257	420		103	430		42
58	210	540	310	N	543	5	5	0.009	0.009	410	103+155	258	420		183	430		102
59	210	540	340	M	486	5	7	0.010	0.014	410	59+27+141	227	420		135	430	34+94	128
60	220	530	330	F	534	22	8	0.041	0.015	410	281+50	331	420		98	430		115
61	220	530	330	F	282	4	2	0.014	0.007	410	19+115+50	184	420		14	430		90
62	210	550	340	N	386	7	7	0.018	0.018	410	43+80	123	420		276	430		-
63	210	540	340	F	1286	31	19	0.024	0.015	410	330+89	419	420		708	430		160
64	210	540	340	F	468	5	4	0.011	0.009	410	192+151	353	420		51	430		71
65	220	540	330	F	427	12	5	0.028	0.012	410	61+67	128	420		101	430	17+185	202
66	220	530	340	M	201	2	3	0.010	0.015	410	47+14	61	420		96	430		48
67	210	540	340	F	494	9	7	0.018	0.014	410	140+52	192	420		191	430		104
68	220	530	340	F	416	11	6	0.026	0.014	410	-	43	420	75+117	192	430	147+29	176
69	220	530	340	M	148	2	3	0.014	0.020	410	-	34	420		68	430		45
70	210	550	340	F	305	7	3	0.023	0.010	410	31+58	89	420		228	430		-
71	220	530	330	F	739	16	9	0.022	0.012	410	93+22	115	420	107+262	369	430	15+243	258

S/ code	C/ code	Q/ code	O/ code	G/ code	TW C	FWC	MWC	F/ W Prop	M/ W Prop	AI code	Tally	Total	JD code	Tally	Total	SCQ code	Tally	Total
72	210	540	340	F	745	18	12	0.024	0.016	410	-	208	420		340	430	-	201
73	210	540	340	N	625	9	9	0.014	0.014	410	29+76+6	111	420	18+216	216	430	35+235	270
74	220	530	340	M	127	0	3	0.000	0.024	410	63+32	95	420		16	430		37
75	210	530	340	M	157	2	3	0.013	0.019	410	47+32	79	420		22	430		58
76	220	520	340	M	141	1	3	0.007	0.021	410	30+32	62	420		53	430		28
77	220	520	340	M	128	2	3	0.016	0.023	410	30+32	62	420		37	430		30
78	210	530	340	M	123	0	1	0.000	0.008	410	29+48	77	420		29	430		29
79	210	540	340	F	288	3	2	0.010	0.007	410	114+32	146	420		65	430		82
80	210	540	340	M	230	3	4	0.013	0.017	410	39+68	107	420		52	430		76
81	210	540	340	M	494	6	8	0.012	0.016	410	34+134	178	420		261	430		67
82	210	540	340	M	508	6	8	0.012	0.016	410	77+209	286	420		103	430		136
83	240	530	330	M	517	4	5	0.008	0.010	410	209+98	307	420		94	430	-	119
84	210	540	330	M	700	5	8	0.007	0.011	410	210+146	356	420		281	430		67
85	210	540	330	F	641	5	4	0.008	0.006	410	212+146	358	420		244	430	-	39
86	210	540	330	F	744	12	11	0.016	0.015	410	212+146	358	420		294	430	-	91
87	210	540	330	F	668	6	4	0.009	0.006	410	210+146	356	420		238	430		90
88	210	540	330	F	901	42	12	0.047	0.013	410	144+46	190	420	106+255	361	430	170+177	347
89	220	550	340	M	486	3	4	0.006	0.008	410	126+83	209	420		209	430		70
90	220	540	340	M	412	4	7	0.010	0.017	410	75+43	118	420		242	430		63
91	210	540	340	M	825	12	21	0.015	0.025	410	92+151	243	420		346	430		235
92	240	540	340	F	794	14	12	0.018	0.015	410	70+77	147	420		476	430		153
93	210	540	340	F	611	6	5	0.010	0.008	410	64+77	141	420		283	430		166
94	240	520	340	N	336	2	2	0.006	0.006	410	65+76	141	420		134	430		45
95	220	550	340	M	184	0	1	0.000	0.005	410	84+76	160	420		-	430		15
96	220	530	340	F	405	9	5	0.022	0.012	410	73+76	149	420		164	430		78
97	240	530	340	N	247	1	1	0.004	0.004	410	70+77	147	420		29	430		60
98	240	540	340	F	234	5	2	0.021	0.009	410	19+7	26	420	18+112	130	430	-	82
99	210	540	340	F	1213	25	12	0.021	0.010	410	-	24	420	-	197	430	-	993
100	220	550	340	M	141	1	4	0.007	0.028	410	-	15	420		90	430		35
101	220	550	340	N	119	1	1	0.008	0.008	410	-	71	420		50	430		-
102	210	540	340	F	323	4	2	0.012	0.006	410	45+89	134	420		65	430	38+98	136
103	210	540	340	F	314	6	1	0.019	0.003	410	40+88	128	420	23+82	105	430	22+72	94
104	220	530	340	N	408	4	4	0.010	0.010	410	41+79	120	420		205	430		78
105	220	550	340	F	219	2	0	0.009	0.000	410	-	42	420		180	430		-
106	220	540	340	F	140	2	1	0.014	0.007	410	20		420		65	430		61
107	210	540	340	F	549	7	4	0.013	0.007	410	21+82+20	123	420	18+65	83	430		343
108	210	540	340	F	292	6	2	0.021	0.007	410	21+26	47	420	21+68	89	430		154

