# GENDER GAPS IN

MEDIA ADVERTISING

By

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Dedication

To my mother, without whose financial support I would not have made it and to my children, Nora and Neil, whose time and attention I took, to be able to complete this study.

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Acknowledgements

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Abstract

This study describes the differential portrayal of females and males in media advertising that leads to gender gaps. The main concern in this study was to determine the reasons for gender gaps in media advertising. The main objectives of the study were to establish whether the gender gaps in media advertising are a result of male domination of decision-making positions in media occupations, differential socialization of males and females and lack of awareness amongst receivers of advertisements. Qualitative data were collected through in-depth interviews with a purposive sample of informants as well as key informants who included gender experts and advertisers. Quantitative data were obtained by a questionnaire administered to secondary school students in sampled schools. Library research was also used to collect data.

Findings indicate that there are gender gaps in media advertising. The results affirm that these gender gaps are a result of the socialization process. The majority of recipients of advertisements lack awareness on the gender gaps that stem out of the advertising arena given that the adverts reflect the natural order as they have been socialized. However, respondents disagreed with the portrayal of women as sex objects but agreed that women are predominantly mothers, child minders and home keepers. The results also show that though women hold more managerial positions in top media advertising agencies, advertising has multiple actors, many of whom are males in decision - making positions. Based on the study findings, it is recommended that advertising revision the images it portrays of women and men, be engendered with new definitions, keeping pace with societal changes.

CHAPTER ONE
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

It may be easy to scoff at and claim that advertising is too simple to affect anyone, but, indeed, through precise meanings and organic forms, advertisements do fruitfully manoeuvre us towards new experiences. According to Gallagher (1981), the media are potentially powerful agents of socialization through the images they present, the status they confer and also the stereotypes they encourage of males and females. A good illustration is that of the status conferred on the "macho" construction workers enjoying a Ranger drink after a hard days work as opposed to the female "bimbo" whose ultimate goal is to keep pretty and attract the macho male worker as shown in plates 1.1 and 1.2 below. Ultimately, the media have a powerful influence on the formation of attitudes, development of the self and the creation of social concepts and values.

Advertisements in particular have the ability to create lasting images that rationalize the portrayals of females and males and make them socially acceptable (Kundu and Wambui, 1993). This is due to their unquestioned persuasive and persistent nature and given that media depends on advertising, it implies that advertising pervades and manipulates every section of the media. Advertising tells stories about people in subtle as well as fragrant ways. It is thus not surprising to hear a little girl calling out to parents who are leaving home for work saying, "Goodbye Daddy, have a nice day" and to her mother "Goodbye mama Githeri", with a mischievous smile on her face. The recipients of advertisements are therefore invited not to just look and listen, but to step out boldly into the real world cinematic in advertising.

Plate 1.1   Macho hardworking males

Be proud of who you are.
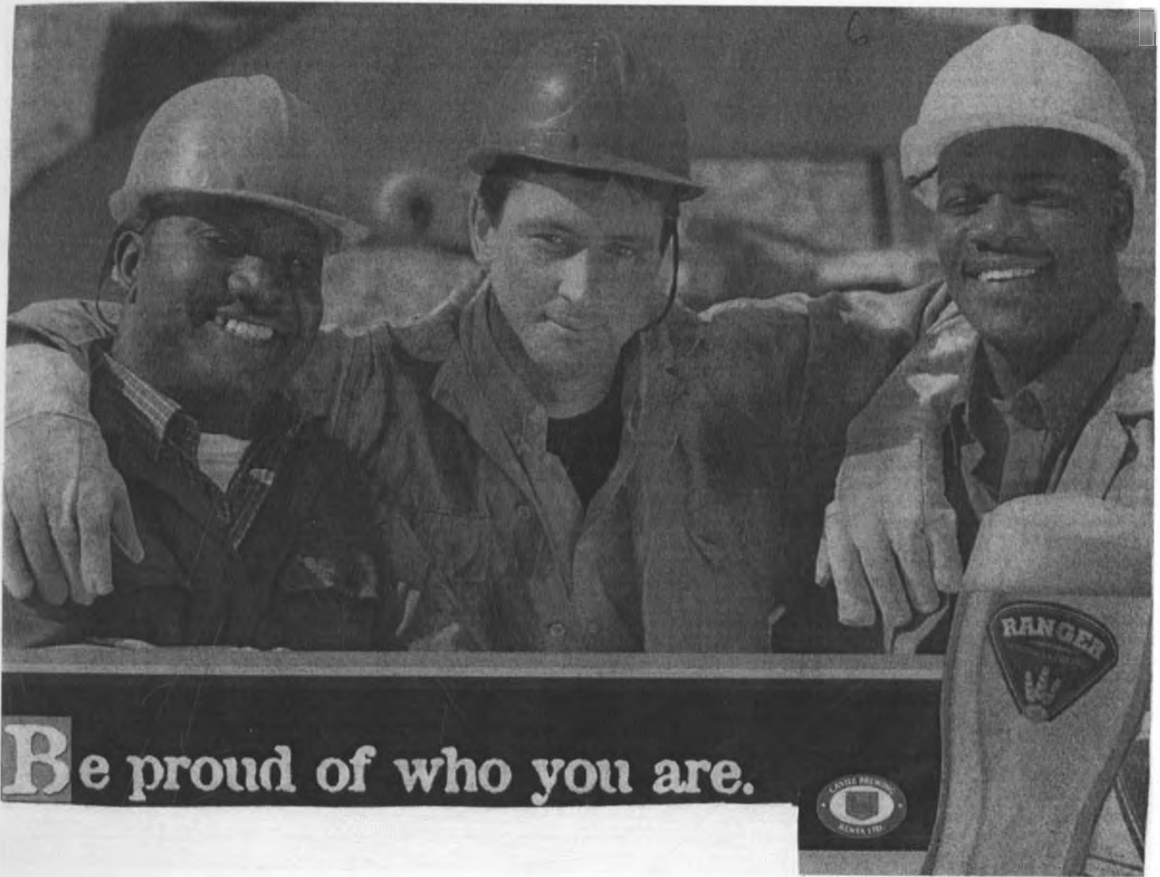
Plate 1.2: Female bimbo whose ultimate goal is to keep pretty and attract the macho male worker

Inevitably then, advertising serves as a socializing agent in terms of knowledge about people and their relations over and above that of marketing items. The trend in Kenya has been that females and males are portrayed differently, each taking up different roles and activities. Whether this is a true picture of the differences inherent in society at large is subject to discussion. However, armed with different treatment allotted to females and males in the world of advertising, one can rightly conclude that it is not merely a strategy to market goods and services. It is also a powerful vehicle for advertising gender imbalances .The main concern in this study was to establish the reasons that lead to the differential treatment of females and males in media advertising.

In this study, the concept of advertising is constantly invoked and is thus worth a comment. Its meaning is two fold: to promote and market goods by making them publicly known to consumers, and to refer to the propaganda of gender differences brought out in the process of advertising goods. Thus, in a way gender is advertised alongside goods. Engendering advertising refers to the removal of symbols and words that identify goods with one sex exclusively, hence removing masculinity or femininity stereotypes. Sexist advertising, on the other hand, is used in reference to prejudiced and discriminatory advertising, especially against women, on the grounds of sex. Such advertising is detrimental to the well being of a society.

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The concept 'Access to Resources' has been used in a wider scope to mean: the ability to use, own or have material assets like money; intellectual resources like knowledge, information and ideas; and ideology which refers to the ability to generate, propagate, sustain and institutionalise specific sets of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviour. Systemic gender discrimination is used to refer to the differential treatment given to one gender, by comparison with the other, that is part of most aspects of the social system. It is not just confined to the world of advertising; it concerns the wider society and leads to gender gaps of inequalities.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the global call for the elimination of all forms of discrimination (CEDAW, 1994) a lot of differences between females and males are discernible in the highly hierarchical, advertising arena. According to Lukalo and Goro (1995), advertisements in Kenya continue to project sexist stereotypes of women as natural housewives, wives and mothers, or beautiful and flawless young women whose ultimate goal is to attract and attain a man. The world of work is delineated as a man's territory as a woman is confined to the home (Lukalo and Goro, 1995). This is well illustrated in plates 1.3 and 1.4

Plate 1.4: Female's place in the kitchen

Such portrayals are detrimental to both genders. In this era of unemployment, underemployment and retrenchment, females cannot sit back and wait for males to provide as sole breadwinners, as presented in the Western Union Money Transfer with the slogan "It is like putting money in their hands yourself". This is disempowering to men , as it socializes them to bear traditional burdens as sole economically empowered members of the family. Yet, there has been an upward surge of women into the workforce. They also disempower females who must be dependent on men intellectually, socially and economically. In order to be able to address these gender gaps, it is crucial to conceptualise how they are created. Kundu and Wambui (1993) state that gender imbalance is rooted in economic, social and cultural set-ups. Friedan also points out that advertisers do not cause the 'feminine mystique', but are the most powerful of its perpetuators (Friedan, 1963). Thus, advertisements confirm the structural inequality embedded in society. This study sought to find answers to the following questions:

a. Is the under-representation of women in media occupations a result of domination by males in media decision- making positions?

b. Does socialization lead to gender gaps in media advertising?

c. Are receivers of advertisements aware of the gender gaps in media advertising?

