

**DEPICTION OF FEMALE ATHLETES IN THE MASS
MEDIA: THE CASE OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA
FROM 1980 – 2000.**

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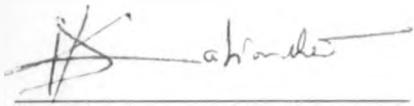


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DECLARATION

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

Katiambo David



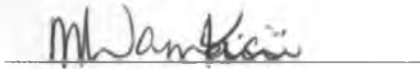
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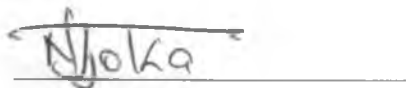


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DEDICATION.

To

*My parents, Katiambo and Nanjala, for their love,
encouragement and financial support.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study could not have been accomplished without the tireless efforts made by my supervisors, Mr. Njoka and Ms Wambui Kiai. Members of staff of the School of Journalism, Anne, Chris, Moses, ACCE librarians, Bernard and Rachel. I thank them most sincerely for their contribution to this work. I also take this opportunity to thank Mrs. Dorothy Njiraini of Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library, electronic journals section for providing several journal articles, which else could not be accessed locally. To my classmates Beatrice, Martin, Agutu, Mokuu, Chege, Manyara, Kamonde, Mokoro, Mwangi and Mwariri, I thank you for your criticism of this study.

My parents, brothers and sisters and friends gave me love and encouragement while I did the work. To them I say thank you.

God bless you all.

Katiambo David,

October, 2004.

ABSTRACT.

This study was set out to compare the coverage of male and female athletes in Kenyan newspapers between 1980-2000. It aimed at investigating whether there has been an increase in coverage of female athletes, assess written and photographic coverage of athletes, and study the relationship between the athletes' media coverage and sex.

Two newspapers, *Daily Nation* and *East African Standard* were purposely selected for the study because they have the highest circulation and therefore best represent the country's newspapers. Based on the two publications 120 newspapers were selected for study from a constructed year of twelve composite weeks

Data was collected from 1724 articles classified as either written or photo articles and measured to find their area in square centimetres. Two trained research assistants were used to measure these articles and the intercoder reliability between them was 0.82.

From this study it was found that male athletes are covered more in written articles than female athletes but female athletes' coverage in photographs has increased more steadily than male coverage from 1980-2000. This was due to the media constructed stereotypic image of female athletes as sexual objects, only good to look at. It was also found that coverage of female athletes increased in volume from 1980-2000. The increase is a reflection of the continually improving status of women in the society.

The study therefore recommended balance and fairness in media coverage of athletes, sensitisation of sports journalists on coverage of female athletes and inclusion of

special courses in sports reporting in the training of journalists. Because the research was based on content analysis of newspapers, further research on the depiction of female athletes in the broadcast media and participatory research including female athletes should be done to find out the holistic media treatment of female athletes.

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LIST OF ACRONMS

- ACCE- Africa Council of Communication Education
- BAT- British American tobacco Company.
- BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation
- CFI- Canal France International
- DSTV- Digital satellite television, a Pay-TV service provider.
- FA-Football Association of England
- FIA- Federation internationale de l'Automobile
- FIFA- Federation internationale de football association
- FISFI-Federation Sportive Femine Internationale
- IOC- International Olympic Committee
- IRB-International Rugby Board
- KBC- Kenya Broadcasting Federation
- KFF-Kenya Football Federation
- UN-United Nation Organization
- WHO- World health organization

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Background.

Newspapers have been published in Kenya since the late nineteenth century when missionaries, traders, explorers and settlers introduced printing technology. According to Abuoga and Mutere (1988:4), some of these early publications were the *Taveta Chronicles* published by Rev. Albert Stegal from 1895, the *British East Africa and Uganda Mail*, published from 1899, *Observer* published between 1901-1902, *Fort Ternan times* published in 1905 but lasted only a few weeks, *Times of East Africa* launched in 1905, *The Time* published from 1907, *Globe-Trotter*, published from 1906 but failed within three years, and the *Pioneer* published from 1907.

One newspaper that stood out from others was the *African Standard* launched in 1902 by an Indian merchant, Parsee A M Jeevanjee. The newspaper was published in Mombasa, by then the capital city of Kenya. (Abuoga and Mutere 1988:5). Jeevanjee later sold his interest to the partnership of Rudolf E. Mayer and A G W Anderson, who renamed the newspaper the *East African Standard* (ibid). All other publications which started those years folded up after a short period, had limited circulation and their target audiences were narrow, but the *East African Standard* had all characters of a modern publication, survived through the interwar years, the turbulent pre-independence, and the autocratic single party post independence era. According to Abuoga and Mutere (1988:5), the paper became the largest and most influential in East Africa as early as 1905.

This influential newspaper mainly served white settler farmers and Asian businessmen as evidenced from heavy advertising by Asian-owned businesses. However, unlike other early publications the *East African Standard* was not highly involved in championing for European immigration. It was even referred to as a "Native paper" by the *Mombasa Mail*, a pro settler newspaper edited by an Australian, Mrs. Olive Grey (Abuoga and Mutere, 1988:6).

The East African standard had news mainly from overseas on different topics including sports. Although the newspaper did not have a sports section (the paper didn't have sections but different news topics were grouped together), a sample of these newspapers indicate that sports was fairly covered. For example during the month of December 1911, coverage of Australian cricket tournament can be traced. Several matches involving MCC, Toowoomba, North Wales, South Wales, and Queenslanders were reported. The English soccer premier league was also covered with league standing tables appearing frequently. Later on a special chess column appeared edited by A. H. Spencer Palmer. (*East African Standard, December 5-26, 1911*).

Although sports news appeared in this early publication, sport itself was not as developed as it is today. Locally there was no single sports organization although settlers and missionaries had introduced some western sports. On the international scene, apart from the Olympics, there were no other major international events with ability to attract worldwide media coverage. Due to these it was most unlikely that any newspaper would have extensive sports news

Sports later developed fast during the interwar years. Major tournaments started during this period include the Soccer World Cup, IAAF World Championships, The Cricket World Cup, just to mention a few. Many sports clubs were built in Kenya and formal schools offered sports to students who attended them.

When the second major newspaper, *The Daily Nation* appeared around 1959, it had a three-page sports section with both local and international news. Many other newspapers that have started have launched sports sections. These include the *Kenya Times*, and later on the *People Daily*, which started as a fortnightly, weekly and then daily publication.

1.10 Importance of sports news coverage

In a detailed study of the *Chicago Tribune*, between 1900 and 1975, Lever and Wheeler (1984), found that sports coverage became a significant part of the paper during those years. Sports coverage made 9% of the total newsprint in 1900 and 17% in 1975. At the same time the ratio of sports coverage to general news coverage (excluding special features and comedy) grew from 14% in 1900 to 52% in 1975.

According to Coakley (1990; 282), the only national daily newspaper in the USA, *The USA Today* had 25% of its entire space devoted to sports. He adds that in major North American newspapers today, there is more coverage given to sport than any other single topic of interest, including business or politics. In Kenya currently all the four major daily newspapers; *The Daily Nation*, *The East African Standard*, *Kenya Times* and *The People*

Daily have at least three pages of sports news. Apart from that, *The Daily Nation* and *The East African Standard* have ten pages of sports coverage on Saturday and Monday respectively. These newspapers also have departments specialized in sports coverage, 'the sports desk' that is manned by a pool of qualified journalists.

Readership of the sports section is also very wide. No studies have been done on newspaper sports readership in Kenya but studies done on sports viewership by the Marketing Society of Kenya, indicate that sports programs (Especially the English Premier League) are the second most popular after local comedy (Sokoni Magazine 2002). It is not surprising that many people start reading newspapers from the back pages; the sports section.

Some authors believe that the sports section is the most widely read section of the paper and according to some reasonable estimates, it accounts for about 30% of the total circulation for any big city newspaper (Greendorfer, 1983; Smith and Blackman, 1978). In other words, if the sports sections were eliminated, sales would go down as much as 30% along with advertising revenues tied to circulation figures. Many newspapers therefore depend on sports as a topic of news and a basis for circulation.

1.20 Statement of the problem

Despite the fact that sports coverage is important for newspapers, female athletes have not been given fair coverage. According to available research, sportswomen are under-reported in the media in comparison to male counterparts. A number of authors agree with this fact

and argue that perhaps more than any other social institution, sports coverage perpetuates male superiority and female inferiority (Birrel and Cole, 1990; Donnelly, 1987; Duncan 1990; Greendorfer, 1990, Creedon 1994, Hargreaves 1997).

According to Messener (1988), the media construction of female and male athleticism continues to represent major obstacles for any significant challenge to the existing power relationship between women and men in sport. What is covered in the media is a reflection of what the society values, therefore through under-reporting or mis-reporting the female athlete, the media implies that sportswomen have little if any value in this society particularly in relationship to male athletes.

Whether sports women are covered effectively in relation to their sports participation rates is not easy to ^{proof} tell because as stated by McQuail (1983), content can reflect reality or deviate from reality. But a well-known fact is that what appears in the mass media is determined by the social background and the experience of the people the media serves especially the interest of the dominant group and partly by the market forces. According to Hargreaves (1986; 141), sports events undergo a transformation when they are presented in the media; what appears on the screen and in the press is not just what the spectator or performer at the event experiences, media sport re-presents the world in terms of its own inferential framework and thus creates events with their own features. Sports journalists therefore select events based on their knowledge of what constitutes sports news.

A common journalistic response to criticism of the media's neglect of women sport, is that such complains are commercially naïve (Brown, P. 1995:24). For the journalists, what is news is what has news value, and can compete favorably on the market.

This study analyzed how sports women have been depicted in the mainstream media for the past 20 years in comparison to men and illustrates changes that have occurred over that period. It therefore investigated how newspaper content is shaped to reflect the society's, view of women.

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Specific questions that the research addressed were:

1. Has the coverage of sportswomen increased over time (1980-2000)?
2. Does newspaper coverage of athletes differ depending on sex?
3. Does written and photographic coverage of athletes differ?

1.30 Objectives of the study

The overall objective of this study was to establish how Kenyan newspapers have covered sportswomen for the past 20 years

Specific objectives included,

- 1.30.1 To investigate whether there has been an increase in coverage of sportswomen from 1980-2000

1.30.2. To study the relationship between the media coverage of athletes and sex.

1.30.3. To assess whether written and photographic coverage of athletes differ.

1.40 Justification

According to McQuail, (1987; 63), mass communication research concentrate on the process through which messages are received and understanding by the audience and on the effect that those messages may have on the receiver. The message is studied as an independent variable with effects as depended variable. In this study, the message is thought to be influenced by a variety of factors both inside and outside media organizations; therefore the state of the final product was studied.

According to Shoemaker and Stephen (1991:9), most studies have concentrated on the last two elements of the Harold Lasswell's model of :

WHO

SAYS WHAT

THROUGH WHICH CHANNEL

TO WHOM

WITH WHAT EFFECT

Studying the second element – WHAT, may be useful because it helps us to infer things about phenomena that are less open and visible. That is, the people or organization that produce content, consumer demands that shape content and organizational and cultural settings that contributes to its production (Shoemaker and Stephen 1991:23).

According to Besha (1992:130) there has been very little research on the coverage of women in the media in Africa. Studies on the portrayal of the female athlete have not been done despite the fact that sports is an important inclusion in the newspaper.

Currently sports news is covered daily in major Kenyan newspapers. All the four major dailies, *The Daily Nation*, *The East African Standard* and *The People*, devote an average of 3 pages to sports news daily, while *The Kenya Times*, has an average of 2 pages for sports. According to Caokely (1991: 282), sports is given a lot of coverage and this section is the most widely read section of the newspaper. Due to its wide readership and coverage, it may be important to find out how this section treats the female athletes.

Despite its importance, very little if any serious research has been done locally on coverage of sports by the media. At the University of Nairobi School of Journalism, ACCE and Kenyatta University's Institute of Physical education, Leisure and Recreation no research has been done on sports and the media. These are major research centers where the study of media and sport is expected to be done

The study of the media portrayal of sports women contributes to filling this wide gap in research and laying a foundation upon which other studies of a similar nature and general research of media coverage of sports may be done.

Findings of this study are also important to journalism as a profession. A critical analysis of how sports women are represented by the mass media may indicate to the journalists their

prevailing professional shortcomings. To the profession, this study will also contribute to the debate on the gender angle in the media.

This study is thought to be the first of its kind locally and is therefore important because it forms a basis upon which the status of sports women in the Kenyan media can be appraised. The study therefore contributes to development of scholarly and theoretical arguments on gender issues and media coverage

CHAPTER TWO.

2.0 Literature Review

A review of current media, physical education, and sports journals indicate that researchers in Kenya are not developing sufficient attention to the place of sports in the media. Media and sports scholars have not therefore been exposed to sports journalism as an upcoming field of study. This indicates that sports journalism has not been accepted as an important/relevant area of journalism as compared to other areas of specialised writing like parliamentary reporting, environmental journalism, court reporting, scientific reporting and many other branches.

Incidentally in other places in the world especially Europe, USA and Australia, a lot has been written since early 1980s about sports and the mass media. This includes several articles in the *Sociology of Sports Journal*, *The Journal of Sport Behaviour*, and *Journalism Quarterly* among many other journals. Several books devoted to sports and the media have also been published. Prominent authors on this topic include Boyle and Haynes (2000), Hargreaves (1986), Creedon (1994), Fredrick and Florence (1973) and Greendorfer (1981).