S/ code	C/ code	Q/ code	O/ code	G/ code	TW C	FWC	MWC	F/ W Prop	M/ W Prop	AI code	Tally	Total	JD code	Tally	Total	SCQ code	Tally	Total
109	210	550	340	F	302	6	2	0.020	0.007	410	24+82	106	420	25+83	108	430	45+50	95
110	220	540	320	F	240	3	2	0.013	0.008	410	23+38	61	420	23+113	136	430	-	49
111	210	540	340	F	267	4	2	0.015	0.007	410	-	22	420	16+74	80	430	-	157
112	210	550	340	M	695	9	23	0.013	0.033	410	-	45	420	-	424	430	-	228
113	210	540	340	M	291	6	15	0.021	0.052	410	22+26	48	420	16+163	179	430	-	65
114	220	530	340	F	57	3	1	0.053	0.018	410	-	21	420	-	9	430	-	30
115	210	540	340	F	288	7	6	0.024	0.021	410	25+19	44	420	18+134	152	430	30+64	94
116	220	530	340	F	196	4	1	0.020	0.005	410	-	19	420	-	111	430	-	64
117	220	540	340	F	179	5	3	0.028	0.017	410	18+9+24	51	420	-	20	430	25+84	109
118	210	540	340	M	509	6	8	0.012	0.016	410	15+29+65+29	138	420	246+20	266	430	61+45	106
119	210	540	340	F	533	10	6	0.019	0.011	410	91+68	159	420	-	245	430	11+120	131
120	210	540	340	M	294	3	6	0.010	0.020	410	126+12	138	420	-	92	430	-	62
121	220	540	340	M	651	5	9	0.008	0.014	410	20+107+34	161	420	-	296	430	137+58	195
122	210	540	340	N	202	5	5	0.025	0.025	410	23+36+42	101	420	-	36	430	13+62	75
123	210	530	340	F	521	23	10	0.044	0.019	410	18+129+22	169	420	19+212	231	430	-	121
124	220	530	340	M	651	5	6	0.008	0.009	410	16+21+217	254	420	9+286	295	430	-	96
125	210	540	340	F	551	7	3	0.013	0.005	410	168+162	230	420	-	162	430	-	-
126	240	530	340	M	197	0	3	0.000	0.015	410	13+55+18	86	420	-	15	430	11+24	35
127	210	540	340	F	786	17	8	0.022	0.010	410	224+123	347	420	-	297	430	-	133
128	210	540	340	M	292	3	4	0.010	0.014	410	19+8	19	420	278	278	430	-	84
129	240	520	340	M	281	3	4	0.011	0.014	410	24+10	34	420	20+188	208	430	-	46
130	240	520	340	M	81	0	1	0.000	0.012	410	-	18	420	-	10	430	-	56
131	210	550	340	F	111	1	0	0.009	0.000	410	-	22	420	-	58	430	-	36
132	220	530	310	M	576	8	9	0.014	0.016	410	22+119+43	184	420	23+322	345	430	-	50
133	210	540	330	F	441	6	4	0.014	0.009	410	25+24+57	106	420	12+208	220	430	-	120
134	220	540	340	M	357	4	8	0.011	0.022	410	21+68	89	420	20+161	181	430	-	88
135	210	540	330	F	560	13	5	0.023	0.009	410	32+236	268	420	-	188	430	-	188
136	210	540	340	M	794	12	13	0.015	0.016	410	21+72+31+194	318	420	22+76+108	206	430	-	274
137	220	540	340	M	748	14	15	0.019	0.020	410	194+20	214	420	-	231	430	-	321
138	220	550	340	F	415	8	3	0.019	0.007	410	98+82	180	420	-	131	430	-	-
139	220	530	340	F	425	4	3	0.009	0.007	410	24+70	94	420	21+210	231	430	22+87	109
140	220	540	340	F	267	6	3	0.022	0.011	410	19+30+6	55	420	-	52	430	23+138	161
141	210	540	310	F	765	22	14	0.029	0.018	410	26+272+60	358	420	21+251	272	430	22+115	137
142	210	550	340	M	468	3	4	0.006	0.009	410	62+64	126	420	-	305	430	-	37
143	240	530	340	F	89	1	0	0.011	0.000	410	18+11	29	420	-	-	430	-	68
144	210	540	340	F	455	16	9	0.035	0.020	410	136+128	264	420	-	185	430	-	113
145	210	550	340	N	191	1	1	0.005	0.005	410	132+40	172	420	-	-	430	-	23