1:3 Objectives

The overall objective of this study was to determine the reasons for gender gaps in media advertising.

Specific objectives

a. To find out whether the male domination of decision-making positions in media occupations leads to gender gaps in media advertising.

b. To establish whether the socialization of males and females leads to gender gaps in media advertising.

c. To demonstrate whether the lack of awareness amongst receivers of advertisements leads to gender gaps in media advertising.

1.4 Rationale

Despite the fact that sexist portrayals in media advertising have been highlighted, they remain unchanged as we see stereotypical images of women as housewives, child minders, passive and scantily dressed individuals, whose employment opportunities are severely constricted and their work undervalued, while men usurp control over the family and society at large (UNICEF,1991). This study is crucial because it sought to find out the root cause of these portrayals as well as to explain the reasons that make the images dominant and unchanging. The study also heeds the call by the Convection for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (and men) as presented by (CEDAW 1994) without distinction of any kind, even on the basis of sex.

The results of this study could form a crucial cornerstone for gender mainstreaming in media advertising. By exploring the gaps as well as their causes, the study should meet *de jure* as well as *de facto* rights once the results are utilized for change. Advertisements are a powerful form of socialization. Continued projection of sexist stereotypes may have adverse effects on the human race, but more especially on the female's self-esteem, identity formation and motivation. This study recognizes that advertising is a crucially important topic since the images it projects or it may help to create will, in the long run, undoubtedly be reflected in the attitudes of the society towards people.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with a review of the literature. The literature review is divided into three parts. The first part explores the power of the media in socialization, the second part covers the portrayals of males and females in media advertising, and the last part deals with the content analysis of television and billboard advertising in Kenyan media in the year 2000. After the literature review, the chapter examines the theoretical framework and then ends with the formulation of the hypotheses.

2.2 Literature Review

A review of the power of the media in socialisation was made as well as an exploration of the portrayal of females and males in media advertising.

2.2.1 Media and Socialization

Media are used for mass communication and have power to reach vast numbers of people all over the world. According to Nassanga and Leticia (1994), the media have the capacity to influence people's thinking through the images they portray that help to guide people's perceptions towards a specific direction. She adds that people tend to believe what comes out of the media as gospel truth and, as a consequence, media are a major force in perpetuating a cultural ideology.

Indeed, in every society public attitudes regarding the roles of females and males are major factors used to determine the status of each gender. Indeed the media are important as they exert a strong influence in shaping these attitudes. Advertising in particular is of vital importance to the continued function of mass communication. All media are financially dependent on advertising (Lukalo and Goro, 1995). Thus, advertising has an important role to play in either perpetuating or eliminating stereotypical portrayals. The images mediated through advertising affect perceptions and behaviour of women and men and their relations with each other.

Kundu and Wambui (1993) reiterate that advertising is endowed with a great ability to create lasting images because of the unquestioned repetitive nature and exposure which rationalizes the portrayals and 'rubs them in' until they are socially acceptable. With time, society internalizes the portrayals of males and females and this forms false notions that whatever is seen displayed in the advertisements is inherent in the sexes portrayed. The question one may ask is this: how and why does this happen? Must receivers accept what they see and internalize it? Indeed yes, because it is a form of socialization.

Socialization is a process. It is a behaviour pattern that members of a given society are expected to conform to. This behaviour pattern corresponds to certain norms and practices given to each gender, and since they are ideal for society, those who come up lacking in either are likely to face a lot of criticism from others.

Consequently, identities are formed and a sense of belonging is incorporated in members in an orderly society. According to Collins and Hammond (1997), self-concept is the image and sense of oneself that is the product of the societal norms and values one has been exposed to, and the individual's own perception and the perceptions of others about him. This self-concept is a product of socialization that is constructed in a never-ending effort. This is what advertising does, over and over again, through terse, persuasive and persistent messages. Nassanga and Leticia (1994), assert that media are potentially powerful agents of socialization and social change. In advertising, social anxieties regarding physical, sexual and personal relations are implied in the suggestion that the purchaser of a certain product fits into a given desirable social group with a defined product such as type of a car or cosmetics. Hence the purchaser must have the desire to belong to a larger society.

Mazrui shows that media are one of the elements in the phenomenon of cultural dependency (Mazrui, 1975). This is due to the fact that media enhance the understanding as well as reinforcement of societal norms and values, reinforcing the socio-cultural sphere of dominant gender relations and inequalities (Lukalo and Goro, 1995). Advertisements are one such source of a culture that must be reflected in the way people relate and the roles they partake. Advertisements are, therefore, a source of learning and conditioning. Socialization calls on people to look at the social world in terms of differences, and gradually and unconsciously, people come to regard their own culturally defined gender differences as equivalent to the natural order of things. Thus nurture becomes second nature.

According to Postman (1985), television is a curriculum that influences, teaches, trains and cultivates the mind and character of the youth as it contains information about the world they live in and acts as a vehicle of socialization regarding gender roles. Advertising becomes a powerful perpetuator of a culture (Friedan, 1963) or sometimes advertisements create a new culture (Brown, 1984). In the long run, advertisement forms a conservative mentality among people, who accept their state as natural and hold on to age old benefits that males are superior to females (Eshiwani 1986). Indeed, media affects perceptions of its audience, socializes people to accept sex roles and reassures them that the prevailing sex role divisions are appropriate and fulfilling (Caullemans and Fauconner, 1997).

Adversely, we are socialized to accept the world that advertising presents. It looks so natural, as if decreed by God.

2.2.2 Portrayals

Sex role ascriptions and masculine or feminine symbols that accompany them in media advertising, are a mirror of what a woman or a man expected to be in society. These portrayals are prescriptive and stereotypical. The division of labour in media advertising is heavily skewed in favour of men, and to the detriment of women. Women undertake all reproductive and maintenance tasks, child-rearing, cleaning, laundry, cooking, nursing sick children and spouses, preparing them for work and school and being there for them.

In Tanzania, studies revealed that advertisements reinforced the traditional division of labour. Women's roles continue to be based on the traditional stereotypical division of labour (Nassanga and Leticia, 1994). In Kenya, a study on television advertising revealed that advertising restricted women to the home and prescribed traditional sex roles (Lukalo and Goro, 1995). Studies also show that in the America of the 1970s, despite the fact that there were 29 million women in the labour force at that time, women were still portrayed in the home locus in advertising, while men were fully involved in a career: 78% of the time they were portrayed working out of the home setting (Lovdal, 1989).

According to Gallager (1981), advertising in particular places women firmly in the home with housework as their special responsibility. Women working outside the home take up traditionally feminine occupations with less status and power like secretarial, clerical, nursing and air hosting. Advertisements generally under-represent women workers. They perpetuate the feminine mystic by defining women solely as wife, mother, dish washer and other feminine duties as being the ultimate goals of modern women (Friedan, 1963).

Females are also portrayed as sex objects as opposed to the virile and powerful men. Studies show that the feminist movement did lead to changes from portrayals of the domestic women to those of the new women, overly concerned with sexual attractiveness, the 'BEAUTY MYTH', who meet rigid standards of slimness, beauty and fashion as a new form of repressing women (Wolf, 1991). Cosmetics and fashion advertisements show such females whose job is to remain attractive, dress seductively and wear the right make up.

In a study of 'bodyism' and 'facism', Dodd (1989) found that photos of women tended to focus on their bodies, while those of men focused on their faces. This suggests that men are important for their intellect and personality, but women are important for their general attractiveness and figures. This is the case in Kenyan advertising as shown in Plates 2.1 and 2.2 below.

Plate 2.2: Photos of men focus on their faces because men are important for their intellect and personality

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The men appear to be in control of themselves, 'macho' and virile with sexual prowess. They are well –groomed and neatly tailored, not overly concerned with their appearance, unlike complacent and passive female 'bimbos', decorative and beautiful to behold. Female bodies are placed in sexually exploitative and compromising positions, sexually submissive postures or connotative facial expressions of females with thin waists and large hips and breasts.

Power accrues to these men in wage employment and celebrating their sexuality. Health advertisements suggest that men are strong and women submissive (Rudman and Hagiwara, 1992). The advertisements present men as physically stronger than women, taller and with differential weight. The women and children are prostrate or in seating positions, while the persona of males captures an air of confidence, competence, authority over women, children and their environment (Belknap and Leonard II, 1991).