In addition to inadequate research, lack of a sports policy illustrates how sport has been neglected in Kenya. Although the government has put in place administrative bodies in charge of sport; the National Sport Council and the Department of Sport under the Ministry of Gender, Sports and Culture, lack of a policy and this may indicate how

inefficient these departments are. A national policy if adopted can help the government to manage sports better.

Due to lack of adequate research on sports and the media in Kenya (and Africa in general), literature review for this study will heavily borrow from studies done in the USA, Britain and Australia where sports journalism has developed to become a profession with universities offering degrees in this field.

In this chapter, review of the available literature on sports, the coverage of sports by the media and how this discriminates against women will be done. Literature about the theoretical basis of imbalance among sexes will also be looked at. Relevant mass communication theories are presented at the end after the review.

The major issues to be looked at are,

- Definition of sports
- Marginalization of women in sports
- Significance of sports
- Historical overview of sports coverage
- The media-sport nexus
- The nature of sports news
- Discrimination against the female athlete.

2.11 What is sport?

According to Caokley, (1990; 13), sport is an institutionalized competitive activity that involves vigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is motivated by a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors

Sport is intrinsically motivated. If an act of physical movement is forced on someone, like an order from a General to his juniors to run around the track, the physical activity ceases to be sport. Secondly, sports activities must be bound by rules defining time and space precisely. According to Huzinga (1938), these must be fixed in advance.

A third characteristic according to Huzinga (1930) is that conventions and rules of sport suspend the ordinary rules of life and for the duration of the sport, the new law is the only one that counts. Regulations though vague, describe how the rules of life are suspended, to define the unreality of sport and outline the nature of skills required (Macintosh 1987:132). This suspension of rules of life allows acts, which in normal life are criminal, an example assault in boxing. In this sport, the aim of each participant is to assault the other based on the game rules!

Sport is based on desire for superiority with every participant aiming at proving oneself better than others within prescribed limits. The avenues for proving oneself better than others are many. According to McIntosh (1987:132), this include the running track, cricket field, the tennis court, the soccer pitch, swimming pool and many other locations

which allow sports persons with different aptitudes and abilities, either singly or in pairs or large groups to strive for superiority in their chosen spheres of otherwise useless contest

There is also another category, which Macintosh (1987:132), refers to as conquest sports. Here the challenge is provided by an environment situation not an opponent. The sportsperson aims at conquering the environment. Sportsmen prove their superiority by conquering environmental obstacles. Sports, which fall in this category, include mountain climbing and scuba diving

There are sports activities where the objective is not to be "better than" but to express or communicate feelings using and enjoying the movements and sensations of the body in process. These include dance, dance drama and some systems of gymnastics (McIntosh 1987)

Sport is therefore based on the nature of human beings of always trying to be better than others. Human beings are naturally thought to enjoy superiority over others and anything else. Sports provide human beings with an opportunity to accomplish this task through various means, some which are unacceptable in their normal daily lives.

Sport therefore is a physical activity performed under a particular set of circumstances that are formal and organized based on,

- i) Standard rules

- ii) Enforcement of rules by an official regulatory agency
- iii) Formalized skills learning
- iv) Balance between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations.

Based on the above definition and bearing in mind that each sport has standards for either female or male participation, sports as a human activity is no more ideally suited for men than women. However, through history, men have controlled sport, used it for their purposes and shaped it to fit their abilities. Due to this fewer women have participated in sports than men.

2.12 Marginalization of women in sports

Discrimination against the female athlete is based on exaggeration of differences between male and female roles. These differences according to Bandura (1971) and Mischel (1966), can be explained based on the following three reasons

1 The biological basis of the female role;

At this level the appropriate role for women and men is pursued in terms of differences in anatomical structure and function. The biological fact remain that women are not less human beings, but they may be weak physically in comparison with men. Discrimination against female athletes is due to exaggeration of their physical weakness in comparison to male athletes.

The biological basis of discrimination against female athletes received support from scientists for many years. Issues concerning menstruation, reproduction, breasts and

genitals remained contentious even up to mid 20th century. Arnold (1924), a prominent physical educator, discouraged female involvement in sport because of the deleterious effects of physical exertion on the frequency and extent of menstruation, a situation that endangered the reproductive capability of female participants (LeUnes and Nation 1989;324). Another prominent physical educator of that error, Mabel Lee, conducted surveys in 1923 and 1930 in which 60 percent of her respondents echoed Arnold's concern with the dangers of disrupting the menstruation process (ibid). These studies were unscientific and cannot be differentiated from myth

It was not until 45 years ago that studies by Erdelyi (1962), and Zaharieva (1965), did much to demonstrate that strenuous exercise did not negatively affect the menstrual cycle nor did menstruation significantly affect physical performance in a negative way (LeUnes and Nation 1989;324). For many years lack of scientific knowledge played a major role in the discrimination against female athletes.

2. Mythological image of the female role;

In any society men and women play different roles defined partly by their relative contribution to the reproductive process. These roles are sometimes defined by factors not directly related to reproduction as a biological process. An example is the discouraging of girls from participating in sports in many African societies based on the fact that sports may destroy their reproductive system

iii) Socially constructed image of the female:

This image differs from society to society. According to Metheny, (1997: 289), this may be defined as composite interpretation of what the members of either sex may be or do without impairing their opportunities for finding a mate within their social group. The female role here is defined by instructions, roles, norms, values and processes of socialization. Originally, these may have been based on biological differences but as biological differences decreases, old patterns have persisted and this is justified to the new generation through socialization. Through this process, girls get the message that participation in sports is not a likely route to acceptance or popularity, they therefore give sports low priority in their lives (Coakley, 1990:219)

Due to socialisation, athletes participating in sports experience role conflict, thereby finding it difficult to perform well.

Bipolar traits definition of the two sexes imply that males are active, aggressive, public, cultural, rule-governed, instrumental, goal oriented, organized, dominating, competitive, and controlled. On the other hand, female are viewed as passive, submissive, private, natural, idiosyncratic, expressive, chaotic, disorganized, subordinate, cooperative and controlled. This sort of thinking has dominated sex differences in general and female sports participation in particular (LeUnes and Nation 1989;336)

Many researches done indicate that people preferred women who suit the above bipolar traits and that female athletes experience role conflict. (Snyder, Kivlin and Spreitzer (1975), Griffins (1975), Brown (1973), Osgood, Suci and Tannerbaum, (1957)

Discrimination against the female athlete is as old as sport itself. In ancient Olympics, 776 B.C, women were not allowed to compete or even watch the games. Similarly in the

Roman Empire, women were barred from participation in sports activities although they were allowed into arenas to watch and cheer male athletes. (Coackley, 1990:218)

In traditional African societies, women's participation was limited to female appropriate sports like dancing. A low level of sports participation among women in African communities is mainly due to their involvement in domestic work. Women were supposed to give birth and care for the young ones as their main duty. According to Adeyemi (1999), males were regarded as warriors and females as weaker subordinates whose main function was to produce children and food for consumption.

Mwangi (1998), states a similar fact; for Mount Kenya people, girls were confined to domestic duties to learn womanhood from their mothers while boys were encouraged to play especially when approaching circumcision age. This prepared them to join the community defense system. According to Ndee (2001), boys in East Africa competed in wrestling, stick fighting, and ball games while girls mostly participated in non-competitive dances associated with future domestic tasks.

Another major factor against women participation in sports in Africa has been early marriages. Girls were expected to marry after puberty and were therefore denied a chance to perfect their talents. Physiologically, people perform at peak between the years 16-28, years when African women were expected to be at their peak in reproduction.

Although colonialism and Christianity restructured Kenyans' lives, the above women roles still exist; women are still tied to domestic chores and reproduction

Marginalization of women in sports today can best be illustrated by their status in modern Olympics. According to Hargreaves (1997), modern Olympic games the most prestigious sports competition, have always expressed extreme male chauvinism and female subordination. The founder of the games Baron Piere de Courbatin made his views against female participation known through the International Olympic Committee (IOC) publications. He claimed that women's sport were against the 'laws of nature' and the most unaesthetic sight human eyes could contemplate. (Simri,1978;12).

Women's resistance against discrimination in sports dates back to 1921 when they organized an athletic meeting in Monte Carlo without the permission IOC. During the meeting Federation Sportive Feminine International (FSFI), a pressure group was formed. This was only twelve years after formation of IAAF; a body many women thought was discriminating against them. FSFI later organized an alternative Olympic in Paris in 1922 with the name being changed to Women's World Games because IOC had exclusive rights to use the term Olympic. The championship was later held in Sweden in 1926 where ten countries participated, Prague in 1930 with 17 countries participating, and London in 1934 where 19 countries participated (Simri, 1979).

Because of their solidarity, IAAF supported FSFI's request for inclusion of Women's 100m, 800m, High Jump, and Discus events in the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928. Later, due to expansion of FSFI, IAAF agreed to takeover the championship in exchange for increased participation by women in Olympics. According to Hargreaves (1997), Olympics were used as a bait to lure women to surrender control of FSFI to IAAF.

It was not until 1995 that the IAAF Congress elected two women to their council, Nawal El Moutawakel from Morocco and Abby Hoffman from Canada. The two were re-elected in 1999. The IAAF declared 1998 the International Year of Women in Athletics with the aim of celebrating history of women in athletics, promoting all aspects of women athletics on world-wide basis and to develop the role of women in the fields of administration, officiating and coaching (IAAF, 2002). It is obvious that these changes are coming after more than a waste century for women's athletics.

In the Olympics, discrimination continued even after the exit of de Courbatin, the next president, Avery Brundage articulated his view in 1936 after Berlin Olympics. He said:

"I am fed up with women as track and field competitors; their charms sink to less than zero. As swimmers and divers girls are beautiful and adroit, as they are ineffective and unpleasing on track" (Simri, 1979).

For many years IOC members refused to include endurance and contact sports for women claiming that these events may injure women's reproductive systems. This is contrary to scientific evidence about women's endurance ability; because of their light weight and relatively high body fat content, in addition to the fact that their reproductive organs are internal, women are fit for these sports. It was not until 1984 that women 3000 meters race was included. But up to today women do not participate in the 3000m Steeplechase at the Olympics, one will wonder the basis for this exclusion when women compete in Marathon events. Other events that are men only include the 50Km Race walk and the Decathlon.

Women have not achieved equitable status in the Olympics more than 100 years after they were allowed to participate. In Sydney 2000 Games, women were 38% of Olympic athletes. Nine out of 199 Sydney teams and 26 out of 199 in Atlanta 1996 Games did not contain a woman. Fifty-three of those Sydney teams had a female majority, including one sporting superpower, China (65%). In the 2004 Athens Games, 44% of the athletes are expected to be women (Daily Nation 7/7/2004).

The greater average size and strength among men has been used to justify participation of men and exclusion of women. But this ignores the variable overlapping distribution of physical abilities in both sexes and potential for improvement due to training. To add on this, sports unlike other dangerous occupations have rules for different sexes and are played within the same sex.

In Kenya women's participation is yet to match that of men and their opportunities have been limited especially in international events (Muriithi and Njororai 1997). Despite these limitations, various women's teams have had success at regional, continental and global level to the extent not achieved by their male counterparts. An example is volleyball in which the women's national team was continental champions for fifteen years (1989-2003) and represented Africa at World Volleyball Championships thrice and twice at the Olympics. At club level Kenya Pipeline and Telkom volleyball clubs have been exchanging continental championship since 1990. In athletics women have also been doing well. During the 2003 World Championship in Paris, Catherine Ndereba, won one of

Kenya's two gold medals despite the fact that many of the athletes representing the country were men

As they participate, a major form of discrimination outside the sports system is the mass media. In both print and broadcast media, there is less coverage given to the female athlete in comparison to men. Mackay and Rowe, (1987; 258) in their examination of the ideological relationship between the media and Australian sport, contend that the media serve among other things to legitimize masculine hegemony as well as marginalize, trivialize and fragment alternative ideologies of sport. Sport here is seen as an essentially masculine domain used to promote male dominance.

The underreporting or misreporting of women in sports is partially because the media presents a selective version of information, interpretation and entertainment, with those controlling the media selecting which event and which sport to cover.

2.13 Significance of sports.

Man has known the importance of sports since the early days of ancient Olympics, 1300 B.C. Many philosophers stated that sport is important. They include Spinoza (1632-1677) who conceived man as finite mode of God with physical and mental functions working at the same time. Leibniz (1646-1716) believed that there was no separation between body and soul while Descartes (1596-1650) believed in dualism of the body and the mind. Desacrates and Locke (1632-1704) encouraged teaching young people physical

accomplishment and advocated active leisure. Rousseau (1712-1778) justified sports by stating that it had therapeutic values and it could be used for nationalistic ends. Sports during those days were dangerous and cruel and as Simri (1978) states, they were just an excuse to violence. Sports as it is known today dates back to the nineteenth century and it developed due to increased need for recreation activities after the emergence of towns and improvement in communication. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1999).

Modern sports have various functions, according to Donald (1974), sports are important for physiological, psychological, social and economic benefits. Philosophers who advocated for sports knew that sport would improve both the physiological, mental, and the social-economic life of the people.