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146	210	540	340	F	709	21	17	0.030	0.024	410	-	30	420	-	595	430	-	97
147	210	540	340	F	686	20	12	0.029	0.017	410	-	93	420	66+275	341	430	28+225	253
148	220	540	340	F	385	7	6	0.018	0.016	410	95+135	230	420	-	75	430	-	79
149	220	540	340	M	414	5	8	0.012	0.019	410	-	38	420	-	365	430	-	13
150	220	530	340	F	156	3	2	0.019	0.013	410	-	36	420	-	63	430	-	61
151	220	540	340	N	298	7	7	0.023	0.023	410	50+28	78	420	-	136	430	-	87
152	240	530	340	F	882	11	10	0.012	0.011	410	31+163+306	500	420	66+201	367	430	-	116
153	210	540	340	F	1062	18	10	0.017	0.009	410	393+70	463	420	-	496	430	-	109
154	220	530	310	F	480	8	5	0.017	0.010	410	97+167	264	420	-	140	430	-	80
155	210	540	310	N	568	5	5	0.009	0.009	410	101+171	272	420	-	213	430	-	86
156	240	520	310	N	342	4	4	0.012	0.012	410	36+71	107	420	-	170	430	-	79
157	220	550	340	N	179	3	3	0.017	0.017	410	-	21	420	-	17	430	-	144
158	210	550	340	M	472	7	12	0.015	0.025	410	21+46	67	420	24+271	295	430	40+67	107
159	210	540	340	F	340	5	3	0.015	0.009	410	39+88	127	420	20+93	113	430	43+63	106
160	220	540	340	F	284	4	2	0.014	0.007	410	42+86	128	420	-	115	430	-	47
161	210	540	340	F	772	12	10	0.016	0.013	410	130+33	163	420	-	362	430	-	309
162	210	540	340	F	1196	24	14	0.020	0.012	410	194	194	420	-	356	430	120+534	654
163	210	540	340	F	854	17	5	0.020	0.006	410	-	147	420	-	197	430	406+106	512
164	220	540	340	N	296	4	4	0.014	0.014	410	37+79	116	420	-	130	430	-	57
165	210	540	340	F	287	3	1	0.010	0.003	410	87+88	175	420	-	43	430	-	80
166	220	550	340	N	125	0	0	0.000	0.000	410	32+14	46	420	-	47	430	-	35
167	210	540	330	F	539	9	2	0.017	0.004	410	235+54	289	420	76+30	106	430	-	144
168	210	540	340	F	598	14	6	0.023	0.010	410	454+62	516	420	-	37	430	-	67
169	210	540	310	M	574	11	14	0.019	0.024	410	160+74	234	420	-	236	430	-	110
170	210	530	330	F	868	21	7	0.024	0.008	410	24+379	403	420	19+298	317	430	-	145
171	210	540	330	M	807	5	23	0.006	0.029	410	307+129	436	420	-	192	430	-	178
172	210	540	340	M	279	6	11	0.022	0.039	410	-	14	420	-	169	430	-	94
173	210	540	340	N	117	0	0	0.000	0.000	410	23+19	42	420	-	69	430	-	32
174	240	530	340	F	137	3	0	0.022	0.000	410	-	19	420	-	59	430	-	62
175	210	540	340	F	299	11	5	0.037	0.017	410	48+7	55	420	-	83	430	-	163
176	210	550	340	N	204	4	4	0.020	0.020	410	-	19	420	-	187	430	-	-
177	210	540	330	M	486	4	19	0.008	0.039	410	25+287	312	420	39+73	111	430	-	60
178	210	540	330	M	606	6	16	0.010	0.026	410	16+127+24	167	420	20+322	342	430	-	102
179	210	550	340	F	473	13	2	0.027	0.004	410	-	32	420	-	197	430	-	241
180	210	550	340	F	314	17	6	0.054	0.019	410	-	28	420	-	288	430	-	-
181	210	540	340	F	301	5	2	0.017	0.007	410	-	25	420	-	233	430	-	42
182	210	540	340	M	400	14	26	0.035	0.065	410	21+11	32	420	19+244	263	430	-	104