Voice-overs celebrate this power, as women are powerless to say the final words regarding the advertisements. When they are given the chance to do so, they speak to things like dogs, cats or to people in subordinate positions like children and their topic revolves around feminine hygiene, headaches or diet. The men are more credible and more powerful (Lovdal, 1989). In a nutshell, the men have decision-making powers on the right products to be used.

Inevitably, men are depicted as having access to resources more than females. In the case of voice-overs, men are more knowledgeable about the facts regarding the products advertised, while women are mere users, depending on male advice (Brett and Cantor, 1988), even regarding purchases associated with famine tasks. Females lack economic empowerment since a majority of them do not engage in remunerative work.

Language and symbols are used to articulate these differences of males and females. While females are passive, inactive and helpless with symbols such as sweet, gentle, lovely and nice, as advertised in beauty products, power precision and performance run as a theme throughout advertising for men, connecting them with status and success (Barthel, 1888). It is evident that advertising products advertises gender and portrays gender gaps in all spheres of the lives of females and males.

2.2.3 Content analysis

The story told by advertisements in Kenyan televisions and billboards is that women's work is different from men's work. This can be seen through analysis of the activities that women undertake which are purely different from those undertaken by men.. Women are thrown in a whirlpool of reproductive activities, predominantly mothering, house keeping and child minding.

Women's ultimate quest is to be the best mother, always using the right product to clean well, prepare gourmet meals, nurse sick children and spouses and be on time by using energy saving devices such as 'Mobil gas' instead of 'makaa' so that their spouses and children are well catered for. Advertisements on food products such as cooking oil, beverages, spices and niceties celebrate this portrayal, as 'Chipo' oil puts it, 'A Chipo mother, always a smart mother'.

These products must be handy so that the woman's family enjoys the best diet and is revitalised. Thus, in the Home Cup advert, the man may come home only to find a cup of Home Cup Tea handy and then call her 'Sweetie'. The women really derive their fulfilment from playing their roles very well.

Products on body oils, soups, detergents and disinfectants, portray women as cleaners. They are always bathing children and always looking out for the best body oil to use such as Vaseline Petroleum Jelly or Johnson's, the trusted skin care for the whole family. A woman cleans their shirts with Aerial, disinfects the toilet, scrubs the kitchen and soaks soiled baby clothes in Jik, because everything must bloom and be sparkling clean. She is the nurse, cleans wounds and ensures the whole family is protected from germs and infections by using such products like Dettol or Robb. In general, the female is self-sacrificing, showing solidarity and giving physical as well as emotional support to the family. Plate 2.3 is a cinematic representation of such portrayals.

Cinematic presentation of the woman as the nurse who loves her family and supports them physically and emotionally
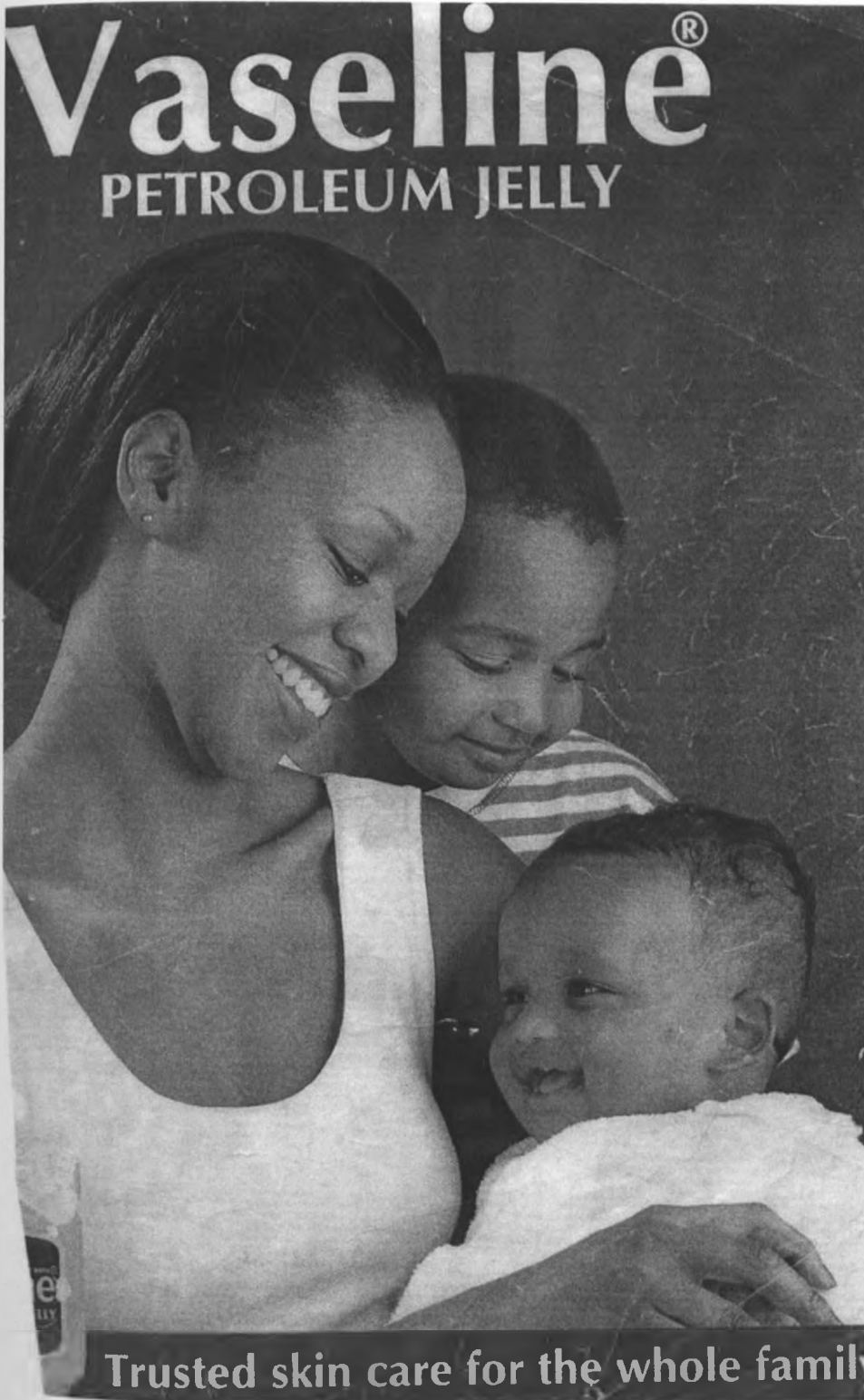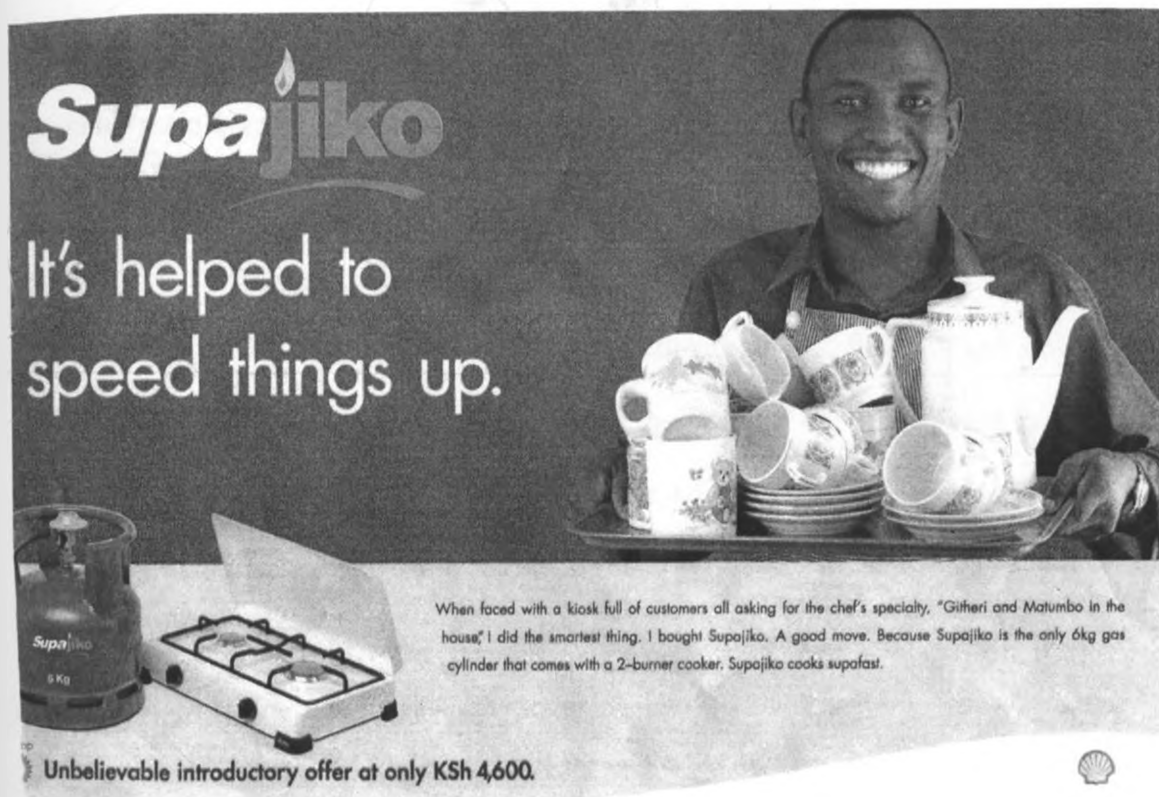
Juxtaposed with the above maintenance tasks of females in adverts are productive roles of males outside the home. The males come home only to find gourmet meals, delicacies all ready to be consumed; 'Mama watoto wapi chakula' shows how they demand the food. They also come home after a day's work to refresh themselves with a shower of Protex or a drink such as Tusker 'baada ya kazi'.