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Physiologically, those who participate in sports exercise their bodies and can thus avoid sedentary related health problems. Exercise burns excess energy in the body and is therefore a solution to obesity. Obesity occurs when energy intake chronically exceeds energy expenditure. Ensuring that energy expenditure exceeds or equals energy intake can prevent this situation. If not controlled, obesity increases the risk of heart disease, diabetes, stroke, arthritis and accidents (UNESCO 1995; 3).

Exercise can also be used in controlling blood pressure. High blood pressure is associated with Kidney failure, heart attack, heart failure, and stroke. Studies have shown that regular physical activity in hypertensive patients reduces both systolic and diastolic blood pressures at clinically significant levels of 6-10mm HG, this is comparable to reduction achieved by other interventions such as weight reduction, and sodium or alcohol restriction

(UNESCO 1995; 4). Sports participation is therefore an effective prescription for high blood pressure.

Control of blood lipids and glucose is another major function of exercise. A high level of cholesterol, a lipid, is a predictor of coronary heart disease. Regular physical activity has favourable effects on lipid metabolism and it also lowers plasma triglycerides in the body (UNESCO 1995; 5). Exercise also control glucose related health problems. People who exercise regularly are less likely to become diabetic with age and the reduction in risk is 20% or more not to mention that the protective effect is strongest in overweight and obese individuals (ibid).

Sports participation is also important in maintaining muscle and bone strength, joint flexibility, balance and agility needed to perform daily tasks. According to scientific evidence, exercise can reduce lower back, neck and shoulder pain (UNESCO 1995; 8). However, strenuous activities and competitive sports may increase both the risk and severity of lower back pain (ibid).

Psychologically sport is important in treatment of anxiety and stress. Sports participation can enhance relaxation and is an effective way to release tension. Sport also provides an alternative source of success. According to McIntosh (1987), sports is based on desire for superiority achieved by what else would have been a useless contest. By winning or cheering a winning side, sports provide a feeling of success. Sports also provide an avenue for emotional release. According to Bucher and Weust (1991), people express emotions

and release tensions through sports. Sports act as a safety valve and catharsis to relieve aggressive tendencies.

Socially, sports provide entertainment to spectators. According to Bucher and Weust (1991), people derive pleasure and meet their recreational requirements by watching others play. However in Africa, maximum recreation and pleasure may not be achieved because many fans have limited funds to pay for transport, food/drink, and a ticket in addition to facility location, media coverage and ticket availability that may not all be convenient to athletes, spectators and sponsors (Heerden 2003, 260). Although operating under all these problems, sport has been able to provide Kenyans with the least expensive, and healthy way to pass time.

Sports also play a socialization role in the society. It brings people together to play as teams, opponents, or to cheer others thereby enhancing unity and integration in society. According to Heerden(2003;262), performance of Africa sports teams and heroes influence the self-esteem and general mood of African people in crime-ridden and poverty-stricken environments. Sports bring people together by providing a common element to identify with. Participation of a team in sport is seen as participation of all its supporters. This feeling of togetherness is strong in Africa as a continent where participation of any country is looked at as continental participation. This unity can enable regional, national and continental integration.

Another importance of sports is the provision of social control. It provides meaningful social experience, emphasize responsibility and need to adhere to rules, good peer relation and proper moral and social values. (Miller, 1974). These are some of the reasons for emphasizing sports participation in learning institutions.

Sport is very important financially and economically. Sport as it is today is highly commercialized with the media and spectators sustaining this new industry. Unfortunately very little has been written to illustrate the economic background of sports in Kenya. According to Heerden (2003:250), it is doubtful if information on the size, scope and characteristic of African sport industry has been published in any academic journal

Huge amounts of money involved in sports sponsorship and the sell of marketing rights highlight how rich this industry is. One of the most lucrative sports events is the FIFA soccer World Cup. In 1996 FIFA sold commercial and broadcast rights for a record \$ 1.6 billion (Ksh125 billion), an amount more than half the Kenyan annual budget. This was in addition to Ksh 1.6 billion advertising rights paid by official sponsors and Ksh 96 million generated from sell of merchandise (Mutunga, 2004).

According to Heerden(2003:261), if the soccer World Cup 2006 was awarded to South Africa, the southern African region and the entire continent could have profited in economic and financial terms. Fortunately this may be achieved when South Africa hosts the 2010 World Cup.

Individuals participating in sports have improved their social-economic status. Many Kenyan athletes have won millions in prize money in international events in addition to sponsorship deals with advertisers. Athletes have secured lucrative advertising deals with various companies. Bidco Oil Refinery endorsed rally ace Patrick Njiru, former AFC footballer John 'Shoto' Lukoye, and Edward Karanja, swimmers Eva and Debbie Donde, and Douglas Wakiihuri who also appeared for Nissan Hard Body pickups. Population Services International (PSI) had Allan Cooper, Patrick Anyim and Dennis Oliech advertising trust condoms. Kipchoge Keino and Mike Boit appeared in a Jogoo maize meal advert while Paul Tergat appeared for KenCell to show how swift the connection was. (Mutunga, 2004)

Many talented young people have benefited from sports through the award of scholarships at various levels of study. An example is The United States International University (U.S.I.U), where there are two full sports scholarships worth four million each every year for undergraduate study

One of the local athletes who have reaped from sports is the Berlin Marathon champion and record holder, Paul Tergat. He came from a humble background where even food was hard to come by to become a philanthropist with recognition from the United Nation. In an interview with an *IAAF Magazine* reporter, Paul revealed his miserable background as follows,

"It was difficult to grow up because there was nothing to eat, life was difficult and poverty was rampant in our area"
(Paul Tergat).

Tergat is a beneficiary of the World Food Programme (WFP), school-feeding programme in the Rift Valley schools 25 year ago. Although from a poor background Tergat's participation in sports has enabled him to lead a better life in adulthood.

2.14 A historical overview of sports coverage

It is unfortunate that past sports activities in Kenya have not been well documented. According to Amusa(1999), traditional sports formed part of African culture before the advent of Europeans but due to little or no documentation we tend to think that no formal physical education and sports existed in Africa. Sports have been part of all known civilizations and Kenya cannot be an exemption. A recent study by Mwangi(2001), documented traditional games of people living around Mount Kenya showing the various types of sports they played

Based on the little documentation available it is evident that Kenyans actively participated in sports before the coming of Europeans. Passing information on sports must have been part of these early sports. Through carvings, paintings, statues and other forms of music and art, artists have expressed dance and various athletic skills in action (Falowiyo, 1994). This artistic communication coupled with the traditional oral communication, may mark the earliest cases of sports journalism in Africa.

Elsewhere, modern coverage of sports events in the media started many years ago, but in many cases this was just a notice of one or two upcoming events or results of a previous event. This was partly because of the inefficient newsgathering, processing and distribution system. In the middle of the 19th century there appeared papers that covered sports exclusively (Fredrick and Florence, 1973: 420). In the US this papers included the *Sun*, *Transcript* and *Herald*.

The first person to actively cover sports was Henry Chadwick, who reported cricket between the USA and Canada in 1850 for the *Time* and *Tribune* but he was not paid for this. Later on he was hired by the *New York Herald*, in 1862 to cover baseball regularly.

The first paper to seriously report sports was the *Spirit of the Time*, which operated between 1831 to 1901, then emerged as *Horseman of Chicago*. The owner cum-editor Mr William Froter Porter encouraged sports reporting especially of cricket and baseball. (Fredrick and Florence, 1973: 421)

The sports section as it appears today is accredited to William Randolph Hearst who bought the *New York Journal* in 1895 and began outdoing his rivals in sports reporting. According to Frederick and Florence, (1973, 422), Hearst signed sports champions in 1896-97 to write for his paper.

In Kenya, sports coverage can be traced to the first local newspaper, the *East African Standard* published from 1902. During its early years, the paper didn't have a sports

section but it had several news items on upcoming events, results, league standing tables etc. The earliest sports section was the chess section edited by Mr. Spencer Palmer, it appeared around 1910 (Sample of *East African Standard*-1902/1910)

Later on in the late 1920s, the newspaper developed a specialized section for sports. The weekly edition had up to 6 pages out of 55 reporting sports, mainly rugby, Australian cricket, and the English premier league. Many news items were from London but a few local white's events were also covered (Sample of *East African Standard*-1920s)

When the second major daily, the *Daily Nation* appeared around 1959, it had two pages devoted to sports. Later on coverage of sports was expanded and currently every daily newspaper has on average 4-6 pages of sports coverage. Apart from that, newspapers regularly publish weekly sports pullouts that take several pages. Several sports magazines have also appeared on the market including *The Athlete*, *Complete Soccer*, and *African Soccer* among others.

2.15 The Nature of Sports news

Sport as it appears in the media is a product shaped by various values. Not every sport event creates sports news. It is only sports events with certain characteristics that produce sports news. What appears as on sports pages is selected with guidance of news values and the length of the story is usually determined by the number of people affected and

interested in the story. Evaluation of newsworthiness of any event is based on the following news values

2.15.1. Prominence

People who are well known or who have authority in the society are said to be prominent. These people are the newsmakers of our community and country (Mancher 1983:55) in sports, participants with superior skills become prominent and therefore more covered by the media than others. Apart from participants, leaders of sports organizations are also prominent due to the power they have in controlling these organizations. What prominent people do, even if unimportant, is often newsworthy and will always find its way to the newspaper.

2.15.2 Unusualness

Interruption of the expected leads to a newsworthy event. If something makes a reporter to stop and stare, wonder, exclaim, then the reporter knows that he/she is looking at newsworthy event (Mancher 1983:54). Any unexpected occurrence in sports is news. This can be a strong team losing to a weak team, accidents, hooliganism, and corruption among other events.

2.15.3. Conflict

Clashes, disagreements or controversy create newsworthy events. Differences between people lead to arguments, which are in themselves newsworthy. Sports news is mainly based on conflict arising from competition. During sports competitions, each side aims at

beating the other thereby creating conflict. This makes sports events newsworthy. In 2004, the suspension of KFF by the government and later FIFA ban on Kenya generated a lot of news locally. A day after the ban, both the *Daily Nation* and *The East African* had this news on the front page not to mention the usual sports page, editorials and features that were done on soccer thereafter.

2.15.4. Timeliness

News must be new. The event itself may not be new but the discovery of it must be (Barton 1981:18). Timely stories will always attract readers because readers want to know the latest sports results, upcoming events, and player's conditions among others. The more recent the news, the greater its news value.

2.15.5. Proximity

Proximity means something physically, geographically or psychologically close to the reader. People are interested more in events close to them despite their magnitude than those far from them. Newspapers cover sports events that are local based on this fact. They also cover foreign events that are psychologically close to the people. Although foreign, some sports events have local fans attached to them so much that they are as close as local events. A good example is the soccer world cup that is said to command the highest television audiences (Duncan and Messenger 1994).

All news items appearing in the newspaper conform to those news values usually in one or other combination. Without these values an event is locked out by “gatekeepers” and its occurrence will not be of significance to the media.

Apart from news values, news is also shaped by reader’s demands. The audience of any media product is considered active and able to choose what to consume. The causes of content choices lie in social or psychological circumstances experienced as problems and the media are used for problems resolution (McQuail, 1987: 139). Based on these choices, journalists shape media products to meet consumer needs. According to McQuail, (1987: 240) under competitive conditions, the law of supply and demand should ensure that the audience gets what it wants.

Knowledgeable media managers make decisions based on their understanding of consumer’s preferences and willingness to buy; (Picard, 1989: 35). The audiences' wants here are high quality media products and services at low cost while the media owner’s want is profit. Based on this and partly by demand of advertisers, content is shaped. Here the audience shapes content by financially rewarding and punishing the people who produce them.

Apart from financial rewards, the audience can also shape content through the following ways (Mcquail, 1987: 244)

- (i) Critic or fans – these are people who evaluate media content and support or critique it.

- (ii) Institutional Accountability - other institutions working in the interest of the audience can control content directly for example, parliament, courts, reader groups, viewers, or listeners, press councils and code of ethics. These forms of control sometimes tend to restrict rather than prescribe content.
- (iii) Direct feedback – letters to the editor and phone calls to radio and television stations
- (iv) Audience images – media sources construct images of their audiences based on which they shape their content. Construction of the audience image may be based on personal experience, imagination or stereotype, but it helps the creator to ‘test’ the product in the course of its formulation

Readers reward those who publish what they want by buying and punish those who publish what they do not like by refusing to buy their products. Due to this power held by readers, coverage of an athlete may be biased or not depending on their demand.

2.16. The media-sport nexus.

Sports and mass media go together like bacon and eggs; they are dependent and influence each like algae and fungi in moss. (Claeys and Pelt, 1986; 98)

Sport does not exist in the society independently, but it highly depends on other sectors of human life. Modern sport is has created a close relationship with the media. According to Boyle (2000:2), sport has mattered beyond the confines of the pitch or the stadia and has increasingly become intertwined with the media

The relationship between media and sports is symbiotic with each achieving a variety of rewards from the other. Apart from depending on each other media and sports have affected and influenced each others development and operation. These effect and influence on each other is what I will refer to as the media-sport nexus.