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183	220	530	340	M	77	0	1	0.000	0.013	410	-	33	420	-	34	430	-	13
184	210	540	340	N	511	6	6	0.012	0.012	410	19+103	122	420	20+301	321	430	-	69
185	220	530	340	F	268	7	4	0.026	0.015	410	17+37	54	420	18+113	136	430	-	85
186	210	540	340	F	449	10	6	0.022	0.013	410	-	31	420	-	351	430	-	92
187	210	540	340	N	401	6	6	0.015	0.015	410	40+82	122	420	-	209	430	-	71
188	220	550	340	F	314	5	1	0.016	0.003	410	18+19	37	420	18+89	107	430	-	125
189	210	540	340	F	463	8	4	0.017	0.009	410	-	22	420	-	321	430	-	122
190	240	530	330	F	276	3	2	0.011	0.007	410	21+107	128	420	-	85	430	-	52
191	210	540	330	M	502	4	7	0.008	0.014	410	29+107	136	420	-	214	430	-	140
192	210	540	340	M	594	10	15	0.017	0.025	410	29+19	48	420	-	505	430	-	42
193	210	540	340	F	258	7	1	0.027	0.004	410	47+88	135	420	-	78	430	-	56
194	220	540	340	M	277	6	8	0.022	0.029	410	99+44	143	420	-	14	430	-	132
195	210	540	310	M	377	2	6	0.005	0.016	410	119+30	149	420	-	110	430	-	117
196	210	540	340	F	796	17	12	0.021	0.015	410	32+64	96	420	-	1108	430	-	155
197	210	550	340	F	1024	23	14	0.022	0.014	410	32+64	96	420	-	780	430	-	148
198	220	550	340	M	143	1	5	0.007	0.035	410	19+27+5	51	420	-	-	430	23+70	93
199	210	540	340	F	608	20	6	0.033	0.010	410	-	119	420	-	491	430	-	17
200	220	550	340	M	319	0	4	0.000	0.013	410	21+13	34	420	-	238	430	-	50
201	210	530	340	F	490	12	3	0.024	0.006	410	53+36	89	420	-	231	430	34+145	179
202	210	540	340	M	466	11	17	0.024	0.036	410	20+33	53	420	-	315	430	-	97
203	210	530	340	M	504	3	5	0.006	0.010	410	24+63+7	94	420	20+374	394	430	-	17
204	220	540	340	M	443	2	3	0.005	0.007	410	155+121	276	420	-	138	430	-	41
205	220	530	340	F	285	9	2	0.032	0.007	410	17+59	74	420	-	135	430	-	76
206	220	530	340	M	296	6	9	0.020	0.030	410	19+28+69	116	420	20+148	168	430	-	12
207	220	550	340	F	430	12	3	0.028	0.007	410	-	25	420	-	282	430	62+61	123
208	230	550	340	N	210	4	4	0.019	0.019	410	18+32	50	420	-	54	430	-	107
209	210	540	340	F	356	10	6	0.028	0.017	410	23+16	39	420	-	213	430	-	109
210	210	540	330	F	863	11	9	0.013	0.010	410	28+147+82	257	420	8+381	389	430	-	209
211	210	540	340	M	1247	12	34	0.010	0.027	410	50+67	117	420	-	770	430	311+68	379
212	210	540	340	F	132	4	3	0.030	0.023	410	-	44	420	-	69	430	-	28
213	220	530	340	M	173	3	5	0.017	0.029	410	-	15	420	15+93	118	430	-	48
214	220	540	340	N	269	2	2	0.007	0.007	410	-	42	420	-	155	430	-	69
215	240	540	340	F	329	11	1	0.033	0.003	410	-	95	420	-	213	430	-	95
216	220	530	310	F	174	5	2	0.029	0.011	410	-	30	420	-	84	430	-	64
217	210	530	340	M	435	7	11	0.016	0.025	410	21+14	35	420	19+347	366	430	-	36
218	220	530	330	F	219	3	4	0.014	0.018	410	17+7	24	420	-	144	430	55+29	84
219	210	540	340	M	471	2	4	0.004	0.008	410	219+129	348	420	-	44	430	-	82