In advertising medicines the men are shown performing physical tasks or in offices like the advertisement on Hedex. Thus, the males are always catching the Kenya Bus to go to work or going to work on a sausage as presented by Farmers Choice for they deserve to enjoy their day out there. Plate 2.4 is picturesque of the productive roles of males presented in advertisements.

Plate 2.4: When men perform 'feminine' tasks, they do so for economic benefits like the Chef presented below.

Supajiko

It's helped to speed things up.

When faced with a kiosk full of customers all asking for the chef's specialty, "Githeri and Matumbo in the house," I did the smartest thing. I bought Supajiko. A good move. Because Supajiko is the only 6kg gas cylinder that comes with a 2-burner cooker. Supajiko cooks supafast.

Unbelievable introductory offer at only KSh 4,600.

Another sexist portrayal is that of females as a sex object, 'bimbo' or 'tramp', juxtaposed with 'macho' and virile males with sexual prowess. A lot of imagery presented shows that women are viewed and view themselves as sex objects. They are presented as scantly dressed or in sexually explicit scenes, flirtatious in their pause, gaze or smile or with their pelvic rolled, just out to attract sexual partners.

Such are the women we see advertising drinks and cigarettes such as Embassy Kings with the sexually connotative words 'smooth all the way'. Aspen cigarettes has the same imagery on a billboard with a very smartly dressed male smoking while the female clings to him, scantily dressed and playing the role of sexual providence to the "macho" male because 'he deserves the best'. There is a sexual connotation in the words 'try the good new taste' of Aspen as well as that of the female.

The Coca- Cola Company has such females advertising drinks, flawless and smooth, just smiling flirtatiously as if telling the world they should be 'drunk' with craving. The man striving for the Fanta in the Guatemala advertisement ends up kissing the female and craving for her, so do those enjoying the movie as well as the drink of Fanta and the sensual gaze from the males. The female used to advertise 'Crush' is in skin-tight trousers, unlike the male who is dressed in decent casuals (Sees 2.5 and 2.6)

Plate 2.5: Women are sex objects

Embassy

Smooth all the way
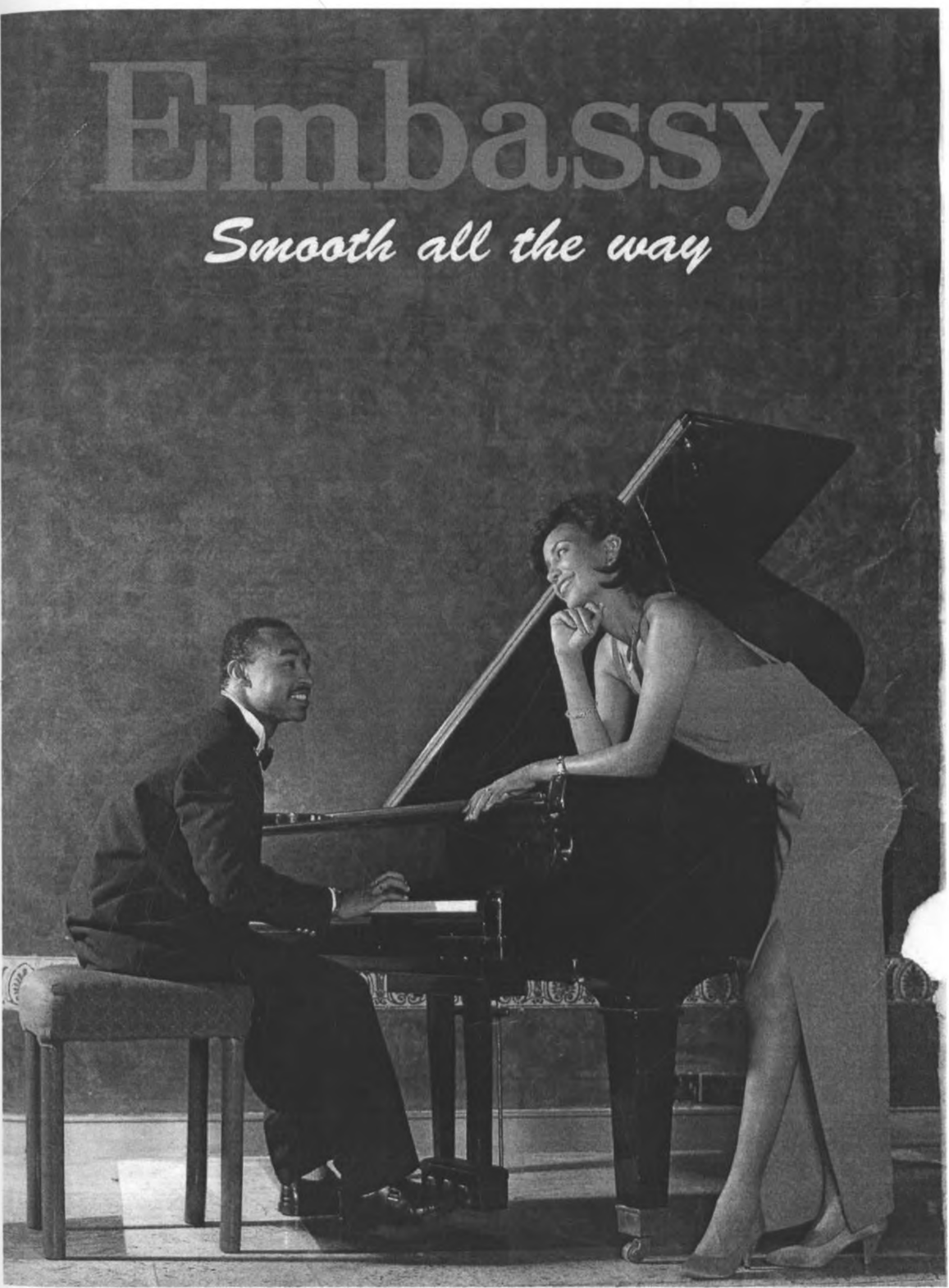
Smirnoff presents such models in beauty pageants and generally, the beauty industry celebrates these portrayals. Body lotions, moisturizers, perfumes and oils have such fair and lovely females, dark and lovely, chic, cool, with the beautiful skin colour of youth. Men are hardly used to advertise these products, despite the fact that they too use face creams, moisturizes and sprays. Therefore, the ultimate goal for women is to look beautiful, but that should not be the man's goal.

Females and males undertake different economic activities. Indeed, what females do in advertisements is pitiable. They sell fried fish like the 'Omo' ad or 'Githeri', like the 'Mitumba' woman advertising Aerial. On the contrary, males are dynamic, farmers as in the Co-operative Bank advertisement, chefs like the Royco or sausage ads, business executives like in the Pager ad , or yellow pages. Women in occupational roles are very few and are concentrated in low wage occupations such as the secretary in yellow pages, the teacher in the Colgate advertisement , or models.

The males have access to credit, like the Barclayloan given to a male to furnish the house with chairs, fridge, and cooker, all of which, ironically, are a woman's domain. If only females had access to credit, then we would not see them undertaking petty trade selling fried fish, or market goods like the women coming from 'Donyo' in the Kimbo advertisement. It is reaffirmed in the advertisements that women are economically disempowered and depend on the economically empowered men for sustenance as presented in Plates 2.7 and 2.8.