A major influence on sports by the media has been the development of what Boyle (2000:3) calls a triangular relationship between sports, the media and sponsors. The author adds that this triangular relationship has come to dominate the economic structure of modern sport. Currently sports rely on sponsorship enabled by the media (especially television) for its relatively stable financial state

Many organizations are keen to secure media exposure through sports. As early as 1896, Nottingham Forest was sponsored by Bovril during the F A Cup final and the Tour de France cycle race had sponsorship from the newspaper *L'Equipe* (Boyle 2000:5). Locally the first Safari Rally in 1953, then called the East Africa safari Rally was sponsored by *The East African Standard* newspaper and the Automobile Association of East Africa (Bolton, 1970). The rally started as a coronation safari an event to mark the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. Later the rally became part of the World Championship and remained so until 2000 when it was removed from the calendar due to lack of sponsorship. At its peak, the rally thought to have been the toughest round of the World Championship, attracted worldwide television and press coverage. This sold Kenya as a tourist destination and it did not come as a surprise in 2003 when the government send a delegation to the world rally governing body (FIA), to request for the reinstatement of the

Safari on the world rally calendar. But FIA insisted that this was not possible without sponsorship.

By sponsoring sports, an organization is sure of getting exposure to large audiences associated with sports. According to Heerden(2003;245), an organization can market itself through its association with sports events, teams, or individuals with this involvement being part of the overall marketing strategy. Sponsorship has enabled companies to associate their products with health and glamorous lifestyles that sports denote. Companies that sell even harmful products like B A T that for a long time sponsored soccer and the Safari Rally until a worldwide ban on advertising tobacco was passed have enjoyed this association.

According to Jefkins (1992) companies sponsor events because of the following reasons

- (a) Building the corporate image and increasing public profile.
- (b) Gain goodwill among people and acquire acceptance and support.
- (c) Improvement of relationship with dealer by supporting them through sponsorships.
- (d) Corporate identify, this is facilitation of easy identification of an organization by regularly sponsoring events.
- (e) Media exposure

Boyle (2000:4) states that companies sponsor sports because it offers a range of marketing, public relations and advertising opportunities. To achieve all this sports sponsorship is highly depended on the media.

Sponsorship has led to a tailored management and marketing of sports by the media aimed at producing a maximally yield. The depth of this activity was witnessed in the media marketing of the 1994 World Cup held in U S A (Boyle 2000:4). FIFA announced marketing structure three and a half years before the tournament. The strategy was jointly drawn up by International Sports and Leisure marketing (I.S.L), a Swiss-based company established by a former FIFA President, Joao Havalange and the late sports manufacturer and Adidas owner Horst Dasler. Through marketing, sports have been popularized worldwide.

Media and sports depend on each other in programming. Sports event are a major influence of television programming. During major events normal television programs are interrupted to air the competition "live". On television all programs are aired according to allocated time but sports programs are an exception; they are highly perishable and they must be aired before results are known to attract maximum viewership.

Newspapers develop special coverage for such events with thousands of journalists covering the events. During the 1972 Munich Olympic Games, over 1200 journalists covered the event (Boyle and Haynes 2000) and during the 2004 Africa Cup of Nations

tournament held in Tunisia, an estimated two thousand journalists covered the events. During the 1968 Mexico Olympics, *The East African Standard* sports editor, John Downes accompanied the Kenya team and sent home several reports praising the performance of Keino, Temu and Biwott. He also defended the Kenya team when other sports writers complained about 'unfair' advantage for Kenyan runners who live in Kenya 5000-7000 feet above sea level. With their lungs adjusted accordingly, it was said Kenyan athletes had better staying power at high altitude Mexico (Bolton, 1970). Downes answer was that the complaint was like sour grape in the toequila (a Mexican fierce drink)

Planning of sports events is influenced by the media in many ways. This ranges from venue choice to kick-off time. During the 2003 rugby world cup, developing countries played matches more frequently while western countries had long intervals between their games, this according to the International Rugby Board (IRB), was aimed at keeping viewers "hooked". According to the I.R.B. this is expected to continue during future tournaments.

The media have also led to rule change and modification of sports. One of the most affected sport in media-forced rule changes is basketball. According to Boyle and Haynes (2000:97), the game has undergone numerous mutations to arrive at its current vulnerable status, these mutations are aimed at making it easier to program on television. Some of the changes introduced include,

- (a) Introduction of timeouts to allow television advertisements

(c) Three-point rule to increase the level of scoring

(d) Overtime to ensure a resulting winner-loser situation if scores are tied.

Another illustration of media-driven modification of sport is provided by Thomas (1997), analysis of a five-year deal media giant, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation entered into with British Rugby League in 1995. Based on this agreement, it was decided to implement significant changes in organizational structure of the sport. Among these were the decision to change the season from winter to summer to avoid competition from soccer; a new international top level league was set up; in some areas two or three clubs were merged up (in face of opposition and constant conflict from fans); and as part of the strategy to establish clubs in larger metropolitan areas a new club was set up in Paris (Gaustad 2000, 102)

In soccer the suggestion by the world governing body (FIFA) President in 2000 that the World Cup be held every two, rather than every four years, is a demonstration of how the media is twisting sports. According to the FIFA President, this would maximize the media exposure of the game on a global stage. The banning of stripping shirts off during celebration by players at the 2002 World Cup is another media introduced rule in sports. The rule was aimed at eliminating ambush marketing by non-official sponsors. According to FIFA, unofficial advertisers got exposure by printing their messages on player's vests, which were exposed when players stripped off their shirts. This is just to mention a few media initiated rule changes

Sports has also led to emergence of new media products both print and electronic. This includes sports magazines and newspapers and the pay-per-view television. According to Boyle (2000:55), this is a result of the increased importance of sports and the media as a combined product. Special sports newspapers, magazines and television channels have led to extensive media coverage for sports and a developed financial support system.

Kenya is yet to witness a sports newspaper, the existing sports industry can not simply support it. But various sports magazines have been published although they have had short lifespan. In electronic media, sports enjoy large audience. Currently there are five supersport channels available through Dstv and KBC channel two satellite services. Through this channels viewers can access twenty-four hours of sports programs. But the price of this service is still beyond affordability of the majority. At six thousand shillings per month in a country where the *per capita* income is less than one dollar and electricity supply barely reaches 15% of the population this service is still a dream for many.

The unstable state of sports publications is due to the underdeveloped state of sports and the general poor economic background the country. According to Ajife (1997), poverty in Africa has resulted in inadequate programmes and constitutes serious problems for physical education and sports. No wonder hosting the Olympics has eluded Africa for the past 100 years. This poor economic state has been worsened by the unwillingness of the private sector to invest in sports (Ndee, 2001).

Based on these facts it will be right to predict that no sports newspaper will emerge in the country so long as the sports industry is still underdeveloped. Development in television especially after liberalization of this sector may help develop sports. This is because unlike newspaper and magazines, television pays to transmit sports events. In 2004, KBC purchased broadcasting rights for the Africa Cup of Nations at 25 million shillings and if local tournaments can grow to this level, then sports may be able to generate money needed for its development

The marriage of sport and the mass media has led to emergence of new sports tailored for consumption through the mass media, purely for entertainment purposes. According to Gaustad (2000, 103) sports as a television based entertainment product opens up the possibility to create new sports created primarily to satisfy the needs of broadcasters. An example the extreme sports organized by X-Dream company. When this company launched a pan-European sports channel it needed the kind of sports that attract young audiences but prices for such rights among the ordinary and established sports were prohibitively high, the company thus created its own variation of extreme sports at relatively low production costs (Gosling, 1999). These new sports resemble other entertainment programs like movies, games shows, drama etc; the later are produced for media consumption only, unlike sports, which have been non-fictional and not media tailored

Apart from this new product, sport for entertainment, old sports have increasingly been seen as a form of entertainment since the mid 18th century when newspapers began

reporting sporting event results. According to Gaustard (2000, 102), there has been a shift in paradigm from understanding sport as an ideal activity based on its non-commercial roots, towards increasingly viewing sports as entertainment products. Before introduction of television, newspapers and radio had popularized sport and enabled its commercialization. Ticket sales from people who had been tempted by mass media coverage to actually attend the events represented an important source of revenue for sports organizations (Gaustard 2000, 102). Entry of television shaped sports as an entertainment product, it enabled more people to watch and provided direct funding through purchase of broadcast rights.

Emergence of sport as entertainment is not a shift in paradigm as such, in the strict sense, the new paradigm does not replace or exclude the old, rather 'sports-as -entertainment-products' paradigm has been squeezed in and exist side by side and in constant conflict with the traditional sports paradigm (Gautad, 2000; 103) The traditional paradigm emphasizes mass participation directly (physically), but mediated sports encourage more indirect participation (as fans)

The close relationship between sport and the mass media has led to its broadcast regulation. As early as 1952, radio had problems broadcasting the Sugar Ray Vs Olson fight. The few Kenyan who owned radio by then could not listen to live broadcast on BBC because the broadcaster did not have permission to transmit the fight. Organizers feared that broadcasting could lower the attendance level (*East Africa Standard*, November 16-20 1952) Currently broadcasting sport is regulated by the copyright act and broadcasters have to buy rights to air sport programs.

Development in communication especially introduction of the television has revolutionized sports coverage by newspapers. Newspapers were forced to change as they increasingly found themselves passing on second-hand news in television-controlled news set up. Newspapers no longer present news as results of competitions, but as analysis, features and investigated reports. The exposure during 1999 of alleged corruption involving the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C) in the awarding of the Olympics to salt lake city was print media led, with television following (Boyle and Haynes 2000:173). In Kenya all the local newspapers regularly publish special sports reports (mainly on Mondays) that give a deep analysis of both local and international sports. These sections are in addition to daily sports pages that are carefully written to capture the attention of readers who may have already watched the sports events on television.

Another effect of the media/sports nexus has been the creation of sports stars. Due to their good performance, many sports people have gained popularity worldwide through media exposure. These sports stars have been made popular even outside the sporting domain. According to Boyle and Haynes (2000:92), contemporary sports performers have a wide visibility in the public domain and this can lead to extraordinary wealth for many sport people.

Popularity beyond one's sports domain can be shown by the following statement by Michael Jordan

Basketball isn't my job. For me, my job begins the moment I walk off the floor. It's everything that surrounds the actual playing of the game. My job is being a product endorser, an employee of the Chicago Bulls, trying to live up to the expectations of others and dealing with the media. That is my job (Jordan 1994:43).

Jordan is described as Boyle and Haynes (2000:97) as the most prolific basketball player the game has ever seen

Some of the local sports stars with popularity beyond the stadia include Kipchoge Keino the 1968 Olympic gold medallist and the current Berlin and World Marathon champion Paul Tergat. Kipchoge appeared on Gabonese postal stamps in 1972, was voted athlete of the year by the Sports Illustrated Magazine in 1987 and in 2001 was awarded an honorary Doctor of Philosophy degree by Egerton University. Paul Tergat was appointed a WHO ambassador Against Hunger, he was also conferred with a honorary degree in physical education and public service from Bloomfield College's 131st conferment ceremony.

Knowledge that sports can create stars beyond the stadia especially with the assistance of the media has been capitalized on by many Kenyan politicians who take over leadership of sports organizations as preparation for political positions. In soccer many former KFF officials have entered politics after gaining popularity through sports. Examples include Kenneth Matiba a one time presidential candidate, Joab Omino, Peter Kenneth, Alfred Sambu all who became members of parliament after heading KFF for some time.

A major product of media/sport complex has been the emergence of sports consumerism. Due to development in communication, there has been an increase in sport consumption, both in and out of the stadia. According to Boyle and Haynes (2000:187), central to both the media and sporting industries is the fan and/or reader/viewer, the people who consume sport either in its relatively raw form or in its increasingly mediated form. This development has led to emergence of a special audience for sports; 'the armchair supporter'. Initially sports administrators feared "armchair support" would reduce attendance rates in stadia, but with pay-TV, this is no longer the case, fans are paying, be it at home or in the stadia.

Emergence of sport consumerism presents advertisers with a fertile site for their products. If fans are not paying, advertisers indirectly pay for them. Where channels are free like KBC, Metro TV, and STV, sports programs are characterized by heavy advertising that tend to compromise on the viewers need for clear, visible and continuous watching.

2.17. Media discrimination against female athletes.

Creedon (1993:13) suggests that although many women have entered the mass media, biased coverage of women in the mass media is due to the following reasons that privilege a patriarchal world.

- i) Workplace routines and norms force reporters to conform to dominant values, rather than act on empowering values.

- ii) Female entering the news industry find that news definers are still predominantly male and these editors and owners control the hiring and firing decisions.
- iii) Mass communication is a profit driven system and the entrance of women in the field has not offset the power of this relationship to determine news content.

For Mtambalike, (1996: 137), women representation, misrepresentation or lack of representation in the press and other mass media images reflect the interplay of social, cultural and ideological forces in any given society at any given time. The author adds the following as some of the factors that lead to under-representation of women in the press;

- i) The sexual composition of the media workforce in almost every country, which is predominately male especially in management and production.
- ii) Heavy reliance of many organizations on commercial backing and subsequent pressure to deal only in the known images and content
- iii) Mass media products are required to make an immediate vivid impact and to be quickly and easily absorbed by the audience.