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220	220	550	340	F	411	10	2	0.024	0.005	410	108+7	115	420	-	195	430	-	103
221	210	540	340	M	375	3	7	0.008	0.019	410	133+34	167	420	-	67	430	-	135
222	220	520	340	M	131	1	2	0.008	0.015	410	-	50	420	-	59	430	-	26
223	210	550	340	F	475	13	9	0.027	0.019	410	-	31	420	183+86	269	430	40+130	170
224	210	530	340	F	499	7	4	0.014	0.008	410	21+22	43	420	16+356	372	430	-	95
225	210	550	340	M	551	8	11	0.015	0.020	410	274+168	299	420	-	45	430	-	60
226	210	550	330	N	280	1	1	0.004	0.004	410	-	24	420	-	230	430	-	24
227	220	550	310	F	551	9	3	0.016	0.005	410	137+37	174	420	-	288	430	-	19
228	210	530	340	F	399	10	5	0.025	0.013	410	-	20	420	-	189	430	-	192
229	210	540	340	M	100	1	3	0.010	0.030	410	-	19	420	20+123	143	430	47+22	69
230	210	550	330	F	470	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	41+411	452	420	-	-	430	-	21
231	210	550	330	F	473	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	44+412	456	420	-	-	430	-	21
232	210	550	330	F	472	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	48+412	460	420	-	-	430	-	21
233	210	550	330	F	471	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	46+411	457	420	-	-	430	-	21
234	210	550	330	F	467	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	39+412	451	420	-	-	430	-	21
235	240	550	330	F	466	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	38+413	451	420	-	-	430	-	21
236	210	550	330	F	466	5	3	0.011	0.006	410	38+411	449	420	-	-	430	-	21
237	210	540	340	F	1955	36	34	0.018	0.017	410	-	53	420	-	1160	430	-	880
238	220	530	340	F	560	9	4	0.016	0.007	410	248+124	372	420	-	109	430	-	77
239	220	530	340	M	401	6	8	0.015	0.020	410	119+118	237	420	-	89	430	-	78
240	210	540	340	M	386	7	12	0.018	0.031	410	50	50	420	-	242	430	-	92
241	240	530	340	F	440	9	5	0.020	0.011	410	28+18	46	420	-	278	430	-	113
242	210	540	330	M	702	9	10	0.013	0.014	410	92+187	279	420	-	334	430	-	93
243	210	540	340	M	946	12	34	0.013	0.036	410	223+56	279	420	-	538	430	-	123
244	210	540	340	M	482	7	16	0.015	0.033	410	84+42	126	420	-	217	430	-	177
245	210	540	340	F	265	4	0	0.015	0.000	410	31+92	123	420	-	88	430	-	64
246	220	530	340	F	283	6	5	0.021	0.018	410	-	30	420	-	177	430	-	76
247	220	530	340	M	152	2	3	0.013	0.020	410	-	42	420	-	25	430	-	90
248	220	520	340	M	148	2	3	0.014	0.020	410	36+17	53	420	-	-	430	-	98
249	210	540	330	F	682	14	12	0.021	0.018	410	26+222	248	420	138+130	268	430	-	153
250	240	530	340	F	136	2	1	0.015	0.007	410	-	50	420	-	37	430	-	53
251	210	540	340	N	299	3	3	0.010	0.010	410	-	53	420	-	118	430	-	136
252	210	540	340	F	292	5	2	0.017	0.007	410	-	51	420	-	125	430	-	122
253	210	540	340	F	512	6	3	0.012	0.006	410	-	50	420	-	305	430	-	161
254	210	540	330	F	935	17	9	0.018	0.010	410	12+138+259	409	420	23+284	307	430	99+124	223
255	210	540	330	F	618	8	3	0.013	0.005	410	198+307	505	420	-	96	430	-	28
256	220	520	340	F	97	2	1	0.021	0.010	410	-	29	420	-	66	430	-	13