THE TRUSTED SOLUTION TO RECEIVE MONEY FROM ABROAD
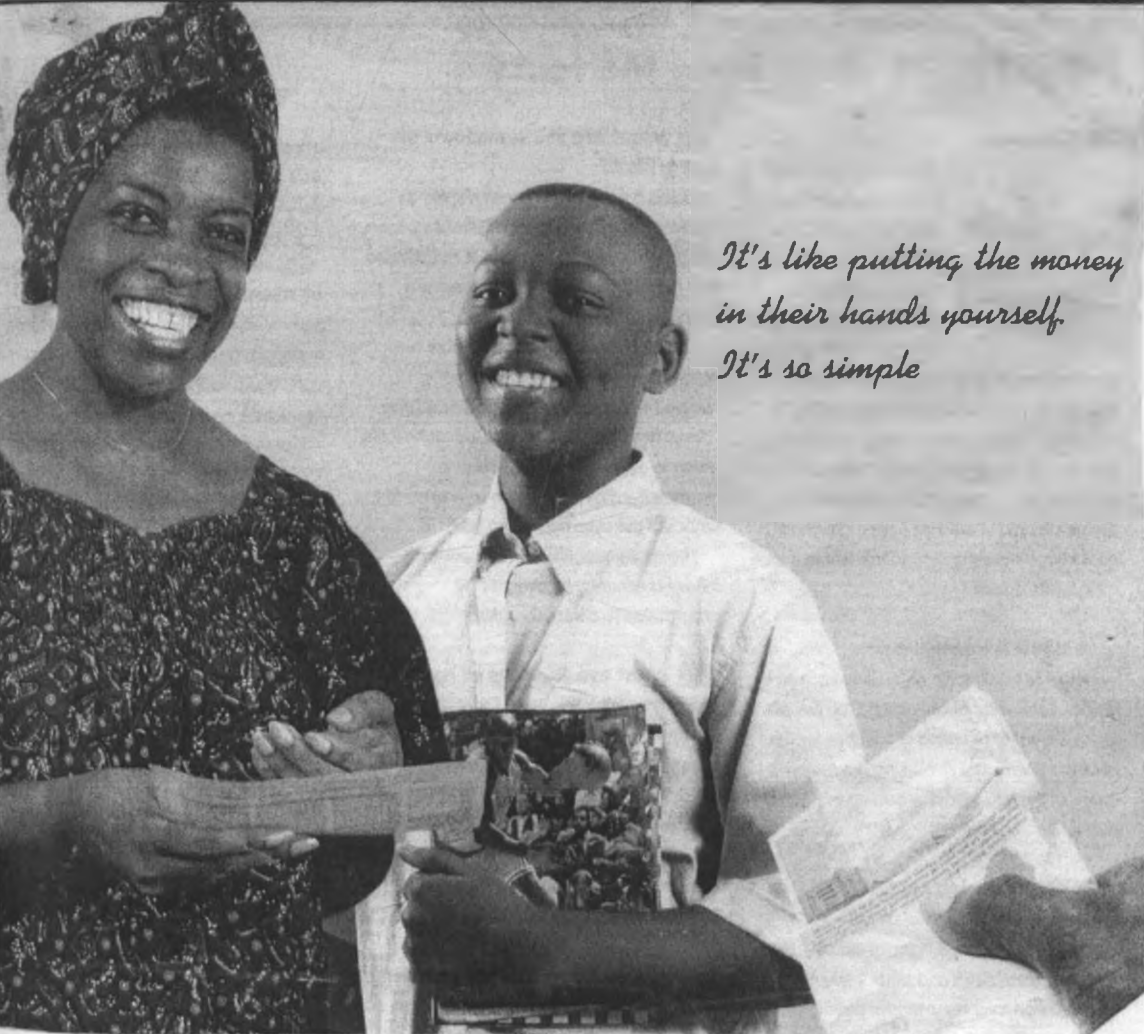
It's like putting the money in their hands yourself. It's so simple

Barclayloan

HE FASTEST WAY TO FURNISH YOUR HOME
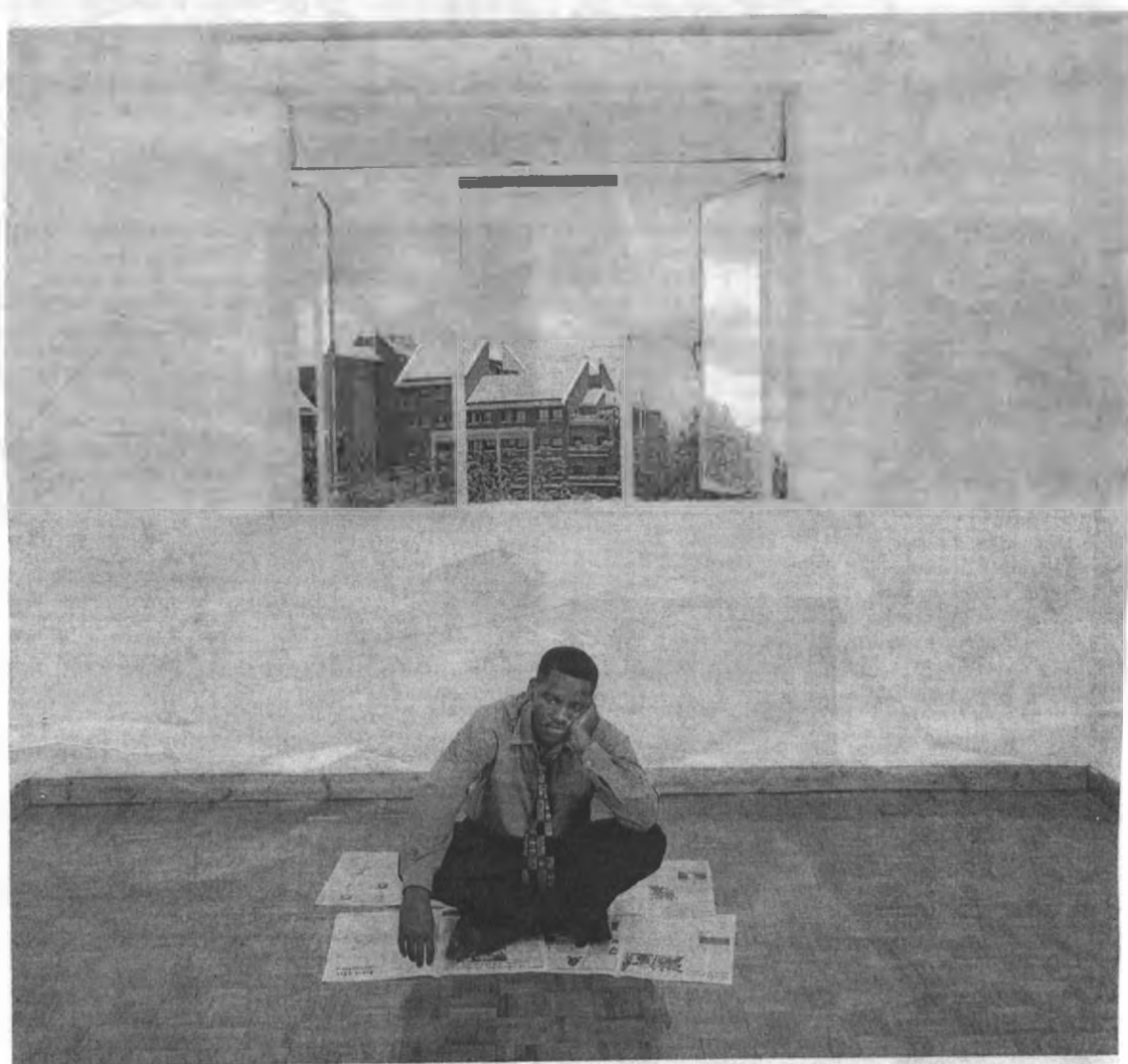
Now you can buy a sofa set, a TV, a stereo, a refrigerator, a cooker – all
your home furnishings – instantly. If you hold an account with Barclays, you can apply
or a home furnishing loan from your branch. This enables you to buy all your home requirement
immediately. You then repay the loan in equal instalments over a period of up to 24 months.

Indeed, the gaps presented in media advertising are wide and cannot be underrated. From the literature review, wide ranges of gender gaps are prevalent. There is a sexist division of labour in media advertising, which is heavily skewed in favour of men and to the detriment of women. Women are thrown in a whirlpool of the triple role of reproductive, productive and maintenance tasks. There is also discrimination of female gender in remunerative work. The females are hardly portrayed as undertaking occupational roles. This leads to even wider gaps in the status and power relations of both genders .The working males are more autonomous, economically empowered, have better status and have more power than the females. The females, on the other hand, are restricted to the home locus, with roles ascribed to them such as mothering and child-care, and with little control over their lives. The few who undertake occupational roles are placed in traditional occupations with lower status like nursing, nursery school teaching or petty trade. In a nutshell, advertisements present sexist portrayals of men and women as unequal and belonging to different worlds with different dreams as shown in Plate 2.9.

Such portrayals are a result of systemic gender discrimination. For any development to take place, there is need to address these gaps, a need to engender advertising, portray equality of access to resources, control of resources, autonomy, economic empowerment and greater liberties and freedoms for women as well as men.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on the ABC of Gender Analysis Framework, propounded by Wanjiku and Masheti (1997), to be used in the analysis of school texts and other educational materials and resources. This framework was commissioned by the Forum for Africa Women Educationalists in response to the urgent need to raise the consciousness of teachers, curriculum developers and others on the dangers of gender neutral curriculum.