Research also indicates that when covered in the media, women are likely to be depicted in certain sports that are considered suitable for them. This reinforces stereotypes that suggest that female athletes should not participate in sports that involve contact or which cause them to sweat (Alexander, 1994)

Despite the fact that the media has covered women poorly, their position in the society has constantly improved especially in the past 20 years. Advocacy for equality among sexes peaked with the United Nations organization declaration of 1975-1985 as the “Decade of Women”. In the organizations third development decade, 1981-1991, more reference to women’s participation in development was proposed than in either the two previous strategies. This culminated into the 1995 women’s international congress held in Beijing China. Due to these activities, gender balance has continued to improve over the years.

Many studies have found out that the media covers female athletes poorly. One such study was by Tuggle, C. A. (1977) who examined two sports programs, ESPN Sports Center and CNN Sports Tonight. The study found that these two programs devoted only 5% of their airtime to women’s sport. Other measures such as story placement and use of on-camera comments also indicated an emphasis on men’s sport. The stories about women also involved individual competition with almost no attention to women’s team sports.

Duncan and Messener’s (1994), study of 126 local newscasts which aired during two-three week periods in the Los Angeles Market revealed that 70% of the local sportscasts contained no coverage of women’s sports, with a scant 5% of the time devoted to sports referring to female athletes or teams. According to this study coverage of women events were likely to consist of descriptions of games or events with no attendant interviews.

Boutilier and San Giovanni (1983) found that coverage of women paled in comparison to coverage of males in sports. This difference manifests itself in total column inches,

placement of articles, presence of an accompanying photograph and the range of sports depicted in photos. They found that

- (i) Only 14 women were pictured in 119 photos examined.
- (ii) No women were pictured in 14 out of 25 years covered.
- (iii) Men were pictured in 15 different sports but women only in 8
- (iv) Women were shown in passive, non-athlete poses in 58% of the photos but passive men pictures were only 44%.

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In another study by Salwen and Wood (1994), on the portrayal of females on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* for over three decades, it was confirmed that female athletes receive less news coverage than male athletes and they are more likely to be portrayed in non-active sports poses. This longitudinal analysis indicated that the portrayal of female athletes might have worsened over time with the most coverage of female athletes being in the 1950s.

Salwen and wood examined covers of sports illustrated for three-year intervals; 1957-1959, 1967-1969, 1977-1979, and 1987-1989. They chose *Sports Illustrated* because it is America's most prominent and largest circulation sports magazine and has been published continuously since 1954. Each cover was coded for up to four identifiable people, and those that featured more than 4 identifiable people were excluded. Every identifiable person was coded for sex and athlete or non-athlete status. Athletes were also coded as in active or non-active poses.

To test the intercoder reliability, Salwen and Wood used a random sample of 48 covers (twelve from each of the four sampling periods). These were re-examined by a second coder. Using a procedure described by Budd, Thorp and Donohew (1967; 68), coefficient of intercoder reliability ranged from 0.94 to 0.99 during the four sample periods.

From the research it was found that the largest percentage of female athletes appeared on the covers during the 1950s (14.3%). The percentage declined to 4% during 1960-70 then increased slightly to 6.6% during the 1980s. The change over the years was significant at $P < 0.001$ (Chi-square = 18.26). The statistically significant change, however, did not indicate increased coverage of females over time since the plurality of females appeared during the first decade examined. Thus there was no increase from 1950-1980s.

The percentage of male in active sports was 97.8% as compared to females 2.2%. The largest percentage of females in active poses appeared during the 1950s-10.3%, it then decreased to 0.3% in 1960-1970s. They also found that females were more likely to be depicted in no-contact sports. The most frequent sport associated with females was tennis ($n=7$), track and field ($n=5$), golf ($n=4$), snow skiing ($n=4$), and swimming ($n=4$). In comparison the most frequent sports associated with male athletes were; football ($n=199$), baseball ($n=154$), basketball ($n=150$), golf ($n=51$) and boxing ($n=50$) the total observations were 624.

Alexander (1994) concluded from this finding that television ignores women's team sports, reinforcing stereotypes that suggest that female athletes should be glamorous and graceful

and should not participate in sports that involve contact or which cause them to sweat. According to Alexander, these portrayals contribute to a social system that enforces women to conform to social sanction that shape their participation in sports. From this study it can be seen how the message sent out by the media reinforces the view that female sport is of little interest and these athletes are of second rate

Miller (1975), reported the finding of a comprehensive study of the photographs of women and men in six selected sections of the *Los Angeles Times* and *Washington Post*. She found that the sports section of both newspapers devoted a smaller percentage of space to women than other sections. Miller states that hundreds of women's sports events occur each year in the greater Los Angeles and Washington areas and the two newspapers have women sports reporters but their sports sections are still dominated by photos of men

Wanta and Legget (1989) designed a gate keeping study to examine distortions of both the quantity of coverage and the media depiction of the female athlete. The gate keeping model directs attentions to how news changes as it passes through various 'gates' from news gathering to distribution and finally to publication. The authors compared the Associate Press' Laserwire photographs of the Wimbledon Tennis tournament with the photographs selected by the sports editors of eight newspapers. The newspaper used roughly the same percentage of male and female photographs as those coming over the wire. They also found out that sports editors were more likely to select photos of male tennis players in emotional poses than female players. Contrary to their hypothesis they did not find more photographs

of female in helpless poses than males. Overall their findings did not support the hypothesis that media coverage of females reinforces gender stereotypes.

In another study, Brown (1995), found that female athletes were covered less than their male counterparts. Brown did a content analysis of the *Newcastle Herald* from 1900-1990 by sampling the following years, 1914, 1940, 1965 and 1990.

For Brown's study the unit of analysis was an 'item of news', which was defined as an item which was related to a specific sporting event, athlete, team, sporting facility, or sporting issue. Items of news in this study took the form of articles about players, teams, forthcoming events, reports of associations, comments about sporting facilities, features or results which were specific to an individual sporting event.

Each item of news was then coded according to year, day and month of publication. Additional variables included the level of competition such as local, regional, national and international. The page on which the item appeared was also noted and the extent of coverage measured in Cm^2 . Items were also coded according to the type of sport and whether the coverage involved male or female athletes, or a combination of both. Coverage of animal sport was also included.

Through this study it was found that sports news expressed as a percentage of total print area increased each year from 3.2% in 1890 to 15.7% in 1990. Human sports news increased from 1.4% to 7% during the same period. Another finding by Brown was that

there was an increase in the volume of coverage of both women and men's sport during the period studied. The female share of human sports news increased steadily between 1890 and 1965 (1.2% - 16.5%) but the rate of increase slowed between 1965 and 1990 (16.5%-17.2%). When expressed as a proportion of all sports news, including animal sport, the female share of news actually declined from 9.0% - 7.7%, between 1965-1990.

Brown found that sports news was dominated by a handful of major sports for both men and women. For men, rugby league, cricket and soccer received around 42% of all the coverage between 1890-1990 with the former attracting almost 20% in the *Newcastle Herald*. For women tennis, golf and swimming accounted for half of the total space. These three sports have long been accepted as 'women sports' in Australia as they are characterized by aesthetic characteristics of form and grace.

The study found that reports about female athletes are less likely to appear on Saturday, or mornings, when most sports news occur and is read. According to Brown, Tuesday is a 'ladies day', and has been for the last three decades. Female sports is also less prominent on the front or back of the paper. Based on this Brown summarized that despite a range of social indicators which suggest some move towards equal opportunity and an improved status of the Australian women, it is evident that both the media and sports have been slow to reflect prevailing social attitudes towards gender and its representation in the sports media.

Hilliard (1984) did a content analysis of 115 popular magazine articles about male and female tennis players between June 1979 and September 1983. His goal was to see if the coverage of top-ranked men and women players was the same. He picked tennis because it was one of the two commercial sports in which men and women compete on a similar tour throughout the year, the other sport being golf. It was found that in mixed tournaments, males receive top billing in nearly all the coverage, and the men-only tournaments received more coverage than women only tournaments. He found out that the four top-ranked male players received more combined coverage than the eight top ranked female players.

According to Theberge, C (1986), much of the unequal coverage is associated with,

- (i) The standardized formats used by newspaper sports sections.
- (ii) The traditional work routines of sports reporters at newspapers.

An elaboration of this by Coakley (1990:290), states that information about men's sport has traditionally been defined as news, while women sports is sometimes seen as a special interest events. Furthermore, standardized sports news for men is easily available than that for females, this comes over the wire service or those in charge of publicity for men's teams supply it

Most of the research done as shown above on coverage of the female athletes was carried out in Western countries in which the status of women in society is different from the Kenyan and African situation. In Kenya as in other African countries, gender balance is highly affected by the traditional African beliefs that marginalize women in the society.

Based on this more research need to be done in Kenya and in other countries where there is no evidence on studies of sportswomen in the media

The studies described above were done in different time periods. There is need for research on the status of sportswomen in the past two decades. This is because these decades have witnessed more involvement of women in both political, development and social issues (UN 2000). This involvement is likely to be reflected in how sportswomen are depicted in the mass media

In Kenya, although no serious study has been done on coverage of female athletes, based on related research done, it is unlikely that their coverage is positive. According to Kamweru (2000; 65), changes towards positive portrayal of females in the media have been very slow. The author states that the picture that emerges in the media especially newspaper is that majority of women are uninterested and uninvolved in political affairs, development, economy and other societal issues. The author summarizes that women are underrepresented in Kenyan newspapers and magazines.

Based on research carried out elsewhere, it can be said that coverage of women in sports has been increasing and decreasing from time to time. Although the society has experienced a shift towards equal opportunity and an improved status for women in the society, this may not be the case in sports coverage

2.20 Theoretical framework

This study was guided by theories that explain the nature of media content and how content is shaped. Why newspaper content is the way it is can be explained by the following theories;

- Gate-keeping theory
- The dominant paradigm theory

How female athletes are depicted in the mass media, whether biased or not falls in a wide field of study on how media content is shaped. Research on media content from the past has led to formulation of the above theories that explain why the newspaper presentation is the way it is.

2.21. The gate-keeping theory

This is a media organizational theory that explains how content is produced by the media. The first studies on this theory were done by Kurt Lewin in 1947 by looking at the activities within the newsroom where items were chosen from a large number of incoming wire telegrams and pictures from news agencies. He described how news item travelling through channels, gain clearance at certain checkpoints along the way. He called these checkpoints 'gates' and the individuals or organizations that give clearance he labeled 'gatekeepers'.

The gatekeeper in the news process exercises his/her judgment as to which items are the most significant, allowing them through and deletes those that have little news value (Bohn, 1974:107)

The gatekeeper serves three basic functions in the mass communication process;

- (i) Has the power to delete a message
- (ii) Can increase the amount and importance of certain kind of information.
- (iii) Can decrease the amount and importance of specific kind of information.

A variety of people perform gatekeeping functions. The major gatekeeper is the editor, who determines which story will reach the public and the size of the story depending on available space and the story's suitability over others.

The reporter gathering information is also a gatekeeper. The reporter decides which facts to pass along and how to write or photograph them. The other noticeable gatekeeper is the source of information or the witness. They pass or withhold information from the reporter thereby influencing what will finally appear as news.

According to Shoemaker and Reese (1991:47), if media content was to represent reality, it would have content proportionate to population, land mass, ethnic distribution or some other criterion. But news single out some features of the environment and emphasize them over others. This selection is based on cultural manifestations and therefore, represents a

reality that is culturally constructed with people portrayed, as they exist in their cultural systems.

According to McQuail, (1987:163) the main factors which influence the action of the gatekeeper can be considered under the headings of 'people', 'place' or 'time', usually in one or other combination.

In the society, some people get more attention and access as sources of news than others. According to McQuail (1987: 163), news is often reports of what prominent people say about events rather than reports of the events themselves. Media content is based on certain demographic patterns. For example, a 1964 study by Delfeur shows that the upper-middle class occupations were over represented while middle and lower class ones were underrepresented in the media

The second human cause of inclusion or rejection of information by gatekeepers in a media product is the journalist's attitude. Journalists consciously bias their news reports in line with their personal attitudes. According to Gans (1979:39-40), the journalists try hard to be objective, but neither they nor anyone else can in the end proceed without values, and values in news are rarely explicit. They must be found between the lines – in what actors and activities are reported or ignored and in how they are described.

Where an event occurs also lead to gatekeeping. This was first brought out by Walter Lippman (1922) in his discussion of how routinization of newsgathering lead to exclusion

of some news. News events can be anticipated by observation of places where past newsworthy events have happened or made public. Pre-planning news coverage always involves pre-assumptions about where newsworthy events are likely to happen (McQuail 1987: 163), this in turn affects what is covered and what is not.

Time is another important consideration for the selection or rejection of news because it is part of the definition of what news is. The best news event is that captured when and where it occurred. Content that appear in the media is usually the latest information in comparison to any other available information. The gatekeeper will always exclude stale news from the media.

Apart from people place and time, other factors outside the media house act as gatekeepers. These include the news source. The source or witness can lead to gate keeping by withholding, forgetting, and mis-reporting information. Secondly, the nature of the event will also influence the gatekeeper. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), news organizations prefer events that fit the following criteria; having a short life span; having great scale and intensity; being clear and unambiguous; being unexpected; being culturally close to the intended public; having continuity and consistent with past images and expectations. This leads to more coverage of certain events than others.