S/ code	C/ code	Q/ code	O/ code	G/ code	TW C	FWC	MWC	F/ W Prop	M/ W Prop	AI code	Tally	Total	JD code	Tally	Total	SCQ code	Tally	Total	
257	220	520	340	M	237	1	9	0.004	0.038	410	-	35	420	-	76	430	-	125	
258	220	530	340	M	109	3	4	0.028	0.037	410	-	29	420	-	42	430	-	38	
259	220	530	340	F	721	26	15	0.036	0.021	410	13+308+42	363	420	19+223	242	430	-	122	
260	220	550	340	M	261	2	3	0.008	0.011	410	11	11	420	-	40	430	19+21	40	
261	220	530	340	F	348	5	2	0.014	0.006	410	21	21	420	-	249	430	-	78	
262	210	540	340	F	423	6	3	0.014	0.007	410	10+132+19+44	205	420	-	101	430	18+29+76	123	
263	220	540	340	F	397	9	3	0.023	0.008	410	11+76+19	106	420	17+228	245	430	-	52	
264	210	550	340	N	180	3	3	0.017	0.017	410	-	14	420	-	156	430	-	13	
265	210	540	340	M	268	5	6	0.019	0.022	410	-	13	420	-	191	430	-	66	
266	210	530	340	F	135	2	1	0.015	0.007	410	-	21	420	-	-	430	-	114	
267	210	540	340	F	1132	23	14	0.020	0.012	410	11+88+241	350	420	124+424	548	430	-	254	
268	210	540	340	M	386	4	7	0.010	0.018	410	10+109+50	169	420	20+123	143	430	-	74	
269	220	530	340	M	494	3	7	0.006	0.014	410	75+71	146	420	-	144	430	-	215	
270	210	550	340	F	947	20	10	0.021	0.011	410	10+82+163	255	420	22+382	404	430	-	305	
271	220	540	340	F	453	7	4	0.015	0.009	410	15+167	182	420	-	149	430	-	125	
272	210	540	340	F	690	13	9	0.019	0.013	410	-	264	420	-	275	430	-	156	
273	210	540	340	M	505	7	11	0.014	0.022	410	30+95	125	420	-	280	430	-	98	
274	220	540	340	M	308	2	10	0.006	0.032	410	12+17	29	420	-	213	430	32+34	66	
275	210	540	340	F	588	6	3	0.010	0.005	410	337+11	348	420	-	131	430	-	80	
276	220	530	340	N	228	1	1	0.004	0.004	410	-	14	420	-	116	430	-	101	
						2244	1825												
TOTAL							4069												