The analysis of school texts had pointed to the often biased and educationally damaging portrayals of gender roles and relationships within texts and to the continued perpetuation of gender stereotypes. Literature review reveals that the media is a form of curriculum that influences, teaches, trains and cultivates the mind and characters of a people (Postman, 1985). The media contains a whirlpool of information regarding the world and the people living in it.

The people relate to each other and have roles to play in society. These roles and relationships have been portrayed in advertisements in a biased, often demeaning way to the female gender. Consequently, the ABC of Gender Analysis has proven a valuable tool in this study in guiding systematic analysis of media advertising that brings out, as objectively as possible, the gender dynamics within media advertising and reveals the gender gap there-in.

Advertising media, like school texts, is full of stereotypical divisions of labour and gender relations. The ABC of Gender Analysis Framework unveils these stereotypes and proceeds to analyse the causes and how they can be addressed. The framework proceeds on the assumption that each and every advert tells a story about people, how they relate to one another and their environment.

Thus, advertising has a dual purpose to persuade people to buy products and to give people knowledge about the world in general. To facilitate the usage of a product, advertisers create a human world, whereby the consumers recognize and easily identify with what is presented, to the extent that they see themselves in the advertising world.

Inevitably, advertising presents a gendered picture of a world inhibited by males and females, cinematic in the advertisements. Hence, narratological analysis is employed, recognizing that any written visualized and/or spoken advert contains within it a gendered perspective that purports to mirror the reality of what is written, broadcast or visualized about it.

The first part of this framework deals with the composition of advertisements using narratological analysis of the content of the advertisements. The second part deals with identification of the gender gaps through the use of both qualitative and quantitative data, leading to the identification of appropriate strategies for bridging the gender gaps.

2.3 Hypotheses

a. Gender gaps in media advertising are a reflection of male domination in the decision-making positions in media.

b. Gender gaps in media advertising are a result of the different socialization processes for males and females.

c. Gender gaps in media advertising portray lack of awareness amongst receivers of advertisements.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Site

Nairobi Province was chosen as a suitable study site. Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya and is situated in the highlands east of the Great Rift Valley. The city covers an area of about 693 km^2 and is situated almost midway between Mombasa and Kisumu, along the Kenya Uganda Railway at about 1^0 South and 37^0 East.

It is one of the eight provinces of Kenya, with a population of about 1,324,570 people. It is cosmopolitan and the heart of most commercial, educational, socio-economic and industrial activities in the republic. The media is one of the largest communication industries in Kenya, and Nairobi forms the centre of this industry, with many media houses having their head offices located here. The electronic and print media have their roots in Nairobi, such as African Council on Communication Education (ACCE), Kenya Union of Journalists (KUJ) and Association of Media Women in Kenya, among others. Lastly, advertising agencies like the marketing society of Kenya, are also situated in Nairobi.

3.2 Population / Universe and Sampling Procedure

The major source of data for this analysis was through content analysis of advertisements presented on television and billboards. Kenya's two television channels, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and the Kenya Television Network are widely viewed and reach an estimated 70,000 people (Goro and Lukalo, 1995). There are about 15 advertising agencies promoting goods manufactured by local and multi-national companies and they employ a wide range of available media, among which is television. According to Parenti (1985), television can be considered a significant influence on children who spend much more time viewing television than they do in reading.

Billboards are a form of outdoor advertising and provide advertisers with the largest colour display of their products, packages, trademarks and slogans. Billboards embrace the most spectacular use of lights and animation and have the power to attract any passerby and deliver a message. This study cuts through a population that is literate and illiterate, young and old, poor and rich. Billboards do have a high degree of geographic flexibility and so are a crucial form of advertising to a wide range of audiences. Research was carried out on media experts and advertising agencies as key informants, ordinary recipients of advertisements, including secondary school students.

A random sample of four key informants was used. Two key informants were randomly sampled from the 15 advertising agencies in Kenya, and another 2 informants from media organizations in Kenya (in general). Interviews were given to informants purposively sampled. Purposive sampling was found useful in establishing a sample with the characteristics required to meet the needs of the study. Both literate and illiterate persons, young and old, urban dwellers and rural-urban migrants are found in Nairobi. Questionnaires were administered to 44 secondary school students in two schools randomly sampled, one boarding and another day. Both females and males were interviewed since the researcher was dealing with gender issues.

3.3 Methods of Data Collection

3.3.1 Content analysis

Content analysis was the major form of unobtrusive data collection in this research. Advertisements on billboards and television were collected and analyzed.

3. 3.2 Structured interviews

Field research was the primary source of data collection for this study. Structured interviews were administered to informants, using a questionnaire as the main instrument. Both closed and open-ended questions were used relating to media awareness and socialization. In the schools sampled, respondents were put in one class by their deputy head-teacher and adequate supervision was ensured so that the respondents did not rely on each other to give answers.

3.3.3 Informal interviews

Oral interviews were administered to a purposive sample of informants. With the objectives in mind, the researcher interviewed a purposive sample of informants in market places, commuters' stages and at places of work. This was based on the assumption that media advertising cuts through a big audience regardless of age, class, ethnicity, or gender. Such characteristics were available in a purposive sample in a wider range of settings like market places, bus stations and working places.

3.3.4 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were administered to four key informants. These key informants included gender experts and advertisers. This proved appropriate as it helped the researcher to understand the media administrative organization, and the duties and activities of media employees

3.3.5 Library research

Documentary materials, dissertations, theses and seminar papers were reviewed. This method was useful in providing basic data on the subject of study and identifying existing gender gaps in the media. This was vital to the study because it provided a simple gender screen for the review and analysis of media advertising. It was also a reliable tool of comparison of what has been documented with the study findings.

CHAPTER FOUR
GENDER GAPS IN MEDIA ADVERTISING

4:1 Introduction

In relation to the results of the study, it is evident that females and males are socialized differently and ascribed to roles and behavioural patterns that confirm to societal norms and values. Thus, gender gaps in media advertising are part of the social order, nurtured and natural. Given that advertising is market driven, advertisers cannot deviate from societal expectations. We can, therefore, rightly conclude that gender gaps in media advertising are indeed a reflection of the different socialization processes for males and females. The results are also quite unveiling. Despite the fact that respondents encounter advertisements day by day, a majority of them are still unaware of the gender gaps as presented in the literature review and content analysis. Eighty five per cent of the respondents disagree with the portrayal of women as sex objects but agree that women are predominantly mothers, child minders and home keepers. This is a result of the socialization already explored in this study. Thus, the study shows that there is a level of awareness on advertisements and their portrayals, but lack of awareness on the gender gaps that stem out of the advertising arena. The results also show that women hold more managerial positions in top media advertising agencies. However, advertising has multiple actors many of whom are males in decision-making positions.

4.2 Gender And Socialization

4.2.1 Gender Division of Labour and Socialization

The results of this study clearly indicate that the duties of women and men are different and a natural order of things. In the oral interviews, 11% of the respondents were reluctant to state the duties of women and men saying that they are obvious and the researcher need not ask. This study shows that men are heads of the family, custodians of discipline, voices of authority, breadwinners, financially empowered and supportive, protectors and guiders of their families. It follows then that women are helpers predominantly bearing and rearing children, taking care of the homes, undertaking maintenance tasks and are obedient, respectful and faithful to their husbands. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below show the different duties clearly delineated according to the responses received in the study.

Table 4.1: Men's duties

Duty	Number of Responses	Percentage
Head of family	13	30
Financial support/ educate children	34	77
Security/ protection	30	68
Breadwinner	26	59
Disciplinarian/source of authority	20	45
Love, guide and unite family	15	34

It is important to note that some of the respondents held the opinion that a woman can be the head of the family. These respondents were either unmarried single parents or widowed females.

Table 4.2: Women's Duties

Duty	Number of responses	Percentage
Helper	5	11
Domestic work/ homecare	27	61
Cook for family	23	52
Childcare (childbearing) guide and counsel children	37	84
Respect, support and stand by husband	12	27
Be faithful, obedient and love husband	13	30

A handful of the respondents indicated that the duties should be shared given that either females or males can be heads of the household. This study indicates that the duties delineated above arise out of the social positioning of women and men in the gender structure. They are socially constructed and re-constructed in a never-ending effort, and gradually and unconsciously, men and women, boys and girls, come to regard their socially defined gender differences as the natural order of things, as if decreed by God.

Table 4.3 summarizes the responses on from whom or where the respondents had learnt about the division of labour .

Table 4.3: From whom and where respondents learnt about duties

From Whom and Where Respondents learnt about duties	Number of Responses	Percentage
School (social ethics lessons, teacher, on guidance and counseling seminars)	40	91
Church (pastor, bible)	18	41
Family and neighbourhood (relatives, friends)	28	63
Observation	8	18
Mass media	3	7

Both genders have been led to accept the gender division of labour through a complex web of religious practices, social taboos, and hierarchies within the family, behavioural training and institutionalized training. No one can dare fall short of the expectations of teachers, parents, friends, relatives, neighbours, counselors and the church. The prescribed duties become natural as people are taught and trained since childhood until nurture becomes second nature.