Processing and presentation procedures that happen inside the organization, as content is further selected also shape what is presented. Media organizations present selectively according to criteria that suit their own goals and interest (McQuail, 1987: 168). McQuail

states that what is presented fits forms which are both familiar to media producers and are thought to be familiar to audiences and the selection is based on economic, technological and cultural fact

Based on the above theory, it can be said that female athletes are covered differently due to their position in the society. As stated by Mcquail (1987; 163), news is often reports of what prominent people say, not the event itself. Therefore coverage of an athlete can only be guaranteed if the athlete is prominent in the society and not because of his/her performance

Apart from that the journalist's attitude and presentation procedures will also influence coverage of athletes in the media. This means that gender bias among media workers will be reflected in what they produce

A major weakness of this theory is that it doesn't give weight to readers; they buy the newspaper as a final product and therefore their demands also shape what is written. When reporting, journalists shape their stories in line with audience demands, this is especially so in free press as it is in Kenya today. Journalists know that readers have a variety to choose from and thus write in the most attractive way to capture audience

Another weakness is that the theory depicts gatekeepers as being powerful with ability to include or exclude information at their will. In practice, the process of selection is natural

based on certain media characteristics, which dictate to the gatekeeper what to include or exclude

2.22. The dominant paradigm: influence of ideology on content.

Researchers who have written on this theory postulate that the media function as an extension of the powerful interests in society, maintaining a system of control and reproduction of the dominant ideology. According to William (1977: 109), ideology is a relatively formal and articulate system of meanings, values and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a world-view or class outlook. It is an integrated set of frames of reference through which each of us sees the world and through which all of us adjust our action (Becker, 1984: 69). According to the above author, ideology governs the way we perceive our world and control what we see as natural or obvious. In the society the group with power will always dominate the less empowered. Sources of power or male domination are:

- a). Property ownership
- b) Political authority and decision making.

Lack of property ownership has led to the overall poor economic status of women. According to the UN (2000, 40), poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income, hunger and malnutrition, ill health, limited or lack of access to education; increasing morbidity and mortality from illnesses and social discrimination among others. Poverty is also characterized by lack of participation in civil, social and cultural life.

This theory is based on the Marxist tradition that regards society as being rooted in conflict along class lines between the dominant and subordinate groups.

According to Marx:

The idea of the ruling class is in every epoch the ruling ideas i.e. the class, which has material force, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class with the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it (Marx and Engels, 1970:64)

Here Marx directly links ideology to the ruling class, which derives its power from its control of capital. Gramsci (1971) referred to all the means through which the dominant group controlled the subordinate group as hegemony.

The media serves a hegemonic function by continually processing a cohesive ideology, a set of commonsensical values and norms that serve to reproduce and legitimate the social structure through which the subordinate classes participate in their own subordination (Shoemaker and Reese: 1994).

Hegemonic values in news are said to be particularly effective in permeating common sense, because they are made to appear natural and are placed there not by coercion, but indirectly through the normal workings of media routines and the autonomy of the media gives their messages more legitimacy and credibility than if they were directly controlled (Shoemaker and Reese: 1994).

In societies where there is no private ownership, there is no structured inequality of power. Those who dominate others economically, politically and socially tend to control not only the economic base but also the social relations of people. These relations in turn influence

the views expressed in the mass media as the dominant class produce or create certain cultural traits that structure the perception of the mass media.

According to the dominant paradigm theory, professionals producing news content embody in their routines practical and ideological assumptions, which reinforce certain stratified cultural perceptions of society and how it should and does work. Culture although taken-for-granted, generates specific basic frames of reference on which news is defined. But this reference are not easily revealed as they are so deeply ingrained as cultural assumptions that only occasionally, if at all, do they come up for questioning.

The above theory can explain how female athletes are covered. Biased coverage as hypothesized is due to their subordinate state in the society. Women may be powerless in the capitalistic African society because they are not property owners. Traditionally women in Africa are not supposed to inherit property, a belief that has made the poorer than men. Powerlessness may also originate from the stereotypical beliefs of female physical weakness. In sports, management of sports organization is in the hands of men, thereby extending women subordinate position in the society. Evidence also shows that professional female athletes are paid less, depicting them more as powerless.

This theory has one weakness: Today the media may have relative autonomy therefore the ruling power cannot directly supervise this important cultural apparatus; this is especially so in state owned and other non-profit making media organizations. To add on that, there

are media products owned by those thought to be powerless e.g women magazines and the gutter press

2.24. Research Hypothesis

This study tested the following hypotheses

2.24.1 There has been an increase in coverage of female athletes from 1980-2000

2.24.2. There is a relationship between an athlete's sex and his/her media coverage.

2.24.3. Both written and photographic articles covering male athletes will be large in area than those covering female athletes.

2.25. Operational definition of variables.

From the above hypotheses, the following variables were identified in measuring how the media covers athletes.

- **Sports coverage**-Presentation of article in newspapers about sports.
- **Sports**-Any competitive physical activity performed under a set of instructions.
- **Athletes**- People covered in the media due to their sports participation.
- **Articles**- Any item presented in the newspaper about sports, it can be;
 - (i) **Written**
 - (ii) **Photographs**
- **Size of articles**- Area of the articles measured in square centimeters.
- **Average size of articles**- Total area of articles/number of articles

- **Sex**-sex of an athlete will be classified as,

- i) Male.

- ii) Female

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.10 Research Design

This study took a longitudinal content analysis design. The study was longitudinal because it involved a series of measures of the same variable in the same group, over time (20 years). It was also a comparison as two different groups were studied at in comparison to each other. Longitudinal designs can enable the researcher to compare the trend from data drawn from different sources (Bouma and Atkinson, 1997:104)

Data was gathered through content analysis of the two major daily newspapers, the *East African Standard* and the *Daily Nation* and their Sunday editions. According to Bouma and Atkinson (1997:4), in content analysis, a checklist is developed to count how frequently certain ideas, words, phrases, images or scenes appear. In this study, how sports women are covered in the media was analyzed in comparison to coverage of their male counterparts, over time

3.11 Units of analysis

The unit of analysis is what or who is studied. They are those we examine in order to create summary descriptions or explain differences based on the observations made. In this study, the unit of analysis was an individual sports story whose content was examined in terms of:

- i) Number of articles
- ii) Size of the article measured in CM²

(1964; 61) warns that small samples can contribute to large sampling error. To beginners, Kerlinger's suggestion is; use as large samples as possible.

For this study a small sample may serve the purpose because sports news appeared daily for the chosen period of study. According to Lasswell, Lerner and Pool (1952), common symbols or group do not require extensive sample sizes. Through research carried out by Stempel (1955; 449 – 455), it was found that an average of 3 issues are enough to represent a year if several years are to be looked at. To select an appropriate sample, both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used.

3.2.1. Purposive Sampling

Initially purposive sampling was done to select the period of study. This was based on the fact that the past twenty years have witnessed a lot of advocacy for equality among sexes. During this period, the United Nations Organization started various programs aimed at complete integration of women and elimination of all forms of inequality between men and women. This began with the declaration of 1975 – 1985 as the 'Decade of Women'. Apart from that the third Development Decade, 1981 – 1991 contained more reference to women's participation in development than either the two previous strategies. Thirdly the General Assembly resolution 35/78 suggested specific measures to secure women's equal participation in all sectors. Locally, more women have entered politics, sports, higher education and other sectors previously reserved for men.

Purposive sampling was also done to select the two newspapers to be studied. The *Daily Nation* and the *East African Standard* were chosen from others because they have been in constant circulation for the last 20 years. Apart from that, the papers are thought to have maintained the highest circulation figures. Thirdly the papers are the oldest, with the *East African Standard* having started in 1902 and the *Daily Nation* having started around 1958. The *Sunday Nation* and the *Sunday Standard* were also studied alongside their daily editions because as Odhiambo, (2000:95), suggests no theoretical or empirical justification can be made for treating Sunday editions differently.

3.2.2 Probability Sampling;

Probability sampling was aimed at ensuring representativeness from the small population of daily newspapers ever published between 1980 – 2000.

3.2.2.1 Multi-stage Sampling

A representative probability sample of the two newspapers was selected through a multi-stage sampling design. This was done by random sampling after construction of a composite year and 12 composite weeks, one from every month. According to Thorp, Budd and Donohew (1967, 25), one of the most reliable approaches to sampling dates is the use of a constructed time period. They went on to suggest that certain events such as football games take place only on weekends and that the periods between the ending of one sport's season and the beginning of another usually are attended by a reduction in sports news. To check against such disparities a constructed period is necessary.

The composite year was constructed by randomly selecting twelve months from the 20 years or the 240 months, with a rule that no two months can appear twice. To do this, the 20 years were divided into twenty groups according to months from January to December. Among the group of twenty, one month and year was chosen randomly. This yielded the following combination forming a composite year

January 1997. February 1995. March 1981. April 1991. May 1993
June 1982. July 1987. August 1989. September 1998. October
1985. November 1980. December 1999

After sampling, it was found out that newspapers for the following years were missing; 1991, 1989, 1982, and 1981. These were replaced by the following years; 1990, 1992, 2000, and 2002.

The second stage was the selection of particular days from the selected month. This was done by construction of one week of seven different days in every month. This involved a random selection of each day of the week, with the sampling rule that no two days of the week may be selected and that every day of the week was represented for every month of the composite year. This yielded 12 weeks or 84 days and therefore 168 copies assuming that on each selected day, both papers were published.

Use of a composite year was based on the fact that coverage of sports news may be biased depending on major local or international events. For example Olympic years like 1984 and 1988 and World Athletic Championship years like 1999 and 1995 may show different

trends from FIFA world cup years because the former are tournaments in which both men and women participate while the later is purely for men

The composite weeks were used because sports news is likely to be biased depending on the day of the week. Many sports events take place during the weekend; therefore the coverage is likely to be more pronounced during weekends, Fridays and Mondays.

3.3.0 Reliability

Reliability means that investigators using the same technique on the same material will get substantially the same results (Thorp, Budd, and Donohew 1967; 66). In content analysis, this can be measured by an adaptation of the following tests of reliability. Test-retest, equivalent forms and split-halves. In this study, such an adaptation, the intercoder agreement developed by Scott was used. Scott (1955; 23) developed an index of intercoder agreement to be used in nominal scale coding. Reliability of the two coders according to Scott's formula will be calculated by:

$$R = \frac{2(C_{1,2})}{C_1 + C_2}$$

$C_{1,2}$ – number of category assignments both coders agree on

$C_1 + C_2$ – Total of category assignments made by both coders.

For this study reliability was 0.82. According to Scott, correlation of 0.75 and above is considered satisfactory.

CHAPTER FOUR

Kenyan Newspapers' Depiction of Female Athletes .

4.1. Introduction

To exhaustively address the objectives of this study, this section presents an analysis of the nature of media coverage of athletes in Kenya. The study collected data based on a total of 1724 articles from 120 newspapers between 1980 and 2002. Out of these articles, 1084 were about male athletes, 90 about female athletes and the remaining could not be clearly classified based on sex. This included 310 articles covering both men and women and 235 articles, which were devoted to sports activities in which the athletes' sex could not be identified or clearly classified.

4.2. The Trend of Female Athletes' Coverage

Data from this study supports hypothesis one which states that female coverage has increased over time (1990-2002). The percentage of space devoted to female athletes increased in between this period. There was a steady increase from 1992, picking in 1995 where 16.6% of coverage was devoted to women. This dropped slightly to 11.5% in 1997, then increased to 13.6% in 2002. This increment can be clearly shown by data in table 1.

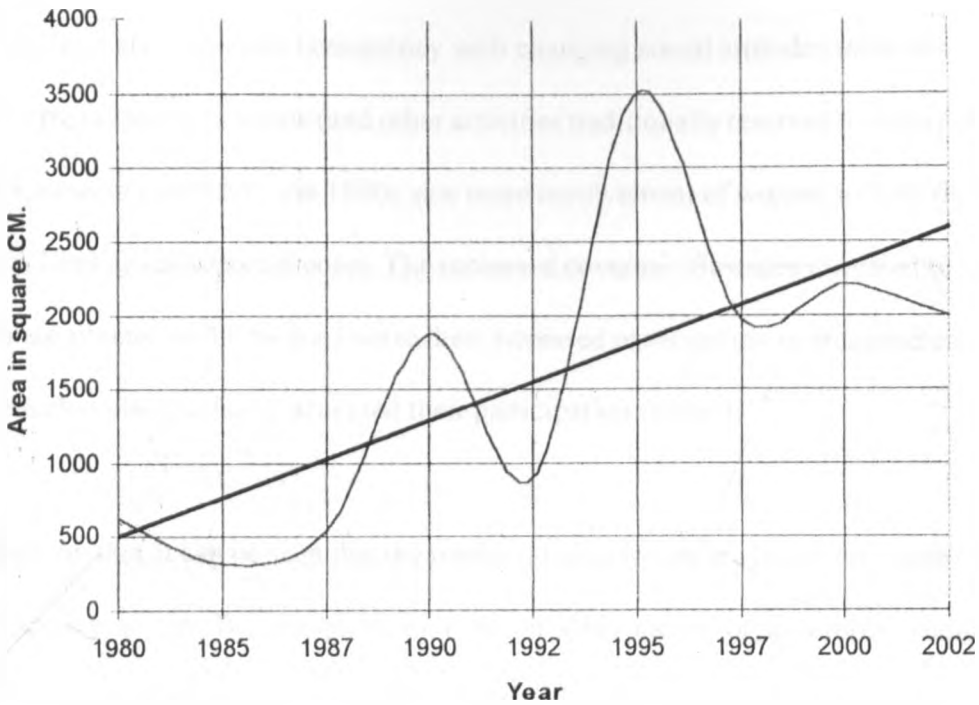
Table 1
Percentage Coverage of Athletes by sex from 1980-2002.