KEY

- S/code:** Serial number of the sampled advertisement
- C/code:** Category code of advertised position (Manager, Support...)
- Q/code:** Qualification required for advertised position (High school, University...)
- O/code:** Explicit advertiser declaration (Equal opportunity, women, men or unspecified)
- G/code:** Code allocated after tallying BSRI terms (Based on whether advertisements had more, less or equal BSRI words)
- TWC:** Total words in sampled advertisement
- FWC/TWC:** Total feminine/masculine BSRI words in sampled advertisement
- FWC/ MWC prop:** Proportion of BSRI words in advertisement (determines advertisement's gender attribution)
- A/I code:** Advertiser Information code
- J/D code:** Job distribution code
- SCQ code:** Skills, Character & Qualification code

Appendix IX: Brightermonday.co.ke's Consent

Online request form.

On Tue, 18 Jul at 2:27 PM, Komumwati <komumwati@gmail.com> wrote:

Name KomuMwati

Position Student

Organisation University of Nairobi

Contact number 0720691966

Email komumwati@gmail.com

Message I am a communication student at the UoN. I want to analyze the content of Kenyan based adverts that appear on brightermonday.co.ke Do I need permission from brightermonday to do this?

563257

Brightermonday.co.ke's Consent email

On Wed, Jul 19, 2017 at 10:11 AM, Timan <support@brightermonday.freshdesk.com> wrote:

Hi Komu

You may proceed and the information you get just make sure that it is what we have shared in public.

Regards,

Appendix X: Certificate of Field Work



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061
Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22096 Fax: 254-02-245556
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 9 JUNE 2017 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50/72962/2014

Name: ROBINSON KOMU XIWATI

Title: GENDER FRAMING IN KENYA'S RECRUITMENT
ADVERTISEMENTS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
BRIGHTER MONDAY.CO.KE WEBSITE

Dr. Joseph Nyanoti
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

25/2/2017
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

25/2/2017
DATE

Dr. Nletti Nletti
DIRECTOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE/STAMP

16.2.18
DATE



Appendix XI: Certificate of Corrections



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION**

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061
Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 2/15/2018 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: K50/74962/2014

Name: Robinson Komu Mwati

Title: Gender framing in Kenya's online recruitment advertisements: a content analysis of brightermonday.co.ke website

Dr. Joseph Nyanoti
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

23/10/18
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi
ASSOCIATED DIRECTOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

23/10/2018
DATE

Dr. Ndletti Ndletti
DIRECTOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE/STAMP

23.10.2018
DATE



Appendix XII: Turnitin Originality Report

Turnitin *Originality Report*

- Processed on: 03-Jul-2018 11:48 EAT
- ID: 980149213
- Word Count: 11347
- Submitted: 1

Gender Framing in Kenya's Recruitment Adverti... *By Komu Mwati*

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