4.2.2 Portrayals of Duties of Men and Women in Advertisements

The study established that the duties of men and women are clearly laid out in media advertisements as different. Table 4.4 presents responses on duties ascribed to men and women in media advertising. Some of the respondents, however, misinterpreted the duties by indicating men also share in the duties of child care since they pay school fees, and home care since they provide for basic needs such as shelter. The research intended to show homecare and childcare as portrayals of reproductive roles of child-minding like bathing, feeding, and also home chores such as cleaning the house, decorating it, and others. The column on both, therefore, means that the duties can be shared but cannot be done exclusively by one gender.

Table 4.4: Duties Ascribed to Men and Women

Duties	Women (%)	Men (%)	Both (%)
Cooking	89	0	11
Laundry	82	0	18
Banking	5	61	34
Childcare	66	0	34
Farming	7	41	52
Homecare	61	23	16
Petty Trade	14	54	32
Construction Work	0	95	5
Engineering	0	91	9

The study results show that 55% of the respondents agree with the above division of labour in the advertising arena. The respondents agreed with the division of labour because it is cultural and changing it would be mean emulating western culture or because women and men are actually different. One respondent said that some activities such as engineering need a lot of energy and cannot be done by women. On the other hand, 45% of the respondents disagreed with the division of labour. One respondent said it was sexist and unfair since women did 'bad' work with the little status while men did the 'good' work. Some respondents felt that the portrayals were prejudiced and discriminatory, looking down on women while showing men in professional jobs. In a nutshell, the results show gender gaps in advertising as women are given specific roles different from those given to men.

4.3 Level of Awareness

4.3.1 Advertisements and their Importance

Respondents gave a wide range of advertisements that are liked and/or disliked. The advertisements liked include those on products such as Michelin tyres, Mumias sugar, Geisha, Colgate, Omo, Coca Cola, Cadbury's chocolate and those on AIDS. The advertisements disliked include those on products such as Trust condoms, cigarettes like Embassy, beer and spirits like Smirnoff, cosmetics and Always pads, among others.

Ninety-one percent of the respondents agreed that advertising is important. Ninety-five per cent of the responses indicated that advertising is informative, educative and creates awareness about products in the market. Advertising has the power to reach many people since it can be visualized or listened to.

Fifty-three per cent of the responses indicated that advertising is important because it promotes the economy by providing employment, trade and competition.
On the other hand, only 3% of the respondents suggested that advertising is entertaining. One respondent indicated that advertising is important because of the free samples given at fairs and exhibitions.

Only 9% of the respondents thought advertising is not important. All the 4 respondents said that advertising encourages vice and immorality and exploits and misleads the youth. Advertising influences the youth to use products that are harmful to their health like cigarettes and by making them appear nice and "macho". Advertisements on cosmetics showed a lot of pornographic portrayals that are detrimental, especially to the youth, in this era of HIV / AIDS.

4.3.2. Language: Masculinity and Femininity Symbols in Advertising

Masculinity and femininity are not only a matter of individual identity but of the organization and representation of the whole society. Different traits are associated with femininity and masculinity in advertisements. Females and males are expected to behave in different ways, but the language used to describe their behaviour is not limited to their victims but has to encompass the whole social fabric. The language is significant because it not only reveals the gender gaps in media advertising but also shows how these gaps are communicated. Table 4.5 presents the words used to describe women and men as portrayed in media advertising.

Table 4.5: Words used to describe men and women in media advertising

Words	Women	Men	No response
Tough	0	100%	0
Fragile	91%	0	9%
Hardy/aggressive	36%	55%	9%
Sexy	84%	9%	7%
Rough	7%	86%	7%
Lazy	54%	16%	30%
Smart	55%	45%	0
Delicate/tender	84%	11%	5%
Knowledgeable	31%	50%	19%
Sweet	91%	9%	0
Independent	14%	75%	11%
Confident/sure	45%	55%	0

Fifty-five percent of the respondents agreed with the descriptions above stating that they are a true picture of the differences between women and men in society.

4.3.3 Some Negative Influences Of Advertisements

Sixty percent of the respondents felt that something is wrong with advertising. Several gaps were identified as prevalent in advertising. Advertising misleads the youth and exploits them by presenting the female youth as sex objects, and both female and male youth are presented smoking or drinking. This is detrimental to young people's spiritual, mental and physical health. Such advertising is not good to children either since the prevailing pornographic material breeds vice in them at a very tender age. It is unfortunate that such advertisements are often aired at inappropriate times when children and parents are both watching television and are often embarrassing.

Oral interviews also revealed similar sentiments and many interviewees were greatly concerned that advertisements are too ``Westernized" and, also, barely present ``old' (mature) people in order to deliberately create the impression that only young people are handsome and beautiful and thereby capture that niche of the market that is patronized by the segment of society that is gullible and easily impressionable-the youth.

Respondents felt that advertisers should consult consumers before advertising. Some of the respondents were concerned about how the youth are exploited in condom advertisements: they said that advertisers of such products should present people of such maturity as socio-cultural restrictions could sanction in such activities.

Respondents said that advertisements should be respectful and dignified and reveal the best of African culture for, they claimed, advertising is too westernized as it is at the moment in Kenya. On the other hand, 40% of the respondents found nothing overly wrong with advertising and felt that it should continue the way it is, and thus they felt they did not have a role to play in shaping advertising.

4.4 Media Occupational Positions

The results of this study show that more females hold managerial positions in advertising than males do. Table 4.6 illustrates the distribution of heads of advertising, or advertising – related departments, in some of the blue chip print and electronic media, advertising – related associations and multinational companies in Kenya.

Table 4.6: Gender distribution of managerial positions in the Kenyan media

      Advertising agencies

Kenyan television network (KTN)	Female
Total Kenya	Female
Public Relations Society of Kenya	Female
East African Standard Newspapers	Male
Image Public Relations	Female
Marketing Society of Kenya	Female
Interlink Rural Information Service (IRIS)	Female
Nation Media Group	Male

Table 4.6 suggests that women hold more managerial positions in top media advertising agencies. However, key informants also revealed that advertising is not as simple as it may appear. Advertising has multiple actors involved who must always be put into consideration: consumers, producers, advertising agencies and the media industry, among others. Thus, changing advertising would mean harmonising all these actors into one outlook or issues and such a process of transformation may encounter almost insurmountable pervasive obstacles ,principal amongst them being the chief tenet of advertising :sex sells.

The process of advertising is initiated with the company producing a certain product, say Coca-Cola, and in a particular company, the process may be formulated within its marketing arm, if it has any . The process may then move on to a promotion company, like advertising, marketing or public relations agencies, say 'Ogilivy and Mather'. The process now arrives at the media stage who transmit the message from the producer (seller) to consumers (buyers).

Given that there is no established and known clientele at one particular period in time, producers always wish to gain access to as wide a public as possible. In as much as this is the motivating factor in choosing a media house through which to advertise their product, media houses which enjoy a big circulation or big audiences attract more clients. And, in this way, the big spending advertisers are slotted into ''prime'' time, when everyone is expected to switch on the television.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

Despite the hue and cry against gender equality discrimination, this study unveils a lot of gaps in advertising that cannot be overlooked. Gender equality is a fundamental value that must be reflected in development choices and institutional practices. Media advertising has a long way to go given that gender relations play into the market forces. However, the market driven appropriate can be used to strengthen women and make gender relations more egalitarian, instead of reflecting on women's subordination and men's domination in both public and private sectors

5.2 Conscietization

Conscietization means sensitization to such beliefs and their rejection. It calls for the recognition that subordination is not part of the natural order of things but is imported by a system of discrimination that is socially constructed and can be altered.

There is need to demonstrate to women and men, boys and girls how gender is constructed socially and how it could be changed .The respondents are largely unaware of gender issues and have been socialized to believe that women and men are different and must take up different duties relevant to their sex.

It is not surprising that women and men still hold on to this age old beliefs, even when they are not empirical. A respondent in the purposive sample whose husband is not employed still felt that one of the man's roles is to provide economically, while her duty was to cook and feed her husband. This is not empirical but it is part of the natural order and respondents must be conscietized otherwise.

5.3 Gender education and mobilization

In order to address the dichotomies of gender issues, there is need to educate and mobilize people on gender issues. In Kenya, women have been led to participate in their own oppression through a complex web of religious sanctions, social practices, hierarchies, behavioural patterns ,seclusions and other forms of discrimination. Good illustrations of this are the Muslim women who demonstrated a couple of weeks ago against the affirmative action, arguing that it was against their religion .The young woman raped by a cabinet minister was also led to withdraw her accusations claiming that it was against her culture.