Year	Men	Women
1980	93.1	6.89
1985	97.19	2.8
1987	96.01	3.99
1990	93	6.99
1992	94.28	5.72
1995	83.39	16.6
1996	88.5	11.5
1999	87.6	12.39
2002	86.39	13.6

Graphical presentation of this data indicates that although irregular, there was an increase in coverage of women on the sports page. A trend line on graph 1 shows clearly that there was a sharp increase within the 20 year

1 Graph 1

Coverage of Women from 1980-2002



Findings of this study seem to support previous data, which shows an uneven increase in coverage of female athletes (Brown, Tuggle, Salwen). The increase in women's news challenge assertions that women are inactive in sports. According to Coakley (1990; 182), there has been an increase in sports participation rates among girls and women in many countries. The increased coverage may be due to the fact that more and more women have since joined active sports. Due to the efforts of the UN, governments and other organizations, there has been an increase in equality among sexes (UN 2000, 190). This improvement in equality may enable women to participate more in the social life and sports in particular. The findings show that over the years women's sports have increasingly

attracted the attention of the media. The trend confirms the fact that women's sports, is as important as men's sports

This trend also indicates consistency with changing social attitudes towards women and their participation in sports (and other activities traditionally reserved for men). According to Kamweru (2000:65), the 1990s saw more involvement of women in both the political, social and development process. The increased coverage illustrates increased acceptance of female athletes by the media. Due to their increased participation in other sectors of life the media has also gradually accepted their participation in sports

Based on this, it can be seen that the media is trying to create a balanced image of women. According to the Beijing platform (section 240) media organizations should create voluntary regulatory mechanisms that promote balanced and diverse portrayals of women in the media (UN: 2000). Findings of this study show that Kenyan newspapers are increasingly portraying women in a more balanced way over the years. With time these newspapers have voluntarily introduced internal mechanisms that have promoted coverage of the female athletes

The increase is an indicator of the changing attitudes towards women by editors in the newsroom. What is presented in the media is at the discretion of journalists and they choose which sports events to cover and the size of articles they write. Although the main factors, which influence choice of an article, are the people involved in them and the place the action takes place, all these factors are controlled by the journalist. Reese (1991) states

that the journalists' attitude influences his / her choice of a story and that they consciously bias their news reports in line with their personal attitudes. According to Gans (1979:39-40), even if journalists tried to be objective neither them nor anyone else can proceed without values and in news these values are expressed in the people and activities covered or ignored and how they are described. From the study, it is evident that the perception of female athletes by those in control of newsrooms (mainly men) has been changing over time leading to increased acceptance of women in sports. This is a positive indication to journalism as a profession.

The increased coverage of women in sports news may also reflect the changing attitude of the society, especially the newspaper audience towards the female athletes. As stated theoretically, audiences influence what the journalists' cover in newspapers and journalists construct images of their audience based on which they shape their content ensuring that it meets the readers' demands.

Data from this study, therefore, shows that the audience has accepted women participation in sports increasingly over time. It indicates that the audience is now willing to buy products with an increased coverage of female athletes. This willingness to attend to female athletes brings out the fact that the society's view about women has constantly been changing over time.

4.30. Size of articles

Hypothesis two stated that both written and photographic articles covering male athletes will be large in area than those covering female athletes. Data from this study does not

support this hypothesis; only written articles covering men support it but not photographs. Written articles about male athletes were found to be larger than those covering female athletes. The average size of male written articles was 187.74 CM². While that of female athletes was 88.1 CM². This shows that male athletes were covered in detail than female athletes. Over the years both the male and the female article increased in size but the male article increased at a higher rate as shown in Chart 1

Chart 1: Average size of written articles

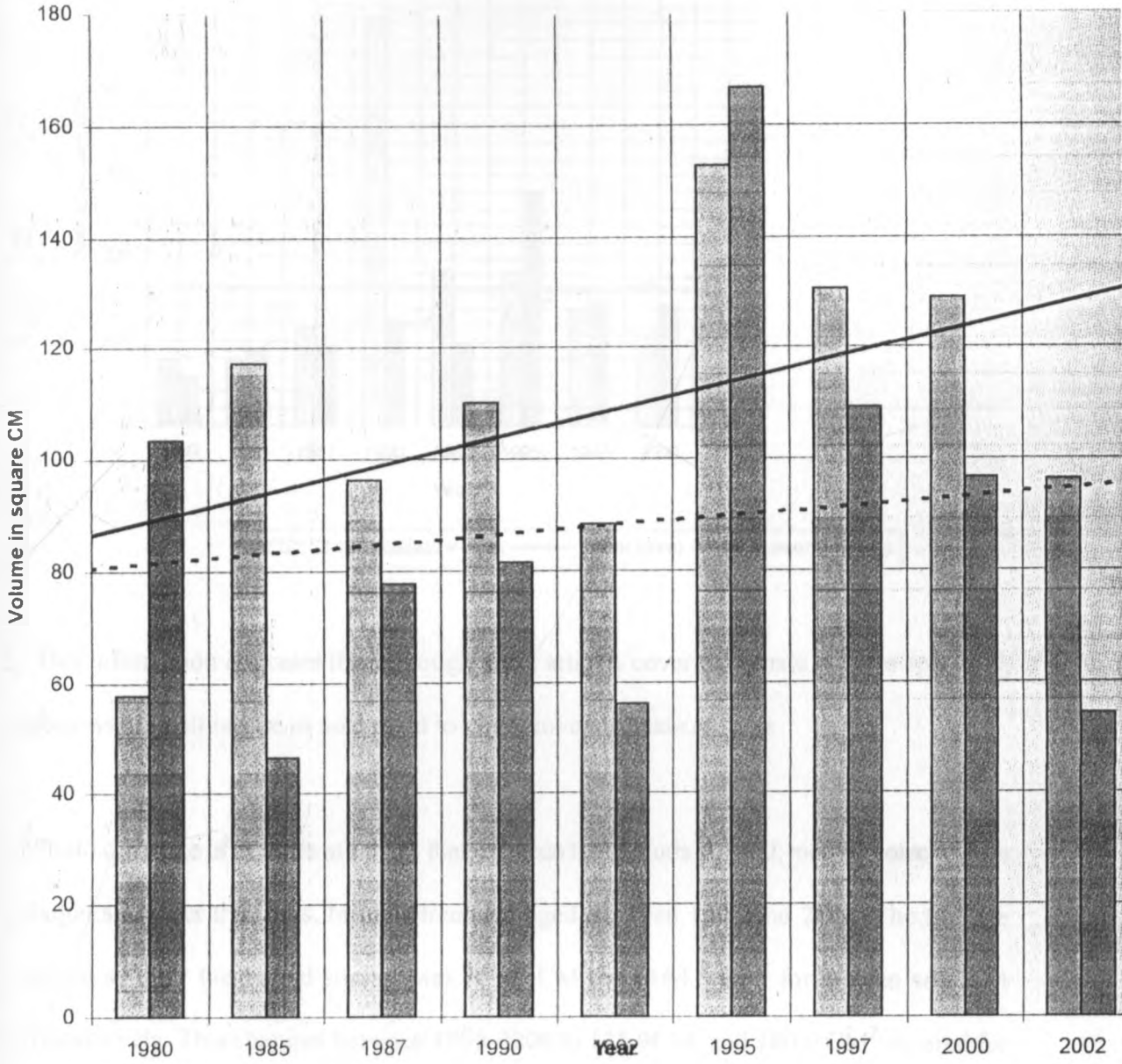
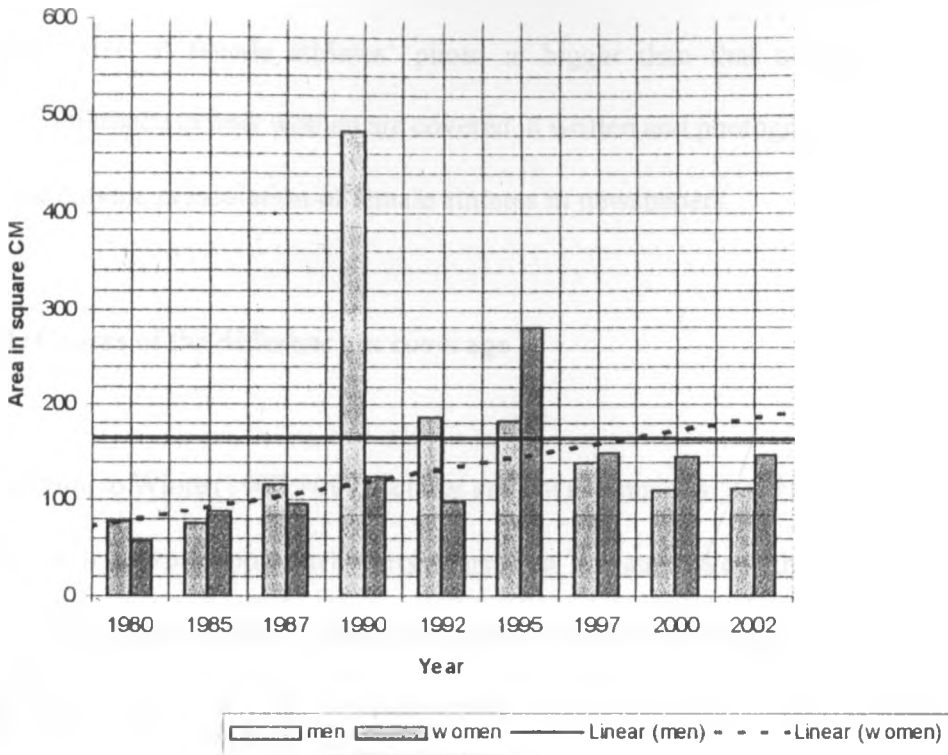


Chart 2: Average size of Photo articles(1980-2002)



This information indicates that although many articles covering female athletes appeared, they were small in size as compared to those covering male athletes.

Photo coverage of athletes indicates that between the periods studied, men’s photos were in larger size over the years, but this trend changed between 1995 and 2002. The average photo size for the period studied was 131.8 CM² and 164.6 CM² for women and men respectively. This changed between 1995-2000 to 135.9CM² and 180.9 CM² squared for men and women respectively.

From chart 2, it can be seen that the size of female photos increased constantly over the years more than the increase in male photo sizes. From the chart it can be seen that the average size of female athletes' photo is bigger than that of male athletes' from 1997. Difference in how women are covered in written and photographic articles indicates the stereotypic presentation of female athletes in newspapers.

4.31. Causes of the difference in coverage

According to White (1982:109), pictures are just raw material used to tell a story, when left alone, their interpretation can be very subjective. The authors add that very few pictures are clearly focused on a subject that words become superfluous, due to this, it is very risky to run pictures without words. The author went on to warn editors not to be beguiled by the beauty of a photograph or the attractiveness of its subject.

"Do not pretend that it is useful when it is beautiful, and so run it among others that are in fact useful-though perhaps less pretty. This is cheating."
(White 1982:109)

Gallagher (1981:73) emphasizes the above by stating that one of the most deeply reactionary, and yet insidiously flattering, images, which the media presents of women, is that of beautiful, sophisticated or sexually alluring siren. She adds that women are used as a bait in the sale of products. The author explains that when women are included in the media, there is a tendency in the media to refer to irrelevant detail about appearance, age and family status, details that would not be included in a report about men.

The female athletes photo as presented in Kenyan newspapers does not carry the same meaning as the male athletes photo. The male athletes photo is presented because it is news worth but the female athletes photo is presented because it of its sexual value. Just as in advertising, the female athletes photo appear on the sports page to act as a bait for readers. By attracting readers photographs increase the commercial value of newspapers because they buy the newspaper and they are also sold to advertisers.

Views by Gallagher(1981) and White(1982), can help to explain why photographs of female athletes have increased in size than those of male athletes in comparison to the increase in size of written articles. From this study it was found that photographic portrayal of female athletes in the media is negative. Many photographs are included in the newspaper not because they are sources of news but because they are beautiful. It seems female athletes are presented in the media not because they are newsworthy but because their bodies are good to look at. The study found out that sports editors present bodies of female athletes instead of the athletes' achievements which can be better presented in words. It shows that when covering female athletes, Kenyan photographers look at them with the traditional view of a woman as being beautiful and delicate. They do not care about the athletes performance but consider their bodies as important.

Taking in mind that media audiences are important and they dictate what is presented in the media, especially in a commercial setting, the increased photographic presentation

illustrates the audiences' view of women. According to Brown(1995:32), who is included and who is excluded from the sports page is determined by the commercial set up of the newspaper industry. Readers buy newspapers and they are also sold to advertisers, thereby providing the much-needed profits for newspaper owners. To add on that, newspapers operate in an environment where they have to compete with each other, compete with radio stations, television and billboards for the same audiences. For example, with the current technology, sports events are brought to audiences "live" by electronic media. To attract the same audiences, print media has to present a value-added product not just what happened

Increased photographic presentation may have been caused by the journalists' effort to please audiences in face of competition from other types of media especially television. Due to improved technology the results of sports events are instantly accessed through electronic media and it is pointless for newspapers to present the same a day after the event. To do this, newspapers have to present a value-added product and photographs are one of the values. This exaggerated presentation is aimed at using women as an object to accomplish commercial objectives

This exaggerated presentation of photos better than written news, indicate the society's view of women. The society views women as significant not because they have achieved in sports, but because of their natural body presentation. The above view is also held by journalists who produce newspapers, not only because they come from the same society, but also the fact that they are the final decision makers. According to McQuail (1987: 168),

media organizations present selectively according to criteria that suit their own goals and interest. Photographic presentation of female athletes therefore illustrates the view held by sports journalists about them.

Photographs of female athletes appear in the newspaper not because they are newsworthy but because they are considered being beautiful. Based on this fact, athletes thought to be beautiful and feminine may appear more frequently in newspapers than those thought to be less beautiful. An example is the frequent appearance in newspapers by Mrs. Victoria Beckham, wife to the English national soccer captain, David Beckham. On 13/04/04, she appeared in both the *Daily Nation* and *East African Standard* after her husband was implicated in a sexual affair. Any critic would question her appearance on the sports page because she is not a sportswoman and no other soccer player's wife has received similar attention. Her appearance might have been based on the thought that she is beautiful, being a former singer and model.

4.40. Is there a difference in coverage of athletes based on sex?

Hypothesis three stated that coverage of athletes would differ depending on sex. Data collected through this study supports this hypothesis. Based on chart 3, it can be seen that during the period studied, only 6% of the space was devoted to female athletes, but male athletes had 61% of the sports page. Articles with both male and female coverage took 20% and those in which sex could not be identified 13% of the space. If the former two are excluded, and articles with either male or female athletes analyzed, it comes out that

the average coverage devoted to male athletes was 86.39% while only 13.6% was given to women.

Chart 3: Coverage of athletes by sex.

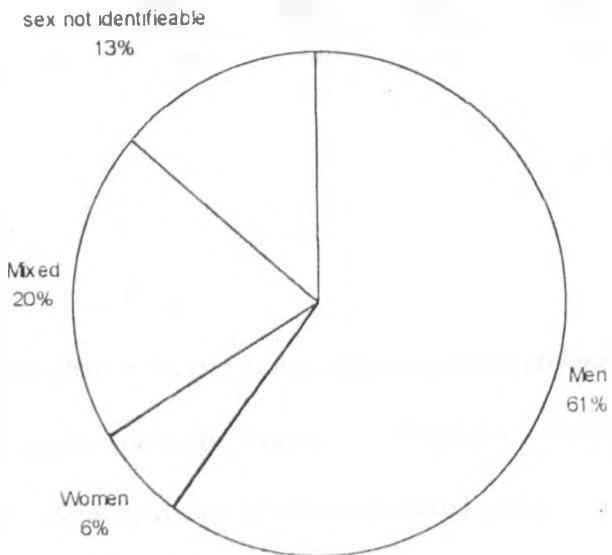
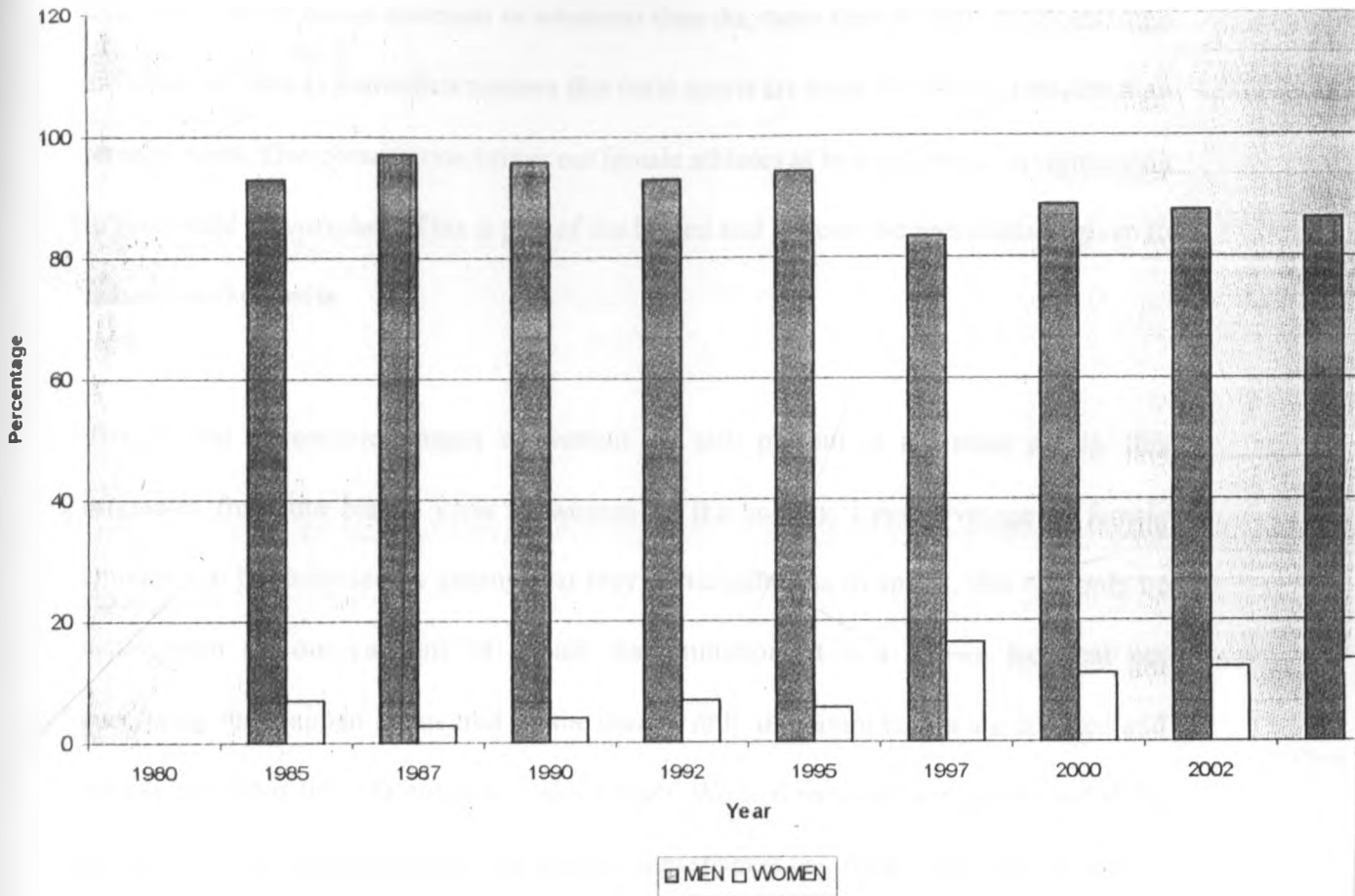


Chart 4: Coverage of athletes by percentage



From chart 4, it can be seen that the highest coverage of female athletes appeared in 1995, at 16.6% while the highest coverage for male athletes appeared in 1985 at 97.19%. Therefore, coverage of athletes differed greatly depending on sex.

The wide coverage given to male athletes in the media indicates how powerful they are perceived to be in the society. According to the Glasgow Media Group (1995:42), culture although taken for granted, generates the basic frames of reference based on which news is

defined. Athletes presentation is therefore equivalent to importance attached to them by the society. Male athletes are thought to be powerful than the female counterparts. Due to this, men attract more media attention in whatever they do, more than women. In sports, men are covered more as journalists assume that male sports are more attractive to readers than female sports. This presentation brings out female athletes as less influential in comparison to their male counterparts. This is part of the biased and stereotypic presentation given to females in the media.

Biased and stereotypic images of women are still present in the mass media, this originates from the biased view of women in the society. Less coverage of female athletes can be defended by stating that they participate less in sports, this can only be justification for our customs of female discrimination. It is a known fact that not everything that happen is covered by the media, only important issues are covered and women's sport is thought not to be one of them. Women participate in sports and if the media covers all sports activities for women, newspapers can have more than enough to write about.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations.

5.0. Summary

The purpose of this study was to establish how sportswomen have been covered by Kenyan Newspapers for the past 20 years. In order to achieve this objective, the researcher sought answers to the following questions:

- ❖ Has the coverage of sports increased over time (1980-2000)?
- ❖ Does Kenyan Newspapers cover sportswomen more than sportsmen?
- ❖ Does coverage of athletes in photographs differ from their coverage in written news?

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The study was carried out based on two major daily newspapers in Kenya, *The East African Standard* and *The Daily Nation* and their Sunday editions. It (the study) involved a sample of 120 newspapers selected through purposive and random sampling techniques.

Data was collected by content analysis of all articles about sports events, facilities and sportsmen and women. The study came out with the following findings:

- 5.01. Female athletes' coverage in newspapers has been increasing from 1990-2000.
- 5.02. Kenyan newspapers cover sportsmen more than sportswomen in written articles. But this trend changed in the 1990's based on their coverage in photographs. Female athletes are equally covered in photographs as their male counterparts.

- 5.03. Coverage of athletes differ depending on the athletes' sex, with men being covered more than women
- 5.04. The study also found out that photo coverage of athletes does not differ depending on the athletes' sex.

5.10 Conclusions

From the finding of this study, it was concluded that the status of the female athlete in the society has improved (and therefore the general women status) over the past 20 years, with media organizations continually accepting them as an important source of news.

On the other hand, it was concluded that male athletes are still given greater coverage than female athletes. This is due to the powerful status of men and the biased view of women in the society. The society continues to hold the view that women cannot engage in acts that require physical strength.

The study also found out that the increased photographic coverage of female athletes is in itself negative because it emphasizes the depiction of female athletes as glamorous and beautiful to look at. Exaggerated presentation illustrates the journalists', the newspaper readers' and generally the society's view of women. Their inclusion is not because they are newsworthy, but because their bodies are good to look at.

5.20.Recommendations for policy and action.

From the findings and conclusion of this study, the following recommendations may improve the coverage given to female athletes:

5.21.1 Campaigning for gender equity in sports coverage

Organisations involved in campaigning for gender equality should start programs aimed at ensuring improved coverage of female athletes in the mass media. Through this study, it was found that discrimination against women in has not been viewed as an impediment to gender equity. The 1975-1985 'Decade of Women', the United Nations Third Development Decade (1981-1991), the 1985 Nairobi declaration and the 1995 Beijing declaration do not recognize the importance of sports advancement to women. This study found that media coverage is extremely biased against female participants. The coverage therefore has a negative implication on the position of women in the society. In addition, this coverage socializes women into giving low priority to sports and thereby missing the benefits associated with sports participation. There is need to change this trend.

5.21.2.Sensitization of sports journalists on the importance of covering women.

Sports journalists should be encouraged to cover female athletes more. This is because media portrayal helps the people in forming attitudes towards women. If positively portrayed, the media may help in improving equality between the two sexes.

5.21.3 Inclusion of special courses in sports journalism in the training syllabus of journalists in various training colleges.

From the study it was found that sport was covered daily in the newspapers, but the coverage was biased with male events being larger in written news but female articles were

bigger in photographs from 1995-2003. This may indicate that the journalists' who produced the articles may have lacked the special skills required in news selection. Introduction of sports journalism courses may help in producing personnel to handle this important section of the newspaper. Special courses introduced should be aimed at instilling gender sensitivity in the journalist. Currently no journalism school teaches a related course in the country.

5.21.4. Employment of more women as sports journalists.

This may help in increasing coverage of female athletes. According to the Beijing Declaration and Platform of action strategic objective J.2., increase in women participation in decision at all levels in the media may help promote a balanced and a non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media. Portrayal of female athletes is too biased and such an intervention may be helpful.

5.21.5. Action by the media.

Media organizations should emphasize balance and fairness in news and photographic coverage of various people. These organizations should develop forms of self-regulation in reporting sports aimed at promoting presentation of non-stereotyped images of women.

5.21.6 Action by the government.

The government should also act to improve depiction of female athletes in the media; these can be done through;

- 5.21.61. Promotion of research and implementation of a strategy of information, education communication aimed at balancing the portrayal of female athletes
- 5.21.62. Development of a media policy that should enhance, in respect of freedom of expression, ethical codes of conduct and other measures aimed at promoting positive images of the female athletes in the media.
- 5.21.63. Development of a sports policy that should address issues related to biased treatment of sportswomen. Currently the country does not have a sports policy and no attempt has been made to develop it 40 years after independence

5.22. Suggestions for further research.

- 5.22.1. This research was limited to the two major daily newspapers, *The East African Standard* and *The Daily Nation*, research should be done to cover the depiction of athletes in electronic media and other newspapers.
- 5.22.2. Study should also be done to find out what the situation has been since 1902 when the first newspaper appeared.
- 5.22.3. Study should also be done on how journalists of different sexes covered athletes
- 5.22.4. Participatory research should be done with the female athletes themselves to find out how the media treats them and how their status can be improved.

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Appendix.

DATA COLLECTION FORM

Newspaper: (1) Daily /Sunday Nation (2) East African/ Sunday Standard

(Tick as appropriate)

Date _____

Day/ Date/Month/Year

Type of article: News report/ photo/ feature/ editorial/ cartoon/ letter/ others	Athlete covered			Space in CM ² (L x W)
	Men	Women	Sex not identifiable	
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				