Adversely, conscientization is not enough. There is need to educate people constantly about gender issues. This study reveals that gender gaps are constructed and reconstructed in a never-ending effort. Gender sensitization must move on to gender training and retraining, educating and re-educating, until women as well as men are mobilized not to block change but to demand for it

5.4 Networking and political will

Gender education and mobilization is not an easy task. It calls for a lot of networking and political will. The media institutions must be committed to gender and have a specific gender equality policy with equal opportunities, legislation and anti-discrimination laws. Networking is also crucial, for the government, in collaboration with bilateral and multilateral agencies, could avail the necessary funds and human resources to ensure that this happens. For instance ,the multilateral or bilateral agencies could sponsor a commission of inquiry into radio ,television and telecommunications and advertisements, or organize for seminars, conferences, workshops and also the publication of periodicals, journals and articles on media advertising .They could also sponsor researchers to give more insights into advertising and gender .

The findings show that the gaps are skewed in favour of men. This may lead to lack of understanding and disengagement that addressing them is a woman's issue. However, there is need to build a network of women and men that can help to build democratic community and a strong civil society, which can pressurize for change. There shoild be Media watch dogs with an altered consciousness that the existing social order is unjust and unnatural. Illiteracy is a serious handicap if not an absolute barrier-failure to educate and train.

5.5 Mobile or flying expertise and follow-up

Gender sensitization is a process as well as the result of that process. Mobile experts are those persons who are special in gender issues, provide education and knowledge and ensure that gender knowledge is put into practice. They are external activists. They have holistic knowledge of gender roles and relations and provide very interactive and intensive assistance and follow-up.

Mobile experts can assist by providing broader definitions such as equality *de jure* as well as *de facto* and that gender issues are not women's issues. This will enable both genders to develop skills, assert themselves and challenge oppressive behaviour. This will liberate the women as well as men who will not only lose traditional privileges as well as traditional burdens but also be liberated from systems of ideologies of oppression .

Follow-up must also be constantly made to analyze the impact of gender education and inform those committed to gender equality on the viable directions and options towards empowerment and gender equality.

5.6 Visibility

This study reveals that women's work remains invisible in advertising as well as society in general. Women are portrayed pronominally undertaking reproductive roles; yet, women not only undertake these roles but also are fully involved in productive ones. The women's triple role must be made visible in advertising by showing women in larger settings as mothers as well as entrepreneurs, managers and active participators in development. Women long socialized to be home bodies are not only in the work force but also own pieces of the work force as entrepreneurs or managers. Let advertising portray such women with diversity or posts even managerial ones.

Let advertisements remember that women in the work force are leaders with a variety of experience as they try to balance work and family responsibilities. This would provide good role models, particularly for the young women. In other words, advertising must keep pace with societal change and make visible women's diverse roles as mothers, professionals and entrepreneurs. Women in advertising are restricted to the kitchen, and their opportunities and needs are also restricted. Advertising should make gender needs visible, both practical and strategic. Men's practical needs are well met in advertising which presents them as smartly dressed with accoutrements such as cars, pens, and briefcases, that convey a lot about their status and occupation. On the contrary, females are just attractive or motherly scantily dressed or nude and with artifacts such as lipstick, jewels, wigs, or headscarves.

Such style may not win automatic respect for women in a professional world . To meet the practical needs, advertisements should show women carrying children using devices such as the pram or in a car. Instead of it presenting women washing by scrubbing using detergents like 'omo' or disinfectants like jik, advertising should show women using modern implements such as washing machines and other cleaning aids and food processing machines such as microwaves or blenders. Unfortunately, the advertisements on such resources present men giving the impression that only men have the expertise and economic power to access these modern implements. A good illustration is that of the men in the ads of Barclayloan or Samsung fridge and washing machines.

In addressing strategic needs, advertising should transform existing subordinate relationships between women and men. This means that women will be shown as economically and intellectually empowered and independent in control. Both male and females should be seen advertising on credit facilities like banking (Barclayloan). Females vocal cues should not be presented as persuasive, hesitant, poorly articulated showing poor retention and poor grammatical encoding like the fried fish sellers voice advertising omo. Hence, both male and female voice-over should be used in a proper manner, loud, unaccented and clearly articulated so that both genders are seen as credible ,worthy and competent. The status of women must be made visible.

5.7 Legislation and other measures

A pervasive obstacle to gender equality issues is the fact that very few institutions are egalitarian. There are, within media, adopted institutional cultures and structures with unequal distribution of resources, obligations and decision making powers .It may not be easy to deconstruct such structures of subordination and domination. Legislative measures should be taken to ensure that sexist portrayals in media advertising are not perpetuated. Such legislation can, for instance, prohibit the projections of women as sex objects in media advertising .Other measures should also be put in place such as global and regional mandates must be implemented, for example, the Commonwealth Plan of Action, the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

In a nutshell, there should be a legislative and constitutional framework governing advertising, based on a gender equality policy.

5.8 Research

Research should be done on structures that lead to systematic gender discrimination. Advertisers should consult consumers before advertising and must research on the right style of language to use. Consumers should also be allowed, through research, to state the appropriate time for airing certain advertisements.

5.9 Conclusion

To come to a conclusion, there is need to focus attention on advertising, from which stem social inequalities that embrace women and men in society. These gaps require urgent solutions. This study shows how advertising does or could contribute to or hamper the development of women as well as men. Advertisements restrict women and confine them to the world of mothering and homecare as more power autonomy and status are bestowed on men plus many privileges. This is detrimental to both genders .It not only disempowers women by placing them by placing them firmly in the kitchen but also disempowers men by bestowing traditional burdens on them as sole bread winners, oppressors and exploiters.

Let commercial advertising revision the images it portrays and be faithful and accurate by presenting details about a people's social forms and traits. Advertising must liberate both women as well as men as equal partners free from gender stereotypes that limit the potential for self expression and development of both genders .Let advertisement look at women and men with fresh eyes ,be engendered with new definitions, keeping pace with societal change .

Advertising in itself cannot empower women and men, but must not be one of the barriers to their emancipation. Indeed, perpetuating such stereotypes leaves the society torn asunder as women and men crumble in the face of gender imbalance.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

THE INFORMATION YOU WILL GIVE HERE WILL BE HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THIS PAPER PUT A TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

1. Age:
2. Sex: Female
                Male

3.a) What do you think are the duties of a man in the family?
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
(iv)

3.b) What do you think are the duties of a woman in the family?
(i) .
(ii)
(iii)
(iv)

3.c) What do you think are the duties of the children in the family?
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
(iv)

3 d) From whom or where did you learn about the duties in 3a, 3b, 3c, above?
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
(iv)

4a) Do you think advertisements are important?
Yes
No

4b) Give reasons for your answer above
(i)
(ii)

5a) Write down some advertisements you like
(i)
(ii)
(iii)

5b) Why do you like them?
(i)
(ii)
(iii)

5c) Write down some advertisements you dislike
(i)
(ii)
(iii)

5d) Why do you dislike them?

(i)
(ii)
(iii)

6a) Who does the following duties as shown in advertisements?
Put a tick where appropriate.

Duties	Women	Men	Both
Cooking			
Laundry			
Banking			
Child care			
Farming			
Home care			
Petty trade			
Construction work			
Engineering			

6b) Do you agree with this division of labour in 6a above?
Yes
No

6c) Give reasons for your answer in 6b

7. Which words can best describe women or men as presented in advertisements? Put a tick where appropriate.

Words	Women	Men
Tough		
Fragile		
Hardy/aggressive		
Sexy		
Rough		
Lazy		
Smart		ı
Delicate/tender		
Knowledgeable		
Sweet		
Independent		
Confident/sure		
Inactive		
Attractive		

7b) Would you use the same words to describe men and women in society?

Yes
No

7c) Give reasons for your answer in 7b above

8a) Comment on the young women used to advertise beauty products, cosmetics, drinks and cigarettes

8b) Comment on the young men used to advertise beauty products, cosmetics, drinks and cigarettes

9a) In your own view is there something wrong with advertising?
Yes
No

9b) If no, why

9c) If yes, what is it?

10a) How can it be changed?

10b) Do you think you have any role to play in shaping advertisement?
Yes
No

10c) Give reasons for your answer above

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX TWO: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INFORMAL INTERVIEWS

a). Bio-data information

- Marital status
- Level of education
- Occupation
- Position in community

b). Probing points

- Head of the family
- Duties of the head of the family
- Division of labor

Roles	women	men
cooking		
laundry		
construction work		
child-care		
attending community meetings		
banking		
engineering		
petty trade		
cleaning		

- How these duties are learnt
- Attitudes towards women as well as men
- Significance of advertisements
- Portrayals of women and men in advertising
- Gaps in advertising
- Recommendations

APPENDIX THREE: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

a). Bio-data information

- Marital status
- Level of education
- Occupation

b). Probing points

- Media administrative organization
- Duties and activities of media employees
- Media occupational positions
- Distribution of managerial positions
- Gender gaps in media advertising
- Ascription of roles and relationships in media advertising
- Recommendations